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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

ELIZABETH DONNAN

Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College

VOLUME II
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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INTRODUCTION

At the opening of the eighteenth century the African slave trade was the foundation on which colonial industry and the colonial commerce of European countries rested. It dominated the relations between the countries of Western Europe and their colonies; it was one of the most important factors in the wars of the century; it played a considerable rôle in the domestic affairs of the nations involved in it. The century saw the decline of trade by means of joint-stock companies with monopoly grants and an increase in the influence of the independent trader. It saw the growth of industries dependent upon African markets, the opening up of the Spanish-American trade, and at the end of the century it saw the development of a humanitarian revolt, which from feeble beginnings grew to power sufficient to convince the world that this traffic was not business but crime, and crime of so intolerable a nature that it must be outlawed by civilization.

Though their relative importance in the trade had shifted somewhat, the countries engaged in it were still the same as in the seventeenth century. The Portuguese, French, Danes, Dutch, Brandenburgers, and English all had establishments on the West Coast of Africa, all bickered with the natives or combined with them against European rivals; to all, the trade was intertwined with questions of colonial policy; to most of them, the Spanish-American market remained the coveted goal.

Last among European nations to establish themselves on the African coast, the Brandenburgers were the first to withdraw. Early in the eighteenth century it became known that the establishments of the Emden or Brandenburg Company were for sale. The Portuguese were believed to have made offers for this property in 1708, but the forts were still unsold when the negotiations for peace began at Utrecht.[1]

In the course of these negotiations, the Earl of Strafford was approached by the Prussians, who offered to the English their entire possessions on the coast. Strafford seems to have been convinced that the forts could be obtained for very little, and that they would be useful. He was also convinced that the English should forestall the Dutch, who were certain to find them desirable. His letters failed to elicit a reply from the Earl of Oxford, to whom they were addressed, and apparently the matter received no attention in London despite Strafford's belief in the advantages of the purchase.[2] In 1717

[1] John and Awnsham Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), V. 432. Sir Dalby Thomas reported that the Portuguese had offered £40,000. W. W. Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (London, 1915), I. 203-206.

[2] Historical MSS. Comm., *Portland Manuscripts*, IX. 372, 376, 378, 381.

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the Dutch West India Company bought the most important of the Prussian establishments in Africa, Great Friedrichsburg, paying for it 6000 ducats. The remaining African possessions of this company were sold to the Dutch East India Company in 1732, and the Emden Company came to an end.[3] An attempt was made by Frederick II. in 1768 to re-establish it, but neither Dutch nor French capitalists would aid and the effort failed.[4]

By a treaty between the Great Elector and the King of Denmark in 1686 Brandenburg had acquired the privilege of maintaining for thirty years an establishment in the Danish St. Thomas.[5] This served as a distributing point for the negroes sent over from the West African factories of the Brandenburgers as long as the company existed, and connected their West India commerce in slaves closely with that of the Danish owners of the island.

Throughout the century the Danes continued to play a small yet a persistent part in the slave trade on the African coast and in the Caribbean. The Danish island of St. Thomas had, because of its many small harbors, become a flourishing centre of the illicit traffic in negroes, by means of which much of the Spanish demand was satisfied. St. John, near to St. Thomas, was added to the Danish possessions in 1719, St. Croix in 1733.[6] The expanding colonial population made possible by the acquisition of these islands created a demand among the Danish colonists for a legitimate trade in slaves, which by the early years of the eighteenth century probably surpassed in importance the illicit trade with Spaniards.

On the African coast between Accra and Whydah the Danes held a number of forts and settlements. Fort Frederiksborg they had sold to the English in 1685. This sale left Fort Christiansborg, rebuilt some time between 1730 and 1746, their most important establishment. In 1734 they added Fort Friedensborg at Ningo.[7] In 1784

[3] Charles de Lannoy and Herman Vander Linden, *Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Néerlande et Danemark* (1911), p. 137; G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1929), p. 41. The account given by Claridge (I. 203-206) differs somewhat from this. According to him, Fort Friedrichsburg, abandoned by the Emden Company, fell into the hands of a well-known native trader, John Conny. The Dutch, maintaining that they had purchased it, attacked the fort but failed to dislodge Conny, who made unavailing overtures to a French vessel on the coast. Finally, in 1725, he turned the fort over to the Dutch, who renamed it Fort Hollandia. The point at issue here seems to be whether the Dutch had in 1717 actually made the purchase. William Smith when he visited the coast in 1726 gave to this fort two names, Fort Hollandia or Conny's Castle.

[4] Pierre Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce* (Paris, 1892), p. 464.

[5] For an account of the seventeenth-century activities of this factory see Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies under Company Rule* (New York, 1917), pp. 71-94.

[6] Westergaard, *Danish West Indies*, pp. 2-4.

[7] Claridge, I. 221, II. 601; *Journal of the African Society*, IV. 7. Among eighteenth-century accounts of the European establishments on the West African coast are two by Danish authors. That of L. F. Römer was published in Copenhagen in 1760 and was in 1769 translated into French as *Nouvelle de la Côte de Guinée;* the second account, that of Dr. Paul Isert (see this work, I. 78 n.), also translated into French, describes the Danish forts as they existed in his day, and relates the circumstances under which they were built. *Voyages en Guinée* (Paris, 1793), pp. 15, 18, 27-28, 85, 117.

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they built at Adda a square fort called Koningstein. According to Claridge they then joined the natives, crossed the Volta River, and subdued the tribes there, who allowed them to build at Quittah a fort called Prinzenstein. About this time they also rebuilt Augustaborg.[8] By 1785 they had on the Gold Coast four forts and six factories.[9] At no time during the century was their power sufficient to threaten the Dutch or English, yet in spite of their weakness they were able to maintain their trade and increase the number of their establishments.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Danish West India Company did not carry slaves directly from Africa to its own colonists but in 1696 and 1697 the Danish officials in the West Indies, jealous of the profits they saw accruing to the Brandenburg Company, pressed the Danish Company to undertake the slave trade on its own account rather than to buy its supply from Dutch or Prussian slavers. Their arguments apparently convinced the company of the desirability of undertaking this commerce, and after its reorganization in 1697 it sent an expedition to the African coast which was in part financed by the company, in part by a private merchant.[10] The vessel sent out took on board 506 slaves at Christiansborg and delivered 259 at St. Thomas. These were sold for 85 rix-dollars each, three times their price on the coast, so that the venture proved financially profitable in spite of the heavy mortality of the Middle Passage. The next voyage delivered 353 from a cargo of about 525.[11] Thereafter until 1733 the company continued to send out a vessel or two each year, though it by no means supplied the demand of the Danish islands,[12] which still obtained a part of their negroes from Dutch interlopers at Curaçao.

From the archives of the company there has been compiled a list of slave cargoes arriving in the Danish West Indies between 1687 and 1754. This contains the numbers carried, the cost to the company, and the prices at which the cargoes were sold in the islands. Between 1687 and 1700 thirteen vessels had brought in 4239

[8] Claridge, I. 221-222, II. 599; John Pinkerton, *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels* (London, 1814), XVI. 367.

[9] Nicolaus Hadeler, *Geschichte der Holländischen Colonien auf der Goldküste* (Bonn, 1904), p. 56.

[10] Westergaard, pp. 145-146.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147. The mortality on the Middle Passage, for the vessels given, seems to have been in the neighborhood of 30 per cent. In addition to this a number of vessels were lost outright. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[12] Many of the suggestions as to the Danish trade apparently originated in St. Thomas rather than in Denmark. On Mar. 28, 1737, the officials of the island suggested that slaves be procured from "Caplahoe" (Cape Lahoe) and Cape Three Points and between "Ziode Wolta" (Volta) and "Hardra" (Ardra), as these slaves were better than those of Loango and Angola. Westergaard, pp. 139-140, n. 7.

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negroes.[13] Between 1701 and 1754 seventy-four vessels reached the Danish market. Between 1701 and 1710 these vessels delivered 2967 negroes; from 1711 to 1720, something over 1584; from 1721 to 1731, 2276; from 1731 to 1741, 1096;[14] from 1741 to 1754, 4727. Twenty-five years later the Danes were still carrying about twelve hundred negroes from Africa annually.[15]

Occasionally the company took what part of a cargo it desired and turned the remainder back to the captain to sell to private purchasers as he found opportunity. The Brandenburg factor resident in St. Thomas was a frequent purchaser of these cargoes. For the negroes thus sold outside the company the captain paid to the company a four per cent. duty, or on one occasion 4¼ pieces of eight per negro sold. From one cargo 180 manquerons were turned back to the captain.[16] Most of these cargoes came from Guinea, though negroes from Calabar, Loango, Angola, and even Madagascar appear in the list.

During the eighteenth century the costs on the coast ranged from 45 rix-dollars to 120, and in one case to 150 rdl. Between 1700 and 1733 twelve cargoes were purchased at 70 rdl. per head, six at 60 rdl.; the remainder varied in price from 40 to 80 rdl., with one cargo in 1711 reaching 96 rdl. After 1733, when the company ceased to import negroes, the prices seem to have been much higher, in two cases ranging from 75 to 85 rdl., in a number of instances from 120 to 130 rdl.[17] These negroes were sold to the planters for prices which ranged from 80 rdl. to 354 rdl. Between 1700 and 1733 the sale price varied from 80 rdl. to 156 rdl., but one cargo reaching the latter figure. After 1733 the prices in the island increased steadily, seldom falling below 130 rdl. These prices were paid in cash, in cotton, or in sugar. In 1724 the profit on one voyage which delivered 351 negroes amounted to 28 per cent., on two others the fol-

[13] Westergaard, pp. 320-326. One cargo of 549 lost 196 on the Middle Passage, another of 538 lost 300. John Lorentz, governor of St. Thomas, in 1700 wrote to the directors of the company that the mortality on the vessels of Zeeland interlopers and English slavers was also very high at this time, some of them having brought but one-third or one-fourth of the original cargo. The increasing number of separate traders sharing the trade after the passage of the act of 1698 (see this work, I. 421-429) may have had something to do with this excessive mortality. Those eager for profits and inexperienced in the trade frequently overloaded their vessels and failed to take due sanitary precautions. Westergaard states that the Dutch had the smallest loss on the Middle Passage of any nation that traded in slaves. Westergaard, p. 142.

[14] The cargoes for four vessels are not given.

[15] J. Machat, *Documents sur les Établissements Français de l'Afrique Occidentale au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 132-133.

[16] Westergaard, pp. 148-151, 324. A manqueron or mackron was a negro not up to standard.

[17] Professor Westergaard describes these sums as the "wholesale cost to the company". It is not clear whether he is including more than the actual purchase price of the negroes, but it seems probable that he is not.

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lowing year it reached 29 per cent.[18] On another cargo, out of which 199 had died from dysentery on the voyage, the profit was 69½ per cent. The last importation recorded in the list resulted in a profit of 50 per cent.

After 1723 the company attempted to encourage the introduction of negroes by private traders. A decade of discussion over the proper relation of the company to this commerce followed. The company then definitely gave it up, the reasons offered being its great risk and the small return. The next year the slave trade to the Danish West Indies was, by royal mandate, first opened to all the Danish subjects in the colonies, and later to subjects in the homeland, on payment to the directors of a duty of eight rix-dollars per head on the importations into St. Thomas; and four rix-dollars on those introduced into St. Croix.[19] During the next twenty years the company tried to obtain the necessary slaves by a contract with private merchants, then by a reorganization and a new attempt at company trade. In 1754 the government opened the Guinea trade to all Danish subjects. This freedom was short-lived. The next year a company of Africa was established, with a capital of 250,000 écus and a grant for trade.[20] Still another attempt at an exclusive company was made in 1765, but the company failed and the commerce was again an open one. In 1781 the monopoly of the slave trade was granted to the Company of the Baltic and of Guinea, which, after a short life, passed away in 1787. Already the movement for the abolition of the trade was gaining headway. This resulted in 1792 in a prohibition of direct importation of negroes from Africa to the Danish establishment.[21]

The history of the slave trade of Portugal in the eighteenth century is still to be written. Though her early pre-eminence in West Africa was gone, she carried on a thriving trade from certain localities, by means of which she supplied her Brazilian possessions. The Bissagos Islands and the neighboring coast and inland rivers were settled by Portuguese or their mulatto descendants, who controlled the trade of the region, though French and English occasionally encroached upon the territory. The larger number of the Portuguese slaves however came from Angola and the Congo, where the Portuguese had established missions and made settlements in the preceding century. In addition to supplying her own South American territory with negroes, Portugal, at the end of the seventeenth century, held

[18] Westergaard, p. 323. There was no corresponding increase in the prices of sugar or cotton. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-154.

[20] Bonnassieux, pp. 441, 443.

[21] See *post*, no. 285.

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the contract to supply the Spanish-American markets.[22] This contract the Portuguese company lost in 1701, but Portuguese traders in Africa continued to provide European merchants with slave cargoes throughout the eighteenth century. In 1724 a new company, with a monopoly for fifteen years, was established to carry negroes to Brazil.[23]

From the earliest days of the African commerce the Portuguese had been hampered by a lack of satisfactory goods with which to purchase negroes. The two commodities provided by their colonies were tobacco and rum. In addition to these they needed the usual European goods. Woollens, linens, brass, and pewter were in demand among the natives of the Bissagos region and had to be obtained by Portuguese traders. This doubtless explains why these traders frequently sold their negroes on the African coast in exchange for European goods, instead of carrying them to the colonies of the New World. Astley states that from the Bissagos Islands and the adjacent mainland from thirteen to fifteen hundred negroes were shipped off yearly.[24] The method of trade differed markedly from that of other countries. It was customary for the negroes brought from the interior to be collected on some of the islands in the mouths of the rivers. Here they were employed in agriculture, and here they might live for many months before they were carried to America.[25]

Portugal's own trade was insufficient to supply all the Portuguese demand and occasionally throughout the century evidence of English traffic to Portuguese markets is to be found. In 1721 the Royal African Company of England had under consideration (and apparently carried through) a plan for selling slaves to the Portuguese. Mr. Playden (Playton?) Onely proposed that the company carry from Gambia to the Western Islands a cargo of from 120 to 130 boys and girls between seven and twelve years of age. Those not disposed of here were to be delivered to Mr. Onely in Lisbon.[26]

For the most part the Portuguese in the conduct of their trade avoided friction with the more aggressive countries engaged in the same traffic, but occasionally trouble arose. The monopoly of the trade to Buenos Aires, held by the South Sea Company, was sometimes encroached upon by the Portuguese.[27] In 1773 English officers

[22] See this work, I. 107.
[23] Bonnassieux, pp. 458-459.
[24] Thomas Astley, *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745), II. 105, 110-112a.
[25] Abbé Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François ou la Connoissance de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1772), XIV. 117.
[26] June 22, 1721, Minutes of the Court of Assistants, Public Record Office, Treasury Papers 70: 131, pp. 71, 99. These papers are hereafter cited as T 70.
[27] British Museum, Add. MSS. 25564, ff. 174-177.

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disputed a claim put forward by the Dutch at Elmina that Portugal had given them the sole right to trade in Brazilian tobacco.[28] More serious was the destruction of English property in Angola, ascribed to the Portuguese late in the century. That Portuguese trade ought not to be ignored is shown by the fact that an undated memoir, written some time after 1779, ascribed to them 18,000 of the 70,000 blacks carried from Africa each year. Portugal was certainly third or fourth in the list of countries engaged in the trade at the end of the eighteenth century.[29]

The eighteenth-century commerce of the Dutch as well as that of Portugal needs further study. Because the African trade of Holland was not expanding during this century many writers have assumed a more rapid decline in its importance than the facts seem to justify. Though the Dutch trade may be relegated to second place, and before the century is over to third place, the Hollanders maintained their forts on the West Coast, and continued to be a perpetual annoyance to the English, often fostering trouble among the native tribes or between native tribes and Europeans.

The Dutch West India Company which emerged from the reorganization of 1675, though it received the privileges of the earlier company, seems never to have accomplished so rigid a monopoly as had the company of 1621. Much of the slave trade of the eighteenth century was in the hands of separate traders, part of whom were interlopers, part of whom purchased licenses from the company and paid a duty on the goods they carried.[30] Occasionally the company in granting these licenses reserved to itself certain territory, as in 1730 it was reported that the company had contracted to deliver negroes to Surinam, Berbice, and Isequebeg (Essequibo) but had granted licenses for trade in any other colony.[31] The privileges granted to this company were sources of much jealousy to the upholders of the English monopoly. In 1729 one writer pointed out that the States General had accompanied the monopoly grant to the Dutch with a subsidy of 38,000 florins per year, in addition to the revenue from certain duties which altogether amounted to 133,000 florins, and revenues from prizes captured, which the writer reckoned at 100,000 florins, making a total of 271,000 florins or about £25,000 sterling annually paid to the company.[32] In 1734 these privileges

[28] David Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce* (London, 1805), III. 547.

[29] Machat, pp. 132-133.

[30] Library of Congress, British Transcripts, Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 494; John Hippisley, *Essays* (London, 1764), pp. 43-44.

[31] *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1730.

[32] *The Case of the Royal African Company* (London, 1729), p. 22. The total is here given as 271,600 florins, probably a misprint.

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were modified and for twenty years a part of the West Coast of Africa was opened to independent traders.[83]

On the African coast the Dutch during the first quarter of the century pushed their activities to regions which had heretofore been admittedly under French influence. Taking advantage of the feebleness of the French Senegal Company, they seized Arguin and extended an interloping trade from Arguin southward. The French, after some delay, were preparing to oust them when they learned that the Hollanders had voluntarily evacuated the Arguin fort.[84] The Dutch were also taking the aggressive on the Guinea coast. In 1706 they destroyed the English settlement at Takoradi. Shortly after this the two nations agreed that the Ancobre River should be the dividing line between their possessions.[85] In 1729 Sir Dalby Thomas and Peter Nuyts of the Dutch company again achieved temporary peace between the two companies.[86] About 1750 the English town at Dixcove was destroyed by the Dutch. At this time the trade of the Windward Coast from Commenda to Axim was conceded to them. They held two forts at Goree (Orange and Nassau), and forts at Elmina, Nassau, Akim, Accra, Anka, and Bendo, all on the Guinea coast.[87]

From this time on there was intermittent friction between the Dutch and the committee of the English Company of Merchants trading to Africa over property rights on the coast. In 1763 the Board of Trade was called upon to adjust conflicting claims to territory west of Cape Coast Castle.[88] In 1768 Lord Viscount Weymouth reported to the Admiralty that Appolonia was in danger of being wholly cut off from other British settlements by the Dutch. In 1785 the Dutch still held twelve or thirteen forts on the Gold Coast and maintained an active trade.[89] They had however made the mistake of allying themselves with the native enemies of the Ashanti; and as the power of the Ashanti increased, the Dutch influence in Africa declined.

[83] Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), III. 471-472.

[84] Prosper Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XV^e Siècle à 1870* (Paris, 1910), pp. 180-183. This author was mistakenly called Pierre in vol. I. of this work.

[85] Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III. 547. For an account of the trouble in Africa between English and Dutch in the early years of the century see Charles Davenant, *Works*, V. 198-221.

[86] C. O. 388: 48, Dd 147. This same year Sekundi was destroyed by natives. The English believed that this was done at the instigation of the Dutch. T. M. Adams, *A Cool Address to the People of England on the Slave Trade* (London, 1788), p. 38.

[87] July 11, 1751, C. O. 267: 5, C. O. 388: 45, Dd 42; Hippisley, *Essays*, p. 36; Bonnassieux, p. 76.

[88] *Calendar of Home Office Papers*, 1760-1765, pp. 293, 313.

[89] *Ibid.*, 1766-1769, pp. 159, 388; also Shelburne MSS., vol. LXII., calendared in the Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fifth Report*, p. 230; Hadeler, *Holländischen Colonien*, p. 56. The Dutch possessions in Africa had by this time passed to the Dutch East India Company.

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In the West Indies, though the Dutch owned several small islands, their trade to the islands of other nations was probably more important than was the business of supplying their own colonists with negro labor. Curaçao and St. Eustatius, the chief Dutch entrepôts for slaves, were largely frequented by private traders who sold slaves to English, French, and Spaniards in spite of the protests of the home governments. In the seventeenth century Curaçao had been the foremost of these two distributing centres but gradually St. Eustatius seems to have assumed an important place. From this island 2000 to 3000 slaves were annually distributed, at prices lower than the English could offer. This the English attributed to the cheapness and the suitability of the Dutch goods exchanged for slaves in Africa.[40] To the English Board of Trade the Commissioners of the Customs reported that they knew no law against this private trade from St. Eustatius of which the Royal African Company complained.[41] In spite of English protests and the efforts of English merchants to undersell the Dutch, slaves could, in 1731, still be procured in St. Eustatius for twenty per cent. less than from English vessels.

its Road is the Place where Dutch Interlopers from the Coast of Africa seldom fail to call at. In a few Days all our Leeward Islands are informed of this. In Places, such as our Islands are, it is not much to be wondered at if there are Persons who run some Hazard for the Hope of a considerable Gain; so that all the ready Money which they can advance at any rate, is carried by them on Board these Ships, where Negroes are sold to them frequently 20 per Cent. cheaper than our own Ships do afford them. This ready money is a great Temptation to some Planters who sell their sugars to them at less than the current Price; and under Pretence of sending it in Sloops to our own shipping, it is sent on Board these Interlopers.[42]

Jamaica as well as the African Company protested against this Dutch trade, asserting that much of the illicit Spanish trade which she had once carried on had since the advent of the South Sea Company moved to the barren island of Curaçao, which sometimes accommodated in its harbor from 60 to 70 sail of ships.[43]

The unsatisfactory character of eighteenth-century figures is illustrated by two estimates of Dutch trade in 1778 or 1779. One

[40] Barbot reckons the Dutch exportation from Africa at the beginning of the century to have been about 8000 negroes. Most of these were delivered at Curaçao. In 1719 they were said to be selling 7000 to the English and French. Sept. 19, 1719, John Holden to the court of assistants, T 70: 177; Churchill, *Voyages*, V. 167.

[41] Frank Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies* (New Haven, 1917), pp. 74-75 and notes, citing C. O. 152: 12, P 213. When negroes who had been purchased at St. Thomas for Santo Domingo were seized the captain pleaded that such trade had hitherto been allowed. Moreau de St. Méry, *Loix et Constitutions de l'Amérique sous le Vent* (Paris, 1786), I. 685.

[42] *The Importance of the British Plantations in America* (London, 1731), p. 32.

[43] Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, III. 421-422.

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of these ascribes to the Dutch responsibility for exporting 3000 negroes from Africa, the other, 11,300.[44]

For the French slave trade of this period our knowledge is fuller, though even on it much work remains to be done. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were in existence three French companies concerned in one way or another with this commerce: the Royal Company of the Senegal, established in 1696 with a monopoly of the Senegal region; the Guinea Company of 1685, with a monopoly of the regions south of the Senegal River; and the Royal Company of Santo Domingo, which, while it had no privileges on the African coast, had the right to sell slaves in the French West Indies. It was indeed under obligation to place at least 2500 blacks in Santo Domingo within five years from its establishment, and after that 200 blacks a year were to be delivered to the island. These negroes the company was at liberty to obtain from foreigners if it liked.[45]

Louis XIV., cherishing high ambitions for the enlargement of the French trade in slaves, ruled, on July 9, 1701, that the old Guinea Company had not fulfilled the terms of its contract, substituted a new group of directors, and entrusted to them the assiento just wrested from Portugal. The reorganized company undertook to carry on the Spanish-American trade and to deliver 3000 negroes to the French Antilles.[46] On these the king was to pay the bounty customary in the French trade, thirteen livres per head. In addition the company was granted freedom from duty on all goods which it carried.[47] The monopoly granted to the company was not absolute. French merchants who were persistent in their requests for a free trade to Guinea were permitted to carry negroes to Cayenne (where the demand was small and the price low) and to the Isles du Vent without payment of duty. Merchants of Nantes were allowed to go to Guinea by paying to the company 20 livres per head on those negroes carried to Santo Domingo, and 10 livres for all negroes carried to other French islands. Merchants of Martinique might import from four to five hundred negroes annually, on payment of 13 livres per head to the company, provided they sent one hundred blacks to Guadeloupe each year.[48] The in-

[44] Machat, pp. 132-133. Macpherson (III. 484) gives 11,300 negroes as the Dutch purchase in Africa in 1768. This is probably the source of the figures in *Niles' Register*, III. 189, though the Portuguese figures differ.

[45] Anderson, III. 103; Lucien Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises avant 1789* (Paris, 1897), pp. 50-51. The establishment of the third company seems to have followed the failure of the Senegal Company to obtain negroes from Cartagena. See this work, I. 103.

[46] St. Méry, *Loix et Constitutions*, I. 671-672; Bonnassieux, p. 384.

[47] St. Méry, I. 677-678. The king's representative was the Comte de Pontchartrain.

[48] Peytraud, pp. 54, 56.

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competency of the captains in the service of the company and the heavy mortality of the Middle Passage made the delivery of the number required difficult. Nevertheless the directors refused an offer made in 1706 by the English, who were eager to supply the necessary blacks from Jamaica.[49]

With the transfer of the Spanish-American trade to England in 1713 the Guinea Company was abolished and the trade to Guinea was opened to all French merchants who paid 30 livres on negroes imported into Santo Domingo, 15 livres on those carried into the Isles du Vent. In 1716 the trade was made entirely free to merchants of the ports of Rouen, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Nantes, and Saint-Malo, on payment of a 20-livres duty per head.[50]

The French Senegal Company of 1696, whose affairs were in great confusion, in 1709 sold its property and its privileges to a new company of Rouen merchants, called by Astley the fifth Senegal Company.[51] On December 15, 1718, this company ceded its rights and property to the Company of the Occident, or the Company of the Indies. By his merging of these two companies, and the addition shortly after of the rights and property of the Company of Santo Domingo, dissolved in April, 1720, John Law succeeded for a time in infusing new life into the slave trade.[52] The monopoly of the commerce of the Guinea coast was granted to Law's new company by an *arrêt* of September, 1720, and reaffirmed in June, 1725.[53] The new company was to carry to Santo Domingo 30,000 negroes in 25 years, on each of which it received a bounty of 13 livres. In addition, it was exempt from half the customary duties on the goods which it carried. In 1723 the company was again reorganized and the monopoly confirmed, though in 1725 special permissions were granted to trade outside the monopoly. Certain French merchants who paid 20 livres per head to the company were allowed to carry eight cargoes of blacks yearly to America. On these the company also received the 13 livres paid by the government. The company thus received 33 livres for every negro landed

[49] Bonnassieux, pp. 390-392. This author states that the first vessel sent out, carrying 325 negroes, was lost, and that the *Amphitrite*, leaving Africa with 600, arrived in Buenos Aires with 300.

[50] St. Méry, II. 486-490, 535-536; Bonnassieux, pp. 401-407; Peytraud, p. 57. Peace was not proclaimed in the Spanish West Indies for some time after the signing of the assiento, and during this period the French introduced many negroes. Add. MSS. 25562, f. 30.

[51] Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 3. This company sent to Senegal as governor general the Sieur Mustellier, who on his arrival was not allowed by La Courbe, the then governor general, to take possession of the property of the company until all former employees were paid. Cultru, p. 162.

[52] Bonnassieux, p. 234; Cultru, p. 184.

[53] W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, I. 60; St. Méry, II. 698-701; Bonnassieux, p. 401.

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by these merchants. Some months later this permission was extended to all French merchants who paid the duty. The financial resources of the company were limited, the service which it rendered was unsatisfactory, and its exactions on the colonists heavy; yet it did not lose this official monopoly until July 31, 1767, though after 1740 it ceased to transport negroes on its own account and instead sold them to other traders.[54]

By an *arrêt* of July 31, 1767, the trade of the African coast was again opened to all merchants of the kingdom on the payment of a duty of 10 livres per head. A second *arrêt* freed certain of the merchants from the payment of this duty. For each negro imported the government paid a bounty of 100 livres, which in 1787 was increased to 160 livres per head.[55] The freedom of commerce thus inaugurated was, according to Cultru, theoretical only. Between 1770 and 1774 the African trade rested in the hands of the Company of the Coast of Africa, which in 1776 became the Company of Guyanne. In 1777 the Company of Guyanne was given exclusive right to trade in blacks for fifteen years, and a monopoly of the trade to Goree and the African coast from Cape Verde to the River Casamance for a period of five years. The bounty was at this time increased to 15 livres.[56] In 1783 a New Company of the Senegal and Dependencies was organized, which two years later was granted a monopoly for a period of ten years.[57] An English statement of this time asserted that after 1784 ships clearing for Guinea from any port in France received a bounty of 40 livres per ton on the vessel and 100 livres per negro on all negroes imported into Santo Domingo, Cayenne, St. Lucia, and Tobago; 60 livres on those imported into Martinique and Guadeloupe.[58] This company

[54] Cultru, pp. 199, 264-265; Peytraud, pp. 60-61. The English maintained that the French company in 1729 had a monopoly of trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope; exemption from all duties on merchandise exported to Africa and to the French West Indies; and from half the duties on goods imported from Africa, half the duties on sugar and other products of the French colonies, which were the produce of the sale of negroes there; exemption from all tolls in France, and a bounty of 13 livres on each negro carried, also 20 livres on every eight ounces of gold brought into France (*Case of the Royal African Company*, pp. 21-22). Malachy Postlethwayt gives a lengthy statement of the great advantages offered to the French company by the government. *Considerations on the Revival of the Royal British Assiento* (London, 1749), pp. 14-22.

[55] Cultru, p. 265; Machat, p. 85; Peytraud, p. 71.

[56] Machat, pp. 112-113; Peytraud, p. 72. Cultru (pp. 219, 222-223) says nothing of the negro grant, but refers to a right to monopolize the gum trade given to the company.

[57] Bonnassieux, p. 240; Peytraud, p. 74; Machat, pp. 95-121; Cultru, p. 222. Cultru gives the date of organization of this company as 1783, Peytraud as 1786, Machat as 1784.

[58] *Speech of Sir William Young . . . on Slave Trade, April 19, 1791* (London, 1791), p. 57. An English statement of March, 1788, probably errs in saying that 200 livres per head was allowed on negroes carried into Santo Domingo, 100 livres on those for Guadeloupe and Martinique (Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 71-76). *Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by an Old Member of Parliament* (London, 1790, pp. 101-102) stated that by an edict of 1784 ships clearing from French ports for Guinea received 80 livres

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met with no greater success than had its predecessors. It failed to import the number required by its charter and in 1791 it lost its monopoly and the commerce of the Senegal was opened to all. The influence of the Society of the Friends of the Blacks, formed in 1784, may have been responsible for the abolition of the bounty upon the importation of slaves in 1792 and 1793. The trade itself was abolished by decree in 1794 and officially ended in 1815.[59]

The actual amount of trade carried on by all these companies and by the independent traders is largely conjectural. For the years 1715 and 1716, when the trade was open, five vessels are reported, with cargoes amounting to 1190 negroes. In 1733 the West India Company sent out 1450 blacks.[60] The Abbé Raynal stated that the trade to the French colonies was perhaps from 1300 to 1400 slaves annually, never more than that. Nevertheless, by the 'forties the English were alarmed over the growth of the French slave trade, which Postlethwayt asserted never amounted to less than 3000 negroes a year.[61] For the year 1769 Anderson placed the total number carried by the French at 23,520. Toward the end of the century the estimates of the numbers annually carried become much larger. The French are said to have landed 36,000 negroes each year, from a possible 40,000 to 45,000 shipped.[62]

Of these negroes 100 came from Goree, 300 from Albreda; Joal, Portudal, and Rufisque provided about 300 annually. Before 1762 St. Joseph at Galam had provided from 1000 to 1200, but by 1762 the numbers exported had dropped to 400 or 500. Durand, who was director of the Senegal Company in 1786, believed that the French obtained 1500 annually from the Senegal in his day.[63] From the Gold Coast, Popo, and Whydah the jealous English believed that the French carried 17,000 slaves annually, whereas from these regions the British were in 1763 not carrying 4000 annually.[64]

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per ton, 230 livres each on the slaves imported into Santo Domingo, and 166 livres on those for other French islands. The English paid a 6-livres duty on slaves they carried into French islands.

[59] Bonnassieux, pp. 248-250; Peytraud, pp. 73-75.

[60] Bonnassieux, p. 233; Cultru, p. 198.

[61] French importation between 1725 and 1741 was estimated at 135,058. Not more than a third of this was effected by the company. Cultru, pp. 249, 271-272; see also Machat, p. 80, and Pitman, *British West Indies,* pp. 85-88.

[62] Anderson, V. 173; Cultru, p. 272. Other estimates place the number in 1778 and 1779 as low as 15,000. Machat, pp. 132-133.

[63] Machat, pp. 83, 89, 102, 111; other references in Machat speak of 800 slaves coming annually from Goree and from Albreda (pp. 91, 111); J. P. L. Durand, *Voyage to Senegal; or Historical, Philosophical and Political Memoirs* (London, 1806), p. 120.

[64] *Considerations on the Present Peace* (London, 1763), p. 17. Labarthe states that the French carried over 6000 negroes annually from Whydah, the English but 1000 (*Voyage à la Côte de Guinée,* Paris, 1805, pp. 136-137). See also Postlethwayt, *A Short State of the Progress of the French Trade and Navigation* (London, 1756), pp. 59-61.

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Whatever the numbers shipped by the French throughout the century, there is abundant evidence that the supply thus provided did not satisfy the French planters. The rapid growth of the sugar industry seemed able to absorb a far larger number than the French monopolists at any time provided. In 1719 the merchants of Martinique asserted that in two years' time they had not received a single negro cargo. To their requests for permission to carry their own negroes the government gave no heed since plans for a re-establishment of monopoly were already under way. The opening of the trade in 1767 and the increased bounties offered for French importation failed to put an end to colonial complaints of scarcity.[65]

In the early years of the century the planters supplemented the supply brought by the French by purchases from the Dutch at St. Eustatius. After 1725 they resorted to the neutral island of St. Lucia, where they purchased negroes from the English.[66] Occasionally the French colonial trader found his way to Barbados. In 1783, for a period of three years, permission was granted to foreign vessels to carry 180 negroes direct from Africa, and to sell their cargoes in Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Christopher, Tobago, or St. Lucia. For this privilege the payment was 100 livres per head.[67] The heaviest purchases made from the English were not in the islands but on the West Coast of Africa, where before the end of the century French carriers were buying a considerable portion of their supply from the English factories.[68]

Despite the fact that the trade here pictured was far from being a sturdy one, French interests on the African coast were sufficiently strong to excite the jealousy and fear of the English on numerous occasions. The territorial holdings of the two countries shifted frequently during the century. For the most part France carried on her trade in the region of the Senegal River, England on the Gambia and along the Gold Coast. At the opening of the century the French had establishments at St. Louis at the mouth of the Senegal River, and at Goree, Galam, Joal, Albreda, Bissao, and Boulam.[69] They also possessed trading posts at Great and Little

[65] Peytraud, pp. 57-59, 69-72. To these complaints the company made the usual reply that the planters had not paid for those negroes they had received. In 1726 the company stated that the debts of the planters then amounted to 1,264,700 livres. At the end of the Seven Years' War the company again complained of the unpaid debts of the planters (*ibid.*, pp. 63-66, 69-70). In 1753 the company assured the planters that native wars in the interior of Africa had made slaves scarce but that the trade was now better.

[66] Pitman, pp. 85-86.

[67] Peytrand, p. 73.

[68] *Mémoire sur le Commerce de la France et de ses Colonies* (1789), p. 61.

[69] Cultru, pp. 161, 178. Galam was lost under Lemaître, one of Brue's successors; Bissao and Boulam had been given up by 1706. *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 161.

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Popo and at Whydah, and traded along the Grain Coast and the coasts of Angola and Congo. Conflicts between English and French on the Gambia and the Senegal rivers were frequent and often involved long drawn out negotiations as to the rights of the companies of the respective nations.[70] André Brue, who served the French company as governor from 1697 to 1702 and from 1714 to 1720, had striven to make peace between the English and French organizations in order that they might unite against a common foe, the separate trader. His early efforts met with sufficient success to cause the enemies of the English company to charge it with too great friendship with France at a time when the two countries were at war.[71]

In 1719 Brue was again attempting to bring about peaceful relations between French and English, with the privilege of free trade on the Gambia for the French. This the English agent Orfeus refused. Brue then suggested a common trade, but the English agent maintained that he had no instructions and could not negotiate. During Brue's second term of service on the coast he reported that the French on the Gambia were more highly respected by the natives than were the English. This he attributed to the fact that five times between 1695 and 1709 the French had taken Fort James. From the close of his second administration until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War there were minor difficulties on the coast but nothing of great moment. Arguin, which by this time was more important to the gum trade than to the trade in slaves, passed from the Dutch to the French in 1724. The English occasionally complained that the French were encroaching on territory exclusively English;[72] Albreda, the French establishment on the Gambia River, was at-

[70] See this work, I. 445-451; also Hist. MSS. Comm., *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), IV. 452-453.

[71] Brue's work fell to pieces after his first departure from the coast and was only *in part* restored by La Courbe, who went to the coast in 1706. In 1708 La Courbe wrote that he had not heard from France for two years and that if the company was not intending to support its commerce on the coast it had better give it up altogether (Cultru, pp. 165-166). Between Brue's two periods of service on the coast he was director general of the central organization of the company in Paris. In 1723 he returned to Senegal to inspect the French factories, and assisted in a useless attack on Arguin, then held by the Dutch. See this work, I. 96, 102n.; Cultru, pp. 165-166, 178.

[72] Cultru, pp. 175, 177-178; Lannoy and Vander Linden, II. 137. In 1724 or 1725 the English vessel *Advice* was seized by the French company while trading on the Gambia coast (T 70: 124, Mar. 3, 1724/5). See also C. O. 267: 15, Mar. 18, 1724/5, Feb. 21, 1726/7, for English narratives of the conduct of the French on this coast. On Mar. 8, 1725, Daniel Wescomb, secretary of the South Sea Company, wrote that the French company had plundered a vessel belonging to his company because of differences between the Royal African Company and the French (Add. MSS. 25556, f. 120; 14035, ff. 30, 34-35). A dozen years later the same sort of friction still existed: "The French now attempt universal trade and turn their care to the increasing Plantations. In Africa they have . . . encroach'd upon the English Settlements in Gambia, and outbid them in the slave trade." Boston *Weekly News-Letter*, May 26, 1737, copied from the London *Daily Post*, Feb. 18, 1737.

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tacked by the English and evacuated by the French in 1748 but was re-established by them in 1750.[73] Soon after the outbreak of the war the English seized Goree and the entire Senegal region, including the French posts south of this river. Though this island was restored to them by the treaty of 1763, they lost the monopoly of the Senegal River and the coast to the south. This treaty by no means ended friction between French and English. The former were accused of encroachments on the Senegal coast and of intriguing with the natives against the English as they had intrigued with the Indians of North America.[74] Expressions of anxiety over news that the French were planning to extend their Gambia trade or to establish a settlement between the Gambia and the Senegal are frequently to be found between 1764 and 1768. A memorial was addressed to the French court protesting against their attempts to settle near the Gambia, and Captain Graves was sent out to the coast, charged to prevent French advance. French aggression and the English methods of combatting it furnished many items in the colonial newspapers of these years.[75] It was well recognized that should the French build up a series of factories on the Senegal they might cut off a large part of the supply of negroes brought from the interior to Fort James on the Gambia.[76]

After the outbreak of the American Revolution the French retook the Senegal and the posts to the south, all of which were allotted to them by the treaty of 1783, as was also a factory on the Gambia. The choice of their site on the Gambia seems to have been a poor one, the mortality was high, and in 1793 the post was abandoned.[77] On the whole the French had lost ground between

[73] Malachy Postlethwayt in 1749 maintained that the French company, because it possessed a monopoly, bought its negroes more cheaply and could therefore undersell the English. Also, that the French company traded in English territory while the English company was excluded from French territory (*Considerations on the Revival of the Royal British Assiento*, pp. 20-32). Much of Postlethwayt's writing was devoted to showing the advantage possessed by the French company: *The National and Private Advantages of the African Trade considered* (1746); *A Short State of the Progress of the French Trade*. During the years 1750, 1751, and 1752 complaints of the aggression of the French in and about the Gambia were frequent. For references to them see T 70: 143; C. O. 388: 45, Dd 31; C. O. 267: 15; July 15, 1751. Ad. 1, 1888. There were also protests from the French over the English attack on Albreda. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXI. 234.

[74] *Ibid.*, XXXV. 442: "it begins to be apparent that while there is a French settlement on the coast those of the English will never enjoy peace." Shortly before this the same journal (p. 439) referred to a memorial from the French minister justifying the right of the French to trade for slaves on the African coast.

[75] *Cal. H. O. Papers*, 1760-1765, pp. 473, 549, 580, 581, *ibid.*, 1766-1769, p. 44; *Georgia Gazette*, Jan. 21, Apr. 18, May 30, June 6, Aug. 8, Nov. 4, 1765, Aug. 31, 1768; *Massachusetts Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1765, July 17, 1766, Apr. 30, 1767; *South Carolina Gazette*, May 25, 1765.

[76] Machat, p. 105; for expressions of English anxiety in 1772 and 1773 see C. O. 5: 138, pp. 52, 97, 103.

[77] Machat, p. 77; Cultru, pp. 199, 216, 219, 221-223. The letters of Zachary Macaulay, written from Sierra Leone, refer to M. Renaud, the director of the French slave factory on the Gambia.

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1756 and 1783. They had forfeited all claim to a monopoly of the commerce between Cape Blanco and Cape Verde; they had not succeeded in preserving their privileges between Cape Verde and the Gambia. They shared the commerce of the Gambia and Sierra Leone with the English, that of Casamance and Bissagos with the Portuguese. The period following 1783, like that after 1763, saw many reports of French conquests in Senegambia, few of which had any real importance.[78]

On the Gold Coast the French made numerous attempts to gain a footing, most of which met with success too small to justify the vociferous protests of the English. In 1701 Joinville established a French station at Assini, which was surrendered after three or four years. A French vessel in 1703, by an attack on Cape Coast Castle, succeeded in obtaining freedom of trade with the natives for a short time. The French also seriously damaged the English trade on this coast during the Seven Years' War.[79] Thereafter the Guinea trade of France was largely to the east of Cape Coast Castle round about Anamabo, or beyond the territory of the Gold Coast at Whydah and Benin. In 1744 an officer of the African Company wrote from the coast that he was startled by the amount of the French trade. In 1756 Postlethwayt expressed his alarm over the fact that the French were drawing the best slaves from Anamabo and Whydah. A few years later Hippisley called attention to the danger of French competition on the Gold Coast.[80] The French trade at Whydah, Benin, and Bonny continued to menace that of the English during the next twenty years, though the amount of the trade is probably exaggerated in English controversial writings. They had by 1788 one small settlement not far from Anamabo. The recurring wars between French and English during the early years of the eighteenth century scarcely affected the English possessions on the Gold Coast but in 1799 it was reported that the French fleet had seized every English factory on that coast before sailing south to Angola.[81]

South of the equator at Loango, Malimba, and Cabenda in the Angola and Congo regions, which had been for decades dominated by the Portuguese, the French had by the end of the eighteenth century met with considerable success, though the statement that they

[78] *South Carolina Gazette,* Aug. 1, 1785, Jan. 19, Mar. 23, 1786.

[79] Claridge, I. 201-203; A. B. Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast* (London, 1893), p. 91; Sir Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War,* I. 366.

[80] In 1751 the natives refused to allow the French to build a fort on the Gold Coast (T 70: 143, p. 107). For various references to fear of the French see Add. MSS. 14035, ff. 104-105; C. O. 267: 15, Feb. 20, 1752; *Commons Journals,* XXVI. 678, XXVII. 281; Hippisley, *Essays,* p. 33; see also *Georgia Gazette,* July 8, 1767.

[81] *Doubts on Abolition,* pp. 101-102; *South Carolina Gazette,* Dec. 6, 1799.

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had absorbed the whole of the Angola trade was probably exaggerated. Bryan Edwards wrote that the trade between Cape Lopez and Congo was divided between Dutch and French, while that south of Congo was still dominated by the Portuguese. In the hearings before the Privy Council in 1791 it was stated that the French had driven the English from Loango, Malimba, and Cabenda, all ports on the Angola and Congo coasts, and that at Bonny on the Slave Coast their trade was as thriving as that of the English. They were then reported to be building a fort at Anamabo on the Gold Coast.[82]

Throughout the century efforts were made on several occasions to bring about some sort of co-operation between the English and the French. Those of Brue at the beginning of the period have already been mentioned. About 1738 the English and French were engaged in peaceful exchange of gum for slaves, the English selling the gum in London, the French carrying the slaves to their West India islands.[83] From this time on the English forts on the coast occasionally supplied French traders with negroes. In 1750 the agents of the African Company stated that this trade was usual and asked that it be left undisturbed. Though the reorganized English company of 1750 forbade trade with all foreigners save the Portuguese, the English continued to supply the French with negroes.[84]

The possibilities of a less official co-operation occasionally appear. In 1767 Miles Barber, a Liverpool merchant, petitioned for permission to carry out his contract to ship negroes on board French vessels in the Gambia River. Late in the century a French house in Bourdeaux invited Joseph Ingram of Liverpool to trade to Santo Domingo under French colors. In the investigation into the trade in 1789 one of the witnesses testified that he had received an advantageous offer to engage in the slave trade under the protection of the French flag.[85] The abolition movement was now well under way and such possibilities as these were used to show the complete futility of an abolition of the English trade unless the French also abolished theirs. The English reformers, realizing that united

[82] *Speech of Sir William Young*, pp. 48, 49, 171; Bryan Edwards, *The History Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1819), II. 61. Edwards also states (p. 62) that of the forty factories on the coast fourteen were English, three were French, fifteen Dutch, four Portuguese, and four Danish.

[83] Cultru, p. 196. A request for permission to carry on such trade was made in 1752 by an English agent at Fort James. C. O. 388: 45, Dd 116.

[84] Pitman, pp. 87-89; C. O. 323: 3-10, Feb. 10, 1753. In 1789 the French complained that the fact that they were obliged to buy from the English caused the English trade to flourish while the commerce of the French languished. *Mémoire sur le Commerce de la France et de ses Colonies*, p. 61.

[85] *Cal. H. O. Papers*, 1766-1769, p. 161; Liverpool Papers, Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 111-113, June 8, 1788; *Speech of Sir William Young*, p. 57.

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action on the part of the two countries would deprive their opponents of this argument, made great efforts to enlist the French in their cause and for a time believed that they were to be successful.[86]

Less need be said here of the English trade than of the French, since the pages which follow deal in large measure with its history. The traffic at the opening of the century was carried on under the terms of the act of 1698, by which the company lost its complete monopoly though it retained the right to receive a duty from independent merchants who entered upon African trade. The hope of a renewal of the monopoly was a persistent one, and the question of a monopolized or a free trade continued for more than a quarter of a century to be constantly debated. Pamphlets, reports, and petitions looking to renewal of privilege abound throughout the first half of the century, along with similar documents opposing any increase in the powers of the Royal African Company. The "state of the African trade" demanded the serious and frequent consideration of the Board of Trade, whose voluminous reports to the House of Commons supply much information concerning the West Coast forts and their upkeep, the importance of the traffic to English industry and to the well-being of the colonies. Extensive investigations were conducted by the Board of Trade in 1707, 1708 and 1709, 1711, and again in 1725 and 1726, in all of which separate traders disputed with the African Company as to the most satisfactory way to manage the trade. Though there was a strong body of London merchants outside the company, the traders of Bristol and Liverpool regarded it as essentially representative of London interests, and the venturers of those cities are always to be found opposing any move to increase its powers.[87] To its support the company rallied what forces it could, it sent William Smith to the coast to gather information about its establishments, and coached its representatives for the hearings before the Board of Trade.[88]

[86] See Reginald Blunt, *Mrs. Montague* (Boston, 1924), II. 234. Frank J. Klingberg, in his *Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926, p. 99), refers briefly to the English attempt to enlist French support. Thomas Clarkson, in *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (II. 99-128), recounts fully the events of his visit to France for this purpose.

[87] C. O. 391: 35, pp. 34-85, *passim*; "MS. Calendar of Records of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol" (Bristol, Society of Merchant Venturers), II. 44, 48-49, Mar. 10, 12, 15, 1725/6. A detailed account of the struggle between the company and the separate traders is to be found in Dr. George F. Zook's "Royal African Company", chs. XI. and XII., as yet unpublished. The ablest advocate for the company was without question Charles Davenant, whose "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the African Trade", *Works*, vol. V., attempts a thoroughgoing consideration of the methods of trade pursued by the company and by the separate traders and of their success.

[88] See *Calendar Treasury Papers*, 1708-1714, p. 617; T 70: 103, pp. 107, 128; *post*, no. 161. During the century the Board of Trade also conducted numerous hearings on the colonial duties imposed by the continental colonies, but this subject will be treated in volume III. of this work.

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As long as the company continued to exist it reverted occasionally to the necessity for the restoration of its monopoly but it probably never contended for it with any hope of success after 1726. The burden of its requests after this time was for financial aid in the upkeep of the forts. A pamphlet of 1729, after reviewing the history of the company and the impossibility of carrying on the trade without the assistance and protection of its forts, stated that negroes were so dear on the West Coast that even the most frugal trader could not pay a six per cent. duty for the maintenance of the forts and still make a profit. Yet the American plantations must have negroes if England was to receive sugar, tobacco, indigo, and rice. The conclusion was that the forts must be supported from the public treasury. The arguments of the company were sufficiently cogent to obtain from Parliament a grant of £10,000 a year for the years 1730 to 1744.[89] During these years the company made some feeble efforts to develop profitable inland trade in gold, ivory, beeswax, drugs, and dyeing woods, and to withdraw from the carrying of negroes by selling its slaves to private traders on the coast; but there was no perceptible improvement in its affairs.[90] For 1744, because of additional expenses incurred during the war with France, the grant was increased to £20,000, but after 1746 public assistance was withheld, since the growing indebtedness of the company made it plain that some more drastic remedy for the ailments of the trade must be devised.[91]

After protracted consideration of the condition of the trade and projects for its reorganization the Royal African Company was finally dissolved. As a substitute, the members of the company itself, a portion of the West India planters, and one group of London merchants had favored a new joint-stock form; another group of London merchants and practically all the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool had pressed for open trade. The plan for committee government which at length gained acceptance (*post*, no. 217) re-

[89] *The Case of the African Company* (1729), esp. pp. 26-30. A petition from the African Company in 1730 brought forth orders from the House of Commons for a report on the condition of the company's property, and a prolonged consideration in the Commons preceded the grant (*C. J.*, XXI. 447, 476-479, 482-538, *passim*). An interesting account of the debate over the petition of the company is to be found in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Diary*, I. 51-52, 87. For references to the payment of the £10,000 in subsequent years see *Cal. Treas. Books and Papers*, 1731-1734, pp. 70, 173, 332, 494, 568, 647; *ibid.*, 1735-1738, pp. 113, 220, 259, 341, 377, 388, 425, 589. The reports there contained invariably show an expenditure on the forts in excess of £10,000.

[90] *Post*, p. 404n.; Anderson, III. 458.

[91] *Ibid.*, III. 412, 413; *Cal. Treas. Books and Papers*, 1742-1745, pp. 570, 625, 635.

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mained the general scheme under which the slave traffic was carried on until such traffic was prohibited by law.[92]

To a student of this traffic looking back to this half-century it seems obvious that England, despite her internal dissension over the method of conducting the trade, held her own in competition with foreign nations, but to the English themselves it was not always so obvious. The Dutch interlopers at St. Eustatius, who sold to the English traders for twenty per cent. less than the English vessels asked, threatened the English supremacy in the first third of the century.[93] Even more damaging to the English prosperity was the rivalry of the French Sugar Islands. The pamphleteers of the century found in the growth of the French sugar trade reason to believe that their own sugar islands would be ruined and with them would fall their African trade. The New England purchase of French sugar made it possible for the French to expand their sugar industry. This led them to extend their slave trade. Within two years they increased the number of vessels engaged in it ten-fold. The negroes carried by these vessels were of better quality than those brought by the English or else they were purchased at lower prices. Their greater efficiency made it possible for the French to sell their sugar for 16 *s.* per hundredweight, while the English asked 18 *s.* Thus went the argument by which the pamphleteers attempted to influence English legislators or the English public.[94] The passage of the Molasses Act, as is well known, by no means checked the use of French sugar in American colonies nor the French trade in negroes. In 1744 Malachy Postlethwayt was complaining that the French sugar could undersell the English sugar because the French planters were able to obtain cheaper negroes.[95] Postlethwayt, a confirmed believer in the necessity for a company monopoly, attributed this to the fact that the Royal African Company must pay on the African coast a higher price because of the competition of the separate traders, while the French set their own price. He believed that a strong English company could drive the French from the coast, and suggested that the monopoly grant be given to the South Sea Company.

[92] Some idea of the many projects for the trade which were discussed at the end of the 'forties may be gathered from Add. MSS. 22676, ff. 30-31; 33053, ff. 292-295; *C. J.*, XXV. 942-1103, *passim*; John Latimer's *History of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol* (Bristol, 1903); and many of the pamphlets of Malachy Postlethwayt. The story of the dissolution of one company and the creation of another is briefly told by Miss Eveline C. Martin, *The British West African Settlements, 1750-1822* (London, 1927), pp. 8-9.

[93] *Importance of the British Plantations in America*, p. 32.

[94] *The Importance of the Sugar Islands to Great Britain* (1731), pp. 10, 15; *Observations on the Case of the Northern Colonies* (1731), p. 8; for a similar argument at a later period, see *Considerations on the Present Peace*, p. 17.

[95] *Considerations on the Revival of the British Assiento*, pp. 20-32.

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The second subject of major interest to the English in the first half of the eighteenth century was the Spanish-American slave trade. This trade had long since ceased to be a matter of Spanish domestic policy and had become a subject of European diplomacy. As was suggested in volume I. of this work, England was eager for a foothold in this commerce and since 1670 had been working toward that end. Two methods were open to her traders: a bargain with the assientists, whoever they might be, or illicit trade from Jamaica. At the close of the seventeenth century the Portuguese, who held the assiento, were encountering the same difficulties in carrying it out as did the French and the English a few years later: they failed to pay the duties demanded by the contract, they allowed or promoted the illicit entry of merchandise, they suffered abuses at the hands of the Spanish colonial officials. With the ascendancy of France over Spain the Portuguese contract was cancelled and the privilege of Spanish trade granted to the French,[96] Spain agreeing to compensate the Portuguese Company for any losses it might suffer. Future profits were to be allotted to the rulers of Spain and France and to M. Ducasse.[97] The French were to draw their negroes from Angola, not from Cape Verde or Elmina. For ten years, from May 1, 1702, to May 1, 1712, the sole privilege of supplying Spanish America with negroes was to belong to the French. On 4000 of the 4800 *piezas de Indias* called for each year the company was to pay a duty of 33 1/3 silver crowns or écus, which was slightly less than the duty paid by the Portuguese.[98] The company failed to eliminate from the trade the English and Dutch, who continued their illicit dealings in slaves throughout the period of the French assiento.[99] War added to the normal difficulties of the slave trade and there is small reason for believing that the French succeeded in fulfilling the terms of their bargain or in deriving a profit from the contract after the first year or two. English negotiations looking toward its acquisi-

[96] At the time the Portuguese Company took the assiento the French ambassador was directed to procure a contract from it for the French Senegal Company. The English, however, acting directly with the Portuguese king, not with the company, procured larger orders than did the French. Georges Scelle, "The Slave Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America", *American Journal of International Law*, IV. 639.

[97] Frances G. Davenport, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States*, vol. III., Doc. 89. The agreement was made in Madrid, Aug. 27, 1701, ratified by the King of Spain Sept. 14, 1701, and by the associates of the company Oct. 31, 1701. For a detailed account of the French assiento see Georges Scelle, *Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Assiento* (Paris, 1906), vol. II., ch. 7.

[98] Davenport, vol. III., Doc. 89, n. 33. A *pieza de Indias* was a negro of the best quality. See this work, I. 106 n.

[99] Jamaica was throughout these years carrying on a large Spanish-American trade, both illegally and by means of contracts with the French company. On Nov. 24, 1713, Lord Lexington was instructed to obtain from the court of Spain the payment of a debt due from the factors of the assiento to Thomas Onslow, Edward Broughton, Benjamin Way, and Thomas Bernard. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II. 668.

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tion began in 1707 (*post*, no. 18) and by 1711 it was manifest that in spite of Dutch jealousy the English would soon be the holders of the assiento.[100]

The bargain, once completed, was granted by the English crown to the recently created South Sea Company, which thus gained the right to supply South America, Central America, the Spanish West Indies, Mexico, and Florida with negroes. Could the company maintain its privileges, the Dutch trade would be reduced to insignificant proportions, and the French confined to supplying their own West India Islands.[101]

The slave trade of the South Sea Company, its relations with the Royal African Company, the difficulties which it encountered in the West Indies, the friction with the French, and the continuous argument with Spain over the meaning and the fulfillment of the contract, all find illustration in the documents here printed. The new incorporation purchased its negroes from the African Company, carried them to Jamaica, where they were landed for refreshment and the elimination of those physically unfit, and were then carried to the Spanish markets.[102] In all this new occasions for friction developed. The separate traders, who failed to obtain a contract with the South Sea Company, had no reason to look with favor upon the company's activities. In 1729 the Merchant Venturers and the corporation of Bristol shared the expense of sending a committee to London to join with committees of that city and Liverpool in a protest against the South Sea Company's trading to Africa as a corporate body.[103] At this time the opposition of the separate traders to the trade of the South Sea Company was as bitter as it had ever been toward the African Company. A violent series of pamphlets summed up the

[100] Donnan, "Early Days of the South Sea Company", *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II. 419-422. The contract is printed in Miss Davenport's *Treaties*, vol. III., Doc. 96; see the introductions and notes in that work for a discussion of the diplomatic negotiations of these years. Scelle states that for forty years (1710-1750) there was not a diplomatic negotiation in which the assiento was not discussed. "The Slave Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America", *Am. Jour. Int. Law*, IV. 657.

[101] The most active English opponent of the contract was Jamaica, where the new method of trade with Spanish America threatened to destroy a flourishing illicit trade as well as to cut off contracts with the French company.

[102] The difficulties entailed by this practice are discussed under the Jamaica trade. For a somewhat detailed account of the management of the trade until 1718 see Donnan, *op. cit., Econ. and Bus. Hist.*, II. 430-450.

[103] "MS. Cal. Recs. Merchant Venturers", II. 55, 57. London was to bear two-fifths of the expenses incurred, Bristol two-fifths, and Liverpool one-fifth. Bristol may also well have felt that the South Sea Company endangered her trade by drawing upon all British commerce the enmity of the Spaniards. The *Gloucester Journal*, Oct. 7, 1729, reported that the *Robert*, taken by a Spanish Guarda Costa, was the third Bristol vessel to be thus taken in eight months.

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arguments against the company and demonstrated to the satisfaction of its opponents that it brought no benefit to the nation.[104]

The Royal African Company was on the whole more friendly to the new incorporation than were the separate traders, but some friction also existed here. The business relations between the two companies caused frequent disputes over prices, freights, and details of accounts. It is possible that the objections of the South Sea Company to an African bill which was pending when that company was organized may have prevented the African Company from obtaining more protection from Parliament than it then possessed.[105] Not long after the new company was organized the older group complained that "the South Sea Company are now attempting to send a great number of ships to invade the Company's territories", and asked that such activities be repressed.[106] The trade between the two under their first contract or agreement came to an end in 1718, when the Spaniards seized the property of the South Sea Company. In 1724 or 1725 a new contract was made, or an old one renewed, and the African Company professed itself ready to supply the vessels which were to be sent out each month by the South Sea Company.[107] It is not likely that these groups had any significant dealings with each other after the early 'thirties, when the power of each was waning.

Throughout the thirty years that the slave trade to America was a subject of negotiations between Spain and the English company there were many attempts to interpret the assiento in terms useful to one party or the other.[108] A modification of the original contract, signed in 1716, failed to prevent a violent interruption of the trade and seizure of English property in Spanish ports in 1718. Likewise, after a second prolonged exchange of protests and counter-protests, the goods of the South Sea Company were seized in 1727, and the signing of the treaty of Seville in 1729 did not bring about peaceful trade.[109] Between 1727 and 1730 about 5000 negroes were intro-

[104] The *Craftsman*, Oct. 25, 1729 (pp. 159-164), wrote of this verbal combat: "They have, at least, incontestably proved that this Contract hath almost ruined our Plantation Trade and the private Merchants, who exported more of our Manufacture, as they alledge, into the Spanish West-Indies, and imported more of their Bullion into England before this Contract was made, than the Company have done since." This writer refers to letters on the subject in the *Daily Courant* and the *Whitehall Evening Post*, and to *Observations* and *Defence of Observations*, and addresses to the company a series of questions concerning its financial standing. See also the *Craftsman*, Sept. 2, 1727, for an earlier list of questions; for further pamphlets see *post*, n. 126.

[105] G. F. Zook, "The Royal African Company", unpublished; *Cal. Treas. Papers*, 1714-1719, pp. 55-56.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[107] July 15, 1725, T 70: 124. Frequent references to the contract between the two companies are to be found in T 70: 103, pp. 57, 72; Add. MSS. 25556, ff. 109, 118.

[108] See Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 207-218, June 22, 1725.

[109] Add. MSS. 33028, ff. 213-226, 277; Charles Jenkinson, *A Collection of All the Treaties . . .* (London, 1785), II. 304-309. For references to Spanish depredations see Add. MSS. 25556, f. 226, 25560, f. 123, 33028, ff. 275-328; *C. J.*, XXI. 251-252.

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duced into Spanish-American ports by the company, but the trade was carried on under increasing difficulties. The Spanish complaints of smuggled merchandise were met by the English complaints that the Spanish king by his seizures had already overpaid himself and that Spanish officials were selling negroes whom they had seized.[110] In 1730 the agents at Panama were instructed to withdraw and give up the Panama trade.[111]

By 1733 it was admitted that the trade was a losing one, which could be surrendered with advantage to the company, but the opinion of the attorney general was that the company had no right to dispose of its concessions.[112] The next year the Spaniards offered the company eighteen months in which to withdraw from the factories. Meanwhile papers relating to the dispute between England and Spain were laid before the House of Lords with the hope that a settlement might be attained.[113] War broke out between these countries in 1739 and for the time brought to an end any semblance of trade, and in both countries there was talk of a transfer of the assiento privileges from England.[114] Nevertheless in 1748 the contract was renewed for four years.[115] Two years later it was surrendered, the Spanish government agreeing to pay to the South Sea Company £100,000 in lieu of further trading rights.[116]

Reference to the antagonism of Jamaica to this company has already been made. Her relation to the slave trade was, as it had been in the preceding century, a double one. Her planters wished as cheap and efficient a supply of negroes as possible, her merchants wished not only freedom of trade to Africa but the control of the Spanish trade and whatever profits might accrue from it. To gain the first of these objects Jamaica merchants and planters joined in the agitation against the re-establishment of the monopoly in 1708.[117] Because of the second interest they opposed the South Sea Company, which they felt seriously threatened their profits. During the years in which the French had held this trade Jamaica, as has been said,

[110] Add. MSS. 18272, ff. 459-464; William L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., Assiento, I. 479, 515. The Assiento Papers are vols. XLIII. and XLIV. of the series.

[111] Add. MSS. 18272, f. 218; Shelburne MSS., Assiento, II. 571.

[112] Anderson, III. 459; *Gentleman's Magazine,* III. 43, 325. Anderson expresses the opinion that the inclination to surrender the privileges of the company was the result of a selfish desire for private profit which ignored the great benefit derived by the nation from the illicit trade carried on under cover of the company's privileges. *Origin of Commerce,* III. 468, 470.

[113] Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager MSS., p. 46; *Lords Journals,* XXIV. 505.

[114] August 10/21, 1741, H. Walpole to Robert Trevor, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report,* App., pt. IX., p. 75 (*Trevor MSS.*).

[115] Jenkinson, *Treaties,* II. 384-385.

[116] Library of Congress, Trans., C. O. 5: 8, pp. 111-112; Anderson, III. 561-563.

[117] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* 1708-1709, p. 178.

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had built up a lucrative clandestine traffic.[118] With the transfer of Spanish privileges to the South Sea Company her merchants lost this trade. To this loss they were never reconciled. The most active opposition to the new company came from Jamaica, both before the grant was actually assigned and during the entire period for which it was held.

The practice of the South Sea vessels was to leave their ailing negroes in Jamaica and buy enough in the island to complete their cargoes. This offered Jamaica merchants opportunity for profits and may have satisfied them, but it antagonized the planters. Since the Spanish prices were high and the Spanish payment was in specie, the merchants preferred to ship their negroes than to sell them in the island, at least so the planters believed. To check the exportation of negroes, which deprived them of the better negroes and raised the prices of those that remained, the legislature of Jamaica in 1715 placed a duty of 20 *s.* on all negroes re-exported, in addition to the 10 per cent. duty already existing on negroes imported. Prompt protest against this act was followed by its disallowance in 1718, when the governor was instructed to assent to no bill which placed a duty on slaves landed for refreshment only.[119] The cessation of the company's trade about this time probably ended the controversy for a season, but in 1724 and 1725 it was revived,[120] the agents of the company maintaining that in spite of orders from England they were paying a twenty per cent. export duty on negroes landed for refreshment and then sent on to Spanish markets. The planters justified the imposition by charging that the negroes thus landed brought diseases into the island.[121] Further evidence of the feeling of Jamaica that her interests were opposed to those of the South Sea Company may be found in a letter from James Knight, Jamaican planter and unofficial agent of the island, written to an unnamed correspondent:

> It is worth considering that both Interests [those of planters and merchants] are in danger of being destroyed, by the South Sea Company: who are not content with what they have allready monopolised, but are now Aiming at the

[118] Donnan, *op. cit.*, p. 442. *The Importance of British Plantations* recounts the loss which would be inflicted on Jamaica by the acceptance of the assiento. *The Assiento Contract considered* (London, 1714, p. 2) says that Jamaica customarily sent from 3000 to 4000 negroes a year to the Spaniards. See *post*, no. 61.

[119] Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 150-151; *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 728-729.

[120] Between Feb. 12, 1723, and Oct. 31, 1724, nine vessels brought 3052 negroes from Gambia, Cape Coast Castle, Whydah, and Angola to the South Sea Company's factors in Jamaica. The Royal African Company was also shipping negroes to Jamaica for the purpose of selling them to the agent of the South Sea Company in the island. Dec. 4, 1724, T 70: 124.

[121] Add. MSS. 25560, f. 71, 25556, f. 118; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 73-74; Pitman, p. 82.

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African Charter, and an exclusive Trade, should they bring this scheme to bear. I need not tell you how much, the value of your Estates will be lessened.[122]

A letter from the island to a London merchant a few months later deplored the low condition of trade, since "the Spaniards dare not deal with the private Trade and the South Sea Company buy no Negroes".[123] In the presentation of its case against the bill the company stated that between January 20, 1722, and January 20, 1724, it had paid to Jamaica £4737 in export duties. Again the measure was condemned and the Board of Trade instructed the colonial governor to recommend a substitute for the import duties on negroes. In 1726 the revenue act prepared by Jamaica and an act prepared by the Board of Trade itself were compared and the differences between the two pointed out. The board recommended on August 8, 1726, that the act of the colony be disallowed.[124] The advice of the board was not acted upon at once and arguments over the duty continued unabated through 1727. In 1731 Jamaica, instead of abolishing the objectionable duties, increased the import duty to 15 *s.* and the export duty to 30 *s.* per slave. Meanwhile, some years before this Spain had added to the difficulties of the South Sea Company by prohibiting the admission of any negroes save those brought directly from Africa, the reason being that if the blacks were refreshed in Jamaica they were tainted with heresy.[125] To the argument made in 1728 that the company had brought an increase in population and money to the island, an acrimonious pamphlet responded that these benefits had been derived from the Portuguese and the French contracts, but that the South Sea Company was by its trade merely developing rival sugar colonies, and might even drive Jamaica to the arms of the French. Arguments on the other side were not wanting. On October 11, 1736, Merewether, a factor of the South Sea Company, wrote to Peter Burrell, the deputy governor of the company:

The illicit trade is at a Lower Rate than it has been for these many years, And if there were no Assiento here It could not be so large, for No Ship would come here with Negroes if it was not for the Honourable Company's buying them with Money. And it is the Refuse Negroes of the Angola and Calabar

[122] L. M. Penson, *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* (London, 1924), p. 280.

[123] *State of the Island of Jamaica . . . address'd to a Member of Parliament.* By a Person who resided several Years at Jamaica (London, 1726), pp. 33-34.

[124] *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 72-81. Pitman (*British West Indies*, pp. 79-85) has an excellent account of the entire controversy. For a protest of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, see "MS. Cal. Recs. Merch. Venturers", II. 52.

[125] Add. MSS. 22676, ff. 75-88, 25556, ff. 183-184, 25560, ff. 73-75, 25564, ff. 225-229; C. O. 391: 35, p. 324. On the protest from the company Spain had agreed to suspend this order until Oct. 20, 1724. The editor has found no evidence that it was ever enforced (Add. MSS. 25557, ff. 39, 43-44). At one time the company was said to be considering abandoning any effort to trade on the African coast and buying all its cargoes from importing merchants in Jamaica. *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, Dec. 20, 1729.

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ships which give Re[turns?] to this trade. The Illicit traders cant Afford to purchase Gold Coast Negroes, they are too dear for them.[126]

Petitions from Bristol and Liverpool followed the revenue act of 1731, and it was disallowed in 1735.[127] As the strength of the South Sea Company waned the matter of duties for a time remained quiescent.

The amount of trade into Jamaica has been a subject for many estimates. Stephen Fuller, Jamaican agent in 1778, in a report made to the Board of Trade, gave the total imported between 1702 and 1775 as 497,736 negroes. During the first half of the century the years of largest imports were in 1708, 6627, in 1724, 6852, in 1725, 10,297, in 1726, 11,708. From 1729 to 1732 the number averaged over 10,000 annually, but this amount was not again attained until 1747 and 1748. The next excessive importation occurred in 1755 and 1756. An inspection of those figures which we have gives no clear indication that the obnoxious duties sensibly checked either exports or imports. In 1714 the importation was 5769, the exportation 3507; in 1715 the two figures were 3373 and 1039 respectively; in 1716, 6361 and 2872. In the year 1717 the proportion was reversed and 1775 were imported while 3153 were exported. After 1739 exports fell off because of the fact that the South Sea Company had suspended its trade. According to one writer, between July 1, 1739, and July 1, 1749, 69,140 slaves were imported, and 14,677 exported.[128] The average annual importation was 6726, the average exportation 1853. These figures scarcely justify the complaints that Jamaica served merely as an entrepôt for the Spanish islands.

The negro population of Jamaica throughout the period was sufficiently large to make anxiety over possible scarcity seem unnecessary. In 1715 the island was reported to have 60,000 negroes, with but 2000 whites able to bear arms.[129] This estimate is probably grossly exaggerated. Certainly in 1724 one writer places the negro

[126] Shelburne MSS., Assiento, II. 874; see also *Some Observations on the Assiento Trade* (1728). *An Answer to a Calumny* set forth the arguments for the company and received from the court of directors the thanks of the company; whereupon the *Craftsman* (II. 303-308) answered the *Answer* with the explanation that he was considering but a few points since the author of *Some Observations* was to reply fully. This was done in *Some further Remarks on a late Pamphlet entitled Observations on the Conduct of Great Britain* (1729).

[127] C. O. 137: 19, S 129-131; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 159-162, 164-167; Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 136-137, 250-251, 25554, f. 135.

[128] *No Abolition; or an Attempt to prove that the Abolition of the British Trade with Africa for Negroes would be a Measure as Unjust as Impolitic*, etc. (1789), p. 18. The same pamphlet has in the copy used by the editor an insertion in ink by some anonymous commentator: "1752-1754 15,601 Imported, 2336 Exported, 13,265 Remained." These figures are all smaller than those in the Colonial Office list.

[129] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1714-1715, p. 153.

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population at 32,000, that of the white at 14,000. In 1734 a Northern newspaper gave 80,000 as the number of negroes in Jamaica.[180]

Partly because of its location, partly because of its earlier development and earlier decline, the interest of Barbados in the Spanish trade was less than was that of Jamaica; yet at times Barbados became a rival of the larger island in this traffic. During the period in which the French held the assiento, so lightly was their monopoly regarded that a merchant of New Spain could propose that the Spaniards be allowed to come to Barbados for negroes and the proposal could be seriously considered. In the end it seems to have been refused, not because of any respect for the French monopoly but because such a trade would be contrary to the acts of navigation.[181]

On several occasions the South Sea Company considered substituting Barbados for Jamaica as its headquarters and actually took steps to accomplish this. News that such a plan had been accepted in 1733 caused a Barbadian merchant to write, "[this] may retrieve the Island, tho' I'm almost afraid it is too far gone".[182]

At the time of the report of the Board of Trade in 1709 Barbados was importing perhaps 1000 slaves a year (*post*, nos. 21, 22, 23). The number soon after increased and between 1715 and 1719 was averaging annually over 5000. During the next five years it dropped and never again attained so high an average. In 1730 William Mathew stated that Barbados was the only British sugar island which had enough slaves.[183]

From 1748 to 1750, 5326 were imported, 5100 were retained. This if typical seems to indicate that the island was still absorbing a large annual increase rather than serving as a distributing point for Spanish markets.[184]

The second half of the century the pattern which the African Company, even in the days of its decline, had imposed upon the slave traffic was entirely lost. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa, a loosely knit group managed by a committee of merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool (*post*, no. 217), failed to control the trade, the abuses of which grew more flagrant as competition grew keener. Accusations of private trade and of fortunes mysteriously accumulated on the coast were frequent, and disputes with the many private trading companies established in Africa were a constant fea-

[180] *Importance of the British Plantations*, p. 64; *Boston News-Letter*, Aug. 1, 1734.

[181] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. xiii, 134, 170, 177, 226i.

[182] *London Magazine*, 1733, p. 475; *Weekly Rehearsal*, Dec. 10, 1733; for earlier plans to use Barbados see *post*, nos. 98, 103, and Add. MSS. 25563, f. 191.

[183] Oct. 3, 1730, William Mathew to the Board of Trade (Pitman, p. 73). The importation into the island fell off not long after this.

[184] For a table of importations see Pitman, pp. 71-72, compiled from C. O. 28: 18; figures of importation are also to be found in C. O. 388: 10, H.

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ture of the history of this committee. Independent traders from Liverpool, from the West Indies, and from the continental colonies were less circumspect in their dealings with the natives than had been the captains and traders of the company, and complaints of the kidnapping of free negroes were more frequent than formerly.[185] Accounts of insurrections on shipboard became a common feature of the news in colonial and English papers. There can be little doubt that the entire conduct of the trade was worse rather than better under this form of administration than under the Royal African Company. The affairs of this company were not wound up for about two years, during which both the older company and the new committee had representatives on the coast, each of whom frequently complained of the activities of the other.[186]

Two subjects in particular harassed the new company. Under the terms of its creation its agents were forbidden to trade with any foreigners save the Portuguese, from whom tobacco was obtained. This prohibition was violently protested and frequently ignored.[187] The second great source of trouble was the competition which developed between the trading vessels and the company officials resident in Africa. While members of the committee in England were forbidden to carry on private trade, the factors upon the coast were allowed this privilege. Their position gave them special advantage in the traffic and opened the way for new abuses which find reflection in much of the material of this period (*post*, nos. 256-259, 262).

There was also jealousy among the merchants of the three cities most heavily concerned in the trade and frequent charges of corruption in the election of the committeemen who conducted the affairs of the company. Dissatisfaction found expression in a bill, introduced into the House of Commons early in 1772, for regulating these elections. This was debated throughout April and May but the House took no action.[188] The enemies of the company, possibly in some cases members of the old Royal African Company, frequently brought forward projects for new joint-stock companies with exclusive rights of trade on some portion of the coast. In 1779 Bristol

[185] June 24, 1751, C. O. 388: 45, Dd 149, 150, 151; C. O. 267: 5; T 70: 143, p. 112. It had always been charged that the independent traders more frequently kidnapped negroes than did the captains of the company. See William Smith, *Voyage to Guinea*, pp. 101-103.

[186] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 18, 19, 20, 152. Much of the material in Dd 153-160 relates to the launching of the new method of trade and the early difficulties the committees encountered. For an excellent account of the new company see Martin, *British West African Settlements*, pp. 10-56.

[187] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 25, 34-36, 54, 58.

[188] *C. J.*, XXXIII. 635-776, *passim*.

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merchants requested the co-operation of Liverpool in opposing a project of the merchants of London for such a company.[139]

Though the company maintained its existence throughout the century, it was not equally fortunate in retaining its control on all portions of the African coast. During the Seven Years' War England had successfully attacked the French possessions on the Senegal and at the close of the war she retained these possessions. Application for a monopoly of the trade of this new territory was made by Samuel Touchett, a London merchant, but after prolonged consideration it was agreed that such a monopoly would infringe upon the rights granted to the Company of Merchants trading to Africa by the act of 1750.[140] The administration of the territory was informally committed to this company in 1763 and more formally granted to that body in 1764. However, the conviction that the company was hardly strong enough to cope with the hostility of the dispossessed French caused the Board of Trade after careful consideration to recommend a new scheme of government, under which this region and Gambia were removed from the jurisdiction of the company and placed under that of the crown, as the province of Senegambia.[141] In 1783 this province was separated, Senegal returned to France, and the Gambia restored to the Company of Merchants. While the committee henceforth retained control of the coast between Cape Rouge and the Cape of Good Hope it actually concentrated its attention on the Gold Coast. The first effect of the establishment of Senegambia was reported to be an increase in the expenses of traders, which resulted in a great advance in the price of slaves. Colonial newspapers complained that vessels must pay heavy imposts to the British governor, Charles O'Hara. Though the slave trade from this region by no means ceased after 1763, it gradually declined in importance in comparison with that to the south of it.[142]

As a body the Company of Merchants had no connection with the Spanish trade, but undoubtedly many of its members aided Spain in supplying her colonies with slave labor. Upon the surrender of the assiento in 1750 the Spaniards had resorted to a variety of methods to satisfy their demands for negroes. Early in 1751 it was reported

[139] One proposal for change was accompanied by a lengthy consideration of the defects in the trade as it had been carried on since 1750 (Eg. MSS. 1162 A, ff. 22-60; also Latimer, *Merchant Venturers of Bristol,* p. 183; "MS. Cal. Recs.", II. 213). The state of the trade was attracting much attention at this time. On Dec. 13, 1779, John Roberts, governor of Cape Coast Castle, delivered to the Secretary of State 38 papers dealing with African commerce (Eg. MSS. 1162 A). The correspondence of Richard Camplin, secretary of the company, is to be found in C. O. 391: 86, 87; see also T 70: 1541.

[140] Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 59-60.

[141] *Ibid.,* pp. 60-75, 99-102; *C. J.,* XXIX. 967, 1056.

[142] *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXXVI. 489; *Newport Mercury,* Dec. 22, 1766.

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that the French were to have the contract and would supply the negroes from a floating factory at Angola. During the same year a rumor reached England that an agreement between France and Spain had been consummated whereby France was to maintain a force on the African coast and a settlement at Hispaniola for lodging and feeding the negroes, who were to be distributed from that point to French and Spanish markets. The trade was to be carried on by a joint company of the two nations. The English comment, this "will make a great uproar among the merchants", implies that English traders were then supplying a large part of the Spanish demand and would be loath to lose it.[143]

From 1769 to 1779 the Royal Assiento Company of Merchants in Spain held this much-desired grant. This arrangement the English found entirely satisfactory, since the company purchased most of its negroes in Jamaica. In 1779 a general license was issued by the Spanish government allowing Spanish subjects to import negroes in Spanish or neutral bottoms, with the understanding that at the close of the war the permission was to be restricted to importation in Spanish vessels. This restriction was certainly not being applied in 1783, for at that time the English were heavily engaged in the trade. One characteristic contract was that of Edward Barry, who was to supply Trinidad and Carácas with 4000 negroes at $150 each, free of duty. These were brought from Africa in British vessels.[144] By 1786 a company known as the Philippine Company had obtained the exclusive right to supply Spanish America with slaves. This it did largely through English houses, the London agent making a contract with Baker and Dawson to import from 5000 to 6000 a year for two years, to be sold for $155 each.[145] In 1789 a royal order permitted slaves to be imported into Carácas, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo, in foreign bottoms, duty free, for two years. Meanwhile Spanish merchants visited Manchester and Liverpool to study English methods of trade, apparently with a view to providing for their own necessities.[146]

To illustrate the variety of regulation tried by Spain during the century, the vicissitudes of Cuban trade will serve. The demand of the Cuban planters for negro laborers, insignificant in the seventeenth century, became of greater importance as the eighteenth century advanced. The South Sea Company had established factories at

[143] Feb. 8, 1750/51, Pye to Corbett, House of Lords MSS.; Aug. 13, 1751, Robert Ord to Lord Carlisle, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fifteenth Report*, VI. 205.

[144] June 10, 1788, William Eden to the Marquis of Carmarthen, Liverpool Papers, Add. MSS. 38416, f. 114.

[145] For transactions which this firm carried on in New England a few years later see *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 44, pp. 668-683.

[146] *Doubts on the Abolition*, p. 100.

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Havana and at Santiago, but had never regarded these markets as of major importance.[147] The Cuban planters, whose demand was for negroes at 150 pesos, were unable to pay as high prices as the company obtained in the ports of the mainland of South America, and the company was unable or unwilling to grant to these struggling planters the long credits which they needed.[148] Nevertheless the company by no means ignored the Cuban market. For a time it maintained two factories, one at Santiago and one at Havana, but in 1734 the former was given up because of lack of business.[149] The next year the agents at Havana wrote, "We are not yet able to sell more than 14 negroes, we are in hopes we shall have more Negroe Buyers in a little time, than we have hitherto had, tho' we are afraid we shall find it difficult to dispose of Negroes, as we are confined to take nothing but money".[150]

Importation of a less desultory sort than that carried on by the company began about 1740. The Real Compañía Mercantil de la Habana was allowed to introduce 4986 negroes between 1740 and 1760. These they sold at an average of 144 pesos per head, 4000 of them being disposed of on credit or paid for in tobacco.[151] That this permission was not intended to establish a monopoly is evident, for in 1741 Martin Ulibarri y Gamboa was granted the privilege of delivering 1100 slaves in two years, his price not to exceed 200 pesos each. Of this number he delivered but 793. The Real Compañía Mercantil, on the other hand, had in 1747 exceeded its privilege by 413, but so great was the need for negroes that the government not only accepted this excess but even admitted 497 from Jamaica. A considerable illicit trade also added to the numbers received.[152]

In 1753 the king granted permission for 500 slaves to be carried directly from Africa to Cuba, and in 1757 and 1758 permission was granted to bring 350 negroes from French and British islands.[153] Two years later José Villanueva Pico proposed to introduce 1000 during the next ten years, these to be sold at 300 pesos each. To this proposal objections were raised on two scores: it would be dangerous

[147] H. H. S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511-1868* (New York, 1907), pp. 13-22.

[148] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

[149] Add. MSS. 25554, f. 214. There was also some thought that the Havana factory could not be continued, for lack of means of payment for negroes. Payment was made in snuff until its price dropped and the agents were ordered to ship no more. They then stated that if they were not allowed to contract for tobacco they could not maintain the trade. Shelburne MSS., Assiento, I. 189.

[150] Havana, Oct. 12, 1735, Eden and Wooley to the Court of Directors, *The Particulars of the Enquiry into Mr. Benjamin Wooley's Conduct, and his being Stationed by the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company* (1735), p. 12.

[151] Aimes, *Slavery in Cuba*, pp. 22-24.

[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[153] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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to introduce so many new negroes into the island at once; and at this price they would draw large sums of money from Cuba. More than this number were soon to be introduced, however. In 1763, not long after John Kennan had been granted the sole right to import negroes into Havana, the English seized Cuba and in the five months during which they held the island they were said to have introduced 10,700 negroes, whom they sold at 90 pesos each.[154]

Up to this time a total of about 60,000 negro slaves had been introduced into Cuba; after 1763 importation of blacks went forward much more rapidly. Between 1763 and 1773 a number of special licenses were granted for the sale of slaves in the island. Between 1763 and 1766 the Real Compañía Mercantil delivered 4957 negroes in Cuban ports.[155] The Spanish vessels carried larger crews than did those of other countries; they had no African factories and no cruisers on the coast and therefore had to be armed; their goods for trade were purchased from other European countries. All this made the negroes imported by the Cuban company very expensive. Payment was made in tobacco, which was carried to Spain.[156] By royal cedula of October 15, 1765, the Spanish company of the Marqués de Casa Enrile obtained the right to import 1000 slaves annually for ten years. Cuban needs were, however, not satisfied. A news item of 1770 reports, "They write from Jamaica that the Spaniards are in great want of negroes at the Havannah, a pestilential distemper having swept off upwards of 17,000 slaves in the island of Cuba during the last winter".[157]

Over fourteeen hundred negroes were delivered under this grant between 1773 and 1779. The next privilege was held by the firm of Baker and Dawson, already mentioned, who between the years 1786 and 1789 delivered 5786 slaves into the island.[158]

Thus during the early years of the century the Spanish-American markets were dependent on the assiento companies; next licensed traders obtained the negroes for these markets. In 1778 Spain purchased factories on the African coast with a view to supplying her own colonies with negroes. Little progress was made in carrying forward such plans however, and not until 1792 did a Spanish vessel bring a cargo of negroes directly from Africa to Cuba. In 1780 a memorial to the king asked that the slave trade be opened to foreign

[154] Library of Congress, *Handbook*, p. 526, no. 24. The company's price had been from 220 to 300 pesos per head.

[155] Aimes, p. 36; Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent* (London, 1829), VII. 145.

[156] Aimes, pp. 25-26.

[157] *Massachusetts Gazette and News-Letter*, Supplement, July 12, 1770.

[158] Aimes (p. 36) gives this number as 5768, though his reference is to Humboldt, who gives the figure above.

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vessels through Havana and Santiago. The king sent out a request for opinions, at the same time suggesting that the trade be opened to all merchants of the kingdom, with aids and franchises.[159] Because of difficulty of trade resulting from the war, the colonists actually were, between 1780 and 1783, allowed to buy blacks from the French, paying for them in money or produce. Havana was made the distributing point and from 2500 to 3000 negroes were imported annually. Of these Aimes believes that about half were re-exported. In addition to the number remaining, those introduced surreptitiously brought the annual absorption of negroes to about 1500.

At the close of the war the permission given to neutrals to import slaves was withdrawn. Meanwhile the contraband trade had been active and Spanish smugglers had largely driven out the English, but it was not long before the English regained a place in the trade.[160] Reference has already been made to the importations of Baker and Dawson. In 1788 they proposed that they be allowed to bring in 3000 a year for the next six or eight years, the price to be not more than 200 pesos and the payment to be in money or in products. English ships were to bring the negroes directly from Africa to Cuba and no other foreigner was to be allowed to import slaves, though citizens of the island might bring negroes from foreign colonies in Spanish ships. Negroes and products carried by the licensees were to be free from duty. To these proposals the merchants of the island had a long list of objections, and they were not accepted.[161] About the same time a memorial from Havana asked for a three-year concession allowing Spaniards and foreigners to introduce negroes as they should be required.[162] On February 28, 1789, by royal cedula, permission was granted both to Spaniards and to foreigners to introduce blacks for two years at certain specified ports, without duty. One-third were to be women. On those introduced by Spaniards a bonus of four pesos per head was to be paid.[163] During 1789, 2046 negroes were brought in, in 35 American, 26 Danish, two Spanish, and one Swedish vessel. Between January and June, 1790, 1084 negroes had been delivered, and between July and December, 1903, making a total for the year of 2987. In nineteen months 4000 negroes were introduced, more than one-half of them through the agency of Baker and Dawson, whose agent, Philip Alwood, had now been in Havana eight or ten years.

[159] Aimes, pp. 38, 41-43.
[160] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
[161] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[163] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49. The ports were Porto Cabello, Santo Domingo, San Juan of Porto Rico, Havana, and, for Spaniards, Santiago. In March, 1789, Santiago asked for absolute liberty in introduction of negroes. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

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The object of this permission was to build up Cuban agriculture. To accomplish this result two years was too short a time, as merchants could make but one voyage in the period for which the privileges were granted. Prices remained high and demand great. In 1791 merchants and planters asked for an extension of the privileges. A royal cedula of November 24, 1791, renewed them for six years beginning with January 1, 1792. During the first period a bonus had been paid to Spaniards importing negroes. This was now abolished and the number of ports open was increased. The captain general of the island was to report monthly the number imported, the price at which they were sold, and the need for further cargoes. At the expiration of this period the privileges seem to have been extended for another six years.[164] A cedula of April 22, 1804, extended the grant to Spaniards for another twelve years; to foreigners it was to be open but six years. Bozal or new negroes only were to be imported. Where needed, women were to be brought in, in order that the men might have wives and families and that eventually the slave trade might be done away with and the labor supply be composed entirely of Cuban negroes. During the closing years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth Cuba offered one of the most lucrative of the markets frequented by slave traders of the United States.[165]

The figures for Cuban importation probably give a general idea of the comparative amounts brought into the islands at different periods rather than an accurate census of negroes received. In 1763 not more than 25,000 slaves were to be found in the jurisdiction of Havana, and perhaps not over 32,000 in the entire island. Between 1521 and 1763 possibly no more than 60,000 had been imported altogether. Between 1763 and 1790 about 41,000 had been delivered in Cuba, of which 24,000 or 25,000 were landed in Havana. From 1791 to 1825, 320,000 were delivered in Havana. The years of greatest importation were 1792 and 1802, when the numbers were 8528 and 13,832 respectively.[166] In addition to the licensed Cuban importation many Cuban slaves were brought in illicitly from the British islands.

How many of the negroes carried into Cuba were re-exportations from the British islands it would be impossible to determine. Jamaica importation near the beginning of this half-century reached 12,723, the highest figure it had ever attained. The next year,

[164] Aimes, pp. 50-53, 60. For the numbers imported each year see Humboldt, VII. 145.

[165] Aimes, p. 61. Some reference to the later years of this trade will be found in vol. III of this series.

[166] Aimes, pp. 36-37; Humboldt, VII. 145-148.

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1756, over 10,000 were imported, but the effect of the war was to reduce this number and it did not again reach 10,000 until 1763. With 1767 the number fell markedly, that year being but 3248. In 1771 it was but 4183, yet that year one merchant was said to have sent to England £50,000 for the slaves he had sold. Importation leaped to 18,448 in 1774, but fell again with the outbreak of the war. For the years following the war the imports were, 1784, 15,468; 1785, 11,046; 1786, 5645; 1787, 5682.[167]

For exportations from Jamaica two entirely inconsistent reports are to be found:

1767	375	22	1777		524
1768	485	68	1778		606
1769	420	37	1779		344
1770	836	103	1780		102
1771	671	204	1781		259
1772	923	335	1782		1786
1773	800	235	1783		2707
1774	2511	2321	1784[168]	4465	3964
1775	1629	3054	1785	4589	3473
1776		2529	1786	3643	1918

The effect of Jamaican duties on the exportation or the importation of negroes had been a matter of less acute concern since the end of the South Sea Company's trade, but in 1774 it again became a cause for complaint. In February of that year Jamaica laid an additional duty of 40 *s.* on slaves imported, payable by the importer. The Board of Trade listened to British merchants who maintained that the slave trade must be given up if this act were not disallowed, and to Stephen Fuller, the colonial agent of the island,[169] who contended that Jamaica could raise supplies in no other way, and that the merchants need not worry over any ill effects on their commerce since the consumer paid the tax. This point the board was unable to see, since the act declared that the importer paid the tax. Though it believed that by laying what was a virtual tax on commerce the island legislature had exceeded its powers, it saw no gain in disallowing an act which had but a year to run, and contented itself

[167] Pitman, p. 392; House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3; *No Abolition*, p. 24. This pamphlet summarizes many of the figures presented in the *Report of the Privy Council* (1789); see p. lvi. By referring to the importation into South Carolina (this work, vol. III.) it is possible to compare the fluctuations in the trade of the British islands with those of the continental colonies.

[168] With the exception of the figures for 1784-1786, which are to be found in House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3, the first column comes from C. O. 137: 38, Hh 3, 4, quoted by Pitman, p. 392; the second is from Add. MSS. 38416, f. 179.

[169] *Acts P. C. C.*, IV. 407-408.

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with instructing the governor to give no consent to any similar law.[170] Instead of heeding these instructions the island at once placed a duty of £5 on the importation of all negroes over thirty years of age. This act the agent stated was not to produce a revenue but to check importation, which had become an object of "terrible apprehension", the number of negroes in the island at that time being nearly 220,000, as compared with 16,000 white people. By 1787 it was 255,780 negroes; by 1800, 300,000.[171]

In Barbados the total imports between 1764 and 1773 amounted to 38,783, an annual average of 3878. The greatest importation was 6837 in 1769. With the outbreak of the American Revolution the number of negroes brought to the island dropped abruptly. In 1778 seven were reported, and not until 1788 did the number again pass one thousand. In 1785, 149 negroes were imported, none exported; in 1786, 606 imported, 181 exported; in 1787 the numbers were 713 and 85.[172]

The slave population at the beginning of the century was estimated as from 40,000 to 50,000 in a total between 50,000 and 60,000. By the 'eighties the number of negroes was between 65,000 and 70,000. Other estimates are 72,000 in 1740, 70,000 in 1762, 64,000 in 1776, 79,220 in 1786.[173]

The slave trade of the lesser West India Islands is frequently illustrated in the pages of this volume. The numbers were small and fluctuated greatly during the century. In 1721 Nevis imported about 253 annually. In Montserrat between 1721 and 1729 the annual importation was about 350. St. Christopher seems to have drawn about one thousand annually. During the 'twenties it was stated that in St. Christopher the customary illegal Dutch importation had ceased because the English had fully supplied the island at prices lower than the Dutch were charging. In 1734 the importation of the Leeward Islands seems to have fallen almost to nothing. William Mathew reported to the Board of Trade that in the preceding four years the number of negroes in the island had increased but 321, and that the produce of Montserrat was decreasing because of the lack of negroes.

[170] Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III. 574. Macpherson says this duty was £2 10 *s.*, and that a drawback of £2 was allowed on negroes exported. In spite of this 18,448 were imported in 1774, and but 2511 exported. In 1775, 9292 were imported, 1629 exported. *Ibid.*, pp. 574-575.

[171] Edwards, *History of the West Indies*, I. 223-224; *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 52; Sir Charles P. Lucas, *Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (1887), p. 112.

[172] House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3.

[173] Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, *History of Barbados* (London, 1848), p. 85; *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 66; *New Jersey Archives*, VI. 90; Pitman, p. 73; James Ramsay, *Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Answers* (1788), p. 13; Humboldt, VI. 821. The more conservative estimate of 62,115 in 1791 is probably nearer the truth. Edwards, *History of the West Indies*, II. 2.

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The number of negroes that Antigua was thought to need annually by the middle of the century was 2000, the same number allotted to Barbados and St. Christopher. To Montserrat and Nevis 500 and 200 were respectively assigned, to the Continental colonies 4000. This estimate considered that 16,000 negroes annually would satisfy the necessities of the colonies.[174]

Between 1744 and 1748 the English traffic suffered from the depredations of French and Spaniards, with whom the English were at war, some forty slaving vessels being seized during these years.[175] While this cut down importation into the West Indies, the English occasionally captured the cargoes of their enemies and supplied their islands from the prize negroes thus secured.

St. Christopher, between 1778 and 1788, received 2784 negroes, of whom 1769 were re-exported.[176] Of these all but 151 were imported after the close of the American Revolution, but over one thousand of them were exported during the Revolution. Between 1784 and 1787 Antigua received 3074 negroes and exported 378; St. Vincent, acquired by Great Britain in 1762, imported 6100 and exported 1201. For the British West Indies during these years 90,331 were imported.[177] The arrivals in the West Indies in 1793 were 8205, of whom 5178 were men, 1904 women, 693 boys, and 430 girls. There are here accounted for 35 cargoes, five of which came from the Windward Coast, five from Sierra Leone, seven from Gambia, six from Isle de Los, six from Bassa, and one from Cape Coast, formerly the centre of the trade.[178] For 1796 the report of the inspector general of imports and exports gives 11,937 as the number shipped from Africa to the West Indies. Of these 11,451 arrived.[179]

In St. Christopher the slave population near the end of the century was over 20,000, "well nigh twenty times that of the white population". Montserrat in 1774 had 10,000 blacks; Nevis, one of the poorer islands, which in 1734 had about 7000 blacks, had by 1782

[174] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 3, 1749; Pitman, pp. 76-79. Between 1725 and 1729 the average annual importation into Antigua was over 1900 (*No Abolition*, p. 20). For the importation into Antigua in the early years of the century see *post*, nos. 25-27.

[175] This is merely the number of vessels whose capture is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIII.-XVIII. The *Boston News-Letter*, June 6, 1745, reported that St. Christopher had been supplied with prize negroes.

[176] House of Lords MSS., 1789, June 1-24.

[177] *Ibid.*, 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3; *No Abolition*, p. 24. Such fugitive figures as are derived from the controversial pamphlets, though often presented in this volume, should be treated with much skepticism.

[178] House of Lords MSS., 1799, June 1-20, no. 16, a report made by Thomas Irving, inspector general of imports and exports of Great Britain and of the British plantations.

[179] *Ibid.* The mortality here indicated is so low as to cast great doubt upon the figures. In one or two cases the number recorded as landed from a vessel is a slightly larger number than that for the negroes shipped. In two cases the same number is reported as shipped and as landed; twenty vessels show a mortality of seven or less.

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perhaps 8000.[180] In the smaller and more recently acquired of the islands the population was growing more rapidly and here many of the cargoes were absorbed. The slave population of Dominica was 6000 in 1763. In 1791 it is variously estimated at 14,967 and 11,853.[181] St. Vincent had 7414 slaves in 1764, 11,853 in 1787, and 16,500 in 1805. St. Lucia in 1776 had 10,752 slaves, in 1788, 17,221 in a total population of about 21,000.[182] In addition to this absorption of negroes into the newer British islands the continental colonies were, up to the outbreak of the Revolution, receiving an increasing number of negro cargoes. Nevertheless one must conclude that a large proportion of the negroes shipped from Africa were for Spanish markets.[183]

Though frequent references have been here made to the re-exportation of negroes to such markets, the general subject of the transportation of negroes from one island to another is but slightly illustrated in the material hereafter printed. While this is not, strictly speaking, the "slave trade from Africa", and might be excluded on that ground, it is closely related to it, and needs more investigation than it has received before our knowledge of the distribution of negro cargoes or of the lines of West India commerce is at all adequate. Of the 90,331 negroes imported into the British West Indies between 1784 and 1787, 19,964 were re-exported, but whether to French, Spanish, or Portuguese markets, to other British islands, or to the ports of the United States we have no way of knowing.[184] The figures for re-exportation referred to in the preceding pages clearly imply that there was considerable movement of slaves after they had reached the West Indies. Occasional items, such as the statement that, in 1763, 180 negroes were carried from St. Croix, ten of them sold at Monte Christi, the rest sent to Cape François, show that negroes were being carried from island to island for sale, and an accumulation of such items might give us much information concerning the commercial relations among the islands.[185]

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century the controversial questions pertaining to the slave trade continued to be questions of

[180] Humboldt, VI. 821; Lucas, p. 66; *Boston News-Letter*, July 4, 1734.

[181] Lucas, p. 66; H. C. Carey, *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign* (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 12. Carey is quoting Macpherson. Humboldt (VI. 820) gives the latter figure as that of the slave population; Bryan Edwards (II. 2) uses the same figure for the "blacks" and therefore may include some free negroes.

[182] Edwards, *West Indies*, II. 3; Humboldt, VI. 823.

[183] Ramsay stated that between 1768 and 1774, 103,000 African slaves were imported into Santo Domingo. The subject of the South American slave trade, which is often touched upon in this volume but has been regarded as aside from the central interest of the work, sorely needs treatment.

[184] House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3; *No Abolition*, p. 24.

[185] Mrs. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (1926), I. 14.

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method and not of humanity, but as one approaches the end of the century the mass of literature dealing with the movement for the abolition of the trade overshadows all else, and it becomes increasingly difficult to obtain information not colored by partizan feeling. While it is no part of the purpose of this volume to document the spread of the humanitarian movement which triumphed in the act of 1806, a brief review of that movement will lend greater significance to the acts of legislature which have been here printed.[186]

From teachers as diverse as John Wesley and Samuel Johnson, or John Newton and Adam Smith, the English people were made conversant with the evils of slavery and of the traffic which supported it.[187] Granville Sharp's attention was turned to it in 1765, when he and his brother were called upon to aid one Jonathan Strong, a negro suffering from the abuse of his master, David Lisle. This was the first of several cases in which Sharp's aid was invoked,[188] the most famous one being that of James Somerset, which called forth Lord Mansfield's famous decision of June 22, 1772, that slavery could not be maintained under English law. During these years Sharp had not only given practical aid to a number of English slaves, but by conversation, by correspondence, and by monograph he had endeavored to enlist the sympathies of others.[189]

For a period the opponents of the slave trade called forth few rejoinders, possibly because they were too insignificant to claim attention, possibly because the American war had damaged the trade so seriously that its adherents had little strength to devote to minor attacks.[190] Peace, with its promise of a revival of the African commerce, was the signal for increased efforts on the part of the small group of humanitarians, and so telling were their blows that the interests involved were soon placed upon the defensive. Several circum-

[186] *Post,* nos. 297 and 301. The history of the movement for the abolition of the trade has been presented in many places. It may be followed in Thomas Clarkson's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1808); in R. Coupland's *Wilberforce* (Oxford, 1923); in Prince Hoare's *Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (1820). F. J. Klingberg's *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926) devotes several chapters to the abolition of the trade. For a list of the pamphlet material on the subject see Judith B. Williams's *Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850* (1926), II. 417-431. Similar lists could be compiled for the United States and for France during these years.

[187] John Wesley, in his *Thoughts upon Slavery* (1774), denounced the trade in his usual forthright fashion; John Newton's *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788) expressed the conviction of one who had had an active part in the traffic; for Johnson's opinions see Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ed. Hill, 1887), II. 478-480. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* sets forth the economic disadvantages of slavery.

[188] Hoare, *Granville Sharp,* pp. 32-43, 47-61, 248 n.

[189] Sharp, sometime in the 'seventies, became acquainted with the work of the Philadelphia Quaker Anthony Benezet, and a correspondence between the two philanthropists followed.

[190] Several writers attacked Justice Mansfield's decision, and at least two, Thomas Thompson and an "African Merchant", entered into a general defense of the trade.

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stances helped the cause of the reformers. The case of the slaver *Zong* (see no. 267) made converts for it, as well it might. The Reverend James Ramsay, who after nineteen years in St. Christopher was now a rector in Kent, joined their ranks and proved a useful ally. His pamphlet, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784), was the first of a series of controversial pamphlets, which were characterized by great heat and acrimony rather than by calm reason.[191] In London a small group of Quakers acted as a committee for the distribution of anti-slavery publications and for correspondence with those interested in the cause of the negro in other parts of the world. In 1784 and 1785 this group distributed *The Case of our Fellow-Creatures, the oppressed Africans,* prepared by the Quakers, and also Anthony Benezet's *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, in a Short Representation of the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes in British Dominions.*

Shortly after this two powerful advocates for the cause were gained, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce. The story of Clarkson's enlistment in the cause as a result of his labors on an essay subject set by the vice chancellor of Cambridge University is well known. This essay brought him to the attention of the small group of London abolitionists, and with him they formed the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in May, 1787. This committee of twelve, all but three of whom were Quakers, by correspondence, by publications, and by the raising of funds, nourished the abolition sentiment, while Clarkson searched for evidence.[192] The interest of Wilberforce was roused by no single episode or influence but by various forces all pointing in the same direction. His friend the Reverend John Newton, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, and once a slave captain, may have had something to do with his acceptance of the position of parliamentary leader of the abolitionists, Lady Middleton, who brought him and Ramsay together, Clarkson, who as

[191] *Remarks on a Pamphlet written by the Rev. James Ramsay* (1784); *An Answer to the Rev. James Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (St. Christopher, 1785); *A Reply to the Personal Invectives and Objections contained in Two Answers, published by Certain Anonymous Persons, to an Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Colonies* (London, 1785); see also Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement,* pp. 60-66. Ramsay had been a surgeon on board a man-of-war. He married a lady of St. Christopher, and returned to England to take orders.

[192] Hoare, *Granville Sharp,* pp. 397-398; Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 87-88. Clarkson's own account, in the *History of Abolition,* gives a better idea than does anything else of his persistent and indefatigable pursuit of the evidence which later furnished much of the material out of which parliamentary speakers built their case. Before he set out on his systematic quest he drew up a questionnaire of 145 questions, dealing with every aspect of the trade, and these he sent wherever he thought information might be obtained (*History,* II. 5-6). For a brief summary of his labors see Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement,* pp. 77-79.

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spokesman of the London committee pleaded for his aid—all doubtless contributed to his decision. But more important than the influence of any of these individuals was the force of evangelical religion, which had already laid hold upon Wilberforce and transformed his pursuits and his purposes.[193]

In the House of Commons the troublesome question of abolition made occasional appearances. In 1775 a commission was appointed to take evidence on the trade. In 1776 David Hartley of Hull moved "That the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of men". In 1783 a bill which prevented servants of the crown from engaging in the business of the African Company was introduced. The Quakers, by a petition presented the same year, drew from Lord North a reply which remarked upon their humane and Christian spirit, and the impossibility of their attaining their desires, the trade being necessary to almost every nation in Europe. In 1785 Bridgewater petitioned against the traffic. The petition was consigned to the table with no evidence of interest on the part of the members of the House.[194] This attitude of indifference on the part of the members of Parliament could not long be maintained. In the next few years meetings were held in various English towns, and petitions sent to Parliament until, by an Order in Council of February, 1788, a committee of the Privy Council was instructed to investigate the trade. It was also understood that Wilberforce was to bring the question before the House of Commons in the session of 1788, but a physical breakdown prevented his attendance.[195] Near the end of the session Pitt, fulfilling a promise made to Wilberforce, announced his intention of bringing up the slave trade for consideration early in the next session, whereupon a debate followed over the reasons for postponement and the wisdom of bringing the matter to the floor of the House.[196] That this postponement might not prevent all progress, Sir William Dolben introduced a measure regulating the transportation of slaves, with the specific understanding that this was not to precipitate a premature debate on the whole question of the commerce. On the whole, the effort to avoid the larger question was successful, the debate centering on the mortality of the Middle Passage; but the opposition of the interests involved was manifest. Meddling with the trade spelled ruin for English commerce and for

[193] Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 88-92.

[194] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85; *C. J.*, XXXIX. 487-488; Hoare, *Granville Sharp*, p. 396.

[195] Pitt and Wilberforce had given much thought to the question throughout 1787, and Pitt had directed the British minister in Paris to sound the French government on the subject of the trade. Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 96-100.

[196] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVII. 396, 495. The entire history of the parliamentary contest may be followed in the volumes of Hansard, in the *Commons Journals*, and in Coupland's *Wilberforce*, pp. 106 ff.

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English plantations. Regulation opened the door for more drastic action, which would destroy not only the trade but the institution of slavery itself. Such ideas were avowed or hinted, though in the final vote in the Commons but five opposed the measure. Not so in the Lords. Here the debate ranged more widely and the opposition, in stouter mood, threatened the measure and would have defeated it had not Pitt brought to bear all his influence to save it, which he did by a margin of two votes.[197]

True to Pitt's promise, the subject was introduced in Parliament in the spring of 1789. The Privy Council report, a voluminous body of factual material, was transmitted to the House in April,[198] and on May 12 Wilberforce presented a series of twelve resolutions looking to the abolition of the trade in slaves. These he supported by the first of his many powerful pleas for the extinction of this traffic.[199] In the debate which followed the lines of cleavage were clearly defined. On the one side were the representatives of interests involved, British merchants, whose stronghold was Liverpool, British manufacturers with connections ramifying in many directions, West India planters, many of them resident in England,[200] the creditors of such planters, and, perhaps hardest of all to convert, British patriots with implicit faith that England's power in some way rested upon her commerce in slaves. On the other side was a small but extraordinarily able body of reformers, with no material interests at stake and depending chiefly upon moral arguments.

The supporters of the trade, in Parliament and outside, attempted to establish its beneficent effects, since it saved the lives of captives who would otherwise be slaughtered and transported them to the West Indies where they were far better off than in Africa. Its abolition would lead to emancipation, even the discussion of which incited the negroes to insurrection. The islands would be ruined; merchants and manufacturers made beggars; England's revenues be lessened and her naval strength destroyed. The debate dwelt on the rights of property and the necessity for large compensation if they were to be tampered with. While the reformers' argument was the inhumanity of the trade, they were willing to meet and answer the economic arguments of their adversaries.[201] Wesley had in 1774 attempted

[197] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVII. 495-506, 573-599, 638-652, *passim*; Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 108-111; for the act see *post*, no. 278.

[198] This report was a collection of evidence and information, with no attempt at conclusion or recommendation. A few extracts from it will be found *post*, no. 281.

[199] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 41-67; *C. J.*, XXIV. 351-359 (May 12, 1789); Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 119-130; Clarkson, *History*, II. 34-75.

[200] The Committee of the West India Planters had organized a subcommittee on Feb. 7, 1788, to oppose the abolition movement. Lillian M. Penson, "West India Interests in the Eighteenth Century", *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 374.

[201] Clarkson, *History*, II. 34-38, 73-103; Burke, *Speeches*, III. 435-440.

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a demonstration of the economic cost of slavery, and Clarkson in his *Impolicy of the Slave Trade* provided ammunition with which to meet the propertied groups on their own ground and prove to them that the West India planter, free from the debt which slave labor imposed upon him and with his slaves increasing in value because the supply was shut off, would gain not lose; that the share of the slave trade in English commerce was greatly exaggerated; that neither manufacturing nor commercial cities would suffer by its abolition; and that the trade instead of being the nursery of seamen was their burying-ground.

There was little possibility of confuting most of these arguments; but if the facts of the abolitionists could not be disproved, action could at least be delayed. Despite the mass of evidence accumulated by the committee of the Privy Council the members of the House of Commons demanded further evidence, since it ill suited the dignity of the House to obtain its evidence from the Privy Council, which was no creature of the Commons. The debate over a motion to hear evidence, like many which followed it, could with justice be called a battle of the giants and the pigmies; but the pigmies won, and permission was granted for them to present their witnesses at the bar of the House. The early witnesses were heard by the committee of the whole, the later ones by a special committee obtained by Wilberforce in order to hasten the hearings.[202] The presentation of testimony was interrupted in April, 1790, by which time the supporters of the trade had presented their evidence, with a motion by Lord Penrhyn, a member from Liverpool, that the vote be taken. Eager as were his opponents to bring the matter to an issue, they were scarcely willing to risk a vote with the evidence but half presented, and insisted on completing the testimony, thus continuing the investigation until April, 1791, two years after the presentation of the report of the committee of the Privy Council. With the completion of the hearings Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the importation of slaves into the West Indies, a motion which after two days of debate was lost by a vote of 163 to 88. The arguments presented against the motion rested upon the rights of property, the necessity for slave labor in the West Indies, the importance of the West Indies to Great Britain, and the eagerness of other nations to seize the commerce in slaves should England relinquish it. The defenders of the traffic were unwilling to admit the inhumanity of the trade, since the Africans themselves took part in it, and maintained that the mortality of the Middle Passage was really very low.[203]

[202] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 311-315; Coupland, *Wilberforce*, p. 136.

[203] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 711-714, XXIX. 250-359; Coupland, pp. 137-138, 141-144; see also Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement*, pp. 85-91. The speeches are given in detail in *The Debate on a Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in the House of Commons, on Monday and Tuesday, April 18 and 19, 1791* (London, 1791).

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During these years the London committee had been active in developing public opinion throughout the kingdom and even in fostering the abolition movement in France. With the defeat in the House of Commons this group determined to bring to bear upon the members of Parliament whatever influence public opinion could wield. The print of the slaver *Brookes* was circulated (no. 280) as evidence of the inadequacy of regulation. Josiah Wedgwood's cameo, made from the seal of the society, became popular in many forms; Cowper's poems depicting the wrongs of the African were written; an abridgement of the evidence was circulated;[204] a boycott on West India sugar was inaugurated, supported, it was alleged, by 300,000 housewives. Clarkson travelled hundreds of miles in search of information or to gain new converts; societies similar to the London committee were formed in many places. From these new societies and from many individuals petitions poured into Parliament.[205] Whatever organized effort could do to create and direct public opinion toward parliamentary action had been done when Parliament assembled in 1792, and Wilberforce and his allies had good reason to hope for success when on April 2, 1792, he introduced his resolution: "that the trade carried on by British subjects for the purpose of obtaining slaves from Africa ought to be abolished". At this point the opponents of abolition abandoned the direct opposition and supported the motion of Henry Dundas to insert the word "gradually" in the resolution. Not all the eloquence of Fox could overcome the British sentiment for slow and cautious advance, and in the end a measure for abolition in 1796 was the most that could be achieved. In the Lords new evidence must be presented, and the session closed with a resolve to continue the hearing of evidence in the next year.[206]

This was the high-tide for the cause. With the outbreak of the French war popular opinion took alarm, and a new weapon was provided for the enemies of the movement. Every attack on slavery or the trade [207] could now be branded as emanating from French radicalism and as a menace to English institutions.

[204] Coupland, pp. 154-160. Among the publications printed and distributed by the London committee were: Beaufoy's *Speech on the Bill for Regulation*, June 18, 1789; William Dickson's *Letters on Slavery* (1789); *Notes by a Planter on the two Reports from the Committee of the Honourable House of Assembly of Jamaica* (1789); Ramsay's *Address on the Proposed Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1788); Wadström's *Observations on the Slave Trade* (1789). Cowper's "The Negro's Complaint" was printed and distributed under the title, "A Subject for Conversation at the Tea Table".

[205] From England there were 312 petitions, from Scotland 187, from Wales 20. The other side sent in but five petitions, none from Liverpool. *Granville Sharp*, p. 405; Coupland, p. 159.

[206] Coupland, pp. 161-175. Political debating has rarely surpassed the debate of 1792, when Wilberforce said of Pitt, "he really seemed to be inspired".

[207] The orators and the pamphleteers of the opposition persistently professed to regard the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the West India slaves

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Wilberforce in 1793, defeated on the question of going into committee to consider the trade, moved for leave to introduce a bill to abolish that part of it which provided foreign countries with negroes. This avoided all threat to British colonies, and seemed the most natural point at which to begin a policy of gradual abolition, such as the House of Commons had presumably espoused. Though lost in 1793, this measure was passed by the Commons in 1794, to be defeated by the Lords, whose hearings had failed to convert them.[208]

The years 1795 and 1796 passed with no move to embody the resolution of 1792 into legislation. In 1797 Wilberforce encountered one of the most disappointing defeats of his long struggle. His measure was lost by a vote of 70 to 74, with a dozen of his luke-warm supporters at the first performance of a new opera when the vote was taken.[209] The complete apathy which seems to have overcome all save the leaders of the movement rendered the efforts of 1798 and 1799 futile, and possibly induced Wilberforce to withhold his usual motion in 1800.[210] English energy by this time was so engrossed in winning the desperate struggle with Napoleon that reforms and reformers could expect but scant attention, and the leader of this protracted endeavor was doubtless well advised to allow the subject to lapse for the next four years. He had by no means lost interest in it, but it was obvious that no progress could be made, and he devoted his efforts to preventing the growth of the trade to Trinidad and Guiana.

Pitt, urged on by Wilberforce, caused to be issued an order that neither new nor old Africans were to be carried to Trinidad. Wilberforce in 1798 also called Pitt's attention to the fact that by an Order in Council Great Britain was supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and obtained Pitt's promise to rescind the order.[211]

One project of the reformers demands mention here, though it was not directly connected with the slave trade. In 1786, disturbed by the condition of a large number of free and destitute negroes in London, they had formed the Committee for relieving the Black Poor. Through the efforts of this committee a group of London negroes was sent to establish a settlement between the Sierra Leone and Sherbro rivers. The early history of this colony is well known. Heavy mortality, desertion to slave factories, and quarrels among the members

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as one and the same and, despite repeated assertions to the contrary, frequently forced the debate to the evils to be feared from emancipation, though no advocate of abolition of the trade regarded emancipation as a necessary result, no matter how desirable it might be.

[208] Coupland, pp. 214-216, 221-222; *C. J.*, XLIX. 345.

[209] Coupland, pp. 223-225.

[210] *Ibid.*, pp. 270-274.

[211] *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274, 315-321.

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of the group weakened it, and its first chapter was brought to an end by the burning of the settlement by a native chief.[212] Granville Sharp next enlisted the aid of London merchants who might strengthen the colony by building up an African trade in commodities other than negroes, always a cherished plan of the abolitionists. In 1791 a charter was granted to the Sierra Leone Company, made up of philanthropists and business men. The company was forbidden to trade in slaves, but it had no power to exclude slave traders from its territory. Probably at the time of the incorporation this was not regarded as a serious defect as it seemed likely that the slave trade would be forbidden within the next year or two. The failure to accomplish this left the colony open to the depredations of slave traders, who created some of its greatest difficulties.[213] To bring an end to this, in 1798 and 1799, when Wilberforce was letting the subject of the slave trade as a whole lie quiescent, he introduced a measure excluding the trade and traders from Sierra Leone. This he succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons but it met defeat in the Lords, and the colony continued to be subject to the menace of the trade until its abolition, which preceded by a few months the surrender of the rights of the Sierra Leone Company to the crown.[214]

In 1804 the contest for abolition of the trade was resumed. The heat of anti-Jacobin sentiment was less; the advocates of the trade were weakening. The ease with which the victory was obtained in the House of Commons may well have been a surprise to Wilberforce himself, inured to defeat. Leave for a bill passed the Commons by a vote of 124 to 49, and the bill went rapidly through the Commons without noteworthy incident.[215] There was little prospect of the same success in the Lords and by general agreement it was not pressed there. Perhaps because of overconfidence and resulting carelessness when the bill was brought up in the House in 1805 it once more went down in defeat.[216]

The procedure of earlier years was varied in 1806. In place of a motion for a bill for complete abolition Wilberforce's old foreign trade bill, with the additional prohibition of importation of slaves into England's recently acquired colonies, was brought in and, despite the arguments of Tarleton and Gascoyne, still faithful to

[212] Martin, *British West African Settlements*, pp. 103-120.

[213] *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company*, Feb. 26, 1795, pp. 96-200; *Parl. Hist.*, XXXIII. 1376-1415, XXXIV. 518-566, 1092-1140; Clarkson, *History*, II. 272-274. For the intercourse of the colony with slave traders see Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, pp. 125-128. Wadström (*op. cit.*, pp. 79-107) recounts evidence showing the difficulties created for the colony by the slave trade. A portion of this evidence has been here printed, *post*, no. 282.

[214] Martin, *British West African Settlements*, p. 140.

[215] Coupland, pp. 304-309.

[216] *Ibid.*, pp. 312-315.

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what they believed to be the interests of Liverpool, the bill passed without much difficulty. In the House of Lords there was much speaking against it but a comfortable majority carried it to enactment.[217] Encouraged by this, Fox introduced a resolution, "that conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, this House will, with all practicable expedition, take measures, to abolish it, in such manner, and at such time, as shall be thought advisable". This passed both houses though it encountered vigorous attacks from the decreasing but still determined enemies of abolition.[218] Tarleton still urged the injustice to Liverpool; Gascoyne, that even the discussion was injurious to the security of property in the West Indies, that Liverpool would be ruined, and that before such a measure passed a committee should determine the amount of compensation necessary (*Substance,* pp. 24-26). The passage of this resolution made reasonably certain that a measure for general abolition could be attained during the next session. This suggested the danger of an enormous increase in importation during the months still left to the trade, and to prevent this a bill was hurried through during the last weeks of the session.[219]

Early in the session of the following year a measure for complete abolition of the trade which had been the subject of debate for twenty years was brought into the House of Lords, and debated throughout January and the first days of February. The shipbuilders and ship owners of London petitioned against the bill, counsel for the West India merchants, the corporation of Liverpool and the trustees of the docks of that city were heard, and Lord Hawkesbury spoke frequently; but the supporters of the trade could hope only to delay, not to defeat, the measure. The only noteworthy debating was that upon the second reading of the bill, when Lord Grenville delivered a lengthy argument in its favor.[220] It reached the third reading on February 10 and was sent at once to the House of Commons, where it was committed on February 23 by a vote of 283 to 16, was debated on March 6, 9, and 16, and received the

[217] *Parl. Debates,* VI. 597-599, 805, 917-919, 1021-1025 (Commons). London, Liverpool, and Jamaica petitioned against the bill; Sir William Young spoke for it. It passed the House of Commons May 1. *Ibid.,* VII. 31-34, 227-236 (Lords).

[218] *Ibid.,* VII. 580-603 (Commons, June 10, 1806), 801-809 (Lords, June 24, 1806); *Substance of the Debates on a Resolution for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which was moved in the House of Commons on the 10th June, 1806, and in the House of Lords on the 24th June, 1806* (London, 1806); Coupland, pp. 332-333. The vote in the Commons was 114 to 15, in the Lords 41 to 20.

[219] *Parl. Debates,* VII. 1143-1145; see no. 297, *post.*

[220] *Parl. Debates,* VIII. 613-618, 637-671 (Lords); *Substance of the Debates on the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which was brought into the House of Lords on the 2nd January, 1807, and into the House of Commons on the 10th February, 1807* (London, 1808).

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royal assent on March 25, 1807.[221] By its terms the legal slave trade of Great Britain, begun under royal auspices, supported and defended by government and people, representing powerful vested interests with patriotic as well as economic arguments to lend it aid, was to end on May 1, 1807. The reformers had won. The fact that in the course of twenty years of education they had convinced all but the most obstinate of "die-hards" that the economic benefits of the trade were largely illusory does not change the nature of the victory. From the beginning it had been a contest between the humanitarians and the practical commercial and business interests, and the humanitarians had gained their point in this the first step in the long process by which legal servitude was to be eliminated from the Western world.

[221] Petitions against the bill were received on Feb. 17. The debate of Feb. 23 over its commitment was the end of serious attempts on the part of its opponents to block its passage, though it was several times debated after that date (*Parl. Debates,* Feb. 10, VIII. 717-722, 830-838, 940-943, 945-995, 1040-1053; Coupland, pp. 336-343). The most determined speaker for the opposition was a new member, George Hibbert. In the debate of Mar. 6 no voice from Liverpool was raised; from Bristol, Charles Bathurst still expressed the opposition of his clients to the measure. On Mar. 9 Gascoyne, from Liverpool, contented himself with expressing a fear that the act would weaken the allegiance of the colonies to the mother country. *Parl. Debates,* IX. 62, 65.

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DOCUMENTS

1. Captain Bernard Ladman to the Royal African Company.[1]

Commenda, February 7, 1701/2.

As for trade, I have met with very little, the Blacks being afraid to come aboard English ships, they having been tricked by several, particularly of late by Capt. James Francis, in the *Sarah*-galley, Captain Bond in a brigantine, and two Captain Bills, in sloops belonging to Jamaica and Barbadoes, who, about the 19th of December last, did surprize and carry away with them 24 Negroes, belonging to Drewin,[2] with 16 cows and a great parcel of teeth, as they came aboard to trade: some were redeemed, but had three for one. The same method they take all along the coast. If there be not care taken to prevent such villainies, our English colours will be of no use to us, for the Negroes study revenge, and are resolved to seize upon what they can. Accordingly on the 27th of Dec. Capt. Daniel Lowis,[3] of the *Dolphin* sloop belonging to London, being at anchor off of Drewin to trade, great numbers of Negroes came to trade, and surprized them all, took all that was in the vessel and run her ashore, where she staved in pieces. The mate and boatswain escaped in the boat, but the commander and the rest of his men they drove up into the country; but since they are more moderate to them, and have admitted of an exchange for the captain and his cook, having six negroes for themselves. The doctor is likewise cleared, by reason they had cut his head, and could not tell what to do with him. Captain Lowis is now aboard of me, and gives me this account; but the rest of the men are still at Drewin.

2. Trade on the Gambia River, 1702.[1]

He declared that, in the year 1702, five private ships being in the river of Gambia at once, gave from 20 to 23 bars per head[2] for

[1] [1] Charles Davenant, "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the African Trade", *Political and Commercial Works*, V. 185-186. The years 1707-1712 were years of intermittent controversy over the privileges of the trade, the Royal African Company having by no means relinquished the hope of regaining the monopoly. The efforts of the company to this end assumed importance as the time for the expiration of the act of 1698 approached (see this work, vol. I., pp. 421-429). Among the ablest advocates of the monopoly was Charles Davenant, part I. of whose "Reflections" maintained that the African trade could be carried on only by a joint-stock company with exclusive privileges. This brought forth so many replies that he published, as part II., extracts from letters, written by factors and captains of the company, and from newspapers, books, and conversations, all in support of his position. The selections here used are placed at the dates at which they were written rather than at 1709, when Davenant printed them. Ladman's letter, with slight changes in wording, is to be found in John Barbot's "Supplement to the New Description of the Coasts of Guinea" (Awnsham and John Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1732, V. 430). Ladman was captain of the *Spanish Merchant*.

[2] Drewin is a short distance south of Cape Palmas.

[3] Churchill prints the name "Lewis".

[2] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 181-182. Davenant here summarizes a conversation with an unnamed person who had lived a "considerable time" in Gambia.

[2] Brue reported that south of the Gambia one might buy slaves from the natives for from ten to fifteen bars per head, from the Portuguese for thirty bars (Thomas Astley,

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negroes, more than the company's servants gave before the arrival of these ships, and that they lowered the price of English goods one third.

That Captain Rhett, Captain Tudor, Captain Forty, and Captain Beckford, all private traders, traded with the company's servants, especially Captain Beckford, by whose persuasion and contrivance goods belonging to the company were carried off, to the value of 5000 *l.* and upwards.

That the natives have several times attempted to seize on vessels belonging to the company and private traders.

That where the company have small factories up the river, without any fortification or force to protect them, the same are subject to seizures at the pleasure of the Kings there, even though they knew that the company's servants would make reprizal.

That the natives know very well, that when ships are part-slaved, the purchasers must give any rate for the remainder of their respective complements, rather than endanger the loss of the rest, and that therefore the natives do impose upon them accordingly. And

That, in his opinion, the trade to that coast can never be carried on effectually without forts, or otherwise than by a joint-stock; and that, if required, he would declare and certify the truth of all the aforesaid particulars to the parliament.

3. Report by the Earl of Pembroke.[1]

Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery etc. Lord high Adm'll of England and Ireland etc. and of All her Majesties Plantations etc.

Her Majesty haveing been pleased to referr unto mee the Petition of the Roy'll Affrican Company, Setting forth that the French Guiney Company have made a Contract at Madrid for supplying the Spanish West Indies with Negroes, in which they are very much Supported and Encouraged by the French King;[2] and that by the advices the

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New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, II. 112-113). In 1703 and 1704 Calabar slaves brought twelve bars for men, nine for women (*post,* no. 16). Those from the Gambia commanded a higher price. Westergaard gives the price on the West Coast, or the "wholesale price", for 1702 as 45 rixdollars (*rigs-dalers*), and states that by 1704 it had increased to 60 rdl. A rixdollar he considers as equivalent to one piece of eight. *Danish West Indies,* p. 150.

[3] [1] Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Domestic, Naval 6, f. 83. The Earl of Pembroke had also received, through the Earl of Manchester, on Apr. 14, 1702, a request from the Royal African Company for satisfaction for a vessel laden with negroes which had been seized in Havana, where it had put in for provisions. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1702-1703, p. 29.

[2] The contract was made by the sovereign, not by the company, which received from the sovereign the privilege of carrying from 3000 to 4800 *piezas de Indias* yearly to Spanish America. An English account of this bargain states that Du Casse, for thirty years a resident of the West Indies, induced the French king to demand that the assiento be withdrawn from the Portuguese and given to the French. One-third of the returns

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said Company receiv'd in Febr'y last from Nevis, there was on the South parts of Affrica three French Men of Warr cruizing; And therefore Since they have such Fortifications on that Coast,[3] which can not be Supported but by frequent Supplys of Men and Stores, and are of absolute necessity for the preservation of the Trade of those parts to her Maj'ts Subjects, and Supplying her Majest's Plantations with Negroes, they have for that purpose, fitted out the Shipps mentioned in the List hereunto Annexed,[4] which cannot securely proceed by reason of the Warr with France and Spain,[5] for which reason they doe humbly pray, That to supply the place of the *Bonadventure,* now ready to returne home from the South parts of Affrica, her Majesty will be pleased to spare them Some Frig'ts to cruiz on the said Coast, to Countenance and protect her Maj'ts

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was to go to King Philip, one-third to Louis XIV., and one-third to Du Casse and his associates of the French Guinea Company (British Museum, Southwell Papers, Add. MSS. 34335, ff. 111-112). The articles of the contract were signed Sept. 1, 1702, the privileges to be held by the French for ten years. During the time that the French held the grant their factors had their residence in the Danish island of St. Thomas (*Importance of the British Plantations,* 1731, p. 34). The renewed vigor of the French on the Gambia was one of the consequences of this contract, an account of which, with a number of documents pertaining to it, will be found in Georges Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille,* II. 141-174, 687-699; see also Curtis Nettels, "England and the Spanish-American Trade, 1680-1715", *Journal of Modern History,* March, 1931, pp. 17-19.

[3] On any part of the African coast accurately described as the "south part of Africa" the English company had no forts. The writer probably refers to the Gold and Slave coasts, as contrasted with the Gambia and Sherbro region.

[4] The list is as follows:

	Tuns	Guns	Men	Passeng'rs	
The *Serelion* Brig't	80	10	18	16	Capt. Geo. Corkerell
The *Roy'll Affrica*	370	30	48	30	Capt. Alex. Gates
Angola Frigat	125	12	24	12	Capt. Tho. Arnall
The *St. Winifrid*	160	10	24		Capt. Wm. Owen

St. P. Dom., Naval 6, f. 83 A. Endorsed: "upon the African Company's Petition dated the 20th May 1702."

[5] William III. had signed the treaty of the Hague, or Grand Alliance, which allied England and Holland, on Sept. 7, 1701. By the time of his death in March, 1702, England was prepared to take an active part in the European war then in progress. English indignation that France should have secured the assiento is sometimes offered as one of the factors which gained her consent to the Grand Alliance (*Cambridge Modern History,* V. 403). The English company, still resentful over the loss of its monopoly, could hardly have failed to regard the French acquisition of the Spanish trade with much bitterness. On May 5, 1702, it suggested to the Admiralty that if the French could be prevented from obtaining negroes to fulfil their contract the Spaniards might still be driven to buy of England. This notion was given more definite form in a letter from Peter Beckford, lieutenant governor of Jamaica, to Secretary Vernon, May 15, 1702. To prevent the French from gaining the Spanish trade he suggested: (1) that the English keep frigates on the coast of Cartagena and Porto Bello; (2) that the English frigates on the Guinea coast obstruct the French trade; (3) that English merchants be prevented from making contracts with the French or delivering negroes to them, especially at Cape Verde and Hispaniola (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1702, p. 323). The next year the Royal African Company suggested that, since the French vessels spent at least two months on the African coast collecting their cargoes, three ships of war and a fire-ship sent there might spoil their entire traffic. Jan. 21, 1703, African Company to the Earl of Nottingham (Public Record Office, C. O. 267: 5). Nottingham was Secretary of State 1702-1704.

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Subjects in their Trade, and to preserve them from All Insults of the Enemy; and that the Ships may be permitted to proceed under their Convoy; I have in Obedience to her Majesties Commands, Considered of the Case of the Peticion and doe most humbly report, That the aforesaid Ship *Bonadventure* which is now on the South Coast of Affrica will Suddenly be comeing home, but that then there will remaine a 4th and a 5th Rate on other Parts of that Coast: And as I am humbly of opinion that in consideracion of the great consequence to this Kingdome of the Trade in those parts, their Ships bound thither ought to be permitted to proceed, soe may it be of very great Countenance and protection to the said Trade, in case a fourth Rate Shipp can be conveniently Spared to proceed with them and to Supply the place of the *Bonadventure*; for tho' I can not finde that they had any Shipps of Warr allowed them in the late Warr for this Service, yet in case the French are (as is Alleaged) endeavouring to Supplant them in their Trade for Negroes, they will undoubtedly have a Strength in those parts to enable them to carry on the Same;[6] But I doe withall humbly pray leave to informe her Majesty, that the Forreigne Services have allready taken up so many of the Cruizing Friggots, there is in noewise a Sufficient Number at home to answer the many pressing Services that dayly call for them w'ch is neverthelesse most humbly submitted.

Admiralty Office
20th May 1702.

By his Eccell'cys Command
BURCHETT.

4. LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR THOMAS HANDASYD TO THE BOARD OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.[1]

JAMAICA, October 5, 1703.

. . . We have a dismall account of great losses of the Merchant shipps by the Privateers of Martinico, which as I am informed are 28 in number and have taken 70 odd sail of ships and sloops, some of them laden with negroes, which are of very great value.[2] Here

[6] These fears the company must have thought fully justified when word reached England that Fort James had been captured by the French under Captain La Roque, who plundered it of 250 slaves and demanded £6000 in bills of exchange on London for the ransom of the fort. *Journal of the Board of Trade*, 1718-1722, p. 101 (hereafter cited as *B. T. Jour.*).

[4] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1702-1703, p. 711. The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, commonly referred to as the Board of Trade, had charge in the eighteenth century of such matters of colonial commerce as in the seventeenth century were referred to the Privy Council or to one of its committees.

[2] To protect the merchant shipping an embargo had been laid upon mercantile vessels in January, 1702. The African Company and the independent traders alike were

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are brought into this harbour by one of our Privateers six sloops belonging to the Dutch and Danes, tradeing on the Spanish coast, which are condemned by the Prize Office, as also four French and Spanish by Capt. Douglass. . . . Here are also come into Port four Guinea ships with 1300 and odd negroe slaves. Our number of slaves augment dayly, but to my great grief the number of white men dayly decrease. . . .

5. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, October 21, 1703.

Okamfamoo a Cabesshire Living in the Aguaffo Countrey [2] Gave Notice That a great Number of Traders Coming from the Keuferas [3] with Large Quantity of Gold and Slaves to Cape Coast along with Coffee the Company's Slave sent thither to Invite them to it to buy goods they were stopt by the said Okamfamoo at his town he not daring to do it by violence used a stratagem very Common in this Country when Any one Cannot prevail by force upon his Ennemy and that is he said that if they proceed any further to go to Cape Coast he would shoot himselfe Dead upon their heads and as it is usual among them all his friends and acquaintance are bound to avenge his Blood upon those at whose Occasion he killed himself and they allwayes do it.

The Keuferas being terrified by his threatening for fear of Bringing an Implacable Warr Against their Countrey stopt there and proceeded no further.

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loath to accommodate themselves to this. Special requests for leave to sail and for a sufficient number of men to carry out a voyage were frequent and seem to have been, in many cases, granted. The *Way* galley, for Africa and Jamaica, was given permission to sail on Jan. 18, that "being the only proper season for that part of Africa she is bound to"; the *Thomas and John,* for Guinea and Virginia, and the *Tiger,* for Guinea and Jamaica, were allowed passes on Jan. 25, the *Don Carlos,* for Angola and Jamaica, Feb. 5; "that being the proper time to sail for those parts." The attitude of seventeenth-century masters toward the convoy system still prevailed in the eighteenth century (Violet Barbour, "Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* I. 563-568). On Mar. 26 leave to sail was granted to the *Wheeler,* James Aynsworth, which was to take to Africa stores for the company, then carry negroes to Barbados; on Apr. 12 Robert Cage and Edward Morris were granted permission to send the *Morris* to Guinea and Virginia; and Barbados merchants were allowed to send the *Hanover* galley to Guinea and Barbados. The number of men that the vessel was allowed to carry was usually specified *(Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* II. 387-392). At least one vessel among these encountered difficulties other than those arising from a foreign enemy: "Happen'd a Riseing of the Negroes, On board the *Tyger* Galley, Capt. Ralph Ash Comand'r A 10 per Cent. They got the Fire Arms, and kill'd 4 Men of the Shipp people, and Two mortally wounded, About Fourty Negroes were kill'd." P. R. O., Treasury Papers 70: 1463 (hereafter cited as T 70).

[5] [1] T 70: 1463, "Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703/4 to Jan. 2, 1704/5". A large part of this memorandum book, selected by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, has been printed in the *Journal of Negro History,* XIII. 290-319.

[2] Not far to the northwest of Cape Coast Castle.

[3] Kufero or Quiforo is east of Wassau.

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The Queen and Cabasshire of foetu [4] sent word to the General that If he pleased they would go and bring the head of the said Okamfamoo that the traders might freely come on.

The General sent word by a Messenger to the Queen and the Rest of the Cabasshires of foetu that he Ordered them and their people to take Arms without Delay and to go and Burn the Town of Okomfamoo to take the said Okomfamoo whom if they did Bring alive to him to Cape Coast he would give them five Bendys [5] for him and for as Many people as they should take in that town and bring them to Cape Coast they should be paid the worth of every one of them.

October 23, 1703.

Keuferes Traders arrived here with Coffee and the Messenger sent the 21 to the Queen of fetoo and brought Gold and Slaves.

The Messenger met them in the way Coming hether, they report that Okomfamoo unsaid what he spoke before and did not suffer them to make any stop in his town but told them the Kuferes to proceed on their Journey without Stay since they were going to Cape Coast Castle and that he was a friend to the Interest of the Royall African Company and to the General of Cape Coast, and that he would no more side with the Dutch.

6. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 14 Jan. 1704.

The *Rooke*-galley, and your *Davers*-galley, are still at Annamaboe, purchasing their slaves, and as yet met but with very indifferent success, the first having purchased only 60, and the latter 28 Negroes. The 10 per cent. men [2] who are there, spoil the markets extremely, by out-bidding us all at once, by which means they began to out-do your ships in buying, until that I, being advised thereof, ordered your factors and captains to give as much for a Negro, and sell your goods as cheap as they;[3] for I am resolved not to hold the candle to them any longer, as was done by my predecessors, let the consequence be

[4] Fetu is a native state west of Cape Coast Castle.

[5] A benda was about two ounces of gold.

[6] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 192. Sir Dalby Thomas was governor at Cape Coast Castle from 1701 to 1708.

[2] That is, those traders who gained the privileges of trade by paying a duty of ten per cent. on their cargoes, in accordance with the act of 1698. See this work, I. 421-429.

[3] John Brown to the Royal African Company, Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 18, 1704: "We sell and buy as they (the private traders) do, which puts them to their wits end what to do, and obliges them to lower their goods to less, and raising their price for slaves, if they will have them; for they have no way of out-trading your honours but by underselling. The measure they now take is down-right undoing one another, by out-selling and out-bidding us, and each the other among themselves too, that one would take them to be out of their senses, or sent hither to try, not who shall get most, but who shall lose most for his owners." Davenant, *Works*, V. 193.

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as it will. You have been sufferers in the trade enough by that already, and since one or other must unavoidably be done, I think that buying and selling at or near their price is the better of the two; for, considering the expence you are at upon the coast, it is better to trade at any rate, than not at all. . . .

7. The Royal African Company: Record of Insurance.[1]

January 25, 1704.

List of insurance, att and from

On *Widah*, from London to Guinea and Jamaica on ship and Goods	£2000
Don Carlos from Ditto to, at and from Guinea and Jama'ca on goods	2500
Lucitanea from Ditto to at and from Guinea and Antigua on goods	1500
Eagle from Ditto to Ditto and Barbados	3000
Martha from Ditto to Ditto and Jamaica	1200
Postillion from Ditto to Ditto	1000

June 28, 1704.

Insurance on *Neptune*, Cape Coast Castle or Parts adjacent as low as Whidah, and from thence to Barbadoes. £2000 On the Goods laden aboard the said Shippe. Both of the said Shipps to be warranted to depart the Channell with convoy. . . . For carrying on of trade, 8 Negroe Shipps at a time be employed.[2]

[7] [1] T 70: 102, "Minute Book of the Committee of Eight of the Royal African Company of England. From Nov. the 18th 1703-Dec. the 13th 1708". These are but a few instances, taken from many similar items, to indicate the value placed upon the slaving vessels.

[2] The *Neptune* was to carry 450 negroes. At or near the time that its voyage was agreed upon, the committee also suggested a vessel for Antigua with 300 slaves, the *Bridgewater* for Montserrat with 300, the *Urban* for Nevis with 300, and one for Jamaica with 600. One of these may have been the second vessel to which reference is here made (T 70: 102). The company by this time was apparently convinced that convoy was necessary, for on Sept. 12 it petitioned the Board of Trade for two convoys annually for Barbados (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, p. 248; *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 42-43). The attempt to include the vessels engaged in the slave trade in the convoy system was in part given up when, on Feb. 23, 1705, it was ordered that all vessels for Guinea and Jamaica be permitted to sail without convoy (C. O. 5: 1361, p. 56). The reasons for this were put forward in a communication from the Board of Trade to the queen, Mar. 2, 1705: "Tho' it do's in the generall very much contribute to the security of trade that all ships bound from the Plantations to England do sail with convoy according to your Majesty's Instructions, yet forasmuch as these two ships are designed for the coast of Guinea and from thence to Jamaica with negroes, which may likewise promote the trade with the Spaniards, so that the time of their arrivall at and departure from the Plantations cannot be so well ascertained as to depend upon convoys, and they being light saylors and of force, we have nothing to object why your Majesty may not grant your Orders to your Governors to permit them to sail without convoy for the present voyage to be performed within the space of twelve months" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, pp. 402-403). News of attacks on Guinea vessels is frequently to be found in the colonial papers; see *Boston News-Letter*, Sept. 17, Oct. 1, 1705.

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8. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 4, 1703/4.

Saild out of this road for Barbados the *Dolphin* a 10 per Ct. Ship Capt. Besswarvor [2] Comd'r.

A Complaint was brought before the Generall that Quashoo a black Carpenter one of the Company's Slaves had sold his Wife's Son named Braboo on board a 10 per Ct. Ship.

The fact was provd against Quashoo and against a woman in the Towne who being Sent for declared that Braboos mother (lately dead) was her Slave and Consequently Braboo and 3 Children more whom She had by Quashoo to whom She was Consarved [3] by her Mistress, after the Death of Braboos father. But Some brought A testimony that Braboo himselfe was given for Slave to Quashoo when he Consarv'd the Mother.

The Generall Sent a Letter to the Comd'r of the *Dolphin* and a Slave desiring him to Exchange Braboo, who had been sold that morning, after some nicityes he Consented to the Exchange and Braboo was brought to the Generall.

Upon Inquiry it Appeared that Braboo was Sent to peter Quashoo's house the Linguester [4] by the Black Carpenter and the other woman. Peter gave him his Cane for a passport and pretended to Send him to a Consort of his who lives at Compoint, in the way 4 of Peters men and Some others met Braboo, bound him Carryed him to Compoint and from thence before day light to the 10 per Ct. Ship the *Dolphin* Capt. Besswarvor Comd'r at an Anchor in this Roade where he was Sold for three ounces two Akys [5] in Gold. The Generall ordered that Peter Quashoo who had received that money should bring it to him and a man Slave besides. Such one as was given in Exchange for Braboo and that Peter Quashoo should bring before him those four men who had bound and Sold Braboo. It was ordered further that Braboo who belonging to a Compa. Slave had further more been redeemed on this Occation Should remaine one of the Companys Slaves and that Quashoo the Carpenter and two daughters of his who were detected Should be Confined in the Castle amongst the Slaves. Upon which Quashoo begged pardon, brought his two Daughters to the Generall and one Son and desired that they Should be received in the Number of the Company's Slaves acknowledging himself and his

[8] [1] T 70: 1463. Memorandum Book.

[2] This name appears elsewhere as "Besswaver".

[3] Married.

[4] A linguister or linguist was frequently not only an interpreter but an official spokesman for the native king.

[5] An accy was about five shillings, though its value must not be taken as fixed for all times and places.

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Chilldren to belong Lawfully to the Company he declared that he had one little Son more who was at pawn for Some money he owed that he would bring him Alsoe. Braboo own'd himselfe likewise Willingly and with returne of thanks to the Generall to belong to the Compa. to who he ownd this present released and desired that he might have the Entertainment and prerogative of the Compa: Slaves at Cape Coast.

9. John Smith to the Royal African Company.[1]

Annamaboe, 6 February, 1704.

Since I came hither, I have done as much as possible to oblige the natives, and increase as well as maintain your honours interest with them, which at first seemed to have a good effect; but since the arrival of several 10 per cent. ships, I have not been able to keep the trade to the fort,[2] for there can be no limitation to the price of good slaves when other ships out-bid us, which I am positive has been done by Captain Prince, he having given £14 each for men, as also by one Captain Normanton, in a brigantine bound for Jamaica, who first sold blue perpets for five angles each, and before he went off disposed of several for four angles.[3] . . .

10. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, February 12, 1703/4.

Sent on board the *Mary* Brigganteen Capt. Osbourn Comm'dr Braboo a Compa Slave to be his Gold taker.

Sailed to Leeward with his dispatches to trade alongst the Coast Capt. Osbourn Comd'r of the *Mary* Brigantine.

Came from Tantumquerry[2] Bass John Carpenter.

A Dinkera[3] trader coming to Cape Coast from the mine with 2

[9] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 192-193; also printed in Barbot's "Supplement", Churchill, V. 446, where it is attributed to the *Memoirs* of Bloome, p. 15.

[2] From James Fort, at Accra, Thomas Peck had written to the company June 30, 1701: "As to slaves, the 10 per cent. men are my only interrupters in acquiring any, they giving six or eight angles more then your honours allow, which has been the real occasion that so many slaves have been shipped from Annamaboe" (Davenant, *Works*, V. 184). Angles or angels were counted fifteen to an ounce of gold on the African coast, and were much used as the money of account, though they may not have been in circulation. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1721), p. 75.

[3] On May 23, 1704, Sir Dalby Thomas wrote that slaves that formerly brought £3 and £3 10 *s.* now commanded £11 and would soon cost £15. Davenant, V. 190.

[10] [1] T 70: 1463.

[2] Tantumquerry was about twenty miles east of Cape Coast Castle.

[3] Denkera, formerly a prosperous inland country, had not long before this been overrun by the Ashanti (for an account of this see Bosman, *Description of Guinea*, pp. 64-68; Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast*, I. 192-198). The Dutch lent their aid to the natives of Denkera, a fact which weakened their hold on the coast as the Ashanti gradually gained the ascendancy.

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women Slaves to sell them in the Castle Some fetoos met him in the way and paniard[4] his two Slaves whom they Carryed away, the Trader made his Complaint to the Generall who disspatched an Express to the King and to the Dey of fetoo to acq't them of the matter and to tell them that was an Infraction of very ill Consequence that their people should hinder traders to Come to Cape Coast or any other of our factorys. the King and Dey returned Immediately the 2 Slaves to Cape Coast begging pardon for the Offence which happened by a misstake, and Sent word that a Cabbash of the mine[5] did owe a debt to the Dey of feetoo Brother whoe Sent his people to paniard those Slaves thinking they did belong to Some of the Inhabitants of the Mine town, a Custom they have of Seizing on Some of the Same Towne or Country for the Debts of any one of the Same place and the freinds of the person Seized for the Other to give Sattisfaction and soe are released. The Generall returned the Slaves to the Owner.

11. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 17, 1703/4.

The Cabbash of Cape Coast brought before the Generall a palabra[2] against Capt. Hamlin for haveing Carried away Some years agoe and Sould in the West Indies a Canooman of their Towne and Said if he did not give them Sattisfaction they would panyar him a Shoare whereof they came to acq't the Generall.

The Generall told them he must be more perticular Informed of the Case that he might do wright on all Sides.

Capt. Hamlin who was on Shoare was Sent for he Answered to the Charge that he carried away a black Canooman, for running he and other Canooman from his Shipp where he had hired them, with a Canoe belonging to him (the Capt.) which they did Stave to pieces upon the Shoar; for Attempting upon another Occation to drowne him to rob About a hundred pounds of Gold he had in his pockett, the damidge of which Canoe and Some other Debts owed to him amounted to four Ounces, and being not Sattisfyed of that Sum he therefore Carried away that man: that before he went from Cape Coast he acquainted Messrs. Newte Gore and Strooman their Chiefs, of the whole matter and they not only Consented, but told him he Should Carry away the Man Since he did give him noe Sattisfaction, that he was at

[4] Kidnapped.
[5] Caboceer of Elmina.

[11] [1] T 70: 1463.
[2] A palaver was scarcely a formal trial but rather a general discussion, in order to get at the truth.

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Anamaboo many days after thatt and did not Scruple to Carry him away Since noe body Endeavoured to Sattisfie for him To that the Canoomen concern'd in the fact answered that they did not run away but Came on Shoare for victualls that Capt Hamlin's Canoe was Staved in goeing to Save an Englishman of another Ship who was drow[n]ing, that after that Capt. Hamlin tooke those very Canoomen to his Service to goe with him to Alumpo and promisd to release their Consort whom he had fast in Chains and to let him return with them after he had done his Business. So that they had not the least Apprehention he should be Carryed away. The Generall told them that the Case being determined before the then Chiefs at Cape Coast it was not to be brought in Question any more. The Cabbash'rs Answered, they heard that it was determined then, and that they were not Called to it, neither by the Chiefe of Cape Coast nor by the Capt. and that the very Canoomen did not then make any Complaint about it because they thought after some detention he was to be released.

The Generall blamed the Cabbash'rs for not makeing their Aplication to the Chiefes of Cape Coast, or at least the Canoe men Should have done it: Blamed allsoe Capt. Hamlin for not Acquainting the Cabbasheirs or Causeing them to be Sent for before the Chiefs that the Cause might be determined in their presence and Since it was Difficult to have a true information of the fact, the one asserting the other denying the same thing, he would advise them all to make an agrem't friendly both parties remitted the whole matter to the Generall Capt. Hamlin Shewed himselfe willing to give Something to the Cabash'rs to be Cleare of them, so that the Generall persuaided them to make it up for the Sum of four ounces of Gold which the Capt. is to pay them in Goods and they went all away Satisfyed.[3]

12. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 29 Oct., 1704.

Mr. Dudley[2] was removed before my time, and the account of his crimes sent you by Mr. Brown, Major and Willis; but what I learn is, viz.

[3] The Memorandum Book also states that on Feb. 19 natives from Commenda laid another complaint against Captain Hamlin for carrying from there two men. A letter of Feb. 25 states that the crew of the *Success* had been panyared because of Captain Hamlin's actions at Anamabo. T 70: 1463.

[12] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 191.

[2] Dudley, a servant of the company, had traded in slaves. This was by the act of 1698 forbidden to employees of the company.

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	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
He sold in Jan. 1702	7	2	2	1
In March 1702-3	4	2	0	2
In May, June and July, 1703	9	5	1	3
In Sept. Oct. and Nov.	23	7	6	2
	43	16	9	8
	16			
	9			
	8			
In all	76 slaves			

And of these he sold to sundry persons, as I am informed, *viz.*

To Captain Francis Morgan	2
To Captain Rogers	5
To a private trader sent to Dickes-cove	4
To ditto at Cape-Coast-Castle	3
To Captain Impin	14
To captain Gill	7
To Captain Normanton	13
To Captain Maxwell	1
To Emanuel de Sylva, at Commenda	1
To Captain Codnor	2
	52
The remainder not known to whom disposed of	24
	76 slaves

13. Dr. George Bramston to Robert Harley (?) [1]

January 13, 1704/5.

Doctors' Commons. In accordance with your letter of July 6 last, I have considered the papers and proofs relating to the ship *Neptune,* which I find belongs to subjects of the Queen, inhabitants of Jamaica, and that these were the sole and true freighters as well as owners at the time of her seizure. I find that while sailing to the English factory of Anamabo, neither going nor intending to go to any Dutch factory, she was seized by Captain Frederick of the *Postilion,* a ship belonging to the Dutch West India Company, carried to the "Castle Delmine" [Elmina] and there condemned. It is true that she took in her cargo at Amsterdam and was going with it to the coast of Guinea; but this does not make her liable to confiscation; and I am of opinion that the seizure and confiscation of this

[13] [1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland,* VIII. 166.

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ship and lading, when on her way to an English factory, is contrary to the law of nations, and that the petitioners ought to have satisfaction for their ship and lading and all damages which have occurred to them.

14. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 30 May, 1705.

He (the Dutch general) is the 10 per cent. mens Diana, and they pay all adoration, with great presents, to him. In a little time, not a man of them will come out without presents for him. Captain Prince, in the *Marlborough*, stopt there the 25th instant, and staid with him two days; and he bragged to Mr. Brown that he had plenty of beer, wine, etc. and a silver punch-bowl from thence. He past by us, and in his passing he was so civil as to salute the flag, which was more than he did last voyage, and then stopt a day at Morea (a Dutch fort) I suppose to take in slaves and corn.

15. Treaty between the Royal African Company and the French Senegal Company.[1]

June 8, 1705.

I. That the two Companies shall give Orders to their Governors, and the Officers of their respective Settlements on the Coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leona, to live in Peace and mutual good Correspondence; and to assist each other against the Negros, or whom ever else should disturb their Trade.

II. The English Company engages on its Side, that none of its Officers, Servants, or Commanders of Vessels, shall, by Sea or Land, attack or molest any Fort, Factory, or Settlement of the French Sanaga Company, from Cape Blanco to the River Sierra Leona; nor any Ship, Bark, or Vessel belonging to the said Company, trading either in the Rivers or on the Coast.

III. That the French Sanagra Company, on their Side, engage the same Conduct, with respect to the English, between Cape Blanco and the Rivers of Sierra Leona and Sherboro inclusively.

IV. If it should happen that any Ship belonging to either Company should be taken by the Privateers, Pirates, or Men of War of the contrary Nation, it shall not be esteemed a Violation of this Treaty, as a Thing which neither of the said Companies can prevent.

[14] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 195.

[15] [1] Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 82, from Jean Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* (1728), IV. 346-349. Signed in London by the agents of the two companies. Cultru refers to a letter of Lemaître, governor of the Senegal, in which he writes of a treaty of neutrality between the two companies (*Histoire du Sénégal du XV^e Siècle à 1870*, p. 154). It should be remembered that the two countries represented by these trading companies were at war.

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V. That the two Companies shall apply to the Ministries of their respective Courts, to obtain Orders for their Men of War not to commit Hostilities within the Limits above-mentioned.

VI. That for the Performance of the above articles they give their Words of Honour, and deposite this Treaty in the Hands of Mr. Andrew Laporte, of Leyden, that it may be preserved and regularly executed; promising and engaging, as soon as the Prohibition of Commerce can be taken-off, that they will reciprocally sign and ratify this Agreement.

VII. That, for the better Performance of these Articles, they promise to use their Interest with the Ministry of each Court to bring it to Effect.

VIII. That each Company shall give Orders to their Governors, Factors, and Agents, to return the Deserters on either Side.

16. The Slave Trade at Calabar, 1700-1705.[1]

Mr. Grazilhier, who, since his voyage in the *Albion* frigat,[2] has made three more thither, commander of English and Dutch ships, assur'd me at Southampton, in 1705, that the Dutch then made nothing of fetching Slaves from Calabar, with ships of three or four hundred tuns burden, that nation having now the greatest trade there of any Europeans, as well for slaves as for elephants teeth; and that by the knowledge he has acquir'd, by often sailing to new Calabar river, he will carry in a ship of six hundred tuns, without any danger, having found a passage of between four and a half and five fathom at the lowest water.

In October 1700, he sail'd from the Downs directly to this river, in two months time, in a little English ship, where he purchas'd two hundred slaves at twenty-four and twenty six bars a man, and proportionably for a woman, because of the great number of ships, sometimes ten, or more together, that were then trading, which quite drain'd the upper markets; and arriv'd at Barbadoes in April following. He has since made several voyages in the service of the Dutch, being of late marry'd and settled in Holland.

In 1703, or 1704, the price of slaves at Calabar was twelve bars a man, and nine a woman.[3]

The slaves got there, says he, are generally pretty tall men, but washy and faint, by reason of their ill food, which is yams at best, and other such sorry provisions. A very considerable number of them is exported yearly from that river, by the Europeans; he having, as

[16] [1] Barbot, "Supplement", Churchill, V. 464-466.
[2] See this work, I. 430-435.
[3] Dec. 8, 1705, "Natives combine with Company's competitors. Have rais'd price of negroes from 40 *s.*-50 *s.* to £12 or £14" (T 70: 102). From 5 *s.* to 6 *s.* per bar is a reasonable evaluation at this time.

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has been said above, seen there ten ships at a time, loading slaves, which is the reason the price of them varies so much, being double some years to what it is others, according to the demand there is of them; the natives being cunning enough to enhance the price upon such occasions. . . .[4]

He added, that in the months of August and September, a man may get in his compliment of slaves much sooner than he can have the necessary quantity of yams, to subsist them. But a Ship loading slaves there in January, February, etc. when yams are very plentiful, the first thing to be done, is to take them in, and afterwards the slaves.

A ship that takes in five hundred slaves, must provide above a hundred thousand yams; which is very difficult, because it is hard to stow them, by reason they take up so much room; and yet no less ought to be provided, the slaves there being of such a constitution, that no other food will keep them; Indian corn, beans, and Mandioca, disagreeing with their stomach; so that they sicken and die apace, as it happened aboard the *Albion* frigat, as soon as their yams were spent, which was just when it anchor'd at St. Tome, after a fortnight's passage from Bandy-point, at Calabar. Besides, those poor wretches, the slaves of New Calabar, are a strange sort of brutish creatures, very weak and slothful; but cruel and bloody in their temper, always quarrelling, biting and fighting, and sometimes choaking and murdering one another, without any mercy, as happened to several aboard our ship; and whosoever carries slaves from New Calabar river to the West-Indies, had need pray for a quick passage, that they may arrive there alive and in health. To that purpose I would advise, so to order matters at Calabar, as to be in a condition to proceed directly to cape Lope [Lopez], and not to St. Tome, or Prince's island. All the ships that loaded slaves with the *Albion* frigate at Calabar, lost, some half, and others two thirds of them, before they reach'd Barbadoes; and such as were then alive, died there, as soon as landed, or else turn'd to a very bad market: which render'd the so hopeful voyage of the *Albion* abortive, and above sixty per cent. of the capital was lost, chiefly occasion'd by the want of proper food and water to subsist them, as well as the ill management of the principals aboard.

[4] The goods listed by Barbot as best suited to the Calabar slave trade are: iron and copper bars, rangoes, beads, nicanees, small brass bells, three-pound copper basins, Guinea stuffs, ox-horns for drinking cups, pewter tankards, great and small, blue linen, blue perpets, and spirits.

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17. The Royal African Company to the Board of Trade.[1]

October 10, 1706.

Having by direction of your Loshps. viewed the Act of Barbadoes for establishing a paper creditt,[2] we are of opinion that the forceing a paper creditt in this manner will of consequence be very prejuditiall to all merchants traders to said Island, and that unless a circulation had been provided for, that all persons might have money for said paper on demand, it must inevitably occation a discount on said paper-creditt, and consequently in buying and selling of goods the payments in paper must be considered, and cause a difference in prices betwixt that payment and money, whereby it will be very great loss to us, the Royall African Company, and to all those who shall be forced to take their present debts in paper, which loss may be more insuportable by reason of the uncertainety of the discharge of said paper at the expiration of the said Act. The hardships and inconveniencyes put upon the traders by reason of this forct creditt will doubtless be a very great obstruction and discouragement to the future trade and navigation to said Island, and doe pray your Ldshps. intercession to H. M. that the said Act be timely disannulled.

18. Project of the Assiento for Negroes made between England and Spain, 1707.[1]

Contract for Blacks or Negroes made and agreed with Her Ma'ty of Great Britain for herself and such of Her Subjects as she shall appoint to be contractors.

1. With Licence from his Catholik Ma'ty the contractors take upon them the Assiento or Agreement to import Negro slaves into the Spanish West Indies, and to establish this necessary Trade for the mutual and reciprocal benefit of their Ma'tys and the Subjects of both crowns and the Contractors oblige themselves to import in the Space of Ten years to commence on the day of in the year and to end on the same day of the year forty eight thousand Negroes of both Sexes and of all ages which

[17] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 261. Signed, "John Pery Sec."; endorsed, "Recd. Read Oct. 10, 1706".

[2] The act, passed June 18, 1706, had been presented to the Board of Trade on Sept. 17. The Barbados merchants at once protested and on Oct. 3 the board asked the African Company for an opinion on the measure. After considering the reply of the company a circular letter was prepared for the queen's signature, forbidding the passage of such acts. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 280, 281-283.

[18] [1] P. R. O., State Papers, Foreign, Spain, 1706, vol. 76. On Nov. 21, 1706, instructions were sent to James Stanhope, minister to Spain, to enter into a contract with the King of Spain for negroes for Spanish America. Though the form which the contract was to take was sent to him, he was directed not to lose the whole by insisting too closely upon the letter of the draft. The project followed closely the French assiento of 1701 (Scelle, II. 466 n., 467-483). For some account of the English desire for the assiento see Donnan, "The Early Days of the South Sea Company, 1711-1718", *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II. 420-421.

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shall be neither of Mina nor Cape de Verd, after the rate of four thousand Eight hundred in each of the said Ten Years.

2. There shall be paid for all the Dutys of the Regalia 33½ ps. of Eight of the value of four Shillings and six pence English money, for each negro of India of the regular measure of those Provinces,[2] wherein shall be used the same method as hitherto has been established and practised.

3. The Contractors are to advance by way of anticipation 200 thousand ps. ⅛ or forty five thousand pounds English money, to be paid in two Payments, the first two months after his Catholic Majesty's approbation of this Contract, the second other two months after the first, which summ the said contractors shall not be reimburst till the two last years of the Contract, when they will be able to do it by the Dutys of Importation.

4. For the greater Convenience of his Catholick Majesty this summ shall be paid at Madrid or London at his Ma'tys Election, and in the like manner shall the Dutys of Importation be satisfyed notwithstanding any obligation to pay it in the Indies.

5. The payments of the Dutys shall be made every Six months beginning from the of the in the same manner, and it is declared that the Contractors are only to pay the Dutys of 4000 (part of the 4800 to be imported yearly) and not of the remaining 800 for those His Ma'ty agrees shall be free of all Duty's, during the whole Ten Years, in regard of the payment to be made in Madrid or London and not in the Indies.

6. In the time of War the Contractors shall not be obliged to import more than 3000 Negroes every year, but shall retain their right of carrying the other 1800 (the Complement of 4800 agreed) in the succeeding years, and if they cannot yet comply with the number of 3000 they shall retain their right of compleating what shall be wanting to be imported, however they shall pay the 100,000 ps. of ⅛ which the dutys of the 3000 negroes to be imported amount to, from Six months to Six months, every year that the war shall last, but which shall be imported short of that number shall be allowed in the succeeding years, and it being testifyed that they have imported more than the 3000, they shall pay the Dutys in the manner before expressed.

7. In the time of Peace, the contractors shall not be rigourously obliged to import the 4800 negroes in every particular year by reason of the various accidents of shipwrack, mortality, etc. . . . however they shall pay the Dutys of 4000 as if they had imported them,

[2] That is, a *pieza de Indias*. A man or woman, well made, with sound teeth and no defects, constituted a *pieza de Indias*; three children from ten to fifteen counted as two; two children from five to ten as one. See this work, I. 106 n.

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but what shall be imported short of that number shall be allowed in the Succeeding years as in the preceding article is expressed.

8. The ships employed shall be English or Spanish or some Nation in Amity with the Crown of Spain.

9. The Contractors may import and trade with their Negroes according in all parts of the Indies or North Sea, his Catholick M'ty dispensing with the limitation hitherto establisht, whereby they could not be carryed to certain particular Ports, but they must not land any Blacks in any Port where there are not Officers to visit the Ships and give Certificates of the Black imported, those they carry to the Windward Island, St. Maries, Cumana and Maracaybo, The Contractors shall not sell for more than 300 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ each, but less when they can, for the ease of the people, but in other parts of New Spain and Terra firma, they may sell for the highest Prices they can get.

10. Having liberty to import Negroes into all parts of America on the North side, it is to be understood that they may do it likewise on that of Buenos Ayres, sending thither every year two Ships, capable of carrying 500 or 600 Negroes of both Sexes, and sell them as well as they can, but exceeding that Number the Governour and other the King's Officers shall in nowise permit the Landing or Sale of the rest.

11. To carry the Negroes to Peru, the Contractors are permitted to buy or build, in truck of Negroes or otherwise in Panama or another Port in the South Sea, two Ships, Fregats or others of 400 Tuns each to carry their Negroes from Panama to Peru and bring Returns in fruits, pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, Barrs of Silver or Gold being Stampt, for which they shall pay no Dutys, and likewise the Contractors may carry from Europe to Porto-Velo and thence to Panama, Iron, Cordage, and all other materials necessary for building their Ships. But if they sell any such Materials upon any pretence whatsoever, they shall be lost and both buyer and seller punished, and for such action this Permission shall from thence forward be taken away, further, when this Contract is compleated, the Contractors must not make use of these Ships nor bring them to Europe, but are obliged to sell, alienate or give them.

12. It is left to the choice of the Contractors to employ English or Spaniards for the management of this business, as well in the Ports of America, as in other Towns and Places within that Country, his Ma'ty annulling these Laws that prohibit Strangers, and commanding that the English be treated as Spanish Subjects, Provided, that there shall not be above four and Six English men in any one Port of the Indies, out of which the Contractors shall send up into the Country those that are necessary for the managem't of what depends on this affair, which the Contractors shall govern so as to them seems most meet and convenient, and no minister of whatsoever degree or quality

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he may be shall hinder or disturb them under any pretence, unless they act against the Laws establisht, and what is capitulated in this Agreement.

13. That the Contractors may from time to time name and displace Judges Conservators in all Ports and principal places in America, which are not to be the King's Officers, they being prohibited, and these judges are to have the Sole Cognizance of all Causes of the Contractors, with Prohibition to all other Tribunals, Ministers and even the Vice-roys themselves, and only those Conservatory Judges shall have Cognizance of their Causes, and are to send their Process to the Council of the Indies, that in the end his Catholick M'ty alone may be their Judge Conservator.

14. The Vice-roys shall not on any pretence embargoe, detain or make men of war of the Contractors Ships, on the contrary they shall be obliged to give them all Succour and assistance and what things they may want at the Current Prices, and the Contractors shall receive satisfaction for all the prejudice they may at any time undergo or suffer by the detention of any of their Vessels.

15. Neither may the Vice-roys or any other Officers upon any pretence whatsoever take, seize or embargoe any Goods or Effects of the Contractors upon pain of being punished, and satisfaction shall be made to the Contractors of what damage or prejudice they shall sustain thereby.

16. The Contractors and their Factors in the Indies are permitted to have in their Service such Mariners, Couriers and Workmen to load and unload, as they shall have occasion of, agreeing with them as well as they can for their Hire.

17. It is at the liberty of the Contractors to load their returns in the ships of the Flota or Galeons, agreeing with the Captains, and the Contractors Ships if they please may come with them, or with any Ships of War of his Catholick Ma'ty who are all every one of them strictly charged and commanded to admit and bring them under their Protection.

18. After the neither the French nor any other Company, nor any other Person of any Nation whatsoever, shall during the continuance of this Contract import any Negro Slave, and if they do, such Negroes shall be confiscated to the benefit of the Contractors they paying the Dutys.

19. That only the Contractors, their factors and Substitutes may have leave to navigate and import Negroes into the Ports of India, all other Subjects as well native as Strangers being prohibited; for performance whereof His Catholick Ma'ty obliges his Faith and Royal Word.

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20. If any Law Suits shall be commenced upon any Actions or Priviledges of the Contractors, it is agreed that His Catholick Ma'ty reserves to himself alone the Cognizance thereof.

21. The Ships of this Traffick shall immediately upon their Arrival be examined as to the health of the people, and then the Officers of the Port shall admit them and not before.

22. If any Ships employed by the Contractors shall import into the Spanish West Indies and land there any contraband goods, other than are in this Contract before allowed for the provision or furniture of two Ships, the Persons importing and landing the Same Shall Suffer . . . but the ships and Blacks and all things else depending thereon or belonging to them shall not be seized or forfeited, and if the contraband goods do not exceed the value of 100 ps. $\frac{8}{8}$ then only such Goods shall be seized, appraised and burnt, and the Captain or Master shall be condemned to pay the value of the offence.

23. The Provisions that shall be landed to feed the Negroes shall pay no Dutys inwards or outwards, but those that shall be bought and carryed out of Port shall pay according to the present Custom.

24. The Negroes that shall be landed and shall happen to dye before they are sold, shall pay the Dutys without any pretence to be made to the contrary.

25. When they have sold negroes in any ports they may go to others, taking with them the value of those sold in pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, barrs of Silver and Gold, without paying any Dutys, but if they take it in fruits for them they must pay the accustomed Dutys.

26. It is expressly agreed that the Ships of this Traffick may fit and sail from any Port of England, Spain or the English Plantations, at the election of the Contractors, and return with the ps. of $\frac{8}{8}$, barrs of Silver and Gold and fruits, being the Produce of their Negroes, to the Ports of England or Spain, and deliver the Registers thereof to his Catholick Ma'ty's Ministers, but they must not bring any thing more than the Product of their Negroes, nor any thing of the Estates or Commissions of any particular person of the West Indies, upon pain of Confiscation to the King.

27. If any Ships of this Contract fitted for War shall take any Ships of an Enemy to either Crown, or any Pyrates, and find any Negroes in them, they may sell and dispose of them, as part of the number they are engaged for, but not any sort of Goods or Merchandize, for these shall be carryed to Cartagena or Porto Velo and there be delivered by Inventory to the King's Officers, and remain in a Warehouse to be sold at the Spanish Fairs in those Parts, and the fourth part of their Proceed shall be applyed to the Royal Treasury and the $\frac{3}{4}$ to the Contractors, but the Ships or Vessels

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with all their Stores and ammunition shall be entirely the Captors for the use of the Contractors.

28. When the Contract is ended the Contractors shall have three years to gather in their Effects, and during the said three years the Contractors, their Factors and Substitutes, shall enjoy all the Libertys and Franchises granted for the entrance of the Ships or Vessels, into the Ports of America and take thence their Effects freely.

29. The Debtors of the Contractors shall and may be prosecuted and compelled to pay in the Same manner as if they were Debtors to His Catholick Ma'ty.

30. And for the due performance of the aforesaid Articles his Catholick Ma'ty dispenses with all the Laws, Orders, Schedules, Priviledges, Establishments, usages and Customs that are in opposition to this Contract during the Ten years of this Agreement and three years more granted to get in their Effects, His Ma'ty granting to the Contractors and their Officers by Sea or Land all the favour that has been granted in any former Agreements and in like manner the Contractors oblige themselves to the Performance thereof.[3]

19. John Chaigneau to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 2 April, 1707.

I must own your honours have been great sufferers on the sale of goods these two or three years past; it was Sir Dalby Thomas's opinion so to do, rather than the 10 per cent. men should carry all the trade. Mr. Thomas Peck was the first 10 per cent. man (since my time) that began to lower the price of goods, especially perpets, which he sold at five ackeys. I was then chief at Agga, and am certain the 10 per cent. men did always sell cheaper than we did and not Sir Dalby, as they pretend: the reason of it is so plain, that none but themselves can say against it. No people in the world (I believe) understand their interest better than the Blacks of the Gold-Coast, and could they supply their wants as cheap at your Honours factories as they do aboard 10 per cent. ships, one would think they

[3] Stanhope signed a treaty of commerce with Spain on July 10, 1707, but did not succeed in effecting a contract for trade in slaves. In his negotiations he ignored the Dutch, who, resentful over England's attempt at action independent of her ally, were ready to listen to the project of Nicholas Mesnager, who was sent to them in 1707 by Louis XIV., with a proposal for a vast commercial company which should unite all the maritime powers. A scheme somewhat similar to this was contemplated in 1708, when Philip V. offered to the allies the commerce of the Indies, by means of a company in which Spain, France, England, and Holland should each have a fourth part. The Dutch insistence that France be entirely excluded from the West Indies prevented the international scheme from being long considered (Scelle, II. 470-479). See E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre la France et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique* (1909), pp. 567-576, for some account of the treaty of commerce and the French negotiations with the Dutch.

[19] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 195; a part of this letter is printed in Barbot's "Supplement", Churchill, V. 445.

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would not put themselves to the charge of canoe hire, and the hazard of oversetting with their goods, as very often they do: besides that advantage on the price of goods, they have that on the price of slaves also,[2] which they could not expect to sell so dear, were not the 10 per cent. men so forward and so free of what is not their own. It is a great misfortune that your honours have so many to contend with, and of that temper, that, rather than you should get, they would willingly lose; for I dare say there are very few of them but who are losers by the slave trade.

20. Journal of the Board of Trade.[1]

December 12, 1707.

Their lordships took into consideration the several papers lately received from the Royal African Company,[2] and made several observations thereupon. And the said Company attending, and being asked several questions in relation to the said papers, they said that, as to their lordships' desire of having an account of the debts of the Company, signified in the secretary's letter of the 8th instant, that was included in the ballance of their books; for that ballance contained the true real value of the Company's stock, all their debts

[2] At this point the letter printed by Barbot continues: "The ten per cent. ships being upon the coast, and near slav'd, they dispose of their goods at prime cost, for dispatch; and give very extravagant prizes for slaves especially when they are advanc'd to the leeward as far as Winnebah. Another inconveniency has appeared at Cabo Corso castle, that in the year 1703, three large ships of the French company of the Assiento, of about fifty guns a-piece, and one of them a Dutch man of war prize, call'd the *Medenblick*, being trading about cape Corso, and the Blacks not daring to go aboard of them with slaves or gold, the French drew their ships in a line, at about half cannon-shot from the castle, the anchoring there very good, mud and sand, did so warmly batter the castle from that side, notwithstanding its hot firing from the water-battery and turrets, that in less than an hour's time the garrison was forc'd to keep close shelter'd, not daring to appear any longer, to play their cannon. The commander found himself oblig'd to hand out a white flag for a truce; and to grant to the Blacks of the town, and all others about, to traffick freely with the French, who got thereby a good number of slaves and gold, for their merchandize."

[20] [1] *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 436.

[2] The Royal African Company, whose affairs were going from bad to worse, had begun its active campaign for the restoration of its monopoly privilege at the expiration of the act of 1698. In November the state of the trade to Africa was brought to the attention of the House of Commons and the Board of Trade, and it continued to absorb much of their time until the expiration of the act of 1698 left the trade an open one. By petitions to Parliament and to the queen, by arguments before the Board of Trade, by broadsides, and by pamphlets the battle over monopoly raged. For the next half-dozen years the material here printed deals largely with that controversy. On Nov. 25, 1707, Mr. Pindar, deputy governor of the African Company, presented to the Board of Trade a petition of the company to the queen, relating its hardships, and the board began its work by calling for the following accounts: account of the ten per cent. paid by separate traders from June, 1698, to Michaelmas, 1707, and how the same has been expended; account of the charge of the forts and castles during the aforesaid time, and of the company's settlements in Africa; account of the value of the company's joint stock in 1698; account of what has since been called in; account of what dividends have been made during the aforesaid time; account of the value of the present stock; account of the debts owing by the company; account of the exports and imports from 1698 to Michaelmas 1707; account of the number of ships fitted out for the same time; account of the number

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paid; so that as they alledge in the year 1706, the Company were really worth 176,594 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.*[3]

As to the account of money called in by the Company, they said, that in 1698, after the passing the Act of Parliament, they agreed that whoever should pay to the Company 12 *l.* should have a share and 57,096 *l.* being paid in, there was 4,758 shares added to the Company, which makes them now in all 11,010½ shares.

As to the forts, they said that they had now most of those that were in the possession of the former Company before the passing of the present charter in 1672, excepting one or two which the Dutch took, but the Company took from the Dutch others instead of them.[4]

That all the said forts have garrisons, and are well provided with arms, ammunition and other necessaries.

That the seperate traders have always had the protection of the said forts, when desired.

That they never made any settlement near the Portuguese in Angola.[5] . . .

December 17.[6]

. . . Mr. Pulteney acquainted their lordships that he had this day discoursed with the accountant of the Royal African Company, who attended here according to the desire of the Board of the 15th instant, and particularly that, having asked Mr. Beaumont how the ballance of 1698, which is 189,913-5(-0) did arise, he said that in that ballance was included the value of their ships and effects here and in Guinea, as also all the debts owing to the said Company, but he was not able to say what debts were good, and what not; and he

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of negroes furnished by the company to the several plantations during the said time, and at what rates, with the condition on which such negroes have been sold; an account of the woollen manufactures the company have exported; and an account, from the Commissioners of Customs, of the exports and imports by separate traders to Africa, from 1698 to Michaelmas, 1707 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 428-429). These accounts were received by the board Dec. 5, and on the 8th Mr. Pery, secretary to the company, and Mr. Beaumont, accountant, were asked to attend and explain some difficulties in them (*ibid.*, pp. 433-434). The papers are to be found in C. O. 388: 10, H 90-108.

[3] For discussions of the finances of the company see W. R. Scott, *Constitution and Finance of Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910), II. 25-30, and a forthcoming work by Dr. George F. Zook on the Royal African Company. Scott gives 17 as the highest market price which the shares of the company reached in 1698.

[4] See *post*, no. 34, n. 39, for a list of the West Coast forts.

[5] The board also asked for further papers: an account of the imports by the company from June 24, 1698, to Sept. 29, 1707; a list of ships sent from England to Guinea by the company, June 24, 1698, to Sept. 29, 1707; an account of exports by private traders, from Sept. 29, 1702, to Sept. 29, 1707. On receipt of these on Dec. 15, they called for the names and tonnage of all ships owned and employed by the company, asked how the balances in the company's books arose and how the charges of the forts stood in the books, and prepared a list of questions for the private traders, copies of which were sent to Mr. Benjamin Way, Mr. Robert Heysham, Mr. Joseph Martin, Mr. Isaac Milner, Mr. Daniel Waterhouse, and Mr. John Tyler. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 437.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 438-439. Earlier in this meeting the name of Peter Paggan had been added to those of the separate traders. Mr. Pery's list of ten ships owned by the company had also been read.

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own'd that there were several debts in the plantations, since the time of King Charles the second, still standing out, that the ballances for the succeeding years were computed upon the same foot.

And Mr. Beaumont agreed that when the 12 *l.* for shares in 1698 was called in, there were 4758 additional shares made; that the original shares in the Company were but 6252½ shares; which together make up the present number of 11,010½ shares.

And if the 6252½ shares be computed at the same rate as the additional shares, then the real stock of the Company would be 57,787-5(-0) less than what the Company say the ballance of their books in that year amount to, and therefore he was not able to give any account thereof, otherwise than that he supposed the company had let in the 4758 shares at a cheaper rate than they were really worth, which they might do to incourage those additional shares to enter into the company, they being at that time in need of money.

Then he was asked how they computed their stock at 26 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* per share, he said that was upon a supposition that all their debts in the plantations were good.

As to the charge of the forts and factories, he said that account was transmitted to them from their Governor General in Africa, and laid before the Cursitor Baron, who (no objections having been made to him by the seperate traders, some of whom had perused the said accounts at the Royal African Company House) had pass'd the same, and Mr. Beaumont produced their books, containing the said accounts, which consist of charges for repairing of the forts, for the Governor and other officers' salaries, for keeping a table for presents etc.

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21. Negroes imported into Barbados.[1] (For note see pp. 27-28.)

Accompt of Negroes Imported by Severall Private Traders in Barbados since June the 24, 1698.

Date	Ships Name	Ma'rs Name	To Whom Consign'd	No. Negroes	Sum sold for per head £	s.	d.	Totall Amo. £	s.	d.
1700, Sept:	*Liverpool Merch't*	Wm. Webster		220	19	15	4	4,239		
1701, May	*Eliza.* (Jno. Dunn)	John Dunn	Mr. Wm. Moore	176	18	1	7	3,182		
1701, Dec.	*Blessing*	Thos. Brownbill		139[193]	13	6	2	1650[1630]		
	Geo. of B'B'ds	Thos. Tudor		100	19	8	9½	1,944		
1702, July	By the Pink *Mary* of Do.	Robt. Knowles		112	19	10		2,184		
	By the *George*	Thos. Tudor		78	19	12	6	1,530	15	
1704	*Tryall* of B'B'ds	Jos. Appleby		120	29	13		3,558		
				945						
1700, Aprill 11	*Abr. and Moses* Frigg't	Benja. Terry	Isaac and Moses Mendez	170	18	15	9	3,194		
1702, Augt. 25	*Dolphin*	Henry Jordon		180	21	15	8	3,921		
1704, April 19	Ditto	Tho's. Beswarver		172	24			4,128		
				522						
1698, July 28	*Henrietta Maria*	Wm. Deacon	Wm. Shutter, Esq.	188	19	1	3	3,589	10	
Aug. 16	*Delight* Galley	Francis Martyn		127	21	5	11¾	2,705		
1700, April 12	*Ann Bonadventure*	Ditto Martyn		378	19	18	0¾	7,523	10	
Sept. 11	*Arcania Merch't*	George Lumbey [Lumsey]		199	19	10	2	3,881		
1701/2,Feby.10	*Ann Bonadventure*	Francis Martyn		174	22	15[18]	1	3,961	10	
1702, Sept. 15	*John Bonadventure*	Ant'o Ford		435	16	15	5¼	7,296	6	8
Ditto	*Elizabeth*	Henry Connell		271	16	1	9¼	4,360	10	
				1,772						

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[*Account of Negroes imported*—continued:]

Date	Ships Name	Ma'rs Name	To Whom Consign'd	No. Negroes	Sum sold for per head £	s.	d.	Totall Amo. £	s.	d.
1699, Jany. 1	By the *New York*			135	25[28]			3,375		
1700, Feb. 1	By ditto			137	24	15	1	3,420		
1701, Oct. 17	*Thos. and Shebey*		Ed. Cordwent	135	25	2	6	3,400	5	
Feby. 26	*Mary*			137	24	12		3,370		
1702, July 17	*Sarah* Gally			151	20	17	4	3,151[3,131]		
				695						
1702/3, Jan. 1	*Hanover* Gally	Jacob Storey	Jos. Swane	173	22	3	2¼	3,833	10	
1702, Apr. 20	*Betty* Frig't	John Luke		196	21	18[15]	10			
May 28	*Sam'l and Henry*	John Jacobs	Mr. William	184	17	6	7¾			
1703, Nov.	*Betty* Frig't	John Luke	Godman	160	26	9	9¾	16,203		
1704, May 25	*Champion*	Robt. Penington		164	27	5	6¾			
				704						
1706–7–19	*Larke* Galley		Mr. David Creagh	133	26	8	10½	5,831	10	
1707, Aug. 13	Ditto			93	24	18	3¼			
				226						
1701	*Mayflower*	Edw. Archer	Mr. Zachary Shut	46	18			3,788		
1703	Ditto Walter Rust	Walter Rust		148	20					
				194						

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1703, feb'ry	*Mary*	Wm. Codnor		235	28	16	2		
1704/5 Jan'ry	Ditto	Ditto		199	33	17	7½		
1705, Aprill	*Edwin and Jos.*	Edw'd Collins		83	29		4		
July	*Content*	Jos. Thorne		82	28	10			
Nov.	*Edwin and Jos.*	Edw'd Collins	Ed. Carter and	82	30	12	11		
Dec.	*Mary*	John Frankling	Jos. Marbin	230	28	10	10½	42,324	10
Jan'ry	*Constantee*	John Hunt		122	30	9	2		
1706, July	*Edwin and Jos.*	Edw'd Collins		59	26	6	9¼		
Jan'ry	*Mary*	John Frankling		216	30	17	7		
1707, May	*Escape*	Jos. Appleby		116	26	5	6		
				1,424					
1698, Nov.	*Thos. and John*	Edwin Carter		83	20	9	9¼		
1701, June	*Ed. and Jos.*	Jacob Bill	Edwin Carter	61	20	9	10		
Ditto	*Mary*	Edwin Carter		136	13	2		7,593	10
1702/3, feb'ry	Ditto	Ditto		283	19	18	9		
				563					
1700/7 ber	*Constant Friend*	John Jacobs		105					
9 ber	*Society*	Edward Monk		22					
1701, April	*Eliza and Martha*	Edward Tomlin	John Grove Would	142					
June	*Thos. and John*	Christo. Williamson	give noe acct. of	320					
Dec.	*Sam'l and Marg't*	Charles Carter	the Sales being	232					
Jan'ry	*Elizabeth*	Tho's Beckwith	a Quaker.	16					
Jan'ry	*Betty* Frigg't	Roger Ewer		399					
1704, Dec.	*Warner*	Nurse Hereford		126					
				1,362					
			Totall	8,580				159,138	6 8

[21] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23 i. The lists here printed were sent to the Board of Trade in response to a circular letter of Apr. 17, 1708. Governor Crowe replied on Aug. 17, 1708, enclosing: "(i) Account of negroes imported into Barbados, since June 24, 1698, (a) by private traders, 7218, sold for £159,138. 6. 8., 1362 negroes consigned to John Grove, who 'would give noe acct. of the sales, being a Quaker', (b) imported by the Royal African Company 1700-1708, 5982 negroes sold for £156,425. 7. 6. (ii) Naval Officers' List of negroes imported into Barbados, June 24, 1698-Dec. 1707, 34,583. (iii) Account of the 10 p. c. duty on negroes imported into Barbados, Dec. 9 1698-June 30, 1708. Total £7443. 2. 9. The African Company paid no duty, but the total includes what the duty would have amounted to" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 66). In the covering letter the governor, arguing for a joint-stock company, called attention to the fact that of the 34,583 negroes imported during the period under consideration but 9006 had been brought in by the African Company. The

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22. Negroes imported into Barbados.[1]

Accompt of Negroes Imported By the Royall African Compa. Consigned to Messrs. Bate and Steward from the Year 1700 to 1708. What arrived here from the Year 1698 to the Year 1700 (Mr. William Heysham having been the Compa's Agent for those years, and the Books then kept in his possession) is the Reason the present Agents are not able to give an Acco't thereof.

Date	Ship's Name	No. Negroes	Sum sold for per head £	s.	d.	Totall Amo. £	s.	d.
1700	*Incouragement*	294	21	16	8½	13,975	2	6
	Prince of Orange	346						
1701	*Royall Affrica*	287	19	18	¾	16,561	10	
	Larke	170						
	Faulconbergh	375						
1702	*Spanish Merchs.*	390	24	2	3¼	9,404	10	
	Edward and Francis	281[2]	27	9	8¾	26,662	15	
	Daverse Galley	689						
1704	*Lyon and Lamb*	248	33	4	5¾	25,284		
	Eagle	513						
	Larke	124	31	10	3¾	18,625		
	Eagle	467						
1706	*Content*	112	25	12	10	20,180		
	Prodigall Son	151						
	Fame	524						
	Bridgewater	104	25	5	7	15,269		
	Royall Consort	428						
1707	*Sherbrough*	72						
	Katherine	290	25	14	0	10,463	10	
1708	*Dorothy*	117						
		5,982				£156,425	7	6

yearly average was 3458, but, reckoning on an annual death-rate of 7 per cent., it needed 3640 to keep the present number (52,000) intact. Lands were lying uncultivated because of the scarcity and the high price of the negroes. The reasons which he offered for the higher prices under the open trade were: (1) the separate traders had advanced the price on the coast from £4 to £10 per head; (2) the produce of the island was taken on more advantageous terms, 30 and 35 per cent. now being paid for bills of exchange; (3) insurance was high and losses by war heavy; (4) an increased population in the colonies had increased the demand, and since the coast supply had been exhausted the negroes must now be brought from inland countries, at greater expense. Governor Crowe's argument for a company was that, given a bad year, the private traders lost interest, as they had done in the Barbados market, only 350 negroes having been brought in by them in the past two years.

The board attached these lists, with some omissions, as appendixes C and D, to its report to the House of Commons of Jan. 27, 1709 (*post*, no. 34). Items here printed in square brackets show variations between this copy and that contained in the report. A number of the items are obviously incorrect. Another copy may be found in Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 184-185.

[22] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23i (5).

[2] This cargo seems to have been consigned in two lots, one of 142 and one of 139 negroes; the next cargo is likewise divided into two lots, 253 and 436, the latter, labelled "Royal Africa", may have been a company consignment to Sir Robert Davers.

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23. Negroes imported into Barbados.[1]

Barbados. The Numbers of Negroes Imported here from the 24th of June 1698 to the 25th of December 1707. Taken out of the Navall Office Books.

When Enter'd	Master's Name	Negroes	When Enter'd	Master's Name	Negroes
1698			X'ber 14	Ralph Sadler	382
August 9th	Francis Martaine	120	17	James Knash	470
Oct. 25	John Soane	305	19	John Lowder[2]	250
Nov. 10	Edwin Carter	130	1701		
15	*Betty*, Charles Ellard	97	Jan'ry 2	Henry Poger	138
28	Rich'd Hamlin	150	21	Thomas Rogers	230
28	George Lorristone	200	March 3	—	176
Xber 5	John Davis	104	April 5	John Peacock	107
[1699]			do	Henry Taylor	40
Jan'ry 9	John Haslewood	209	16	Nicho. Hillgrove	71
13	Jos. Daniel	500	21	Brown Bill	139
Feb'ry 22	Geo. Laurence	300	23	Wm. Oewing	196
March 7	Walt'r Rust	146	28	E. Tomlin	146
15	John Luke	530	28	Thos. Windsor	63
May 12	Thos. Winsor	92	May	John Collingwood	82
Oct. 13	— Churchey	304	22	John Dunn	180
9ber 22	Step. Duport	300	26	Robt. Davidson	140
23	Anto. Ford	400	June 2	John Gill	143
28	Thos. Hammond	280	7	Ja. Bill	63
28	Jos. Greene	[289]389	11	E. Carter	150
29	Bayley Kent	107	12	Jno. Lunley	105
30	Nico. Hillgrove	121	July 9	Francis Bond	87
	[Michael Killgrove]		23	Thos. Brisike	90
1700			do	Da. Hewitt	248
Feb'ry 5	Fra. Sactell	512	26	Henry Fortey	94
March 23	Fran. Martin	394	Augt. 18	Rich'd Holland	210
April 2	B. Terry	181	25	Sam'l Nolbrough	245
29	Walter Rust	150	do	Rich. Bromidge	273
May 14	— Polgreene	122	26	Robt. Berry	223
June 12	John Haynes	301	27	Thos. Hammond	154
21	George Clay	[304]340	do	Rich'd Hamlin	190
24	*Saml. and Mary*		—	Dan'l Bright	170
	Cha. Carter	150	Septr. 10	John Jennings	73
Aug. 21	Rich'd Hamlin	250	—	Benja. Holt	73
21	Robt. Jeffries	407	12	Wm. Martin	80
23	John Davis	99	—	George Lumley	248
Septemb. 6	John Jacobs	106	25	Wm. Dowrish	150
18	Wm. Webster	220	8ber. 1	Walter Rust[3]	95
30	Wm. Dowrish	136	9	Jno. Frankling	63
8'ber 17	Jno. Dunn	103	11	Isac Wyld	375
19	Wm. Martin	100	11	John Prince	130

[23] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23ii (1)-(5). This list, which Governor Crowe offered as the only complete one, in abbreviated form was appendix D in the report of the Board of Trade Jan. 27, 1709. The figures for 1702-1708 were printed by Davenant in part III. of his "Reflections", *Works*, V. 298-299.

[2] The report of the Board of Trade of Jan. 27, 1709, gives: Dec. 19, Henry Rodger, 250; Jan. 2, Thomas Rodgers, 138; Jan. 21, *id.*, 230; Mar. 3, John Peacock, 176; Apr. 5, Henry Taylor, 107; Apr. —, Nich. Killgrove, 40; Apr. 16, John Lowder, 71.

[3] The report gives: Sept. 25, Wm. Dowrish, 150; Oct. 1, Wm. Dowrish, 95; Oct. 9, Walter Rust, 63; Oct. 11, John Frankling, 375; Oct. 11, Isaac Wild, 130; Nov. 1, John Prince, 46; Nov. 5, Alex'r Geats, 350.

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[*Account of Negroes imported*—continued:]

When Enter'd	Master's Name	Negroes	When Enter'd	Master's Name	Negroes
1701			9ber 10	Thos. Matthews	150
Novem'r 1	Matt. Harmond	46	11	Thos. Mackley[4]	458
5	Alexa. Geats	350	1704		
12	James LeGay	127	Jan'ry 6	Jno. Forster	262
21	Benja. Clay	95	24	Thos. Mildrum	145
Xber 3	Thos. Rogers	185	27	Wm. Codnor	260
4	Thos. Tudor	100	April 5	Jno. Maxwell	288
11	Charles Langhorne	47	5	Jno. Cox	150
16	Charles Carter	240	8	Jos. Appleby	140
17	Henry Wyld	190	18	Thos. Beeswarner	170
18	Robt. Matthews	90	do	Jos. Greene	378
27	Ralph Padler [Sadler]	259	May 23	Robt. Peninghton	260
1702			July 10	Richd. Hamlin	482
Jan'ry 1	Charles Norris	139	Sept. 4	Thos. Matthews	150
6	Edwd. Benstone	170	8ber 12	Thos. Meale	240
7	Roger Ewer	425	9ber 9	James Porter	290
10	Jos. Greene	360	Xber 29	Wm. Codner	218
13	Thos. Beckwith	16	1705		
15	Thos. Matthews	42	Jan'ry 16	Thos. [James] Bound	534
Feb'ry 6	Thos. Davis	118	Mch 8	Phillip Bennett	131
10	Franc. Martin	280	29	Matthew Harmond	176
24	Jno. Warren	409	April 2	Edw'd Collings	88
March 5	Wm. Webster	440	30	Jno. Lowder	304
12	Jos. Edlington	57	June 29	Wm. Nunn	90
16	Wm. Pease	[32] 132	July 3	Stephen Patrick	96
April 10	John Luke	190	27	Bernard Clapcott	318
17	John Lowther	264	9ber 3	Edw'd Collings	90
May 5	Jacob Bill	68	Xber 15	Jno. Frankling	234
12	John Jacobs	184	1706		
20	Nicho. Chinge	250	Jan'ry 19	Jno. Hunt	134
27	John Gill	118	Feb'ry 18	Thos. Bound	521
do	Fra's Bond	137	April 5	Jos. Thorne	143
28	Jno. Davis	236	13	Hugh Moseley	194
June 15	Jam. Francis	157	June 18	Wm. Browne	640
July 7 [17]	Thos. Tudor	[178] 78	July 4	Rich'd Hamline	382
27	Bernard Ludmand	430	8	Edw'd Collings	92
Augt. 22	Geo. Stephens	181	7ber 19	Isaac Barber	133
Sept. 15	Anto. Ford	400	8ber 12	James Porter	336
—	Henry Connell	300	9ber 20	Wm. Cook	116
22	Walter Rust	155	1707		
8ber 2	Roger Morgan	139	Jan'ry 24	Jas. Crispin	458
10	Thos. Matthews	71	27	John Franklin	226
do	Edwd. Jackman	81	May 12	Joseph Appleby	121
9ber 23	Wm. Pease	149	Augt. 15	Isaac Barber	93
Xber 16	Sam'l Hardy	126	9ber 18	Will'm Gill	75
21	And. Stazley	281	Mch. 6	Lamb't Peachy	476
29	Jacob Storey	174	1708 29	Thos. Ashby	123
1703			April 19	Rich'd Thomas	130
Jan'ry 2	Wm. Mein	97			
Feb'ry 13	Edwin Carter	295		Totall	[34,583][5]
March 31	Cha. Langhorne	152			
8ber 28	Jno. Luke	161			

[4] The report reads: Jan'ry 6, Thos. Mackley, 458; Jan'ry 24, John Forster, 262; Jan'ry 25, Thos. Mildomm, 145; Jan'y 26, Wm. Codnor, 260.

[5] Add. MSS. 10453, f. 185, gives 24,583. Davenant's list differs in a few places. He gives the names as Beeswaver, Penington, Harman, and Lowther, rather than Beeswarner, Peninghton, Harmond, and Lowder. The number brought in by Penington is given as 160, the total as 11,256. On Apr. 12, 1705, he has the "*Rebecca*, Tho. Matthews, 156", which is not found in this list.

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24. An Account of Duties paid on African Cargoes.[1]

An Account of the Ten per Cent Duty paid into the Custome House for the several Vessells bound to the Coast of Affrica from Barbados since the 9th of Decem. 1698 to the 30th June 1708.

Ship's Name	Master's Name	£	s.	d.
The *Thomas and John*	Edwin Carter, Commandr.	99	10	3
The *Amity*	Richd. Serjent	46	10	7½
The *Happy Returne*	John Davis	86	12	7
The *New Yorke*	Amos Wadland	68	18	6
The *James*	Will'm Rawlins	59	17	
The *Mary*	Henry Edey	48	16	10
The *Judith*	John Davis	105		10
The *Peace*	Mordecai Lenin	45	4	7
The *Edward and Franc*	Walter Rust	87		8
The *Marygold*	Thomas Mathews	64	2	8
The *Diamond* Galley	Rich'd Odlin	44	4	10
The *Thomas and John*	Thomas White	91	2	6
The *Merch't Love*	Abra W'ms	49		4
The *New Adventure*	John Dunn	165	17	9
The *Arcania* Frigg't	Jno. Williams	130	8	9
The *happy Returne*	Jno. Davis	82	10	
The *Content*	Wm. Martin	63	17	6
The *New Yorke*	Hen. Logger	80	12	2
The *Neptune*	Hen. Hughes	152	9	6
The *Mary*	Peter Fatrus	40	9	6
The *Abra. and Moses*	Benja. Terry	89	2	
The *Marygold*	Thom. White	38	11	6
The *Johns Adventure*	John Peacock	61	10	4
The *North Sound*	Ralph Ash	74	15	
The *Lepax*	Will'm Davies	120		
The *William*	Rich'd Hamlin	101	9	
The *Marygold*	John Gill	66	12	
The *happy Returne*	John Davis	59	4	
The *Betty*	Cha. Langhorne	60	6	4
The *Arcania* Frigg't	Wm. Dowrish	143	3	6
The *Tryal*	Benja. Hole	69	6	6
The *Unity*	Francis Bond	78	5	6
The *Content*	Wm. Martin	54	19	4
The *Susana, Ann and Eliza.*	Benja. Clay	66	6	
The *Amity* (Geo. Henderson)	Geo. Henderson	14	14	
The *Mary*	Peter Fatrus	44	6	6
The *Mary*	Henry Pogger	79	4	
The *True Love*	Will'm Pead	38	17	9
The *Tryal*	Tho. Matthews	31	1	6
The *Eliza.* Gally	Thos. Rogers	99	11	
The *New Yorke*	Robt. Matthews	56	15	
The *Encouragm't*	Ralph Sadlier	178	9	4
The *George*	Thos. Tudor	58	16	8
The *John and Thomas*	Isaac Hunton	100	1	6
The *Larke*	Thos. Davis	102	4	8
The *Dragon*	Jno. Symmons	67	14	8
The *Marygold*	John Gill	52	17	6
The *Friendship*	Thos. Newton	26	8	6
The *Johns Adventure*	Wm. Pease	48	2	
The *Betty*	Jacob Bill	44	8	3

[24] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23iii (1)-(5). Endorsed, "Recd. [and] Read 19 Novr." The fact that certain vessels are designated as company vessels ("A C") makes it reasonably clear that this is not a list of vessels owned in Barbados. It may have become a common practice for a vessel to bring in negroes and clear for Africa rather than for England, since of forty-nine vessels listed by Davenant as bringing in negroes (*Works*, V. 298-299) but fifteen are not mentioned in this list as bound for Africa. A note reads: "The Royal African Companys are amongst these but they paid no duty, but is severally putt down what it amounted too."

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[*Account of Duties paid*—continued:]

Ship's Name	Master's Name	£	*s.*	*d.*
The *Sarah* Galley	James Francis	108	19	
The *Unity*	Francis Bond	81	6	
The *Unity*	John Davis	236	14	10
The *Content*	Edw'd. Frampton	51	10	
The *Mary*	Robt. Knowles	22	16	
The *George*	Thos. Tudor	45	4	
The *May Flower*	Walter Rust	120		
The *Tryal*	Thos. Mathews	23	18	
The *happy Returne*	Edw'd Jackman	38	4	6
The *John and Thomas*	Roger Morgan	59	5	8
The *Betty*	Paul Payne	27	8	6
The *Johns Adventure*	Will'm Pease	29	15	9
The *Guinea Hen*	Solomon Raynsford	73	10	4
The *Larke*	John Norman	97	13	
The *Betty*	Wm. Mein	43	14	8
The *Mary*	Edwyn Carter	126	17	6
The *Edward and Francis*	Charles Langhorne	106	13	6
The *three Brothers*	Jonath'n Buck	47	14	9
The *Content* (Edward)	Edward Frampton	50	13	9
The *Tryal*	Thomas Garland	19	17	
The *Johns Adventure*	Thos. Mathews	35	9	5
The *Betty* Galley	John Forster	25	2	6
The *Mary*	Wm. Codnor	113	18	
The *Dottin* Galley	John Cox	73	14	
A. C. The *Guinea Hen*	John Gill	42	2	6
A. C. The *Edw'd and Francis*	Charles Langhorne	33	19	7½
The *Dolphin*	Thomas Beeswaver	85	1	4
The *Tryal*	William Rogers	58	14	
The *Success*	John Faulkingham	77	6	6
A. C. The *Mary*	Vinton Osborn	36	19	9
The *Rebecca*	Thomas Mathews	49		6
The *Bennett*	Robert Maurice	87	5	7
A. C. The *Charles the Second*	Cha. Delaforce	26	15	9
A. C. The *Edward and Francis*	Tho. Mildrum	30	18	
The *Mary*	William Mary	97	17	
A. C. The *Larke*	Mathew Harman	22	10	
A. C. The *Davors* Galley	James Francis	36	18	9
The *Edwin and Joseph*	Edw'd Collings	28	16	
The *Content*	Joseph Thorne	56	6	8
The *Constant Alce*	John Hunt	49	9	9
The *Edwyn and Joseph*	Edward Collings	17	3	10
A. C. The *Greyhound*	John Green	64	3	
A. C. The *Eagle*	Thos. Bound	64	10	9
The *Mary*	John Frankling	104	3	6
The *Rebecca*	Thomas Mathews	54	2	8½
A. C. The *Content*	Stephen Patrick	23	1	6
A. C. The *Prodigal Son*	Thomas Clement	20	17	6
The *Edwyn and Joseph*	Edward Collings	15	15	3
A. C. The *Royal Consort*	James Crispin	86		
The *Mary* f'f	John Frankling	102	5	6
A. C. The *Prodigal Son*	Walter Rust	45		
The *Escape*	Joseph Appleby	48	19	
The *Larke* Galley	Isaac Barber	51	15	9
The *Amiable*	James Porter	200	18	9
A. C. The *Bridgewater*	William Cooke	38	7	
A. C. The *Dolphin*	William Brown	18	17	
A. C. The *Elizabeth*	Joseph Thorne	74	3	9½
The *Hawke*	Richard Thomas	68	5	10
The *Ann and Mary*	Tobias Harris	34	6	6
A. C. The *Sherbrough* Friggot	Thos. Asby, Comm'r	62	1	6
A. C. The *Dorrothy*	William Gill	28	10	6
		£7,443	2	9

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25. Negroes imported into Antigua.[1]

Antigua. An Account of what Negro Slaves have been Imported into this Island by Permition Shipps from Africa and by what Vessells from the 24 of June 1698 to the 25th of Decem'r 1707.

When Imported			Vessell's Name	Master's Name	Number of Slaves
October	22d,	1698	Brigantine *Goodluck*	William Wodell	18
June	3,	1699	Ship *Prosperity*	John Henley	212
June	5,	1700	Ship *Codrington*	Richard Tudway	
	14,		Ship *Samuel*	John Hilliard	
July	26,		Ship *Samuel and Elizabeth*	John Roach	164
October	11,		Ship *Postilion*	John Hayes	
	20,		Ship *Charles*	James Mohun	
Novem'r	17,		Sloop *Union*	Robert Carr	
Decem'r	11,		Sloop *Unity*	George Smith	
March	6,		Ship *Prosperous*	John Henley	200
Aprill	24,	1701	Ship *Hunter*	Samuel Lawrence	87
	30,		Ship *Mary*	Thomas Harris	152
May	2,		Ship *Monopolis*	Thomas Ashley	
	7,		Ship *Abraham and Moses*	Benjamin Terry	122
June	27,		Snow *Defiance*	William Humble	80
July	10,		Briga. *Ann*	Michael Bassett	92
August	17,		Ship *William*	William Eaton	63
	29,		Ship *Arcana* Frigat	William Dowrich	150
Sept.	13,		Sloop *Batchelors Adventure*	John Richards	73
	17,		Ship *Jolley* Frigat	Bartholomew Jones	83
Novem'r	7,		Ship *Montague* Galley	William Churchey	133
	23,		Ship *Success*	Lambert Peachey	262
Novemb'r	24,	1701	Sloop *Charles*	Joseph Yeamans	75
Decem.	4,		Brigantine *Antigua*	Samuel Lee	46
Febry.	24,		Ship *Chester* Frigat	Jacob Wilde	320
	26,		Ship *Samuel and Elizabeth*	John Roach	276
March	30,	1702	Sloop *Phenix*	William Clarke	9
May	4,		Ship *Blessing*	Thomas Brownble	151
	27,		Ship *Friendship*	Nicholas Clinge	200
	do.		Ship *Humphry* Galley	John Owen	196
July	25,		Ship *William and Jane*	Thomas Holland	211
August	15,		Ship *Canterbury*[2]	William Reed	165
Sept.	8,		Sloop *William and Thomas*	Thomas Peniston	82
	14,		Ship *Defiance*	William Rhett	60
	16,		Sloop *Companion*	William Bond	25
	23,		Ship *William*	Robert Patridge	100
April	9,	1703	Brigantine *William*	William Martin	139
Novem'r	22,		Ship *Thomas and Phebee*	John Prince	180
August	4,	1704	Ship *Ann Adventure*	Charles Furlong	300
	31,		Ship *Shrewsbury* Galley	John Ingle	250
Jan'ry	20,		Ship *London* Galley	John Groutt	269
					4,945[3]

[25] [1] C. O. 152: 7, 64i(1)-(2). See the letter of Governor Parke under date July 7, 1708. The enclosures, (i) negroes imported from Africa to Antigua, June 24, 1698-Dec. 25, 1707, (ii) negroes imported into Antigua by the Royal African Company, and (iii) Chester's account of sales by the African Company, Feb. 2, 1702-Aug. 26, 1707, were in a letter of Aug. 23, 1708. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 27-28, 72-73.

[2] Davenant, in part III. of his "Reflections", calls attention to the fact that the *William and Jane* and the *Canterbury* were company vessels, inadvertently included in the list of those belonging to separate traders. He adds that with this deduction the separate traders imported into Antigua 1691 negroes during the seven years last past, a statement which cannot be made to agree with the figures here printed. *Works*, V. 301.

[3] Endorsed, "referred to in Col. Parke L're of the 23 Augt. 1708. Recd. [and] Read 25 Novemb. 1708".

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26. Negroes imported into Antigua by the Royal African Company.[1]

Antigua. An Account of what Negro Slaves have been Imported into this Island by the Royall African Company of England from Africa and by what Vessells from the 24th of June 1698 to the 25th of December 1707 as follows.

When Imported	Vessell's Name	Master's Name	Number of Slaves
Jan'ry 24th, 1701	Ship *Bridgwater* Frigat	John Bridges	221
Decem'r 14, 1702	Ship *Lusitania*	Paul Sorrell	
Novem'r 15, 1704	Ship *Lusitania*	John Hayes	224
Decem'r 10, 1705	Ship *Royall Africa*	Thomas Mackley	538
May 17, 1706	Briga. *Constant Rachell*	George Lorriston	176
October 12,	Ship *Regard*	Richard Abbott	361
August 23, 1707	Sloop *Flying Fame*	Henry Hooper	114
	Ship *Gaulkin Bird*	John Luke	171
			1,805[2]

27. Antigua Accounts, February 2, 1702 - August 26, 1707.[1]

Antigua 2 February 1701/2.

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £ [5748] To the Royall African Company of England for Two hundred Twenty One Slaves per the "Bridge watter" Friggatt John Bridges Comd'r from New Callabarr.

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	s.
Walter Quarine	2				80	
Robt. Lucas	2	2			160	
Jeff'ry Duncomb	4	1			195	
Sam'el Parry	1	4			190	
John Decoster	2				80	
Sam'el Parry		1			38	
Dan'el Mackenny	10				330	
Tho. Morris	6	4			380	
Lawr. Crabb	6	4			360	
Sam'el Watkins	2	1			115	
Sam'el Phillips	2	1			114	
John Weir			5		135	
John Yeomans, Esqr.		1	1	1	70	
Wm. Pike	1				36	
Wm. Byam				1	20	
Jacob Morgan	1		2		79	10
Walter Shelly	2	2			135	
Cash	1				35	
Tho. Williams	2				65	

[26] [1] C. O. 152: 7, 64ii.

[2] Endorsed, "referred to in Col. Parke L're of the 23 Aug. 1708. Recd. [and] Read 25 Novemb. 1708".

[27] [1] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(1)-(4).

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[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	*s.*
Tho. Long	2		2		110	
Cash				1	25	
Dan'el Jones			1		18	
John Marchant		1			25	
Jean Raey				1	10	
Gilbert Hamilton	1				30	
Xtopher Stoodly	1				36	
John Barbotaine	1				27	
John Pryn	3	1	1	2	220	
Wm. Franckline	2	1	1		104	
Jos. Berchand			1		22	
Tho. Griggs	2				63	
Alexr. Calman		1	1		27	
James Howe	1	1			66	
Timothy Linggin	2	1		1	128	
Wm. Kenady	1			1	55	
John Diptford	3	2			175	
Elias Jemain		1			22	
Henry Sims			1	1	43	
Wm. Hamilton	1		1		58	
Mark Kirvan	5				115	
Benja. Barness		1	1		40	
Wm. Kenady			1		20	
Ulyses Alky	1	1			65	
Robt. Amory			1	1	32	
Dan'el Mackenny	1				30	
Tho. Elms	1	2			95	
Darby Neagent	1	1			60	
Peter Schuman		1			25	
Sam'el Wickham	2				65	
Jos. Blackman		1			32	
John Coddner	1	4			135	
David Decoster	1	1			60	
John Perrie	1				25	
Henry Norton	1	1			60	
Robt. Shears		1			24	
Tho. Gatewood	2				50	
Tho. Granthem		1			18	
John Darlow		2			53	
John Poulton	2	1			84	
John Buttler	1	1			45	
David Ervin	1	1			45	
Wildstone Harvin	1				28	
Tho. Stevens		1			10	
John Leger	1	1			53	
Sam'l Boon	3				75	
Florence Tayler		1			30	
John Mackcarty		1			10	
John Perrie				1	10	
Tho. Cole		2			50	
John Stayline		1			27	
Tho. Gilleatt	1				20	
James Fellon	1				25	
Symon Smith	3	9			108	12
Sam'el Tompson		1			25	
Rich'd Dashwood		10			150	
Cash				1	12	
Mark Robinson	1	3			55	
Mortality	5	8				
	101	88	20	12	£5,748	2

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July 24th 1702.[2]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. [£5821] *To the Royal African Company of England for One hundred fifty five Slaves per the Ship "Will'm and Jane" Tho. Holland Comd'r from Wedaugh*[3]

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	s.
Barry Tankard	7	4			472	10
Henry Pearn	3				150	
Wm. Codrington			4		122	
John Hamilton	6	4	3		570	
Wm. Glanvill			1		21	
Dan'el Mackenny	4	2	1		222	15
Sam'l Wattkins	3				120	
Jeffry Duncomb	4	1			202	10
Robt. Freeman	2	1			135	
Tho. Hawes	1				30	
Wm. Thomas	6	4	5		630	
John Gamble	5	2			315	
John Hamilton				1	30	
Tho. Nanton	2	1			135	
John Duer	2	1			135	
Jacob Morgan	2	1			135	
Ambrose York	1				45	
Dan'el Mackenny, disabled	2	1			45	
Charles Kallaham	3	1			160	
John Painter	5	2			270	
John Richardson		1			35	
Tho. Gilleal	2				80	
John Gamble	8	4			480	
John Burton	2	2			150	
David Ervin	1				35	
John Buttler	1				40	
Henry Waldon	3				105	
Giles Blizard	3	1			150	
John Barter	2				80	
Jos. Readhead	1	1			75	
Dan'el Thomas		1			34	
Cornelius Hollaran	1	1			75	
John Wilson	1				40	
John Perrie	6				132	
Tho. Long	6	8			340	
Xtopher Knight		1			25	
	95	45	14	1	£5,821	15

[2] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(4)-(6).
[3] Whydah.

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[July 24, 1702.][4]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. [£2463] *To the Royall African Company of England for Ninety four negroes per the Ship "Canterbury" Will'm Read Comd'r from old Callabarr.*

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	s.
Edward Tayler			1		30	
Henry Guesnett	5	3			280	
Jeffry Duncomb	2	2			144	
John Griffeth			1	1	60	
Robt. Shears	2	2		1	140	
Mary Hillard	3	3			180	
Tho. Holmes			1		25	
Cash		1			21	
Wm. Hamilton	1	1			70	
Wm. Mole	2	1			90	
Wm. Byam	2	1	1	2	170	
Tho. Young	3	2			145	
Abigail Baillem		1		1	50	
Tho. Williams	2				60	
John Burton				1	18	
Cash		1			25	
John Burton		2			67	
Mathew Thomas		1			28	
Sam'el Wickham	1	1			58	
James Read	1	1			58	
Mich'l Bennett	1	1			55	
Tho. Gateward			1		20	
Wm. Child				1	16	
John Neabs	2	2			110	
Wm. Sikes			1		16	
Cash			1		12	
Tho. Stevens			1		25	
Xtopher Knight			2		48	
Henry Blizard			1		25	
Malachy Glover				1	15	
Will'm Glanvill			7	1	100	
Anthony Brown		5			100	
Barned Karsom		1			24	
Darby Neagent		4			85	
Rich. Knightly	1				23	
John Gaggers	1	1		1	70	
	29	37	18	10	2,463	

[4] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(6)-(7).

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December the 9th 1702.[5]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. [£3050] *To Royal African Company of England for Ninety Two Slaves per the "Lucitania" Paul Sorrell Comd'r from Angola.*

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	*s.*
John Meaux	1	1			100	
Rich'd Dashwood	5	3	3		430	
Geo. Gamble	3	1			180	
Row'd Williams	1				40	
Tho. Gilleat Jun'r	1				50	
Will'm Shedwick	2	2			160	
John Butler			1	1	60	
John Luzere				1	25	
Henry Dunston	1				45	
Est. of Roger Williams	4	2			270	
Dan'l Jones			2		40	
Isaac Wharf			1		28	
John Attobyer				1	24	
Kean Osburn	1	2			115	
Dominack Bodkins	2				95	
Robt. Martin	1	1	1		90	
Benja. Wickham	1	1			70	
Will'm Pike	1	2			130	
Tho. Trent			1	1	50	
James Read			1		25	
Henry Winthrop	1	1			70	
Edward Tayler	1				45	
Simon Smith				1	20	
Henry Guesnett	2	2			120	
John Skiddy			1		23	
Cash			1		30	
John Neabs		1			35	
Ann Sampson		1			33	
Sam'el Leferty	2	3			125	
R'd Buckridge and Thos. Wise	2	15		1	342	
Tho. Gilleatt Jun'r	2	2			180	
	34	40	12	6	£3,050	

[5] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(8)-(9).

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October the 27th 1703.[6]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £8386 To the Royall African Company of England for Two hundred and Eighteen Slaves per the "Bridgewater" Jos. Powes Comd'r from Accra.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	s.
Ambrose York	1				60	
Dan'l Mackenny	6	6		1	540	
James Porter	2	2			200	
Will'm Codrington	5	5			480	
Tho. Trent			2	1	85	
Kean Osburn	3	2	1	1	318	
Est. of Tho. Cook	5	5			450	
Wm. Glanvill	6	6	8		592	
Tho. Holmes				1	32	
Charles Kallaham	5	3	1		408	
John Haddon	5	5			480	
Walter Hamilton	1	2			135	
Row'd Williams	1		3		135	
Est. of Maj'r Tankard	2	2			180	
Jeffry Duncomb and John Perrie	2	2			192	
Robt. Hanson	2	2			190	
Antho. Montyro	2	2			190	
Darby Neagent	2	2			160	
Antho. Brown			1	1	75	
Francis Rogers				1	20	
John Neabs	3	4			315	
Perie Lynch	1				45	
Henry Norton	1	1			90	
Barned Karsom	1			1	70	
Jer'm Blizard	2	2	1		212	
Cornelius Hollaran		3			120	
James Redd		1			40	
Jer'm Blizard and Jer'm Nibbs		1			40	
John Dewster		2			80	
Xtop'r Knight	1	3			135	
Jonas Langford	3	7	1		415	
Bald'no Johnson			1	1	54	
Sam'el Wattkins	1	1			60	
John Otto			5		150	
David Dewster		1			27	
Wm. Haige		1			32	
Rich'd Sharp		1			30	
Mary Gilbert	1	1	2		158	
Jos. Blackman			2		55	
Wm. Cochran	1		1		63	
Leon'd Burrough		1			35	
Ann Sampson	1			1	70	
Eliza. Wattkins	2				65	
Nic'o Lynch	1	1		1	110	
Dennis Mackellmore	1	1		1	100	
John Tomlinson	3	2			200	
Timothy Singgin	1	1			90	
Wm. Garrett	1				33	
Dennis Kieve		1			36	
John Duer			5		150	
Ann Butler				1	24	
John Karr		2			65	
Xtopher Stoodly	5	5	1		220	
Grizell Morris	2				75	
	82	89	35	12	£8,386	

[6] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii (9)-(11).

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October the 12th 1704.[1]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £9476 To the Royall African Company of England for Two hundred Twenty four Slaves per the "Lucitania" John Hayes Comd'r from Cape Coast Castle and Widaugh.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	s.
S'r Will'm Mathews	7	3			500	
Cash	10	3	2		730	
Dan'el Mackenny	28	12			2,000	
Sam'l Wattkins	7	3		1	482	
Tho. Trent			6	1	246	
Rich'd Dashwood	7	4			400	
Rob't Duning	3	1			197	
John Brett	2				120	
Isaac Wharf	1				60	
Xtopher Knight	5	2			300	
Kean Osburn	7	3			500	
Marmaduke Urlin	3	3			300	
James Brown	2	2			200	
Antho. Montyro	6	1			250	
John Meaux	6			1	226	
John Perrie			3		110	
Edw'd Perrie		1			40	
Row'd Williams	3	1			160	
Wm. Glanvill	7				234	
Wm. Garrett	2	1			120	
Bald'w Johnson		2			63	
Darby Neagent	1	1			70	
Robt. Hanson Jun'r	2	2			130	
Hen. Guesnett	6	1			238	
Tho. Trent		6			210	
Perrie Lynch	8	6			300	
Cash	2	2			155	
John Gamble	7	3			480	
Jos. French	5	3			400	
Xtop'r Stoodly	5	2			255	
	142	68	11	3	9,476	

[1] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(12)-(13).

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November the 20th 1705.[8]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £22216 To the Royall African Company of England for five hundred and Thirty Slaves per the "Royall Affrica" Tho. Mackley Comd'r from Cape Coast Castle.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	s.
Est. of S'r Tho. Cook	6	6			600	
Cash	10	7	4		970	
Antho. Montyro	3	3	1	1	380	
James Read	1		1		90	
John Brett	2		1		155	
Antho. Montyro	2	1			150	
Edw'd Chester Jun'r			1		36	
John Rose			1		35	
Jos. Adams			1		36	
Rich'd Maynell			2		75	
John Tomlinson	13	8	1		1,120	
John Gamble	4	3		1	390	
Tho. Hewlett			1		35	
Tho. Trent	5		7		525	
Geo. Leonard			1		40	
Peirie Lynch	9	5			615	
Geo. Gamble	9	5	2	2	840	
John Stevens	2	2			200	
Edward Tayler	2		1	1	190	
Will'm Byam	2				120	
Will'm Johnson	3	1		1	285	
Sam'el Wattkins	5	3	1		430	
Peter Burtell		1			40	
Robt. Lambert	1				55	
George Thomas	4				190	
Robt. Donaldson	3		5		310	
Tho. Williams		1	1		75	
Edward Byam	5	5			500	
Xtop'r Codrington			10		360	
John Otto	5	5		1	530	
Rich'd Oliver	4	2			300	
Dan'el Mackenny	10	11	1		1,040	
Elias Jamine	5	5			500	
Tho. Osterman			1		40	
Phillip Pawley				1	36	
Will'm Allen			1		45	
John Burton	1		1	1	140	
Est. of Maj'r Tankard	4	2			330	
Baptist Looby		1			37	
Isaac Horsford	2	2			200	
John Yeomans, Esq'r	6	6	2		680	
Robt. Cochran	1	1			100	
Edward Horn	7	8			740	
Xtopher Knight	5			1	300	
John Meaux	1	1	3	3	260	
John Barbotaine			6	2	250	
Wm. Glanvill	9	4	2	1	652	10
Alex'r Colman				1	35	
Tho. Kerby	2	2	1		230	
Rich'd Cochran	2	1	1	1	230	
Val. Morris	4	8	1	1	640	
Dominack Bodkins	4	2			320	

[8] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(13)-(17).

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[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	*s.*
Kean Osburn		1			40	
Barry Tankard		1	2	1	126	
Geo. Napper	2			1	130	
Francis Pouch			2		67	
Wm. Poulton		1			40	
Xtopher Stoodly			1	1	70	
Allen Haggar				1	35	
Antho. Garrett					35	
Isaac Ryall	1		1		80	
Darby Neagent	2	1			140	
James Senegall			1		30	
James Hanson	1				80	
John Headland	1				60	
Peirie Lynch			1		35	
Leonard Burrough			1		30	
Jane Luzere		2			63	
Henry Fletcher		1			35	
James Roan		1			38	
James Nisbett	1		1		80	
Geo. Sharp		1			35	
Tho. Gillyard Sen'r		1			35	
Mary Meldrum		1			35	
Judith Sconse		1			35	
Jacob Theboa	1				40	
John Roach	1				50	
John Merchant	1	1			90	
James Barter		1			40	
Gous Bonen	1				45	
John Parrott	1				46	
Mary Hebb				1	28	
Jonas Langford	4	3	1		375	
Geo. Gamble				1	35	
Elias Jamaine			1	1	72	
Rich'd Oliver			1		35	
Geo. Bellowses			1		40	
Tho. Oesterman				1	35	
Tho. Skirrett	1	1			100	
John Mannen			1		35	
John Brett			1		50	
Nic'o Trent	1	1			85	
Cash		1			40	
John Howes			2	1	37	10
Sam'l Boone	1				40	
Geo. Napper		1			40	
John Karr	2				80	
Ja. Read, Geo. Gamble and Edward Chester Jun'r	11	13			800	
Antho. Montyro	1	1			100	
Peirie Lynch		1			15	
Geo. Leonard	9	30			1,092	
James Read	10	22			808	
Charles Loyd				1	36	
Cash	3				120	
	219	201	79	31[9]	22,216	

[9] The totals for women, boys, and girls seem to be 200, 80, and 29, rather than the figures here given.

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I doo confirme the five foregoing Leaves to bee a true Coppy of the Roy'l Affrican Company Journal in relation to what Slaves have been by S'd Compa. imported and sould by

Edw. Chester [10]

Bridgwater	221
William and Jane	155
Canterbury	94
Lucitania	92
Bridgwater	218
Lucitania	224
Royal Africa	530
Constant Rachel	172
Regard	358
Flying Fame	114
	2178

28. John Paston to the Royal African Company.[1]

Agga, 3d March, 1707/8.

The 10 per cent. men's using this place so much has made slaves excessive dear. Captains Normanton and Martin from Bristol, Captains Bonham and Porter, the former from London, the other from Barbadoes, slaved here before the battles were fought,[2] and they gave 14 pieces current for men, and nine pieces for women, and Normanton, it is said, gave 15 pieces for men for his dispatch. When the battle was fought we expected slaves to be cheap, but Captain Saunders, a Bristol-man, Captain Corbin from London, Morgan and Hayes in two brigantines, kept the prices up, that we could not buy a man under 3 oz. 3 ac. or 3 oz. 4 ac. a head, nor women under 2 oz. 3 ac. or 2 oz. 4 ac. a head.[3] Your honours ships the *Queen-Anne's* and *Dorothy's* slaves most of them cost this price. If your honours observe this place all the year round, one year with another, men-slaves are dearer by 12 ac. upon a head, than they are to windward or leeward, and women in proportion. There is but one vessel in the

[10] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii (25). The accounts of the *Constant Rachel*, the *Regard*, and the *Flying Fame* (C. O. 152: 7, 64iii (18-24) are omitted. The cargo of the *Constant Rachel*, George Lorristone, from Cape Coast Castle, with 51 men, 65 women, 32 boys, and 24 girls, brought £5679 2 *s.*; that of the *Regard*, Richard Abbott, from the Gold Coast, with 119 men, 144 women, 66 boys, and 29 girls, amounted to £13,597 10 *s.*; that of the *Flying Fame*, Henry Hooper, also from the Gold Coast, consisting of 59 men, 44 women, 9 boys, and 2 girls, amounted to £4085 5 *s.* (the record, adding the figures incorrectly, gives £4081).

[28] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 196-197; a part of the letter is to be found in Barbot's "Supplement", Churchill, V. 446.

[2] The reference is probably to one of the battles by means of which the Ashanti were gaining control of their neighbors. The struggle had begun in war between the kingdom of Denkera and the Ashanti at the end of the preceding century. The success of the Ashanti brought them into relations with English and Dutch, and transferred to them the ground-rent for Elmina, which the Dutch formerly paid to the king of Denkera. Claridge, *Gold Coast*, I. 198.

[3] That is, about £12 15 *s.* to £13 for men, £8 15 *s.* to £9 for women. An ounce of gold was reckoned at £4 sterling.

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road now (nor none other that we can hear of upon the coast) and that is a brigantine upon your honours account, from Mr. Chester of Antegoa; I believe she will be slaved in this road at 11 pieces the men, and seven the women, in less time than her charter-party specifies.

29. Petition to the House of Commons.[1]

March 23, 1707/8.

A Petition of divers Ship-wrights, Rope-makers, Sail-makers, and other Artificers, and Tradesmen, dealing in naval Manufactures, in and about London, in behalf of themselves, and many others, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that far greater Numbers of Ships have been built, repaired, and fitted out, for Africa, on Account of several Traders thither, since the Act, of the 9th and 10th of K. W. for laying open that Trade, than were ever employed by the African Company; and that the Petitioners have (with many other Artificers) received great Benefit thereby: And praying, the said Trade may continue free and open, under such Regulations, as to this honourable House shall seem meet. . . .

30. The Board of Trade to the Governors of the English Colonies.[1]

April 17, 1708.

Sir: Some time since, the Queen was pleased to refer to us a petition relating to the trade of Africa, upon which we have heard what the Royal African Company, and the separate traders had to offer;[2]

[29] [1] *Commons Journals* (hereafter cited as *C. J.*), XV. 625-626. The hearings on the state of the African trade begun by the Board of Trade in November (see *ante*, no. 20) continued throughout January, Peter Paggen, Benjamin Way, Isaac Milner, and Richard Harris being especially active in testifying for the separate traders (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 444-453). On Feb. 3, 1708, the commissioners presented to the Privy Council a report which was on Mar. 10 transmitted to the House of Commons and there considered, along with numerous petitions for and against the restoration of an exclusive trade. The report, not here printed since it was soon followed by a far more comprehensive one, clearly inclined toward open trade. (A brief abstract of it is to be found in the Canadian Archives, U 828; see also *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 458; *C. J.*, XV. 599; Add. MSS. 14034, ff. 92-114.) The petition here printed is one of many presented to the House of Commons while the representation of the board was under consideration. Among them were petitions from the African Company, the separate traders, the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, the mayor, aldermen, and merchants, weavers, fillers, and others of Exeter. *C. J.*, XV. 599, 602, 612, 625-626, 631, 639; L. F. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates in Parliament respecting North America*, III. 189-196.

[30] [1] *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, IV. 53-54. This letter was one means taken by the Commissioners of Trade to gather together material for the elaborate report on the slave trade which they made in 1709. (For their order see C. O. 391: 20, p. 108.) The replies which came in from the colonial governors are given with great fulness in the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1708-1709, and the material of the replies is incorporated in the report of the board. But two of the replies are here printed, chosen because they represent colonies somewhat neglected in the collection, up to this time. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 479.

[2] For those sections of the hearings before the board not here printed see *ibid.*, pp. 428-454, *passim*.

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and having otherwise informed ourselves, in the best manner we could, of the present state of that trade, we laid the same before Her Majesty. The consideration of that trade came afterwards into the house of commons,[3] and a copy of our report was laid before the house; but the session being then too far spent to enter upon a matter of so great weight, and other business intervening, no progress was made therein. However, it being absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage, there is no doubt but the consideration thereof will come early before the Parliament at their next meeting; and as the well supplying of the plantations and colonies with sufficient number of negroes at reasonable prices, is in our opinion the chief point to be considered in regard to that trade, and as hitherto we have not been able to know how they have been supplied by the company, or by separate traders, otherwise than according to the respective accounts given by them, which for the most part are founded upon calculations made from their exports on one side and the other, and do differ so very much, that no certain judgment can be made upon those accounts.

Wherefore, that we may be able at the next meeting of the Parliament to lay before both houses when required, an exact and authentic state of that trade, particularly in regard to the several plantations and colonies; we do hereby desire and strictly require you, that upon the receipt hereof, you do inform yourself from the proper officers or otherwise, in the best manner you can, what number of negroes have been yearly imported directly from Africa into Jamaica, since the 24th of June, 1698, to the 25th of December, 1707, and at what rate per head they have been sold each year, one with another, distinguishing the numbers that have been imported on account of the Royal African Company, and those which have been imported by separate traders; as likewise the rates at which such negroes have been sold by the company and by separate traders. We must recommend it to your care to be as exact and diligent therein as possibly you can, and with the first opportunity to transmit to us such accounts as aforesaid, that they may arrive here in due time, as also duplicates by the first conveyance.

And that we may be the better able to make a true judgment of the present settlement of that trade, we must further recommend it to you to confer with some of the principal planters and inhabitants within your government touching that matter, and to let us know how the negro trade was carried on, and the island of Jamaica supplied with negroes till the year 1698, when that trade was laid open by act

[3] The report of the Board of Trade and the petitions relating to it were referred to the committee of the whole, which considered the African trade intermittently throughout the remainder of the session. *C. J.*, XV. 599, 602, 612, 616, 624, 632, 639.

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of Parliament; how it has been carried on, and negroes supplied since that time, or in what manner they think the said trade may best be managed for the benefit of the plantations.

We further desire you will inform us what number of ships, if any, are employed from Jamaica to the coast of Africa in the negro trade, and how many separate traders are concerned therein.

Lastly, whatever accounts you shall from time to time send us touching these matters of the negro trade, we desire that the same may be distinct, and not intermixed with other matters; and that for the time to come, you do transmit to us the like half yearly accounts of negroes, by whom imported and at what rates sold; the first of such subsequent accounts, to begin from Christmas, 1707, to which time those now demanded are to be given. So we bid you hearty farewell.[4]

P. S. We expect the best account you can give us, with that expedition, which the shortness of the time requires.[5]

31. Governor Daniel Parke to the Board of Trade.[1]

St. Christophers, July the 7, 1708.

I had the Honour to receive yours dated the 15th of Aprill, relateing to the Affrican Company. I have just now sent to their Agent at Antigua to Draw out an Accompt as your Lordships desire; as to this Island, There never was any agent; their agent that was at Nevis before it was Plundered is dead and I am afraid his book's lost when that Island was plundered[2] and Since I came there has been no negroes brought there by the Company; and onely one small vessell by private Trade, at Mountserrat there has been none; at Antigua the Company has had one Ship and Two small sloops, this is of my owne knowledge; but as soon as I can perswade the Agent to do it I shall send your Lordships the Accompt as I am ordered.

[4] This is signed, "Stamford, Herbert, Ph. Meadows, J. Pulteney, and R. Monckton".

[5] "Memorandum. This letter, *mutatis mutandis*, was writ to the Governors of Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, Bermuda, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, the President of the Council of Virginia, the Governor of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, the Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, the Lords proprietors of Carolina, the Governors and Companies of Connecticut and Rhode Island" (*R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 54). To the letter which went to the first eight of these the following paragraph was added: "We the more expect a speedy complyance herewith, since hitherto due care has not been taken to send an account of what number of negroes (that government) is yearly supplyed with, at what rates and by whom, as by your Instruction for that purpose you were directed and required to do" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 719). This letter as copied into the final report of the board differed slightly from this form.

[31] [1] C. O. 152: 7, no. 58. Daniel Parke, appointed governor of the Leeward Islands in 1706, was murdered in an insurrection in Antigua in 1710. One of the causes of friction between the governor and the inhabitants of the islands was his administration of, or interference with, the Guinea trade. See *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 104, 106, 287-290.

[2] The French, under Iberville, had raided Nevis in February, 1706.

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'tis true I have an Instruction relateing to the African Company to assist them In the recovery of their debts and to send your Lordships an accot of what negroes Imported;[3] accordingly some little time after I came I sent to Mr. Chester their Agent to send me the Accompt he sent me a proud Answer that he had no orders from the Royall Company to obey my orders, but some time after he sent me a lame Imperfect Accompt of one Vessell onely, which I did not think fitt to trouble your Lordships with. I told him what orders I had, he said he had nothing to Do with the Committee for Trade. I told him he was very Impertinent, and in Returne he told me he would not change his Post for mine, for that he got twice as much mony, and had less to do, and was not obliged to the fateigue of goeing from Island to Island this was at my first Arrivall which made me think I had a strange sort of people to deal with, but resolveing to make myself easy took no further notice of it but took all occassions to let him know I would give him all manner of Encouragement. Sometime after I went to St. Kitts and from thence writt to him to send me downe twenty negro-women out of the first ship that came and left the price to him accordingly he sent me twenty, one of which died before they were ship'd, and in two months Eight more had died and yet he charged me Eight hundred pounds, which was three hundred pounds more than I could have had the best negroes from Barbados and made it his braggs to the rest of his Chapmen how he made me Pay more then them, I sent for severall other things from him as I wanted them he being our greatest Merchant and he Charged me in proportion for every thing as he had for the negroes and I did not know how I was to be used untill I came to settle accompts with him, which was not long since and then as a very great favour he gave me Credit for one hundred and fifty pounds as an Abatement, whereas in his whole Accompt he had charged me four or five hundred pounds more than any one Else would have done I would have writt home to the Company, but I thought it might be ill Construed and that they would be apt to think I had a mind to Quarrell with their Agent except he lett me have negroes at my owne price; nor had I writt this story to your Lordships now but to lett you know it has not been my fault you have not this Accompt sooner. . . .[4]

[3] These instructions were contained in the usual instructions to all the West India governors.

[4] Endorsed, "Recd. Sept. 17, Read Oct. 28, 1708". In a letter of Aug. 23, 1708, Parke wrote that one vessel had brought 180 slaves to Nevis (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 72-73). The Board of Trade, not satisfied, wrote to Governor Parke on Dec. 14 that he had not yet told them the number of negroes needed annually by the Leeward Islands. A similar letter was written to Governors Crowe and Handasyd on Dec. 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 181.

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32. Lieutenant Governor Benjamin Bennett to the Board of Trade.[1]

Bermuda, August 4, 1708.

The duplicate of yo'r Lordps. of 15th of April last (the Original not yet come to hand) concerning the trade to Africa, I recd. on the 2d Inst., and the 3d being Council day, I had that speedy opportunity of qualifying myself to answer what is required therein: Which is as followeth;

Impris. That noe negroes either on the Royal African Companys acct. or seperate traders, have been imported into these Islands directly from Africa since the 24th of June, 1698 to the 25th of Decemb'r, 1707.

2dly That about 36 years agoe (as I am Inform'd) a small ship (her name nor Capt's. remembred), went from hence to Callebar on the Coast of Guiny, and brought back One hundred twenty five negroes, near half of whom were disposed off here (but att what prices I cannot learn) the rest were reshipt for Carolina and Virginia. Also abt 25 years since, Another ship went from hence to Callebar, Comanded by one Capt. Stone (her name not remembred) and brought back abt Ninety slaves: But most of them was carry'd to North Carolina, Virga, and placed on the Continent, and there disposed off, but att what rates can't be informed. And the way this plantation has been supplyed with negroes hath been from Barbados.

3dly Not one vessell is Employed to goe from this place to the Coast of Africa, either on the Company's acct or seperate trade.

Lastly I shall carefully observe yo'r Lord'ps' Commands in transmitting half-yearly accts of Negroes, by whom imported, and att what rates sold, if any vessells arrive here from the Coast of Guiny: And as for not haveing given an account according to my Instructions of the Numb'r of Negroes these Islands are yearly supplyed with, I answer; that since my arrivall, I have not heard of any Negroes being imported to be sold; this Country for several years haveing been (by their great increase) over stockt, which has occasioned many of them to be sent to the Southerne plantations and Northern parts of America, and there disposed of. . . .[2]

33. African Ships from Liverpool, 1709-1807.[1]

The Number of Ships which Cleared Out from the Port of Liver-

[32] [1] C. O. 37: 8.

[2] Endorsed, "Recd. 14th, Read 17th Dec., 1708".

[33] [1] Richard Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century, 1775-1800* (Liverpool, 1853), p. 234. This table has been frequently printed, sometimes with slight variations, as: 1762, 65; 1765, 86; 1769, 90; 1777, 30 (Henry Smithers, *Liverpool, its Commerce, Statistics, and Institutions*, 1825, p. 106). Sir James Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, I. 224, cites these figures as those of slaves, not tonnage. For some discussion of the development of the trade of Liverpool see *post*, no. 289, note 1.

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pool to the Coast of Africa, to the Time of the Trade being Abolished in May, 1807.

Year	Ships	Tons	Year	Ships	Tons	Year	Ships	Tons
1709	1	30	1767	83	8,345	1788	73	13,394
1730	15	1,111	1768	81	8,302	1789	66	11,564
1737	33	2,756	1769	90	9,852	1790	91	17,917
1744	34	2,698	1770	96	9,818	1791	102	19,610
1751	53	5,334	1771	105	10,929	1792	132	22,402
1752	58	5,437	1772	100[2]	10,159	1793	52	10,544
1753	72	7,547	1773	105	11,056	1794		
1754	71	5,463	1774	92	9,859	1795	59	
1755	41	4,052	1775	81	9,200	1796	94	
1756	60	5,147	1776	57	7,078	1797	90	20,415
1757	47	5,050	1777	30	4,060	1798	149	34,937
1758	51	5,229	1778	26	3,651	1799	134	34,966
1759	58	5,892	1779	11	1,205	1800	120	33,744
1760	74	8,178	1780	32	4,275	1801	122	28,429
1761	69	7,309	1781	43	5,720	1802	122	30,796
1762	61	6,752	1782	47	6,209	1803	83	15,534
1763	65	6,650	1783	85	12,294	1804	126	27,322
1764	74	7,978	1784	67	9,568	1805	117	26,536
1765	83	9,382	1785	79	10,982	1806	111	25,949
1766	65	6,650	1786	92	13,971	1807	74	17,806
			1787	81	14,012			

34. Report on the Trade to Africa.[1]

A State of the Trade to Africa presented to the House of Commons by the Council of Trade.

[2] *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool* (1798), p. 234, gives 89 vessels for 1772, 136 for 1792.

[34] [1] C. O. 390: 12, pp. 172-282. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 209-213, refers to a copy of the report found in 389: 20, pp. 275-313. See also Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 167-180. On Jan. 20, 1709, with the beginning of a new session of Parliament, the African Company again petitioned for such privileges as were needed to "preserve, support, and improve the Trade". The planters of Barbados alleged that for five years not above 2000 negroes had been imported and those at prices ranging from £25 to £40 each. They asked that the trade be preserved and they be supplied with sufficient numbers at reasonable rates; the merchants of London charged misrepresentation on the part of the African Company; the merchants and traders in woollens averred that the export of woollens was much larger under open trade. The committee of the whole took up the consideration of the trade, calling for a report from the Board of Trade (*C. J.*, XVI. 64, 71).

The board had been giving attention to the controversy throughout the preceding year. In addition to the information gleaned from the colonial governors, it had received from the separate traders: "an account of negroes that have been and are to be imported from Africa to Jamaica by the Company and the separate traders for the year 1708; an extract of a letter from Mr. Freeman to Mr. Harris, relating to the designs carried on by the African Company to ruin the separate traders, dated at Rio Gambia, the 20th January, 1707; the fictitious accounts of the charges of the fort at Gambia for the year 1705, amounting to £6941 11 *s.* 8 *d.*; abstract of the charges of the fort at St. James's Island in the river Gambia, for the month of January 1705", and various other papers relating to the sad condition of the forts. From all these it would appear that the separate traders were taking an aggressive position at the end of 1708 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 560-561). During January the board continued to collect information and was ready on Jan. 27 to reply to the order of the Commons of the 20th. *Ibid.*, pp. 574, 580, 582; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 203.

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Jan'ry 27th, 1708/9.

To the Hon'ble the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament Assembled:

In pursuance of an Order of this Honourable House of the Twentyeth of January 1708/9 requiring Us to lay before this House a State of the Trade to Africa with Our Observations thereupon.

That in 1672 the Liberty of Trading to Africa was by King Charles the Second granted to the present Company exclusive of all others, their Limits in their Charter being from Sally in South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope, and do contain a Sea Coast of 6000 miles, though 'tis said by the Company that all the Trades as well of the Company and private Traders as of all other Europeans is within the Limits of Cape Blancoe in 20 Degrees of North Latitude and the Southward Part of Angola to 15 Degrees of South Latitude.

Severall Complaints against the Company, and a generall Dissatisfaction that so profitable a Trade should be confined to an exclusive joynt Stock, soon brought on an interloping Trade; during that Time several private Ships with their Cargoes were seized with their Cargoes on the Coast of Africa and in the Plantation for Trading contrary to the Company's Charter whereby such private Trade was in a manner crushed,[2] But upon the late Revolution it reviv'd again, and was carryed on for some years to a much greater Degree than formerly.

In 1697 an Act was passed for settling that Trade whereby Liberty is given for the Terme of thirteen years and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, from the twenty fourth of June 1698 to any of her Majesty's Subjects to Trade within the Limits of the Company paying the Dutys in the said Act mentioned. *Vizt.* 10 per Ct. ad Valorem on all Exports and Imports for the Trade between Cape Blancoe and Cape Mount and 10 per Cent. upon Exports onely between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, with an Exemption of Dutys on Negroes, and paying 5 per Cent. onely in Red Wood all which Dutys are payable to the Company, and together with the one third Part of all Forfeitures, are by them to be wholly applyed to the maintaining their Forts and Castles with Men, Artillery, Ammunition, Provision and other necessary and incident Charges and to no other Use whatsoever.

Since the passing that Act we have received no Complaints from the Plantations either as to the Scarcity or exclusive Prices of Negroes otherwise than as occasioned by the Present War till those which have been lately sent from some of the Plantations.[3]

[2] The reports from the company's West India factors, printed in the first volume of this work, hardly convey the impression that the trade of the interlopers was so easily crushed as this implies.

[3] See the letters of Governor Parke (*ante*, no. 31, and *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 27-28, 72-73), and Governor Crowe of Barbados (*ibid.*, pp. 18, 65-67). A petition

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The number of Negroes yearly transported by the seperate Traders and Company since the Passing the said Act will appear in the following Part of this Report.

The Prices of Negroes sold by the Company and seperate Traders have been much the same, and have advanced or lessened according to the Demand and to the rise and fall of the Commoditys produced in the Severall Plantations.

The Company do's say that being willing to trye if they cou'd Carry on the Trade under this new Regulation, they raised an Additional Stock but after Experience of so many years have found it attended with insupportable Inconveniences under which they can no longer subsist. For They say, the 10 per Ct. does not near answer the Charge of the Forts and Castles.[4]

In Proof whereof they delivered in the following Accompt of the 10 *ll.* per Cent received from the seperate Traders from 1698 to 1707 Inclusive amounting to £53,731 9 *s.* 6 *d.* which with £33,734 computed from the Companys Exports and Imports to be the same arising out of their 10 per Cent for the same time amounts in the whole to £87,465 9 *s.* 6 *d.*, whereas the Charges of the Forts and Castles for those years according to the following Accounts given in by the Company amount to £273,172 : 16 *s.* 7 *d.* so that the Charges exceed the summe received £185,707. 7 *s.* 1 *d.* And the Company being asked by us in what condition their Forts and Castles were, they Answered that they were well Provided with Men Arms Ammunition and other Necessarys and that the seperate Traders have always had the Protection of the said Forts when desired.

Acc't of the 10 per Cent receiv'd from seperate Traders from June 1698 to Sep'br 1707.

Years	No. 1
1698	572. 11. 8
1699	5,981. 7. 11
1700	11,584. 10. 7
1701	11,353. 10. 9
1702	5,363. 8. 3
1703	4,413. 6. 2
1704	3,997. 3.
1705	3,568. 19.
1706	3,127. 7. 10
1707	3,789. 4. 4

Acc't of the Charges of the Forts and Factorys of the Royal African Comp'ny from June 1698 to Sep'br 1707.

No. 2
5,392. 10. 10
28,253. 4. 3
28,561. 15. 3
29,360. 1.
26,268. 18. 4
28,562. 8. 2
31,154. 8. 4
31,865. 6. 7
33,135. 13. 1
30,618. 10. 9

from Barbados, Jan. 20, 1709, stated that for five years that island had been insufficiently supplied with negroes. *C. J.*, XVI. 64.

[4] Much of the company's testimony here reported was obtained by the Board of Trade on Jan. 23, 1708, when Mr. Pindar, deputy governor of the company, appeared before the board. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 452-453.

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Mr. Beaumont Accomptant for the Company upon producing the said Accompts relating to the Charges of the Forts and Castles said they were transmitted to the Company by their Govn'r Genr'll in Africa and have been laid before the Cursitor Baron who kept them open for some time, but finding no Objection made thereto by any of the seperate Traders the Cursitor Baron at last past the same.

In Answer whereunto the Seperate Traders agree that between September 1698 and September 1707 there has been pay'd an Account of the 10 per Cent by them £53,731 . 9 . 6, which Sums Exclusive of the Company's Dutys well invested in Trade and prudently managed might have reasonably produced on the Coast of Africa, a Summe (if duely applyed) sufficient to have answered all the Charges of the Forts and Castles onely as the seperate Traders do alledge, such Charges being pay'd in Gold, the Produce of Goods bought with the Money arising hereby 10 per Ct. and sold there for Gold at Cent per Cent. profit.

And further as the seperate Traders have informed Us that some of them went last year to the African House and desired Mr. Beaumont the Company's Accountant to let them inspect their Journall of Receipts and Payments on the 10 per Ct. which he shew'd them, and that they might be able to lay before us a distinct Account thereof, they Carryed Pen and Paper to Minute their Observations on the particular Charges for maintaining the Forts and Castles but the Accomptant refused (as he said according to Orders given him) to let them take in writing any Remarks out of the Books while they lay open or so much as to write any memorandum after they were closed and taken from them, which we take to be contrary to the true Intent and meaning of the aforesaid Act. The Company denyes there was ever any such Directions given therein.

However the Seperate Traders have observed upon the said Inspection that in the Company's Acct. of Charges of Cape Coast Castle and the Gold Coast between the years 1703 and 1705 they found but 40 soldiers one year and 46 soldiers another year in Cape Coast Castle besides Armourer Carpenter Surgeon and other Tradesmen, and but 40 soldiers in nine of their other Settlements or Forts on the Gold Coast, and in two of them but one Man apeice for the years 1705 and 1706: They found but 30 soldiers one year and 36 the other year in Cape Coast Castle besides their new Artificers, and as to their other Forts on the Gold Coast they say mention is onely made of a Serjeant and soldiers in one Place and of a Corporall and soldiers in another, from whence they inferr these Garrisons to be much weaker in those last mentioned than in the foregoing years, and in further Proofe of the ill state of the Forts and Castles they pro-

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duced Letters from those Persons who have been employed in the Trade upon the Coast.

In Answer whereto the Company does admit, that sometimes through a mortality it might have so happened, but they say they always supplyed such Wants by free Gromettoes[5] for Wages (who for some time are as usefull as Whites) and that by all opportunitys they sent what Recruits of Artificers and Soldiers they could get from hence.

As to the other Charges the Seperate Traders observe that Sr Dalby Thomas the Company's Govn'r Generall has a Sallary of £1250 per Annum that their Gold taker Ware House Keeper and Accomptant in the said Accounts Stiled Lieuten't Generalls, have Sallarys amounting in the whole as the said Traders remember to £1000 per Annum, and that on the other Forts above £1000 per Annum is charged for Governours, whereas they say they are but the Companys Factors, and ought to have been pay'd by the Company not out of the 10 per Cent.

The great Summs are charged for Entertaining Strangers and Canoe hiring which ought to be borne by the Company as likewise all other such like Charges and the Seperate Traders say they find a Charge of Dashiss[6] to Negroes to a great Value, being bribes given to those Negroes for promoting the Company's Trade, and obstructing that of the Seperate Traders.

That severall of the other Charges are for supporting this War with the Natives, occasioned by the Company.

That the Charges of their working Negroes, employed in carrying the Goods of the Company and other Matters relating to their Trade, and in looking after their Slaves, are placed to the Account of the 10 per Cent Duty, many Presents given to the Kings there for promoting the Interest of the Company, and lastly they do observe that a great part of the rest of their Charges do's properly belong to the Company's Trade or Factors, though intermixed in the generall Accounts, and ought to be borne by the Company so farr as can be proved they relate to their Trade.

To all which the Company do's say that the Genr'll or Cheifs with their Assistants are Govn'rs for the Defence of those Sevr'll Places, that their numbers are necessary not onely in case of mortality but on many different occasions as their being set to severall Kings to preserve Alliances, to prevent Insults and to compose Differences etc. And that their Sallarys cannot be thought unreasonable considering the Distance and Climate of the Country, the Fatigue they are put to

[5] Gromettoes, free black men or domestic slaves. The term is used by the English in each sense. They were employed in the company's factories but were not to be sold.

[6] Gratuities.

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and the other Dangers they undergoe; nor could even such Sallarys how [have] engaged Persons fit to be trusted to live there, were it not upon Account of the other Advantages which they receive by the Company's Consignations to the Charges of Alliances; and Presents for preventing the same with the Natives are as necessary as the Charges of Repairs in Maintaining the Forts, in all which, Vessells, Canoes, and Negroes must be employed.

And on this Head of Charges of Forts and Castles the seperate Traders do further observe that if the Value of the Company's Exports from 1698 to 1707 be £293,740 : 6 : 8: as the Company does alledge, and if within that time the Company has lay'd out £273,172 : 16 : 7 on their Forts and Castles as they pretend, the latter Summe being deducted out of the former, there then remains £20,567 : 10 : 1 for Trade, which is not £3000 per Annum on Acc't of all their Trade within that time, but if the said Summe of £293,740 : 6 : 8 the Acc't of their Exports was wholly employed in Trade, then it does not appear that from 1698 to 1707 the Company have lay'd out anything upon the said Forts and Castles.

In answer to this the Company delivered us another Acc't of the Charges of their Forts and Garrisons rectifying an Error in their former Acc't, which is as follows: *vizt*

A Particular Account of the Charge of the Company's Forts and Garrisons on the Coast of Africa.

	£	s.	d.
The whole given in	273,172:	16:	7
Deduct an Error in the charge; twice Charged for premio	8,720:	00:	00
	264,450: [264,452]	16:	7
For the Cost in England of Stores and Provisions sent out, and Freight[7]	29,288:	00:	9
Pay'd Officers, Artificers etc. On Lett'rs of Att'rny payable in England by Agreem't and other Serv'ts Wages	19,564:	7:	6
For providing Sold'rs and Artificers and transporting them[8]	8,848:	16:	10
Premio of Hazard for Goods sent for paym't on the Coast for Sallarys Wages and Dyes [diet?], etc.[9]	20,675:	1:	4
Ballance Accounted for on the Coast[10]	186,076:	10:	2
	£264,452:	16:	7

[7] The author of *Some Remarks on a Pamphlet call'd Reflections on the . . . Trade to Africa* (*post*, no. 35) comments on these figures:

"As to the Cost of Stores in England, Provisions and Freight on them; the latter are sent on the Company's Account, and sold to the Soldiers, Beef at 10*d.* per Pound, Bread at 6*d.* Flowr in Proportion; and 'tis notorious when any Ships are hired for Guiney, no freight is ever paid outward thither, but only so much per Head for Negroes delivered. . . . because the Ships bound for Guiney, go generally in Ballast. So there is at least an Overcharge of 20,000*l.* made on that Article" (p.18).

[8] "As to the Advance to Officers, Artificers, etc. and procuring Soldiers, these are usually their Factors, Agents, etc. termed Generals, and Lieutenant-Generals, and no ways relating to the Ten per Cent. Duty. So almost all that Article ought to be

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Taking it for granted that the last Acc't is right, then £186,076 : 10 *s.* : 2 *d.* the Ballance accounted for on the Coast must be deducted out of the £293,740 : 6 *s.* : 8 *d.* the Value of the Company's Exports and there will remain 107,663 : 16 : 6 for the value of the Exports of the Company employed in Trade for 9 years and a halfe which is little more than one third of what the seperate Traders say they employed in that Trade in three years of the said time being £294,-720 : 00 : 11 as appears by the Accounts of their 10 per Cent amounting to £29,472 : 00 *s.* : 11 *d.* between September 1698 and September 1701.

However in this Computation a reasonable Allowance ought to be made of Advance or Proffit on the Article of the Company's owne proper Exports, tho' actually disposed of on the Coast of Africa as likewise a Regard had to such Stock of Goods, Stores, Armes, Ammunition, and other Necessarys which they had there before the said Act of Parliament took Place. The Seperate Traders further alledge that (as they are informed by the Persons that Impl[o]y there) the Forts and Castles of which the Company are now Possessed are in a very ill state of Defence, and very often in great Want of Provisions, in so much that 'tis said that Cape Coast Castle is the onely place of Strength, the rest of their Forts and Castles being weak and ill provided, may easily be surprised or taken for want of Provisions, so that most of these places are looked upon no otherwise useful than for the securing the Company's owne Goods and not any Protection to seperate Ships trading thither, Instances whereof have been given by some Traders to that Coast particularly at Widaugh [Whydah].

To this, the Company say, they have sent proper Supplys of all Necessarys from time to time, and have no complaints from thence for want of Provisions, that those Forts have in many respects been usefull to the seperate Traders, and particularly at Widah. The

abated, and what Part thereof doth relate to the Ten per Cent. is deducted again out of their Pay on the Coast." *Remarks,* p. 18.

[9] "The Article of Premio or Assurance, is also wrong, altho' the Account of Disbursements are true; because, as is abovesaid, the Coast Account is produced out of half the Value in England, and it appears a very unreasonable thing, not only to be charged Cent per Cent. Advance on Goods purchased with ones own Money, but Assurance thereon too, and that double or treble the *Sum paid* also, in regard Four Parts in Nine of this Premio, must have been in Peace, which is but 2 or 3 per Cent. and the said Premio could not amount to above 4000 *l.* which the Company charge at 20,675 *l.*" *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[10] "That Sum is produced out of half that Value in Goods bought in England with the 10 per Cent. Money, provided every Part of it were true; whereas the Charge of the North Coast is notoriously false, and is a computed Account without any Vouchers to justifie it. So there must be a vast Sum deducted for Generals and other Factors and Charges, no ways relating to the 10 per cent. Account" (*ibid.,* p. 18). The anonymous author of the pamphlet here quoted concludes his comments on these figures thus: "So that it will manifestly appear from what hath been said above, the Company cannot have expended above 70,000 *l.* on Forts, which they charge 264,452 *l.* 16 *s.* 7 *d.*" *Ibid.,* p. 19.

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Company's Cheif by his Interest and Power with the King there and by threatning to interrupt the Trade of that Country, obteined restitution of a Ship belonging to Mr. Heisham [11] with 300 Negroes taken in the Road by the French, that the *Mary* of Barbadoes Capt. Codnor Master and severall other Ships belonging to the Seperate Traders have under the Protection of Cape Coast Castle been frequently preserv'd.

'Tis Alledged by the Company that the Natives enjoy the whole benefitt of the Trade taking advantage of different Traders to advance the Prices of Negroes and their owne Goods, and to depretiate our Merchandizes, and they say the Price of Negroes which is now about £10 per Head in Africa, whereas it was formerly not above three pound is a sufficient proof thereof, this they inferred was occasioned by the Seperate Traders, for that they believe Negroes are not so dear in those Places where the Seperate Traders do not interfere with the Company, as on the Coast of Angola, Calabar and other places towards the Cape of Good Hope.[12]

This the seperate Traders admit to be true as to the Price of Negroes, but they say it has proceeded from no other cause than that Orders have been given to the Agents and Commanders Trading for the Company, that when they come near any seperate Traders they should be sure to sell their Goods for less, and give more for Negroes than the seperate Traders would give on purpose to outdoe or rather ruine them notwithstanding there is a Trade extensive enough for both, w'ch they say is the true reason that in those Parts our Commodities are lessen'd about one halfe of the Value at which they used to be sold, and the price of Negroes advanced to near Double, and this they take to be one reason why the Company may have suffered by the Trade when others thrive therein; On the Coast of Africa where the Company have few or no settlements, as at Whidaugh the Bite and all along the Coast of Angola (the greatest Extent of the Companys Limits and from whence the greatest number

[11] Robert and William Heysham, brothers, engaged in the slave trade together, were at this time both members of Parliament.

[12] See *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 452, for the company's statement of this. The factors on the coast frequently testified to the increase in prices caused by the competition of the separate traders. May 28, 1698, Factors at Cape Coast Castle to Royal African Company: "You will perceive what damage interlopers do, as well on this coast as at Whidah, lowering the prices of all European goods, and advancing the price of slaves. If some speedy remedy be not applied, we must be forced to lower our goods, otherwise no traders will come near us: the Dutch have already lowered their perpets to 9 ac. and talk of taking off another angle; but as theirs are inferior to ours, we keep ours at 10 ac. at which price, if interlopers be kept off, doubt not but shall vend considerable quantities. There is not a Negroe upon the coast will vend a slave now for six or seven pieces per head (a piece is 20 shillings) so that we are forced to advance another piece"; Winnebah, Mar. 2, 1708, Seth Grosvenor to the company: "The 10 per cent. ships are a mighty prejudice to our trade, for when they are upon the coast, and near slaved, they dispose of their goods at prime cost for dispatch, and give very extravagant prices for slaves." Davenant, *Works*, V. 182, 196; see also *ante*, no. 28.

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of Negroes are exported) Our Commoditys as the Seperate Traders Affirm do keep up their Value and Negroes are bought as cheap as formerly.

The Company deny they ever gave any such orders, and do ascribe the great price of Negroes and the fall of our Commoditys in Africa to the present manner by which that Trade is carryed on: They say they have a Fort at Widaugh, which they are at a great charge to maintain, and notwithstanding the said Fort the Price of Negroes is there more than double what it was before the Trade was lay'd open: They admit they have not lately sent any ships to the Bite and Angola and that considerable numbers of Negroes have been purchased in those Parts.

The Company further complain that the Natives grow insolent, and are encouraged by other Traders to insult the Companys Forts, and bring them out of Difficultys on purpose to obtein Bribes, to compose Differences of their owne creating this they say appears by Letters from their Factors, and particularly that one of the Seperate Traders, having made a bargain for some Negroes carryed them to Barbadoes without paying for the same, but that the Company in order to secure the Peace and a freindly correspondence with the Negroe Kings, sent to Barbadoes and bought the said Negroes and returned them to the King from whome they were so taken.[13]

The Seperate Traders owne they have heard and do beleive that the Company have had Differences with the Natives inhabiting near their owne Factorys, and that some of their Factorys particularly Anambo and Commenda have been insulted by the Natives, but they say these differences were occasioned by the Company's ill usage and bad Treatment of them in Trade, and sometimes by joyning with one Prince to depose others (which last mentioned Fact the Company have admitted) and that thereby the Company is become so Obnoxious, that the Seperate Traders say the Company's Agents and Factors dare not go without the Command of their owne Guns though the Seperate Traders usually trade all along the Shoare, and up the Rivers in open Boats where there are no Forts or Castles, and severall miles up into the Country being treated Civilly and justly by the Natives. They add that the Natives were not capable of attacking a Fortification, but that their way of Resentment is to stop Trading with that Factory from whence they have been injured till reparation be made.

The Company have further Complain'd that their unfaithful Factors, Confederated with the Captains of Seperate Traders in defrauding the Company: [14] To this the Company offered no Proofe, but onely said they had been defrauded by some of their Factors who have sent

[13] See *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 452, for the testimony of the company.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

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Effects of the Company's to this Kingdom, and they did not conceive this cou'd be done without the Concurrence of the Masters of Seperate Traders.

In Answer whereto, the Seperate Traders say, they are so far from knowing that the Masters of their Vessells do in any respect Confederate with the Company's Factors, that they usually forbid them to have any Correspondance with them or to come near those Factorys.

The Company likewise suggest that Forreigners take the Advantage of this Confusion in the Managem't of the Trade, and endeavour to destroy Our Interest in Africa, which the Company (when upon a right Establishment) doubt not but to improve, and secure to this Kingdom the principal part of the Trade to Africa:[15] By Right Establishment, they understand a joynt Stock, exclusive of all others, but in case that shall not be thought proper they would be content to be Limited in their Trade from Cape Blancoe to Cape Lopez if the Seperate Traders be restreined from Coming there.

To this Allegation the Seperate Traders answer that whatever confusion may have happened in that Trade, they are to be imputed to the different Interests of the Company and seperate Traders, therefore for prevention of the like for the future, the Seperate Traders propose that all Traders to Africa, be set on an equal foot by laying open the Trade, (like that to Turkey) under a just Regulation, in order whereunto they are ready to come into such Methods as shall be thought reasonable for the effectual maintaining Forts and Castles, if they be thought necessary, and have offered the annexed Scheme of the Charge marked A. However they think that Forts and Castles are neither an Advantage or Security to the Trade but an unnecessary Charge, for that in time of Peace no Advantage can be assigned to Ballance the Expence, and in War they are not Defencible against a forreign Enemy for want of Strength to resist any Ships of War that shall think them worth the Expence of an Attack.

The Seperate Traders say that the Company are sinking under this pretended Disadvantage while the Seperate Traders carry on their Trade to proffit, though they meet with all the opposition those Forts can give them instead of that Protection they ought to have had for the 10 per Cent they have pay'd, and which Duty they observe has been the Company's chief support.

To this the Company says, that the Value of the Seperate Traders Exports for 5 or 6 years past, has not exceeded £30,000 per Annum, That if they had been Gainers by that Trade, so many of them had not left it off as allready have done, that the £3000 per Annum being the 10 per Cent upon their Exports, would not have answered much above a 10th part of the Charge of their Forts within that Time, and

[15] See *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 453.

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that the whole must have been lost had not the Adventurers in the Company's joynt Stock payd in considerable Summes on their severall shares for their support and Preservation of their Forts and Trade.

The Seperate Traders add that the Forts are no Security to the Commerce, neither are they any inducement to the Natives to trade with us, on whome nothing can have any influence but fair dealing and a Mutuall Advantage, and they produced to us an Extract of a Letter from John Freeman Master of a Sloop belonging to a seperate Trader to Mr. Rich'd Harris dated at Gambia the 20th January 1707, which says that he saw an order to the Captain of one of the Company's Vessells, forbidding any attempt on any French Vessells they should meet, pursuant to an Agreem't made between the French and the Company.[16]

On the other Hand the Company alledge that Forts are absolutely necessary for protecting their Trade and securing their Effects left in the Country, that the said Forts were certain Marketts for Negroes to come to, that if all the Forts on the Coast were in the Hands of any one Nation, no Negroes could be brought off without their permission; that if the Company were settled upon a Right foot as before mentioned they should build more Forts in other places to good Advantage; that the said Forts are a protection to them against any Insults from the Negroes, but they owned they were not capable of resisting an Attack from an European Enemy that should come before them w'th ships of War; They added that when they bought the Forts of the old Company, they cost them between 40 and 50,000 *ll.* and that one of their Forts which they bought of the King of Denmark cost them £4,000.[17]

Last year we sent to the Company for an Account of what Forts, Castles Factorys and Settlements they had at the time of passing the Afores'd Acts, as likewise of such Forts, Castles, Factorys and Settlements as they are now possessed of, whereupon they gave us the Annexed List marked B containing the names of the severall Forts Castles Factorys and Settlem'ts belonging to the Company, as likewise the names as [of] such as do belong to any other European Nation upon that Coast.

By which List it appears that the Company have no Forts or Castles at Calabar or Angola, from which Places are exported very considerable numbers of Negroes.

It appears further that on the said Coast they had Gamboa Serelion and Sherborough, all which have been taken and Plundered

[16] See *ante,* no. 15 and note.

[17] The Danish Fort Frederiksborg, on a hill commanding Cape Coast Castle, had, according to Barbot (Churchill, V. 445), come into the possession of Henry Nurse, agent of the company in 1685. The English had rebuilt it in 1699, and renamed it Fort Royal. See this work, I. 78.

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by the French. However it is admitted that the Company are now possessed of the like number of Forts Castles Factorys and Settlements as they were in 1698, though not in the same Places, and the Company affirm that they have now in their Possession most of the Forts and Castles which were belonging to the Former Company before the Passing the Present Charter 1672 Except one or two which the Dutch tooke, but the Company took from the Dutch others instead of them; the Company being asked by us whether they ever made any Settlem't near Sunio [18] the Portugeeze Settlement in Angola? they answered they never had any Settlement there.

As to the French Settlement at Widaw 'tis said that with prudent Management the same might have been prevented; The Company before that Settlement was made having within halfe Gun shot a Factory of at least ten Great Guns.

In Relation to this the Company owned, that the French had built a Fort at Widaugh within Gun shot of theirs, but it was by the neglect of their Agent there that the French obteined permission to do it from the King of the Country, nor could the Company oppose the Doing it without Engaging in a War with that King.

That this Hon'ble House may have a view of the Company's joynt Stock at the time when the Trade was opened by the afores'd Act of its rise and fall since that time, and how it stood 1707: We have inserted the following Scheme shewing what Monys has been called in by the Company, The Ballance of their Books, Dividends by them made and the value of their Stock from 1698 to 1707 Inclusive.

Years	Money called in by the Company	Ballance of the Company's Books	Dividend made by the Company	Value of the Company's Stock
		£ *s. d.*	£ *s. d.*	
1698	12 *ll.* per share; 57,096	189,913:05		30 *ll.* per share
1699		191,470:04:1		
1700		205,748:14:2		
1701		210,368:19:4		
1702	6 *ll.* per share; 64,150	199,165:16:3		
1703		202,117:10:2	5,282:15	
1704	7 *ll.* per share; 74,112:10	216,544:08	10,575:10	
1705		210,924:14:5	15,715:07:6	
1706		147,941:02:9	15,830:12:6	
1707	the share in Stock— 36,612		13,725:15	£ *s. d.* 26:3:9 per share[19]
	£231,970:10 *s.*:00 *d.*		£61,130:00:00	

[18] Possibly in the neighborhood of Loango.

[19] The "stock journal" quoted by W. R. Scott gives the highest price of shares in 1698 as 17, that of 1707 as 15¼. *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 34-35.

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Mr. Beaumont the Company's said Accountant asked how the Ballance of 1698 which is £189,913 : 5 did arise? he sayd there was included the Value of the Company's ships and Effects here and in Guinea, as likewise all the Debts owing to the Company, but he was not able to say what Debts were good and what not; He owned there were severall Debts in the Plantations, contracted in the Reigne of King Charles the Second still standing out, and admitted that the Ballances for the succeeding years were computed upon the same Foot.

He added that in the year 1688 [1698][20] the Company made an Order that whosoever pay'd in twelve pounds should have a share and £57,096 being thereupon pay'd into the Company, there were by that means 4758 new Shares added, That the original shares in the Company were 6252½ which together with the new shares make up the present Number of 11,010½. So that if the 6252½ shares be computed at the same Rate as these additional shares *vizt.* at 12 *ll.* per share, then the real stock of the Company would be 57,787 *ll.* : 6 *s.* : -*d.* less than what the Company say the Ballance of their Books in that Year amounted to.

The manner of admitting new Shares was confirmed to Us by Pindar the Deputy Govn'r and upon our making the foregoing Objection to him, he onely replyed that though they had admitted the new Shares at £12 each, yet they did not esteem their owne Original so low which might make that difference, though at the same time he owned that even then the Shares were sold upon the Exchange from £10 to £12 each.

Having about the same time discoursed the seperate Traders on this Head of the Company's Stock they said that notwithstanding the Sums of mony at severall times call'd in by the Company, their stock was not then sold for above £11 :10 *s.* per Share or thereabouts that their Outstanding Bonds for the money they owed were at 16 per Cent. discount, and that the more has been payed into the Company the Lower their Stock has fallen.

The Seperate Traders computed that the Company then owed

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Upon their Common Stock	221,000:	0:	0
On their Specie Bonds	50,000:	0:	0
And in other Debts about	9,000:	0:	0
Amounting in the whole to	280,000:	0:	0

That their 11,010½ Shares valued at £11 :10 *s.* per Share do amount to 126,620, so that the Bonds other Debts and Value of their Stock is 406,620 then must the Company to make good that

[20] The date of the issue was Oct. 7, 1697. *Ibid.*, II. 33.

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Ballance be worth 406,620 *ll.* But whatever they fall short of a visible Estate of 280,000 *ll.* being what they owe upon Bond and other debts in good mony and good Debts due to them, by so much is the Company worse than nothing.

We further take leave to lay before this Hon'ble House the following Acc'ts received from the Company of their Exports and Imports as likewise of Negroes imported in the Plantations within the time therein mentioned whereby it may appear how the Company have Carryed on the Trade in those Parts.

Years	Exports made by the Company	Imports made by the Company	Negroes imported in the Plantations by the Company
1698	6,198: 2:6	12,376:11:8	941
1699	44,063: 1:8	9,746: 2:3	1,500
1700	26,685:13:4	4,424:16:8	2,045
1701	39,538: 8:4	14,308:12:9	1,511
1702	36,117: 3:4	76:10:0	2,014
1703	23,721:12:6	61:16:3	1,138
1704	53,254:19:2	8,646:00:0	2,745
1705	26,600:	:	2,921
1706	13,768:11:8	294: 6:3	1,144
1707	23,792:14:2	2,396 1:1	1,801
	293,740: 6:8	52,330:17:2	17,760

The Company likewise delivered in a List of what Shipping they have Employed in this Trade between 1698 and 1707 the Number whereof is 118 Ships, of which Number we find the Company have Nine Vessells and one Sloop, Burthen in the whole 1550 Tonns their owne Property, and as we are informed are Employed as follows *vizt.*

One Vessell and the Sloop employed in Carrying Rum and Sugar from Barbadoes where they were not long since brought to Cape Coast.

Two of the said Vessells employed as Advice Boats between this Kingdom and Cape Coast.

Two more Employed in fetching Red wood from the North Part. And the four others employed in the Slave Trade.

Upon these Heads the seperate Traders do say that the Proportion of Shipping (as to the number sent out of Africa by the Company and by the seperate Traders) will shew the Value of their respective Exports in such shipping, and consequently hold good in the Difference of their Imports.

The Seperate Traders say their ships are generally as large as the biggest of those Employed by the Company and on this Occasion they delivered in the following Extract of the Number of Ships dispatched

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from the Port of London to Africa as well on the Account of the Company as of the seperate Traders from the 24th June 1698 to 3d December 1707 taken out of the Custom House Books etc. *vizt.*

	Number of Ships	Private Ships	Company Ships
From Midsummer 1698 to 1699	51	41	10
From Midsummer 1699 to 1700	76	63	13
From Midsummer 1700 to 1701	98	81	17
From Midsummer 1701 to 1702	66	51	15
From Midsummer 1702 to 1703	50	32	18
From Midsummer 1703 to 1704	44	29	15
From Midsummer 1704 to 1705	39	26	13
From Midsummer 1705 to 1706	36	31	5
From Midsummer 1706 to 1707	25	16	9
From Midsummer 1707 to 3d Decr., 1707	19	16	3
Total	504	386	118

Tis Computed that the Numbers of Negroes necessary for a yearly supply of the Plantations is

For Virginia and Maryland	4000
Carolina and New York	1000
Barbadoes — about	4000
Leeward Islands	4000
For the Use of Jamaica and what are charged by Her Ma'tys Subjects to the Spanish West Indies	12,000
	25,000

To which the Seperate Traders add that the greatest part of the Negroes furnished to Virginia Maryland Carolina and New York has been by the Seperate Traders, and that not above two Hundred have been sent to those Parts by the Company since their Establishment [*blank*] Which not having been contradicted by the Company We must observe upon it that those Plantations so profitably supply[d] by the Seperate Traders, near one halfe of the Tobacco cou'd not have been produced and brought hither, and how much that would have lessen'd her Majesty's Customs and the Navigation of this Kingdom We need not mention.

About a twelve month agoe, We lay'd before Her Majesty a State of this Trade as it then appear'd to Us, which State was in substance the same as is herein before mentioned, and not long after a Copy of our said Report was delivered into the Hon'ble House.[21]

Soon after the rising of the last Parliament that we might be duely informed what Number of Negroes has been furnished to the Severall British Plantations in America as well by the Royal African Company as by the Seperate Traders from the time that Trade was lay'd open, at what Rate such Negroes have been sold there, and what Numbers is computed necessary for a Yearly supply of the said severall Planta-

[21] This report, of date Feb. 3, 1708, was introduced into the House Mar. 10, 1708.

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tions, We writ Circular Letters to her Majesty's Govn'rs in America in the Words following [*already printed, no. 30*].

In Answer whereto, We have received from the respective Govn'rs of Jaimaica, Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, the Massachussets Bay and New Hampshire Severall Returns an Abstract whereof is conteined in the following Scheme.

Negroes imported into the Plantations from the 24th June 1698 to December 1707 by the Royal African Company and Seperate Traders.[22]

To what Place imported.	Royal African Company.	Seperate Traders.	Total
Jamaica[23]	6854	35,718	42,572
Besides which there are 1804 Negroes not say'd by whome imported			1804
Barbadoes[24]			
By the Naval Officers Account which does not distinguish what is the Company's and what the Seperate Traders, It appears there has been transported into that Island from June 1698 to December 1707			34,583

Upon this the Govn'r observes that of this Number 9006 were imported by the Company and the remaining 25,577 by the Seperate Traders, by another Account we have received from the Govn'r it appears that from 1698 to 1700

	Royal African Company.	Seperate Traders.	Total
Importations are	5982	8580	14,562
Antigua[25]	2178	4945	7123
Mountserat	599	1604	2203
Massachusetts Bay			200
New Hampshire[26]			20

Barbadoes. To the Returne made by the Govn'r of Barbadoes, He adds that the best Account he could procure is conteined in the Annexed Paper Mark'd C. By which 'twill appear that notwithstanding the Trade to Africa has been open, Negroes have been very dear in that Island, *Vizt.* The best between £30 and £40 and one with another about £23 : 8 *s.* a head, and He further informes Us that there is little or no Difference in the Price between the Negroes sold there by the Company, and those sold by the private Traders.

From the aforesaid Officer's List of Negroes Marked D. the Govn'r observes there has been 34,583 Negroes imported into that Island from the 24th of June 1698 of which 9006 were imported by

[22] For additions to the figures here given see *post*, no. 42.
[23] Sept. 24, 1708, Governor Handasyd to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 103.
[24] See *ante*, no. 23.
[25] See *ante*, nos. 25-27.
[26] Oct. 1, 1708, Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade; Nov. 13, 1708, Governor Parke to the same. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 110-111, 143.

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the Company, and the remaining 25,577 by the Seperate Traders, this whole Importation does not amount to above 3458 Negroes per Annum or thereabouts, whereas to keep up the stock of that Island there will need at least 3640 Negroes every year, so that without a greater Supply Negroes will rather advance than fall in their Prices.

That since the 9th of December 1698 111 Vessells have been fitted out from that Island for the Coast of Africa, 18 whereof were for the Company's Account, and 93 on Account of the Seperate Traders.

Leeward Islands.[27] To the Returne made by the Govn'r of the Leeward Islands, He adds there has been no Negroes imported into Nevis by the Company since July 1706, and but one small Vessell with about 180 by the Seperate Traders.

That none has been imported into St. Christophers, either by the Company or by Seperate Traders since the said month of July 1706; what was imported before cannot be accounted for, the Books of such Imports having been lost by the Hurricane or by the Invasion of the French.

Bermudas.[28] The Govn'r of Bermuda informs Us there has been no Negroes imported into those Islands either by the Company or Seperate Traders since the 24th June 1698 and that what Negroes they have were bought at Barbadoes, and imported from thence to Bermuda.

Massach'ts.[29] To the Returne made to the Governour of the Massachus'ts Bay, he adds that there are in that Province 550 Negroes, of which number about 200 were Imported from Barbadoes, Jaimaica or the Leeward Islands Since the 24th of June 1698, the rest were borne in that Province.

New Hampshire.[30] In the Province of New Hampshire there are about Seventy Negroes and onely twenty thereof have been imported since the 24th June 1698.

It being our Duty in a more particular manner to Inspect the Management of the Negroe Trade on which the very being of the said Plantations do so much depend, We judged it necessary to be further informed, how the same was carry'd on the last year, and in order thereto sent such Queries to the Seperate Traders as we thought proper for that Purpose, To which Queries, severall of the most considerable Seperate Traders as we thought proper for that purpose answered Paper marked E. in which the said Queries and Answers are contained, and they have likewise given unto us the

[27] Aug. 23, 1708, Governor Parke to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 72-73.

[28] See *ante*, no. 32.

[29] Oct. 1, 1708, Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 110-111.

[30] Oct. 10, 1708, Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade, *ibid.*, p. 111.

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severall other Papers marked F: G: and H. relating to the present State of the Company's Forts and Castles and the Charges thereof.

At the same time we sent the following Queries to the Royal African Company *Vizt.*

Acc't of the 10 per Cent pay'd by Seperate Traders from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708 and how the same has been expended.

Account of the charge of the Forts and Castles during the aforesaid Time and of the Company's Settlements in Africa.

Account of what mony has been called in and pay'd, and what Dividends made by the Company between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708.

Account of the Exports and Imports by the Company for the said Time.

Account of the number of Ships fitted out by the Company from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708.

Account of the number of Negroes furnished by the Company to the severall Plantations during the said Time, and at what rates sold.

Account of the Woollen Manufactures the Company have exported since Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas last.

In answer whereunto they have delivered in the Annexed Paper marked I.

Upon all which we observe that the number of Negroes furnished to Jamaica Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands (which are the Principal Plantations) either by the Company or Seperate Traders since the opening the Trade are much less than what were wanting for their necessary Supply and the Carrying on the Assiento Trade according to the foregoing Computation made on that Head nevertheless we are sensible that in this Case an Allowance is to be made for Losses and other Accidents of War, and We believe that the Scarcity as well as great Rates for Negroes at Barbadoes, have proceeded from their Imposition of their Paper Mony in payment for Negroes instead of Silver or other Goods since 1706, Though it must be allowed that between the years 1698 and 1708 the Seperate Traders have imported into that Island four times as many and into Jamaica twice as many as have during the same time been imported into these Islands by the Company, and that the Losses lately sustained at Nevis and St. Christophers when invaded by the French have occasioned the like Scarcity and Excess of Price in the last mentioned Islands where the Planters have little Mony or Effects to buy Negroes.

It is hard to make a true Value of Imports either by the Company or Seperate Traders on regard such Imports consist mostly of Gold as well as Elephants Teeth and Red wood, and it is yet the more difficult to come near the Truth thereof on the part of the Seperate

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Traders, for that most of the Masters of their Vessells bring home their private adventures in gold.

It cannot be doubted but a Trade so very profitable in its selfe, and so absolutely necessary for the support of the Plantations, ought to be preserved and put on such a foot that it may be carryed on and improved to the full extent.

It may reasonably be apprehended should this Trade be confined to a Company by a joynt Stock exclusive of all others that such Company will contract the Trade within the gold Coast or such narrow Limits in Africa, as may best turn to their owne Proffit without Regard to the good of the Plantations or of the Publick which may be presumed from the ways of their having carryed it on for the time Past.

It will Of consequence very much to lessen the Number of Ships now Employed in the Trade, to the great Disincouragement of our Navigation, for since there has been an open Trade, the seperate Traders have sent three Ships for one imployed by the Company.

Should so extensive a Trade be confined to an Exclusive joynt Stock, the Plantations may suffer for want of sufficient number of able Negroes at reasonable Rates, those Marketts being best supplyed where there are most Sellers, and on this Head we observe that by the Company's owne Accounts of the Negroe Trade from 1680 to 1688 in nine years (and in a time of Peace) there were but 46,396 Negroes delivered in the Plantations, whereas 'tis computed by the seperate Traders that since the ope[n]ing of the Trade by the aforesaid Act within the like Terme of Years, notwithstanding the present War, there have been imported by the Seperate Traders into those Parts 160,950 Negroes.

Lastly we cannot but be sencible how prejudicial it must be to Trade in generall to have but one Buyer of all such Woollen and other Goods as are annually Exported for this Trade But one Freighter of so many Ships at home and but one buyer of the Plantation Commoditys abroad.

Tis true that the French Dutch and Hamburghers and other Nations trade to Africa in a joynt Stock, their Trade being not very considerable, whereas had they been of so large and so many Improvable Plantations as belong to Great Britain in America, 'tis presumed they would soon Enlarge that profitable Trade to a greater Extent by laying the same open and the Seperate Traders do say that the Portugeze never had any, except the Cacho Company [81] which lasted but five years, but that the Trade remained open to all People of that Nation, and that they usually carryed off more Negroes yearly (before our Trade was opened by the said Act) than all other Nations in Europe and they say likewise it can be proved that there have

[81] This company held the assiento from about 1696 to 1701; see this work, I. 107.

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been about 100 sayle of Portugeze Vessells in one Parte of the Coast of Africa in one year when there hath been but one Company's ships while the Trade was Exclusive in 15 months at one of the Cheif Places of Trade.

Though the carrying on of this Trade in the way now settled by the aforesaid Act is much more advantagious to the Publick than that of an Exclusive joynt Stock, yet we find that great Inconveniencys have arisen and will unavoidably arise from its being carryed on upon such different and contending Interests as those of a Joynt Stock and of a Seperate Trade, for while they strive to beat each other out of the Trade the Value of our Commoditys is greatly lessened and those of Africa as much encreased, it is reasonable to beleive that from such a struggle in Trade, the Disputes and Quarrells between the Company and the Natives, and the Losses, of which the Company complains have in some measure proceeded, for, though the Company do impute the great lessening of their Stock to the Extraordinary Charges in Maintaining the Forts and Castles over and above the Produce of the 10 per Cent, yet if the said 10 per Cent had been well invested in Goods, and frugally managed, it must have answered their Service.

In the Valuation of the Company's quick Stock as given in by them, all the Debts due to the Company of what kind soever being included unless we were able to distinguish the good Debts from the bad, we cannot positively affirm in what condition the Company now is with regard to the real Stock in Trade, but do beleive it is reduced so very low that 'twill be impossible (upon the Foot they now stand) for them to carry on that Trade which if duly Extended will employ a much greater Stock than the Company have hitherto at any time had.

Their Forts and Castles and other their dead Stock the Company did last year value at £141,450, though the Seperate Traders say, that at the time of passing the aforesaid Act all their Forts and Castles then in their Possession was valued by some Seperate Traders (well acquainted with their Affairs) at no more than £4100 or thereabouts, and if they are of greater Value now by any Additional Fortification made to any of them since that time, the Seperate Traders hope it will be thought reasonable that such Improvement shou'd be look't upon as owing to the 10 per Cent by them pay'd pursuant to the said Act in proportion to the said Dutys.

All which is humbly submitted

STAMFORD
PH: MEADOWS
J. PULTENEY
R. MONCKTON
CHA: TURNER

WHITEHALL
January 27th 1708/9

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A. *The Seperate Traders' Scheme for Maintaining the Forts.*[32]

As to the Charges necessary for the supporting what Forts and Factorys they are possess'd of, and effectually to answer the Ends of maintaining the Honour of the Nation the Protection of Trade and the benefitt of all Her Majesty's Subjects alike, we humbly offer the following Scheme as abundantly sufficient for those purposes *vizt.*

For the Fort Called Dickeys Cove[33] 12 Guns the Charge for one Year	£	s.	d.
A Cheif of the Fort at £100 per annum	100.	—	—
Serjeant at £32. 10 *s.* per annum	32.	10.	—
Gunner at £32 per an. and 9 Soldiers at £29 per annum	266.	10.[34]	—
Their usual Allowance of Gunpowder per annum	15.	—	—
	£414.	—	—
For Succundoe Fort 8 Guns.			
A Chief of the Fort at per Ann.	100	00	00
Serjeant and Gunner, the same person	32	10	—
Six Soldiers at £26 per ann.	156	—	—
Gunpowder the present allowance	15	—	—
	303 –	10 –	00
For Commendoe Fort 24 Guns			
A Cheif of the Fort	100	00	00
Serjeant	32	10	00
Gunner £32. 10 *s.* and 21 soldiers at £26	578	10	00
Gunpowder, the present allowance	30	00	00
	741 –	00 –	00
Calbo Corto[35] Castle and Fort Royal or Danes Hill 50 Guns the Charge for one Year.			
The Commander of the Castle and Counsel for Trade his Sallary and Expences per ann.	500	00	00
The Deputy Consul and Lieutenant	200	00	00
A Chaplain	100	00	00
A Surgeon and Mate	120	00	00
Two Serjeants	65	00	00
Ninety one Soldiers at £26 per ann.	2366	00	00
Expence of Powder 30 Bar'lls per annum	150	00	00
	£3566 [3501]	: 00	: 00
Anisham a Negroe House One Soldier and Ground Rent to the Capt. of the Towne per annum.	50 –	00 –	00
Animabo Fort 10 Guns The same as Dickys Cove per ann.	414 –	00 –	00
Agga One Soldier per ann.	26 –	00 –	00

[32] The papers subjoined to the report are also to be found in Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 181 *et seq.*

[33] The separate traders allowed £1800 for the fort on James Island, and £700 for Sierra Leone and Sherbro.

[34] This is obviously incorrect. Whatever the mistake, it was carried throughout the account.

[35] Cabo Corso or Cape Coast.

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	£	s.	d.
Santa Quore[36]			
The same as Annisham	50	00	00
Winnabah 12 Guns			
The same as Animabo	414	00	00
Accra 24 Guns			
The same as Commenda	741	00	00
For Ground Rents payed by the African Company to the Lords of the Country.			
For Dickey's Cove per annum	24	00	00
Succundoe	24	00	00
Commenda	48	00	00
Calbo Castle and Fort Royal or Danes Hill	384	00	00
Animabo	72	00	00
Winaba	72	00	00
Accra	96	00	00
	720	00	00
Repairs per annum	£800	00	00
Other Contingencys per ann.	770	00	00
	1570	00	00

In the foregoing Calculation of 90 *ll.* : 10 *s*:[37]

We have as we conceive fully provided for all things necessary for the Forts and Castles on Gold Coast and over valued severall particulars more than the Company have ever actually provided for or supported for any three months together and to produce this summe of 90 *l.* : 10 *s.* : 00 on the Coast of Africa £5000 honestly invested and fairly shipt in Woollen and other Manufacturys hence will be sufficient which is much less than the Seperate Traders onely have payed for these nine years past, so that more than 10 per Cent supposed to be pay'd by the Company, and the vast summes they pretend to be in arrear is sunck by Misaplication.

B. *The Scituation of the severall Settlements on the Negroes Coast.*

On the North Coast

French { Senegall in the Entrance of the River Senegall
Goree

English: James Island in the Entrance of the River Gambia

Portugeze: Cutcho

Portugeze: Biscoe

English { Bence Island
York Island

[36] This seems to fit no English fort on the West Coast of Africa encountered by the editor.

[37] The total here is actually £9009 10 *s.*, that given in Add. MSS. (10453, f. 181) adds 10 *s.* to this, giving £9010; that obtained by the author of the pamphlet, *Some Remarks* (*post*, no. 35), is £11,468, which is not the sum of his figures. The amount he reduced to £5734 sterling (*post*, no. 35, note 13).

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On the Gold Coast

		Miles Distant
Dutch	Axim	
Brandenburgh	Acquedah	2
English	Dickes Cove	3
Dutch	Buserve	3
English	Succunde	15
Dutch	Shumat	9
English	Commenda	½
Dutch	De Muria [D'el Mina]	9
English	Cape Coast	9
English	Fort Royal	1
English	Queen Ann's Point[28]	½
Dutch	Moree	2
English	Annisham	3
English	Animabo	3
English	Agga	1
Dutch	Cormanteen	3
Dutch	Apaugh	30
English	Shido	3
English	Winabah	7
English	Accra	36
Dutch	Accra	½
Danes	Accra	3
English, French, Dutch	Whidah the principal place for purchasing great Numbers of Negroes about ½ a mile distant from each other.[29]	

Note. James Island and Castle scituated in the entrance of the River Gambia if possessed by the French whose Settlements are near the Trade of that River would be wholly lost the Companys Factorys and Trade up and on both sides that River extend above 300 Leagues beside their Trade with the Neighbouring Countrys without the said River.

Note. The Inhabitants of Dutch and English Settlements on the Gold Coast for Preservation of the Trade to each Nation would decline or Determine as the said Settlements should be more or less deserted.

Note. The French are by their Settlements at Widaugh Contending for that whole

[28] Queen Anne's Point was a second small fort close to Cape Coast Castle. Visitors to the Gold Coast often commented on the military necessity of fortifying the higher land about Cape Coast because of the fact that the castle itself was built on low land.

[29] To this list may be added the names of the forts at most of these places, and the approximate dates at which they were built, as given by A. B. Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 75:

Axim	Fort Anthony	1515
Prince River	Great Friedrichsburg (Brandenburg)	1682
Akwidah	Fort Dorothea	1685
Dixcove	Dixcove Fort	1691
Butri	Fort Batenstein	1640 *c.*
Sekundi	Fort Orange (Dutch)	1640 *c.*
Shama	Fort St. Sebastian	1640 *c.*
Commenda	Fort Vrendenburgh (Dutch)	1687
	Commenda Fort (English)	1673 *c.*
Elmina	Castle of St. George Fort Conraadsburgh (Dutch)	1638
Cape Coast	Cape Coast Castle	1662 *c.*
	Fort Royal	1659 *c.*
Mori	Fort Nassau	1624
Anamabo	Anamabo Fort	1673 *c.*
Cormantine	Fort Amsterdam	1650 *c.*
Appam	Fort Leydsamheyd (Dutch)	1697
Winnebah	Winnebah Fort	1694
Accra	James Fort (English)	1673
	Fort Crevecoeur (Dutch)	1650

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Trade, and there is no way to prevent their Designe but by preserving and improving the English strength there equal or superior to what the French does.

Note. The Dutch seize all the Portugeze Ships they meet with Trading on the Gold Coast and oblige them to pay 25 per Cent upon their whole Cargoe on their Permission before they be suffered to trade.

AFRICAN HOUSE 18th Dec'br [1707].
RICH'D BEAUMONT Accomptant for
the Royal African Company.

No. 1. An Acc't of Ships dispatched from the Port of London and Bristoll for the Coast of Africa between Michaelmas 1707 and Mic: 1708 as well on the African Company as Seperate Traders with 10 per Cent. Duty pay'd on each Ship taken from the Custom House Books of each Port.[40]

Time When Clear'd from the Custom House	Ship's Name from Port of London	On Acc't of Company	On Acc't Sep. Trad'rs	Ten per ct. Duty paid on each ship by the Sep. Traders	Ten per ct. Duty on each ship paid by Company
First Octo'r, 1707..	*Anne* Gally.....	.....	Separate	199:14: 6	.....
3 Ditto.....	*Sarah*.....	.....	Ditto	219:14:11	.....
Ditto.....	*Neptune*.....	.....	Ditto	155: 9: 7	.....
Ditto.....	*Edw'd and Hannah*....	.....	Ditto	90:11:10	.....
9 Ditto.....	*Industry*.....	.....	Ditto	52:17: 0	.....
9 November....	*Charles*.....	.....	Ditto	221: 7: 6	.....
9 October.....	*Eliz. and Hannah*.....	.....	Ditto	106: 6: 0	.....
23	*Camwood Merch't*.....	Company	.....	.....	191: 8: 4
13 November....	*Antelope*.....	.....	Separate	68: 2:10	.....
3 December....	*Prosperous*.....	.....	Ditto	48: 8: 2	.....
17 November....	*Mary Crookshank*.....	.....	Ditto	79:19: 2	.....
3 December....	*Mary Thisticle*.....	.....	Ditto	157:16: 6	.....
6th	The *Deering*.....	.....	Ditto	50: 5: 9	.....
19	The *Greyhound*.....	Company	.....	.....	208:13: 3
Ditto.....	*Wishart* Galley.....	.....	Separate	126:18:11	.....
17 Jan'ry, 1707/8	*Marcellus Merch't*.....	.....	Ditto	158: 1: 0	.....
23 Ditto.....	*Thomas and John*.....	.....	Ditto	180: 8: 4	.....
20 Ditto.....	*Alex'r* Galley.....	.....	Ditto	78:18: 6	.....
9 February.....	*Queen Anne*.....	.....	Ditto	53:18: 6	.....
16 Ditto.....	*Regard*.....	Company	.....	.....	391: 0:11
				£2,049: 5: 8]	£791: 2: 6
				[£2048:19: 0	

[40] Also in Add. MSS. 10453, f. 189. Documents C and D of the appendix are omitted, since the material duplicates that printed on pp. 28-32. Despite the title, there are no Bristol vessels given. Gomer Williams attributes to Bristol 57 slave vessels annually for the years 1701-1709; to London, in 1701, 104, in 1702, 72, in 1704, 50, and in 1707, 30. These figures are decidedly at variance with those given by Davenant as customs entries, and for Bristol they are probably much too large (*Liverpool Privateers and the Liverpool Slave Trade*, p. 467, and *ante*, no. 33). To the London vessels here listed should be added the following: "Another Ship Called the *Coward* Galley went to Guinea in this time but took most of her Loading in Scotland."

Though London merchants took the more prominent part in the controversy over monopoly, Bristol was by no means inactive. On Jan. 14, 1709, Mr. Yate, M.P., acquainted the Merchant Venturers with the fact that the "African Company were seeking to monopolise the trade to Africa". On his advice a committee was appointed to "make interest" against the bill in Parliament. John Latimer, "MS. Calendar of Records of the Merchant Venturers Society", II. 13, 15, 17, Bristol, Archives, Merchant Venturers.

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[*Account of Ships*—continued:]

Time When Clear'd from the Custom House	Ship's Name displ'd from Port of London	On Acc't of Company	On Acc't Sep. Traders.	Ten per ct. Duty paid on each ship by the Sep. Traders	Ten per ct. Duty on each ship paid by Company
16th Feb'ry.....	*Greswold* Gally.....	.....	Separate	108: 8: 4	.....
Ditto.....	*Prince of Mindchim*....	.....	Ditto	125: 5: 1	.....
19th June, 1708...	*Fanteen*.....	.....	Ditto	152: 3:11	.....
19	*Martin* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	120: 1: 4	.....
13	*Raper* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	161:14: 1	.....
15 Sept'r.....	*Bridgewater*.....	Company	.....	.....	153:12: 1
Octo. 2'd.....	*Dolphin* Brig.....	.....	Separate	109: 5: 1	.....
12 Nov'r, 1707..	*Dover* Gally.....	.....	Separate	£76:10: 1	.....
3 Febru'ry.....	*Whetstone* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	101:13: 7	.....
5 March.....	*Jos.* Gally 20'th, the *Unions* Cargo p'd....	.....	100.....	16: 7: 4	.....
23d June, 1708...	*Will'm* Brig.....	.....	Separate	58:13: 5	.....
Ditto.....	*Kent* Sloop.....	.....	Ditto	72: 9: 6	.....
26 Ditto.....	*Bartly* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	106: 3: 6	.....
24	*Happy Return* Brig....	.....	Ditto	74: 2: 3	.....
30 Ditto.....	*Expedition* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	165: 7: 3	.....
14 Aug't.....	*Emelia*.....	.....	Ditto	260: 6: 5	.....
3757:16:10 944:14: 7 4702:11: 5	Totall.....	.....	.....	3757:16:10 [3757:12: 2]	944:14: 7

Account of Seperate Trader's Ships lost or Miscarryed between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708.

Samuell and Elizabeth blew up.
Amiable cast away at St. Thomas
Content Sloop taken
Joseph of Bristol taken and ransomed
Berkley taken
Elizabeth and Hannah not heard of. Outward Bound
Forster Galley taken
John Galley taken
Neptune taken
Whetstone Gally taken
Deering taken
Sidney Castaway
Dorothy Foundered
Happy Returne Gally taken
Robert Adventure Cast away
Bonadventure foundered } Homeward Bound $\frac{10}{21}$
Delitia taken }
Valentine and Eliza. Cast away
Antelope shatter'd in bad weather rendred unfit for Service and broke up at Jamaica.
Animaboe taken
Dempton Gally taken
Seaford taken Company's Ship.

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No. 2. An Account of Ships arrived with Negroes at the Plantations between Michaelmas 1707 and July 1708.[41]

Ship's Name	No. of Negroes imported into Jamaica		No. of Negroes imported into Virginia and Maryland		No. of Negroes imported into Barba.		No. of Negroes imported into Leward Isl.	
	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't
Dover Gally	.....	186						
Wm. Brigantine	.....	150						
Dolphin Gally	.....	290						
Seaford	200							
Raper Gally	.....	340						
Happy Ret. Gally	.....	299						
Pindar Galley and acct. Com. hired ship	518							
Colson Gally	.....	206						
Machin Gally	.....	252						
Happy Ret. Brig.	.....	162						
Queen Anne Hir'd	525							
Dorothy	.....	425						
Dorset Brigan.	.....	164						
Jos. Gally	.....	135						
Macklesfeild	510							
Anne Gally	.....	556						
Sidney	.....	300						
Two Island Sloops	.....	300						
Antelope	.....	177						
A Brigantine	.....	130						
Young Marget	.....	.....	.....	280				
Mary Crookshank	.....	.....	.....	274				
Queen Anne	.....	.....	.....	90				
Delight Gally	.....	.....	.....	106				
Prosperous	.....	.....	.....	100				
Eagle	.....	.....	.....	290				
Jno. and Constance	.....	.....	.....	285				
The *Wm. Tel.*	.....	.....	.....	.....	75			
Kather: Hired	.....	.....	.....	.....	476			
The *Ashby*	.....	.....	.....	.....	123			
Ric'd Thomas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	130		
Two Antigua Sloops	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	260
	1753	4288 [4072]	.....	1425	674	130	.....	260

[41] Also in Add. MSS. 10453, f. 190.

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An Abstract of the Nomb'r of Negroes arrived at Barbadoes between the 8th April 1698 and 29th April 1708 as appears by a particular Acc't thereof sent from that Island.[42]

Totall	Company	Seperate Traders	Between what Years	No. of Negroes delivered by the Company	No. Negroes delivered by Sep. Traders	Totall of Both
27	2	25	Between the 8th April 1698 and 2d April 1700	1,030	5,486	6,516
20	2	18	Between 2d April 1700 and 5th April 1701	852	2,459	4,311
57	3	24	Between 5th April 1701 and 10th April 1702	1,241	7,972	9,213
24	1	23	Between 10th April 1702 and 31st March 1703	430	4,131	4,561
8	2	6	Between 31st March 1703 and 5th April 1704	743	1,130	1,876
13	1	12	Between 5th April 1704 and 2d do. 1705	534	2,785	2,319
19 [9]	1	8	Between 2d April 1705 and 5 do. 1706	521	1,354	1,875
10	5	5	Between 5th April 1706 and 12 May 1707	1,551	1,169	2,720
6	3	3	Between 12th May 1707 and 29th April 1708	674	344	3,018
174	20	154 [124]		7,579 [7,576]	27,830 [26,830]	35,409 [36,409]

E. *Answer of the Seperate Traders to Severall Queries.*[43]

Rt. Honourable, In Obedience to your Lordship's Order of the 8th Instant for answering divers Queries therein mentioned, We have humbly to offer.

In Answer to your Lordship's first and second enquiry *Vizt.* How much we do compute has been paid of the Acc't of the 10 per Cent Duty to the African Company and private Traders on Acc't of that Trade between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708.

We pray leave to acquaint y'r Lordships that we have examined the Custom Books of London and Bristoll, and find the 10 per Cent Duty to amount to very near £5000 in that time and the Number of Ships dispatched by the Company to be four, and those of the Seperate Traders to be 34 as appears by Paper No. 1. There is also one other Seperate Ship not mentioned dispatched just after Michaelmas 1708 which we have not inserted though the 10 per Cent Duty was pay'd before but we cannot be certain how many were dispatched from the Plantations within that time nor the value of the 10 per Ct. Duty they pay'd. We have added to the said List of Ships the Names of such as have been lost out of this Trade within the above time, making twenty one seperate Ships of the value of near £70,000

[42] To obtain full information about importation into Barbados it is necessary to use this list with nos. 21-24, *ante.*

[43] Also Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 186-188.

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and but one Company's ship, one halfe whereof would have otherwise been here and dispatched again for Guinea within this Time also so that it is to be wondered we are not quite beat out of the Trade by the Oppressions of the Company on one Hand and the Calamitys of the War on the other Hand.

In Answer to your Lordship's 3d. Enquiry what may be the Value of the Exports, particularly in reference to our Woollen Manufacture, and of the Import of the Company from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708 as far as we can be able to make a Judgement and what the Value of Exports and Imports within that time by Seperate Traders.

We humbly offer that the 10 per Ct. Duty being a Guide to the Value of the whole it appears that part thereof pay'd by the Company between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708 amounted to £944 : 14 *s.* : 7 *d.* which makes out 9440 odd pounds Value Exported by the Company both on Acc't of their Trade and for maintaining their Forts too, and the 10 per Cent pay'd by Private Traders in that Time for Trade only amounts to £3958 : 10 *s.*—which makes £39,580 and odd besides the 10 per Ct. Duty, Custom and other Charges amounting to eight or nine thousand pounds more, which shews that the seperate Trade[r] Exports for Trade bear a like Proportion to the Ships employed therein on each side in this Time and exceeds the Company's Exports for Trade near ten to one if there is deducted out of the above £9440 the mony arising for the 10 per Ct. Duty amounting to £4900 and bears also a Proportion in the Export and Value of Woollen Manufactures also, which humble Submission is computed by us at one halfe of the Value of the whole being on the Company's Part about £4000 and on the Seperate Traders Acc't about 20,000.

But as to the Value of the Imports in the said Time on each side 'tis very difficult for Us to make a Right Judgement thereof in regard they consist mostly of Gold as well as Elephants Teeth and Red Wood and 'tis yet more difficult to come near the Truth thereof on the Part of the Seperate Traders because most of the Masters of Our Vessells bring home their private adventures in Gold, Though we do judge that the Company may have imported in Gold, Elephants Teeth about 5 or 6000 *ll.* and the Seperate Traders about 25,000 *ll.* or 30,000 *ll.* in that time.

In Answer to your Lordship's 4th Enquiry what number of Negroes have been imported into the Plantations by the Companys from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708 what number within that time by the Seperate Traders, at what Rates have such Negroes been usually sold by the Company or Seperate Traders within that time.

We cannot possibly my Lords come to a certain Knowledge of the Number of Negroes delivered into the Plantations beyond the Month

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of July last, in regard we know not how many of the Ships designed thither this year are arrived, nor are so perfect in the numbers delivered between Septemb'r 1707 and Jan'ry 1707/8 which begins the former List delivered unto your Lordships for Jamaica alone. Because We did not take the same care in writing for an Acc't of the Numbers Imported before January last, and because severall Vessells belonging to the Plantations have been employed in this Trade which came to our Knowledge, but according to the best Information we could get we have formed the List No. 2, and as to the Prices the Negroes imported by the Company have sold at we cannot tell, But of those imported into Jamaica by the Seperate Traders, severall Vessells Cargoes have sold at from £18 to £24 per Head, some from £24 to £26 per Head, and in Virginia from £17 to £24 per Head, at Barbadoes from £28 to £30 per Head. But we must observe to Your Lordships that the imprudent Imposition of Paper Mony in Payment for Negroes, instead of Silver or other Goods since 1706 in Barbadoes hath so discouraged the seperate Traders from supplying that Island that they have in a manner wholly neglected it though in Peace they usually Carryed thither 5 or 6000 Negroes per annum as appears by a List lately come from thence. . . .

The Number of Negroes imported into Jamaica between 1707 and July 1708 doth not appear so great for other Reasons also, Because the Number of Ships Miscarryed still encreases by fresh Advices from Guinea where we have notice of two ships lost since we waited on your Lordships The *Neptune* and *Thomas and Hannah* which went for 800 Negroes by which addition the number miscarryed which would otherwise have arrived at Jamaica between September 1707 and September 1708 amounts to at least 2700 Negroes including the 1916 mention'd in our Former Acc'ts and besides three large Ships which were kept from this Trade on the Coast near three Months by French Men of War which have invested Guinea very much this year, and would otherwise have arrived within the above mentioned time having been dispatched from hence in October 1707. All which duely considered, 'twill appear to your Lordships that Jamaica had been supplyed with upwards of 10,000 Negroes between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708 had it not been for these Accidents.

As to the number of Negroes imported into Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands in the above time the supply can be but small by reason of the above mentioned Paper Credit and the Ruin of Nevis by the French in the other where the Planters have no money or Effects to buy any.

And as to those designed to Virginia for this year, such of them as we can learn are arrived we have mentioned, but we must note

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to your Lordships that the *John and Thomas, Alexander,* and *Mary* three large ships dispatched from the Port of London before Jan'ry last fo[r] 1100 Negroes bound to Virginia having their men taken away to man the men of War at the time of the intended Invasion in Scotland were thereby prevented as well as by an Imbargoe from sailing till a long time afterwards, which otherwise would have arrived with their Cargoes of Negroes within this time also, besides which the *Deering* and *John* Galleys designed for Virginia with 250 Negroes more were taken going out, the beginning of this year, the one in the Channel, the other near Virginia. All which we leave to your Lordships Consideration and remain My Lords your Lordships most

obed't Servants

JAMES WAYLE
JOS. MARTIN
JNO. BURRIDGE JUN'R
BENJ'N WAY
WM. WOOD
THOS. SMITH
PETER PAGGEN
ISAAC MILLNER
RICH'D HARRIS
HUM: MORRICE
ABRA: HOULDITCH

Dated 31 Decb'r, 1708.

G.[44] *An Abstract of the Charges of the Fort of St. James's Island in the River Gambia for the Month of January Anno 1708.*

	£	s.	d.
John Chidley Agent and Governour	16	13	8
Joseph Dakins	3	6	8
Robert Plunket	5	0	0
Samuel Smyth	3	6	8
Robert Robinson	3	6	8
Hezekiah Skinner	3	6	8
Charles Mann	3	6	8
Aaron Meredith	2	10	0
Francis Moreau	4	3	0
William Larkin Surgeon James Whislaid Ditto	5	0	0
	50	0	0
Edwd. Holland Gunner	2	10	0
John Foster Mate	1	10	0
Christopher Anthony Edwd. Palmer } Serj'ts	4	0	0
Jno. Downs Peter Walker } Corporals	3	0	0
Natha'l Busby Steward	1	13	4
Jno. Ransford Cook	1	15	0
Jno. Walker Gunsmith	1	8	4
	15	16	8
Carried forward	£65	16	8

[44] App. F contained the "fictitious account" of the Gambia charges for 1705, returned by John Chidley, governor, and amounting to £6941. 11. 8.

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[*Abstract of Charges*—continued:]

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£65 "	16 "	8
Robert Wilson, R'd Toby, Wm. Smith, R'd Hasleby	6 "	10 "	0
Charles Tompson, Jno. Ruston, R'd Oakley	9 "	0 "	0
	15 "	0 "	0
	15 "	10 "	0]
George Long Mason	1 "	13 "	4
David Francis	2 "	1 "	8
John Thomas, John Evans	2 "	16 "	8
Henry Jemmet Butcher	2 "	0 "	0
The Month of Janry Continued	89 "	8 "	8
	[89 :	18 :	4]
In all 20 Soldiers besides two Portugueeze at 20 *s.* per month each is	22 "	0 "	0
To maintaining 54 men at 20 *s.* each is	54 "	0 "	0
To maintaining and Wages of 6 Grameters to fetch Wood, Water etc.	12 "	0 "	0
To the Masters of Selopee and Barrafat for looking after our Castle	2 "	0 "	0
To Brandy Expended	6 "	0 "	0
To Sugar Expended	2 "	0 "	0
To powder, Match etc.	8 "	0 "	0
	£195 "	8 "	8
	[£195 :	18 :	4]
Note these Marked * are Factors and entirely in the Company's Service, and no ways relating to the forts Charge which amounts to	28 "	6 "	8
	167 "	2 "	0
	[167 :	11 :	8]
Note those Marked ◈ are Sailors on board the Company's Vessels to Trade and no ways relating to the fort which amounts to	15 "	0 "	0
	152 "	2 "	0
	[152 :	11 :	8]
Note the person marked ◇ is a Writer and no charge of the fort which amounts to	2 "	1 "	8
	150 "	0 "	0
	[150 :	10 :	0]
Note the persons marked ξ are Farmers [Tanners?] and sent to cure hides and no ways relating to the Fort	2 "	16 "	8
	147 "	3 "	8
	[147 :	13 :	4]

£147 " 3 " 8 [147 : 13 : 4] is the real Charge for one Month but note that they are paid in Africa upon which the Company at Cent per Cent profit of their Goods so that the true Charge ster: is

	£	s.	d.
	73 "	11 "	10
If 73 " 11 " 10 be the charge of one Month then that Sum multiplied by 12 is the true Charge of one year as appears	883 "	2 "	0

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[*Abstract of Charges*—continued:]

JOHN GALLOP
EDWARD JACKSON
THOMAS PENNIGER
THOMAS BROCKS
JOHN PELLY
BENJAM: TAYLOR
CHARLES THOMPSON
THOMAS PUGH
THOMAS HATFORD
ELIAS LONG
MICHAEL RAWLINS
WM. THORNTON
JOSEPH WEATHERLY
JOHN KENYON
ABRAHAM FRANCIS
EDWARD ARCHER
PETER DURAND
RALPH POOLEY
STEPHEN RICH
EDWARD BROOKS

H. *Certificates of George Watts touching the Charge of the Forts at Gambia and Sierraleon from 1698 to 1707.*

	£	s.	d.
The Charge of Gambia from November 1698 to September 1707 not having Regular Accompt from then Compute to be about	37,000	" 0	" 0
And of Sherbrow and Sierraleon from 24 June 1699 to 24 September 1707 is 8¼ years	26,000	" 0	" 0

I do certifye that the above mentioned two charges are as specifyed in the Book of the African Company's Accompt for the year 1706, sworn to by R'd Beaumont Accomptant of the said Company before Mr. Baron Simpson 31st October 1707, now remaining in the Office of her Maty's Remembrancer. . . .

GEO: WATTS

I. *An Account of the Royal African Company's Forts and Castles in Guinea, from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708, and of their Charge. The Company's Forts and Castles, Vizt.*

James Fort in the River Gambia and several Islands in that River.
Bench[46] Island in the River Serelion and other Islands in that River.
York Island in the River Sherbrow.
Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast
Fort Royal Do.
Dickies Cove Fort Do.
Succunde Fort Do.
Commende Fort Do.
Annamabee Fort Do.
Winnebah Fort Do.
Accra Fort Do.
Agga Factory Do.
Queen Anne's Point Do.
Shido Factory Do.
Whidah Fort

The Years Charge of the above Fortifications are as hereunder.

3 Months received from the Gold Coast from Michaelmas 1707 to Xmas 1707 amounts to	£3633	" 12	" 5
9 Months wanting from Dec'r 1707 to Sep'r 1708 in proportion amounts to	10,900	" 0	" 0
Carried Forward	14,533	" 12	" 5

[46] Bence Island; see this work, I. 251 n.

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[*An Account of the Royal African Company*—continued:]

	£	s.	d.
Brought over	14,533 "	12 "	5
The Charge of Whidah for 1 year per Calen[dar]	1000 "	0 "	0
Do. of Sherbrow and Serrilione per Do.	3200 "	0 "	0
Do. of Gambia per Calculate	4700 "	0 "	0
For Premio of Insurance of the Money paid in Guinea as above, amounting to £23,434 " 9 " 8 at 10 per Cent	2343 "	0 "	0
Stores etc. sent from England and charges paid at home	768 "	10 "	8
	26,546 "	9 "	3
	[26,545 :	3 :	1]
An Acc't of the 10 per Cent Duty rec'd from private Traders from the 29th Sept'r 1707, to the 29th of Sept'r 1708	3040 "	7 "	6
	23,506 "	1 "	9
	[23,504 :	15 :	7]
Remains paid out of the Company's Effects more than is recd. this year			
An Account of Mony called in by the Company 22d Apr. 1707			
Recd. £4 per Share on Stock from the 29th of Sept'r 1707 to 29th Sept. 1708	1566 "	0 "	0
Dividends made by the Company from 29th of Sept'r 1707 to 29th Sept. 1708	5325 "	7 "	6
Accompt of Exports and Imports by the Company *viz.* from 29th Sept. 1707 to 29th Sept. 1708	11,048 "	6 "	8
Exports £1290 " 12 " 5 Imports And several Ships from the West Indies whose charges are not yet come to hand.			

The Number of Ships sent out by the Company from 29 Sept. 1707 to 29 Sep. 1708.

The *Camwood Merch'ts*
Greyhound
Regard
Bridgewater
Mary Brigantine
The *Elizabeth*
Sherbrow Frigat
Dorothy
Flying Fame

Negroes imported into the Plantations from 29 Sept. 1707 to 29 Sep. 1708.

	£	s.	
At Jamaica 1740 on[e] with another at	24 "	4	per head
Barbadoes 735	25 "	4	
Antego 259	30 "	3	
Virginia 166	23 "	17	

Woollen Manufactures Exported by the Company from 29th Sept. 1707 to 29 Sept. 1708 is 4305 pieces of several sorts.

Signed RICHARD BEAUMONT
Accomp't for the Royal African Company.

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35. SOME REMARKS ON "REFLECTIONS ON THE TRADE TO AFRICA".[1]

. . . I observe, among other things, this Author preaches much of the Danger of the Dutch running away with the Trade, which was the Argument formerly used, while the French were laying the Foundation of those Evils we now feel in our Trade, and everything else; and if the African Company are not the Cause of losing that Trade by their Oppressions on the separate Traders, the Dutch never can do us any Harm, (because their Settlements reach but 50 Leagues, and the Coast we trade in, is many 1000 Miles) unless they had Forts within Gun-shot one of another for 2000 Leagues together.[2] . . .

As to his Offer, "Whether it is not for the Nation's Interest to carry on the Trade by excluding the separate Traders, and commit the Charge to a Collective Society of his intelligent People."

In answer 'tis demanded, Whether it is reasonable to shut up all the Linen-Drapers Shops between Aldgate and Temple-Bar, and commit the Charge of that Trade to one Person only; or safe to exclude 200 skilful Merchants of Great Britain, and the Plantations, of good Credit and Reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse Trade, the most beneficial of all others to the Nation, and commit the Charge thereof to a Company exclusive (provided they are not Bankrupts) and but 4 of whose 24 Managers are usually Merchants, the other Collective Intelligent Persons, as the Author terms them, know not one Word of Trade, Commerce, or any other Business than what is practised in Exchange-Alley (pp. 5-6).[3] . . .

[35] [1] *Some Remarks on a Pamphlet, call'd Reflections on the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, demonstrating the Author's abusive Aspersions therein contained, to be ill Grounded, the Matters of Fact wrong Represented, and the late Management of that Trade set in a True Light,* "With an Account of the Needful Charge of the British Settlements in Africa; in what manner they may be best Maintain'd and the Trade carry'd on to the Benefit of this Nation, and our Plantations in America" (1709). Part I. of Charles Davenant's "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa" (*Political and Commercial Works,* V. 77-343) contained a history of the slave trade, answers to various arguments of the separate traders, and a demonstration that, because of its nature, this commerce could be carried on only by a joint-stock company. Part II., selections from which have been printed in this work (nos. 1, 2, 6, 9, 12, 14, 19), was largely made up of testimony from agents or captains connected with the trade. After the publication of these two parts the pamphlet from which selections are here printed appeared. By it Davenant was led to add part III., in defense of his earlier work and in answer to the cavils of this author. Both authors make extensive use of the material in the reports, as did other controversial pamphleteers of the period: *Some Observations on Extracts taken out of the Report from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (1709), and *The Falsities of Private Traders to Africa discovered* (1709).

[2] Davenant, in answering this, referred to pt. II. of his work for illustrations of the difficulties with the Dutch, then went on to say that the French had aimed at universal monarchy, the Dutch at universal empire of trade. *Works,* V. 255.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 81. Davenant replies by asking whether the linen-drapers are in danger of having their throats cut and their shops plundered by French, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgers, and Portuguese (*ibid.,* p. 260). He continues: "Pray how many of the Remarker's 200 skilful Merchants of Great Britain, and the Plantations of good Credit and Reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse Trade, have sign'd the separate Traders Petition to the Honourable House of Commons? I am afraid they will be all comprehended (such as they are) within the number 26, otherwise the copy which I saw of their petition was not a true one." The charge that the managers of the company are not merchants he answers by brief sketches of the activities of each of them. *Ibid.,* pages 261, 264-268.

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And 'tis well known, the Means of obtaining the Patent for an Exclusive Trade, were very indirect, and procured contrary to the Inclinations of the People trading to the Plantations, who have always complained of this Monopoly, as a very burthensom Grievance, till laid open by Act of Parliament in 1698.

He argues, That the Company's Exports in Peace, when they were exclusive, were 70,000 *l.* Value, which is much doubted; but if true, it appears by an Account of the Ten per Cent. Duty given into the Commissioners of Trade to Africa, that the Exports since the Trade was laid open, were 160,000 *l.* Value per Annum, for two years in Peace, and since the War near 70,000 *l.* Value per Annum, in an Averidge; which sufficiently confirms the Benefit of laying open this Trade, as to the Exportation of British Manufactures.[4]

'Tis urged likewise, as an Instance of the Benefit of this Trade, That when the Company were exclusive, they flourished, and made many Dividends *(Hinc illae Lachrymae)* which is feared to be true, or else they had not been in such a Condition as they are in at present (pp. 6-7). . . .

In his Progress of the Trade to Africa, The Author taxes many separate Traders with repenting that they ever traded to Africa, and of divers Abuses committed by them on the Coast.

But his Ignorance appears in nothing more than in the first of those two Assertions, because none of the separate Traders, that have continued the Trade, have reason to repent, but are able to pay their just Debts, without coming abegging to have their Neighbours thrown out of their Employment, that they may be set up again in their Room; tho', indeed, the Calamities of this War have born very hard on the separate Traders, who have lost more therein than the Company have traded for since the Act; and tho' they lost 22 Ships and Cargoes out of the Trade last year, of above 70,000 *l.* Value, yet they have above 50 Sail of Ships now employed in this Trade (p. 7).[5] . . .

[4] Davenant supports his assertion (*Works*, V. 88) by giving the export figures for 1680-1688, the total amounting to £635,456 3 *s.* 11 *d.* (*ibid.*, p. 276). A pamphlet of 1708 (*Considerations upon the Trade to Guinea*), arguing for open trade, reckoned the yearly exports to Africa at that time at £100,000.

[5] Davenant, *Works*, V. 88, 92. In pt. III. Davenant supported his earlier statement by quoting the custom-house entries as to the number of private traders:

1698,	16	1702,	84	1706,	40
1699,	145	1703,	71	1707,	37
1700,	144	1704,	54	1708,	27
1701,	143	1705,	48		

Since each year traders had dropped out and new ones had entered the trade, Davenant estimated that some four or five hundred persons had engaged in this traffic between 1698 and 1708. From the fact that but 27 entries were made in 1708, he concluded that some must have repented of the business (*ibid.*, V. 280-281). In his reply to the latter part of this statement Davenant asserted that the greatest number of ships despatched from London by the separate traders in any one year between 1703 and

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What means he by his Allegations, That the Company called in 180,000 *l.* besides their Mony borrow'd? Does he not know they divided that Sum, and 100,000 *l.* more out again? Besides all they got by Trade, which may be worth while for their Members to enquire into.[6]

Why don't he mention what Dividends the Company made by Bottomree-Bonds, which sunk what Stock they had that was tied by Parliament for the well maintaining their Forts.[7]

But as in every Paragraph for many Pages, there are either false Quotations, or false Representations of Matter of Fact; so he says,

"The Natives advance the Prices of Negroes, and depretiate our British Manufactures."

In Answer whereto, The Separate Traders are ready to prove, That the same Value in British or other Manufactures, abating the Ten per Cent. paid on them, will purchase as many Negroes now as at any time heretofore, unless obstructed by the evil Practices of the Company's Agents, who send Cryers up and down the Country, to offer Woollen and other Manufacturers, 10 *s.* a Piece cheaper than the Separate Traders, when a Separate Ship is on the Coast, on purpose to ruin such Traders Voyages.

Then, says he, "The evil Consequences do not stop here, because the Merchant imposes the Negroes on the Planter at his own extravagant Price, and then the Planter puts a proportionable Price on the Plantation-Commodities."

In answer to which, The Truth of this Fact is just the Reverse of his Assertion: For let the Separate Trader pay what he will on the Coast for Negroes, when he comes to America, it daily happens, that many Negro-Ships coming at a time, gluts the Market, by reason of the numbers of Negroes imported, and the many Sellers whose Hands they fall into; so that it often happens that Negroes have been even this War sold for the same Price they cost; and let Plantation-Commodities be bought at what Price they will, they are often sold at

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1708 was 29, that few had gone from other ports, and that a loss of 22 ships was difficult to accept; also that their greatest export in any one year was £35,796 15 *s.*, which made a loss of £70,000 "somewhat singular". As for their having 50 ships in the trade, he admitted that they might have three-fifths of that number. *Works,* V. 283-284.

[6] To this Davenant replied that the company's books showed that all the dividends paid since 1697 amounted to but £61,130, which, deducting interest, left the stockholders £140,201 12 *s.* 9 *d.* out of pocket. *Works,* V. 286.

[7] Davenant's statement was that the company had advanced £180,000 of additional stock, besides what money it borrowed upon its bonds (*Works,* V. 94). In his answer to these questions he said that all the premiums on bottomry bonds from 1672 to the present time amounted to no more than £43,000, and that no money had ever been borrowed without the knowledge of the Court of Assistants (*ibid.* pp. 287-288). He went on to say that the company and separate traders alike had lost at least "60 *l.* per Cent. of all that they had traded for" since the act of 1698.

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home for two thirds of the Cost, according to the Demand for them, and according to the Number of Sellers (pp. 8-9).[8] . . .

Then as to his Story of the Company's Factor, by his Interest with the King, and by firing from the Company's Fort at Widda, obtained Restitution of a Ship of Mr. Heysham's, now a Member of Parliament, with 300 Slaves.

In Answer, Part of this Relation is a farther Instance of this Persons Knowledge of the Guiney-Trade, because the Company's Storehouse at Widda, which they term a Fort, is scituated 3 Miles from the Water-side; and yet farther from the Place where the Ships anchor, consequently out of Gun-shot of any Ship (p. 15). . . .

As to his finding Fault with the private Traders Relation of the taking of Gambo in open Boats, that is ready to be proved; and as to the fabulous Story of Monsieur de Gennes's taking that Place, I remember that Relation was in the *Paris Gazette*;[9] the Credit of which Author cannot be better matched in Matters of Truth, than with the Pamphlet now in Examination: But what is true of that Fact, is, That the Captors which took that Fort, did ransom it, and all the Goods and Stores therein for 6000 *l.* tho' the Company let Ransomers, and many other of their Factors, who happened to be taken, and kept on that account, lie in Prison several Years, till they could make their Escape; so the Company never paid one Farthing for such Ransom.

But such a Piece of Assurance certainly never was in Print before, as this Author's Affirmation, that the separate Traders valued the Company's Forts, at the time of obtaining the late Act, at 41,000 *l.* but that in copying the Extract of the Lords Commissioners of Trade their Report, "The said separate Traders", says the Author, "have wilfully filched out one of the Cyphers of the said Sum, and make the Value of the said Fort but 4100 *l.*"

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-113. It should be observed that the author of the *Remarks* is not quoting exactly. Up to this point Davenant quoted and replied to or commented upon nearly every section of the *Remarks*, but here he abandoned that method and made a more general reply to the pamphleteer. His first criticism was of the exaggerated computation of the exports of the private traders; his second, of their method of estimating the number of negroes carried. The "Remarker" had allowed 250 negroes per vessel sent from England, which was unsatisfactory because: (1) there was no agreement as to the number of vessels sent out; (2) many vessels did not carry their complement of negroes; (3) many vessels were too small for a cargo of 250; (4) many of those sent out had miscarried on the outward voyage. Since the negroes must be purchased by goods sent out, the inference seemed to be that the separate traders had sent out more goods than their ten per cent. payment indicated, or had carried fewer negroes, or had stolen rather than purchased their negroes. The conclusion was that with the goods sent out they could hardly have purchased more than 5053 negroes per year. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-297.

[9] The French under De Gennes had seized Fort James, on the Gambia, in 1695. The treaty of Ryswyk restored it to the English, but the French again plundered it in 1702 and in 1703. In 1709 it was captured by M. Parent, and the next year was looted by an English pirate. H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia*, pp. 62-63.

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In answer to which, the separate Traders are ready to make appear, that the Valuation of all the Company's Forts in 1697 (except Cape-Coast Castle, which the Parliament deemed as the Nation's Property) were then of no greater Value than the said Sum of Four thousand one hundred Pounds: and if they are any better now, that must be ascribed to the great Sums of Money paid since on the 10 per Cent. Duty, which gives the separate Traders a large Property therein (pp. 15-16).[10] . . .

From the foregoing Account given in by the Company, 'tis plain, how many Negroes they Imported Annually.[11] So it must naturally follow, that what more than these were delivered into the Plantations, in that time, must be on account of the separate Traders. But as no other Accounts can be come at, than those from the 3 following Colonies, I shall divide them into the Annual Imports, according as set down in those Accounts I take them from, *viz.* For Antego and Jamaica, from the Accounts sent from those Governors respectively; and for Barbadoes, from an Account taken out of the Naval Office, and sent to a Member of Parliament, ready to be produced.

Between what Years delivered		No. of Negroes delivered into Barbados	Number delivered into Jamaica	No. delivered into Antego
To Barbadoes				
Between the 8 April,	1698			
to April	1699	3436		
To Apr.	1700	3080		
To 5 Ditto	1701	4311		
N.D. To 10 Ditto	1702	9213		
To 31 Mar.	1703	4561		
To 5 April	1704	1876		
To 2d Ditto	1705	3319		
To 5 Ditto	1706	1875		
To 12 May	1707	2720		
To 29 April	1708	1018		
To Jamaica[12]				
Between 29 Sept.	1698	}		
and 29 Decemb.	1698	}	1273	
Between 7 April	1699		5766	
and 28 March	1700			

[10] The account, here omitted, of the 10 per cent. duty received from the separate traders is contained in the report of the Board of Trade (*ante*, no. 34, p. 51). The comments of the "Remarker" on the company's account of charges are printed, p. 54, notes 7-9.

[11] The account here referred to is that printed on p. 62 of the report of 1709, in which the total number of negroes imported by the company is given as 17,760.

[12] Davenant's figures for Jamaica (*Works*, V. 300) are hardly in agreement with this:

In the year		the separate traders imported to Jamaica		Negroes.
	1702		2098	
	1703		2703	
	1704		2406	
	1705		2774	
	1706		3682	
	1707		3270	
	1708		1952	

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Between what Years delivered		No. of Negroes delivered into Barbados	Number delivered into Jamaica	No. delivered into Antego
From 28 Mar. to 3 Apr.	1701		6068	
3d Apr. 1701 to 20 dit.	1702		8505	
20 dit. 1702 to 12 dit.	1703		2238	
N.F.				
12 dit. 1703 to 18 dit.	1704		2711	
18 dit. 1704 to 24 dit.	1705		3421	
24 dit. 1705 to 27 dit.	1706		5462	
27 dit. 1706 to 22 dit.	1707		2122	
22 dit. 1707 to 26 dit.	1708		6623	
To June	1708		187	
To Antego,	1698			18
June	1699			212
Between June	1700			
and 24 April,	1701			364
Between 24 April,	1701			
and 30 March,	1702			2395
To April	1703			1670
N F. To Nov.	1704			1551
To	1705			269
To	1706			530
To	1707			114
		35,409	44,376	7123

Besides which there are 7 Separate ships named in the foregoing List for Antego, but not the Number of Negroes, so may well compute them at 1200 more which arrived between 1699 and 1700.

It appears from the foregoing Account, that the numbers of Negroes Imported into those three Islands, (allowing 1200 for the said Ships, whose numbers are not included by the Governor of Antego in his Account) amount to 88,108. And even allowing the whole number which the African Company sent out, being 17,760, were all deliver'd at those three Islands only, yet then it appears, the separate Traders have deliver'd 70 odd thousand to the Company's 17,760, in about the same time, besides what were delivered into Virginia, Maryland, and all the other Colonies, which must amount to at least thirty or forty thousand more.

It appears also from the said Account, that there were Imported into those three Colonies only 42,000 and odd Negroes in the Years 1700, 1701, and 1702, whereof not above 4000 by the African Company, which being compared with the Companies Imports of Negroes into all the Plantations when exclusive, between 1680 and 1688, amounting but to 46,396, or 5150 Negroes per an. as is to be seen by their own Account, given in to the Lords Commissioners of Trade. It is very plain there were near as many Negroes deliverd into those 3 Plantations in three Years, since the Trade was opened, as were deliver'd in nine Years by the Company into all the Plantations, when exclusive to all others.

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It farther appears from the said Account, that there were more Negroes delivered into those three Plantations in one Year by separate Traders, between April 1701, and April 1702, being 18,602, than the Company deliver'd in the nine years and half since the Act, being 17,760, because the Total of Negroes, Imported both by the Company and the separate Traders in that Year, amounted to 20,113, out of which, deducting even the full Number delivered by them into all the Plantations that same Year, being 1511, as appears in Account N. C. the remainder is as above 18,602.

Again, it must be observ'd, that the Import of Negroes in that Year for those 3 Colonies only, are within two thousand and odd of as many as the Company delivered in 4 Years when exclusive (even in Time of Peace) into all the Plantations.

But 'twill no doubt be objected, that in the Year 1703 and 1704, the beginning of this War there were not quite 5000 Negroes deliver'd into Jamaica. In answer whereto, that Place, and all Persons besides, were in those two Years Prohibited all Trade with the Spaniards who take off great numbers of Negroes sent to Jamaica, which was one reason thereof, as well as the loss of many Ships, taken those Years by the Enemy.

'Tis I know objected likewise, that Barbadoes hath not been lately well supplied; which they may thank themselves for, by giving Paper instead of Silver, or Goods in Payment for Negroes.

But to go on, this Increase appears to hold good also in respect to the number of Ships employ'd in this Trade, as appears by the undermention'd on each Account.

	Tot.	*Comp. Ships.*	*Sepr. Ships.*
Cleared from the Port of London between 1698 and 1708	519	126	393
From Bristol, as per Custom Books	52	2	50
From Barbadoes, as per Governor's Account	111	18	93
	682	146	536
And if the Reflector will allow me to compute but 90 Ships for all other Ports of England, and the rest of the Plantations, which is underdone, altho' I am not just now prepared with Vouchers, as in the above	90		90
	772	146	626

Which makes about 74 Ships per annum, in an Avaridge sent to Africa since the Act, whereof near 400 in time of Peace, the remainder since the War, of which Number appear to have been employed by the Company, 60 Ships in Peace, and 86 Ships in War, and by the Separate Traders 340 in Peace, and 286 since the War; and in two of the Years of Peace, there were near as many Ships sent to Africa since the Trade was open, as were sent by the Company in nine Years when exclusive.

And it appears from this Distinction of the Number of Ships sent in Peace and in War, that more than half the Number of Negroes

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were delivered in Peace, which with the Reflector's leave, farther confirms the Separate Traders Computations, especially, if it is consid'd, that of those Ships sent this War, near 100 Sail have miscarried Outward Bound, which would have been an Addition of 13 or 14 thousand Negroes more at least, which Accidents the Ships sent in Peace were not subject to (pp. 20-24). . . .

Then whether they are undone by Losses on one Hand, or by maintaining Forts on the other Hand, will appear, in considering their Account of Exports, which as appears in Tab. N. C. amounts to £293,740 6 *s.* 8 *d.* So what that Sum hath produced may be a Guide to come at the Knowledge of that Fact, and stands thus.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
By charged to Account of maintaining Forts,	186,076	00	00
By Imports to 1707,	52,230	17	02
By 17,760 Negroes sold in the Plantations, *vid.* N. C.			
By 5982 of them sold at Barbadoes, between the Year 1700, and 1708, as appears by account of Messieurs Bate and Steward, the Company's Factors there, mention'd in the Report made to the House of Commons,	156,425	07	06
By the remaining Number of 11,778 computed to be sold in Proportion,	306,248	00	00
By 2500 Negroes sold this Year, beside the above Numbers in proportion, is	65,000	00	00
By Gold imported since the Act, computed at,	50,000	00	00
	815,980	04	08
Out of which abating for Freight of 8500 Negroes imported in Peace, and the Remainder in War; the first at 5 *l.* per Head, the last at 11 *l.* per Head, and for Factoridge 14 per Cent. and loss on Returns,	200,000	00	00
Then remains,	615,980	04	08

From whence, 'tis manifest, that besides maintaining the Forts, the Company must have made 430,000 *l.* of the above Sum of 293,740 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the first Cost of their Exports, and besides the ninety odd thousand Pound, receiv'd by them on account of the ten per cent. Duty.

Then the next Question will be, What is become of this five hundred and odd thousand Pound, and how they came at present, to owe three or four hundred thousand Pound on their Bonds besides, which their own Members ought to enquire into.

If they say they trust the Planter, and so the Money is not come to hand, that can't be true, because they have been under Contract with all their Factors abroad, and Security given at home, to make Returns in twelve Months, which Method was taken many Years before the Opening the Trade by Act of Parliament.

Then here arises another Question, which is difficult to answer, *viz.* If the Accounts of 186,076 *l.* laid out on Forts is true, then there remains but 107,300 *l.* for Trade, which hath purchased all these Negroes, Goods, etc. of so much Value (which is impossible) or else

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the Account on Forts must be untrue to a far greater Degree than mention'd before, which Dilemma let them get out of it if they can (pp. 26-27). . . .

Some Heads for Constituting a Regulated Company.

THAT a Regulated Company be established under the Name of the Adventurers to Africa, something like the present Russia Company, with Power every Year to choose from among themselves a Committee of 7 or 9.

That their Standing-Officers be only a Treasurer and Secretary.

That the Care of well-providing and maintaining these Forts be committed to their Management, and that they be obliged to meet three times a Week.

That any Person in Great-Britain and the Plantations may at all times become a Member and Freeman of the said Company, paying to the Collector of the Fort where he resides, 2 *l.* for the use of the said Company, and not exceeding per Cent. on all Goods exported to Africa, as occasion may require.

That the Accounts kept of the Money raised, out of such Duty shall lie open at all times for the perusal of any of the Members of the said Company.

That the General Court of all Adventurers meet as often as needful to inspect into the Management of the Society, or to decrease or increase the necessary Charge as it may arise.

Hereby the Mischiefs of a Monopoly of so grievous Consequences to Great-Britain and the Plantations will be prevented.

The Forts may answer the Design of Parliament in keeping them, and become an Habitation of English Merchants, instead of tyrannical Oppressors, and Magazines for English Goods, which are now a Nuisance to the Trade; the said Forts will be mann'd with Souldiers instead of Generals, and the Trade being freed from the Oppressions of an arbitary Power, will encrease more than ever.

All the Out-ports of Britain, which must be excluded, if under a Monopoly, will have an equal Share of this Trade, and thereby our Navigation vastly increased, greater Quantities of our Woollen and Other Manufactures be exported, and the Plantations be abundantly better supplied than ever before, when the Cause of our Oppression is removed (pp. 30-31). . . .[18]

Note, The Money arising from the Ten per Cent. Duty, hath amounted to 87,564 *l.* 09 *s.* 6 *d.* between Midsummer, 1698, and Michaelmas, 1707, as the African Company give in to the Council of Trade, that they had received to that time; but there being a good

[18] Here the author prints a summary of the estimated charges for the forts, arrived at by the separate traders. He offers as his totals £11,468, or £5734 sterling.

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Sum received on that Duty in the Plantations, tho not then received by the Company, the said Duty amounts to a far greater Sum, which yet by that Account is 9500 *l.* per annum, whereas the necessary Charge is under six thousand Pounds per annum.

Since the foregoing are come to hand some Accounts of the Ten per Cent. Duty paid since the Act, which shews the Accounts given into the Council of Trade by the African Company, at least such part of that Duty as was paid by private Traders not right, and that the said Duty for maintaining Forts, etc. hath exceeded ten thousand Pounds per annum, which is almost as much more as necessary.

Ten per Cent. Duty paid between 25 June, 1698, and 25 Dec. 1708,

		By the Company			By Sep. Traders.		
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Paid at London,	On Exports,	30,394	09	05	44,675	11	00
	On Imports	3,522	07	00	3,588	03	00
	Exports, as per Account,				4,552	00	00
Paid at Bristol for	Imports computed, no Account being yet come, Burbados				7,443	15	19
		33,916	16	05	60,859	09	09

Note, The above Sums make out near 95,000 *l.* besides what is receiv'd at all the other Ports in England, and at all the Plantations, except Barbadoes, which must amount to 7 or 8000 more (p. 32).

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36. Ships from Great Britain to Africa, 1708-1709.[1]

An Account of Ships dispatched from the severall ports of Great Britaine for the Coast of Affrica between Michmas 1708 and Michmas 1709 As well on Account of the African Company as the seperate Traders with the Ten per Cent duty paid the Number of peeces of Woollen Goods Shipped and the Number of Negroes to be loaden on board each Ship with the Success that hath attended each Ship (Vizt.) No. A.

Date of Entry Outward	Ships Names	Seper-ate Acct.	Compa. Acc.	When Cleared from Custome House	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Separate Ships	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Compa. Ships	No. of peeces of Woollen Goods in each exported	No. of Negroes designed to be taken on board sep. ships	No. of Negroes delivered since Michmas 1709	Where delivered or taken
1708 3d Sep.	The *Dolphin* paine M'r	Sep.		7 Oct. 1708	£ s. d. 88 17 4	£ s. d.		250	240	at Antego
	The *Providence*	Do.		16 do.	64 8 7	arrived before Michmas 1709		150		at Virginia
18 Do.	The *Dolphin* Veer M'r	Do.		2d do p'd before Michmas			1,300	240	213	at Jamaica
6 Oct. 1708	The *Broughton*		Compa.	2d May 1709		197 5 3	1,238	for Gold ph'ts	and Ele-teeth	
20 do.	The *Joseph* Gally	Sep.		15 Nov. 1708	203 2 10		467	490	350	at Jamaica
16 Dec.	The *Britania*	Do.		1 March 1708	49 1 0		38	for Dye	rs Wood	taken and retaken

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23 Ditto	The *Richard and James*	Do.		26 Aug't 1709	264 18 5		230	550	370	at Jamaica
17 Jan. 7	The *Little London*	Do.		18 March 1708	68 12 6	arrived before		320	290	Ditto
21 Do.	The *Young Margaret*	Do.		2 do.	65 4 0 89 0 0	Michmas 1709	1,050	250		at Virginia
28 Ditto	The *Mermaid*	Do.		12 do.	97 4 4		1,012	280	224	at Jamaica
14 Feb'ry	The *Amey* Gally	Do.		28 do.	263 2 8		800	550	350	ditto
15 ditto	The *Dorothea*	Do.		12 Aprill 1709	207 12 3		175	450	320	ditto
26 ditto	The *Adventure*	Do.		5 do.	44 18 0			140	113	ditto
19 March	The *George and Martha*	Do.		17 May 1709	68 2 5		1,102	150	taken with 130 Negroes	
7 May 1709	The *Fanteen* Gally	Sep.		10 June 1709	145 19 11		1,730	350	292	at Jamaica
18 do.	The *George and Catherine*	do.		8 July 1709	113 8 2		50 1,250	250	90	with 260 Negroes taken and retaken and 170 Negroes taken out of her
19 do.	The *Maclesfeild*	do.		17 Augt. 1709	280 0 10		817	550	380	at Jamaica
23 do.	The *Pindar* Gally		Compa.	25 June 1709		297 17 11	1,250			
	The *Camwood*		Do.			116 0 10				
5 July	The *Raper* Gally	Sep.		16 Augt. 1709	160 7 8		1,462	380	294	at Jamaica
18 Ditto	The *Dolphin* Cassell M'r	do.		13 Oct'r 1709	145 16 0		1,430	330		not yet arrived
	The *Martin* Gally	do.		12 Augt. 1709	115 11 9		1,397	280	taken with 225 Negroes on board	

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[*Ships from Great Britain to Africa, 1708-1709.*—continued:]

Date of Entry Outward	Ships Names	Seper-ate Acct.	Compa. Acc.	When Cleared from Custome House	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Separate Ships	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Compa. Ships	No. of peeces of Woollen Goods in each exported	No. of Negroes designed to be taken on board sep. ships	No. of Negroes delivered since Michmas 1709	Where delivered or taken
					£ *s.* *d.*					
12 Augt.	The *Martha*	do.		29 Do.	81 14 6		628	200	168	at Jamaica
18 do.	The *John and Constance*			19 Sept'r 1709	122 5 8		2,103 Anabass.	350	270	at Virginia
	The *Eagle*	do.		23 do.	123 10 3		1,279	350	taken wi	th 290
	The *Thomas* Gally	do.		16 do.	83 3 5			200	taken wi	th 201
1 Sep. 1709	The *Hawke*	do.		16 Oct'r 1709	87 9 0		1,000	220	204	at Mountserat
12 ditto	The *Judith*	do.			225 9 0	qr pd 2d Oct.	1,800	500	taken	
16 do.	The *Greswold*	do.		11 Oct'r 1709	102 13 6		1,380	250	186	at Jamaica
	The *Dartmouth* Gally from Dartmo	do.		27 7'ber	118 0 0		1,650	300	taken	
	The *Jos.* Gally from Plymouth	do.		10 Aprill	110 0 0		2,402 Anabass.	280	280	at Jamaica
	The *Coward* Gally from Scotland	do.			155 0 0		1,070	for Gold	and Ele	phants teeth taken

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Separate Ships cleared from Bristoll.[2]

14 Sep. 1708	The *Stoneage* Gally	Sep.		15 Dec. 1708	129 18 11		1,000	250		taken with 240 Negroes on board
4 Jan.	The *Dover* Gally	do.		20 Jan.	88 19 0		675	200	255	at Jamaica
3 Feb.	The *Dorsett* Brigantine	do.		24 March	137 10 6		1,050	180	taken	
17 May 1709	The *Expedition* Gally	do.		2 July 1709	162 4 2		1,399		145	at Jamaica
10	The *Berkley* Gally	do.		1 Nov'r	137 8 2		1,560	340	355	at ditto
2 July	The *Charles* Gally	do.		14	111 18 4½		1,230	300	220	ditto
26 Augt.	The *Henville* Gally	do.		10 Oct'r	189 11 9		1,430	400	196	ditto
10 Augt.	The *Joseph and Thomas*	do.		17	155 19 9		1,192	350	170	Barbados
					4,858 4 8	£ s. d. 611 4 0	40,654 [39,646]	10,580 [10,630]	5,975	

[36] [1] C. O. 388: 13, p. 103 (1-3).

[2] To this table is attached: "Note 35000 of the above Woollen Goods are perpets says serges Bays and Stuffes 600 are Woollen Carpetts and the remainder are Fustians usually called Anabasses of one Yard and one Eigth each made of Cotton".

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37. PETITIONS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

January 28, 1709.

A Petition of the Gun-makers, Cutlers, and Powder-makers, inhabiting in and about the City of London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and their Families, have been very much supported by Sale of their Goods, usually exported by the Royal African Company; which Trade, from the late great Difficulties the Company have met with under the present Settlement, has very much declined, and is in danger of being lost to the Nation, to the Prejudice of the Publick, and utter Ruin of many of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the Royal African Company to Africa may be preserved, and encouraged, by such Means, as the House shall think fit.

February 1, 1708/9.[2]

A Petition of the Merchants of Edinburgh was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Royal African Company of England, having, by their Petition to the House (under divers wrong Pretences) suggested, that the Trade to Africa cannot be duly managed, but with a joint Company's Stock, exclusive of all others; the Petitioners conceive, the same would be contrary to the Articles of Union, particularly the 4th and 21th Articles, whereby it is stipulated, that all the Subjects of Great Britain shall have free Intercourse of Trade and Navigation, and a Communication of all other Rights, Privileges, and Advantages, belonging to the Subjects of either Kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in the said Articles: And praying, that the Trade to Africa may not be confined to a Monopoly under a joint Stock, but that it may remain open and free to all the Subjects of Great Britain.[3] . . .

February 1, 1708/9.[4]

A petition of the Dyers, Packers, Setters, Drawers, and Calendars, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and their Families, have been very much supported by the working, and fitting for Sale, the Woollen

[37] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 74. As usual, as soon as the African trade was up for discussion petitions poured in to the House of Commons. A few, showing the diversity of interests touched by the trade, are here printed. For petitions from London merchants, from the corporation and merchants of Exeter, from the traders to Virginia and Maryland, from the shipwrights of London, the merchants interested in Jamaica, the planters of Nevis and Montserrat, the Merchant Venturers and the corporation of Bristol, the merchants of Whitehaven and Liverpool, see *ibid.*, XVI. 71, 75, 77, 83, 86, 98; and Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, III. 202-209.

[2] *C. J.*, XVI. 77.

[3] Similar petitions were received from Montrose, Dundee, Invernesse, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 83, 98, 102, 135.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

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Manufactures, usually exported in great Quantities by the Royal African Company; which Trade (from the great Difficulties the Company has met with under the present Settlement) is very much declined, and is in danger of being lost to the Nation: which will prove very prejudicial to the Publick, and the utter Ruin of many of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the African Company may be preserved, and encouraged, by such Means, as the House shall judge fit.[5] . . .

February 2, 1708/9.[6]

A Petition of the Shipwrights, Sail-makers, Rope-makers, and other Tradesmen, concerned in Shipping, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and their Families, have been very much supported and maintained by the building, repairing, and fitting out, the Shipping, belonging to the Royal African Company in their Trade to Guinea, which is very much declined, by the great Difficulties, and Discouragements, the Company has met with under their present Settlement, to the Prejudice of the Publick, and Ruin of many of the Petitioners: And praying, that the said Company's Trade to Africa may be secured, and encouraged, by such Means, as the House shall judge fit. . . .

February 2, 1708/9.

A Petition of the Weavers, Tuckers, and other Artificers, belonging to the manufacturing of Perpetuanoes for Africa, living in and near Exon, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners have been greatly supported in their Trade by the great Quantities of Woollen Goods, usually exported by the Royal African Company, who (as the Petitioners are informed) have met with such Discouragements in their Trade, that they will be forced to withdraw their Effects, and decline the Trade to Africa, to the utter Ruin of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the said Company to Africa may be preserved, and encouraged, as the House shall think fit. . . .

February 2, 1708/9.

A Petition of the Tradesmen and Inhabitants, of the Town of Birmingham, and divers other Manufacturers of wrought Iron there, and Places adjacent, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that since the Act of Parliament, for laying open the Trade to Africa, the Petitioners have exceedingly improved the Manu-

[5] To offset this petition a group, similarly described, on Feb. 4 presented a petition stating that since the trade to Africa had been laid open they had received much greater benefit because of the exports of the woollen manufacture by the separate traders. *C. J.*, XVI. 90.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 86, 112.

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factures of wrought Iron in their Neighbourhood, which, through the great Demand thereof for Africa, gives daily Employment to vast Numbers of poor Families, who must unavoidably be ruined, if the said Manufactures should be subjected to one Buyer, or to any one monopolizing Society, exclusive of all others: And praying, that the Trade to Africa may be continued open and free to all the Subjects of Great Britain, under such Regulations, as the House shall think fit.

February 3, 1708/9.

A Petition of the Cottons, Serge-makers, and other Woollen Manufacturers, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and many Hundreds of others, have been greatly supported, by making Goods, usually exported by the Royal African Company; which Trade is (as the Petitioners are informed) in danger of being lost to the Nation, to the Ruin of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the said Company to Africa may be preserved, and encouraged, by such Means as the House shall judge fit. . . .

February 18, 1708/9.

A Petition of several Persons, Creditors of the Royal African Company, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners have several great Sums of Money due to them, upon Bonds of the said Company, upon a View, that they would enjoy the Privileges, granted them by Charter from King Charles the 2d; but by the interfering Interests between the said Company, and the separate Traders to Africa, the Petitioners apprehend themselves to be in great danger of losing their just Debts: And praying, that the said Company may be encouraged in their said Trade to Africa, and be obliged to do the Petitioners Justice, in such Manner, as to the House shall seem meet.[7]

February 19, 1708/9.[8]

A Petition of the Merchants and Citizens, being in, and trading from, the City of Chester, was presented to the House, and read: setting forth, that the said City was, and anciently is, a Place of considerable Trade, and situate commodiously for the Export of Welch Flannels, and other Manufactures, proper for the Trade to Africa: That they have a Prospect of recovering their Navigation on the River Dee, and increasing their Shipping, and Trade to foreign

[7] On Mar. 26, 30, and Apr. 8 creditors of the company to the amount of £300,000 asked for a hearing, since such a bill as that proposed would destroy the trade of the company. *C. J.*, XVI. 175, 179, 192.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

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Parts: And praying, that they may not be debarred of the Trade to Africa, by any Privileges to be granted to the Royal African Company (for which they have petitioned the House) or to any others.[9]

38. The Board of Trade to the Queen.[1]

Whitehall, April 8, 1709.

In reply to Order in Council, March 31,[2] represent that by a letter from Governor Handasyd, Oct. 27, 1708, we were informed that severall Members of the Councill being Factors for the said African Company, and thereby disabled from sitting as Judges in any of these Courts, there wanted a sufficient Number of Counsellors duly quallifyed to make a Councill for hearing Appeals; that thereupon we forthwith writ to the Governor to admonish such Members to forbear to act any longer as Fact'rs or Agents for the said Company, and if they refused to comply therewith, that then he should return to us the Names of the Persons so refusing in order to our laying that Matter before your Majesty for your Pleasure therein; to which letter we have yet received no Answer.

Therefore in obedience to your Majesty's forementioned order in Councill we do most humbly offer that your Royal Pleasure be signifyed to the said Governor, to require all such Members of the Councill there as are Factors or Agents for the said African Company or for any other Person or Persons, for the sale or disposal of

[9] The report of the Board of Trade and the various petitions, with further accounts from the company, were discussed in committee of the whole House, which on Mar. 17 reported that in the opinion of the committee the trade should be made free, and placed under a regulated company. The House directed that a bill be brought in in accordance with this report. Against the bill when introduced the company at once protested. *C. J.*, XVI. 96, 113, 135, 160, 169; Stock, III. 217-219.

[38] [1] C. O. 138: 12, p. 384. The subject here under discussion, office-holding by factors of the Royal African Company, had been a subject of contention ever since its prohibition by the act of 1698. In 1701 Sir William Beeston had written that he had difficulty in forming a group to try pirates in Jamaica, since many of those commissioned by his Majesty were concerned in the sale of negroes (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 267). In 1707 and 1708 the Board of Trade reminded the governors of Barbados and Jamaica that agents of the company were not to act as judges in the islands (*ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 393, 768). In 1708 the matter was taken up by the Privy Council, who reiterated the statement of the act, that no factors of the Royal African Company were to act as members of the councils of the plantations (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 564-567). The provision of the act had apparently up to this time been largely ignored. Governor Handasyd wrote on June 17, 1708, that most of the old councillors were factors of the Guinea Company, though it was ten years since the passage of the act forbidding this combination of function (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 752). The Board of Trade reminded him on June 25 that this was forbidden (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 513; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 768). The governor replied that those members of the council holding both positions, with the single exception of Colonel Beckford, refused to resign from the African Company and that if he excluded them he would not be able to make up a council (*ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 121). On Feb. 24, 1709, the Board of Trade replied that those councillors who were agents for the African Company were clearly violating the meaning of the act, which forbade the holding of colonial offices by such agents. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

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Negroes, that they forthwith quit and resign such Factorage or Agency, and if they shall refuse or neglect so to do, that in such Case he forthwith remove the person or persons for refusing or neglecting from the said Councill; And Whereas the Number of Counsellors who are Factors or Agents for the said Company does not, as wee are informed, Exceed three Persons (nor do we know that any others of the Councill are otherwise Employed as Factors or Agents to any other Persons for the sale or disposal of Negroes) We therefore further humbly propose that the said Governor be at the same time impowered by your Majesty's Royal Letters Mandatory to swear into the said Councill, in the room of such Person or Persons who shall be so removed, Francis Oldfeild, John Cossly, and John Carver Esqrs., or so many of them as shall compleat the full Number of twelve Counsellors, they being Persons now resident within that Island, having good Estates there, and as wee have been Credibly informed, duly qualifyed for that Trust. This we humbly apprehend to be agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Act of the 9th and 10th of his late Majesty for settling the trade to Africa, it being thereby enacted that no Judge of any Court in any of your Majesties Colonies or Plantations in America shall be a Factor or Agent for the said African Company, or any other Person or Pers'ns for the sale or disposal of any Negroes.[3] And by this Method as any failure of Justice in such case will for the future be prevented there, so will the present Constitution of the Councill, as to the Number of twelve Counsellors be preserv'd which regulation or Restriction of the Number of twelve having sever'll years past been settled throughout your Majesty's said Colonies and Plantations: We are humbly of Opinion it will be for your Majesty's service that the same be still punctually observ'd. And if your Majesty shall be Graciously pleased to approve what we have herein before proposed to the end the said African Company may not receive any prejudice from a want of their having Factors or Agents there to perform the services of the said Company in the room of such of their present Factors or Agents as shall so quit and resign that Trust as aforesaid, We do further humbly offer that notice may be given hereof to the said Company that they may take care to Constitute and appoint any other Person or Persons not disqualifyed by the said Act to be their Factors or Agents in the room of such Persons as shall so quit and resign as aforesd.[4]

[3] See this work, I. 429.

[4] On Apr. 16, 1709, an Order of the Queen in Council directed that the suggestion for new councillors be carried out if those members who were agents of the African Company refused to give up their connection with that company. Instructions were sent to the governor on Apr. 20 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 281; *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 566). On July 18 the governor wrote that Colonel Beckford and Mr. Champlain had resigned their "factoridge", and on Dec. 17 he reported that the present councillors asserted that they bought and sold only those negroes which they owned, and that they were therefore

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39. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, 21 August, 1709.

S'r Dalby Thomas Adviseth That Mr. Thurloe your Chief at Succondee Continues his private Trading And Buys Five or Six Bales of Perpetts at a time and Seven or Eight Slaves at a time On Board the 10 per Cent men. S'r Dalby is Informed that Hee takes your Perpetts out of your Filletts[2] and puts the 10 per Ct. Mens Perpetts in them Which not being soe good as yours Is an Imposition on the Traders, And a Disreputation to the Compa's Goods to the Detriment of the Trade. S'r Dalby has an Acco't that he has Sold about Forty Slaves to the 10 per Ct. Men Since he has been at Succondee.

Capt. Willis at Whidah is Dead and Mr. Hicks made Chief. Capt. Willis played a base Trick in Certifying a Slave to be Dead, and by Same was found to be living.

40. Mr. Hicks to the Royal African Company.[1]

Whidah, 22 August, 1709.

I also found in Possession of Mr. Duffield One Cormanteen, A very fine Young Man, And One of your Hon'rs Slaves, that was by Capt. Willis on Nov. 1707 Wrote off unjustly from the List of Castle Slaves as Dead, And passed Certificates accordingly, Which are Signed by Himselfe Mr. Hillyard and Jno. Sherman Bomboy As One of the Originalls I send Your Hon'r Enclosed.

I have Examined Mr. Hillyard and Sherman how they came to Signe 2 Certificates which they could not but be sensible was false, And for their Justeficecion they both Affirm they never were Suffered by Capt. Willis to read what they Signed, And for once Attempting One had his Head Broke and the Other Discarded for a full Month; Whether True or False I cannot Judge more than that I think the whole is a Base and Knavish Action.

I have forced Mr. Duffield to Deliver him, and have brought him to your hon'rs Acco't again among the rest of the Castle Slaves.

41. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, 22 October 1709.

I was fully satisfied of Mr. Thurloe's private Trading and his practice at Shidoe before I had the particular Acco't And particularly of

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qualified to sit in the council (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 427, 559). Barbados was having difficulties of a similar nature with officials who were disqualified because of their connection with the African Company.

[39] [1] T 70: 2, p. 12, "Abstracts of Letters, Sept. 30, 1707-July 22, 1713".

[2] The "pieces" of goods seem to have been bound into bundles by narrow strips or fillets.

[40] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 12-13.

[41] [1] T 70: 2, p. 14.

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his Panyering and Brandeeing [2] Agoy at Succondee, But was willing to let him alone until I had Sombody from Your Hon'r to put in his Room, But when the People came and told me that they would not Live under him I thought it was best to Remove him, And Phripp falling into the same kind of Pr[a]emunire [3] I thought I was Obliged to Remove Him alsoe.

I was willing to bring Thurloe of his Own Accord to Consid'r Your Hon'r for Trading on Your Charge, but He said you might Stop it Out of what You Stopt in Engl.

Thurloe and Phripp I doe not designe to Employ again untill Your Honours Directions therein.

Under date of 29 Nov., 1709.

I am Informed that Mr. Thurloe is getting Certificates from 10 per Cent. Men of his not Trading with Them, what the Certificates are I know not, Its possible their Oaths and Certificates may Differ: I am fully Satisfied he is not Accused with any thing but what is fact.

I do not find Mr. Phripp looks after Certificates. Yet tho he allows to have done what he is Charged with he says he has done Nothing but what he can Answer.

42. Report of the Board of Trade to the House of Commons.[1]

December 19, 1709.

To the Hon'ble the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

In Pursuance of an Order of the 15th Instant, requiring Us to lay before this Honourable House, what further Observations We have made, relating to the Trade to Africa, since our last laid before this House.

We humbly take leave to Represent, That by Our Report of the 27th of January last, We laid before this Honourable House the State of the Trade to Africa, as it then stood, with Our Observations

[2] Kidnapping and branding.

[3] An interesting illustration of the variety of ways in which this term, once purely ecclesiastical, had come to be used.

[42] [1] C. O. 389: 21, pp. 7-16. Despite the protracted discussion in the early months of 1709, the House of Commons adjourned without passing the African bill which had been under consideration. Soon after the beginning of the session in November, 1709, the question of the settlement of African trade was again opened. On Dec. 15 the Commons ordered that the Board of Trade report; on the 19th the report was presented. Between Dec. 8 and 15 a number of petitions against the claims of the African Company had come in to the House: that of the merchants of London, charging that the "company did not pay their debts, nor carry on the Trade, nor support their Settlements, nor protect the separate Traders, and by their present Circumstances they remain only in a Capacity to oppress the Petitioners, and others, and obstruct the Trade in general". One group of Barbados planters petitioned for open trade, another, against it, the latter on the ground that under the monopolized trade negroes had sold for from £15 to £20 per head, while under open trade, prevailing since 1698, they had reached £30 and £40. *C. J.*, XVI. 235, 236, 240, 242, 246; Stock, III. 222-224.

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thereon; since which time, We have endeavoured to get what further Information We were able, in relation to that Trade; and in order thereunto, We did on the 21st of October last, send to the African Company for the following Accounts, *vizt.*[2]

An account of the Ten per Cent Duty paid by Seperate Traders from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709; and how the same has been expended.

An account of the Charge of the Forts and Castles during the forsaid time, and of the Company's Settlements in Africa.

An Account of what Money has been called and paid in, and what Dividends made by the Company, between Michaelmas 1708 and Michaelmas 1709.

An Account of Exports and Imports by the Company and Seperate Traders for the same time.

An Account of the number of Ships fitted out by the Company and Seperate Traders, from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709.

An Account of the Number of Negroes furnished by the Company and Seperate Traders, to the several Plantations during the said time, and at what Rates, with the Terms on which such Negroes have been sold.

An Account of the Woollen Manufactures the Company and Seperate Traders have exported since Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709.

To which several Queries they have return'd us no Answer.

We did at the same time send to the Seperate Traders several Queries, and having receiv'd Returns thereunto, We take leave to lay the same before this Honourable House, as follows,

1st Query. How much has been paid to the Company by the Seperate Traders on account of the Ten per Cent, from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709?

To which they have answer'd, that having examin'd the Custom House Books, they found that the Ten per Cent Duty paid within the above-mentioned time in Exports by the Company amounts to £611, and by the Seperate Traders to £4858 4 *s.* 8 *d.* as appears by the Paper annex'd, mark'd A.[3]

2nd Query. How many Ships have been sent out by the Company on account of that Trade, and how many by the Seperate Traders, within the above time?

To which the Seperate Traders have answer'd, that the Company, during the foresaid time, have sent out but three Ships, and the seperate Traders thirty seven; as likewise appears by the said Paper A.

Upon which We observe, That though the said List A. cannot be made perfect here, for want of an Account of the number of Ships

[2] *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 77; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 487.
[3] Not here printed.

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dispatch'd from the several Plantations to the Coast of Africa, and of the account of the Ten per Cent paid there; yet it does appear that the Seperate Traders have sent out from the several Ports of this Kingdom, above twelve Ships to one of what hath been dispatched by the Company.

3rd Query. What is the Value of the Exports (particularly in reference to our Woollen Manufactures) and of the Imports of the Company, from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709; and what is the Value of the Exports and Imports of the Seperate Traders, within that time?

Upon this We observe, That the Ten per Cent paid by the Company in that time, being £611 : 4 *s.* as aforesaid, the Value of their Exports is about £6100 on account of their Trade, and for maintaining their Forts; and if from the said £6100 the Value of the Ten per Cent be deducted, the same amounting to £5469 : 8 *s.* : 8 *d.* there will then remain for their Trade of the Company but £630 11 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Seperate Traders being £4858 : 4 *s.* : 8 *d.* as by Paper A, the Value of their Exports must be about £48,582 : 8 *s.* whereby it appears that the Seperate Traders Exports for Trade only, exceeds those of the Company near eighty to one this year; besides the great difference of Shipping employ'd within that time, by the Company and the Seperate Traders.

In relation to the Woollen Manufactures Exported, the Seperate Traders inform Us, That they cannot give a particular and exact Account thereof, but that it appears by the Custom-House Books, that there has been exported, during the foresaid time, about 40,654 Pieces of Woollen Manufactures, of all sorts (as by the said Paper A.) whereof, as the Seperate Traders affirm, the Company have exported but 2488; So that according to their Account, the Seperate Traders have exported this year 35,678 Pieces of Woollen Manufactures more than the Company. Of this whole Export there were in Perpets, Says, Bays and Stuffs, 35,000 Pieces; 600 Woollen Carpets, and the rest were Fustians, usually called Anabasses. . . . .

4th Query. What Number of Negroes have been Imported into the Plantations by the Company since Michaelmas 1708; What Number within that time by the Seperate Traders; at what Rates have such Negroes usually been sold by the Company, and by the Seperate Traders within that time?[4]

In Answer to this the Seperate Traders have inform'd Us, that the Accounts of the Arrival of their Ships in the Plantations, reach no farther than to July last; However it appears by those Accounts, a

[4] Nov. 17, 1709, separate traders to Mr. Popple, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 522-523. The company had reported to the board on Jan. 23, 1708 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 454), that between 1704 and 1707 the separate traders had imported: to Jamaica, 11,510, to Barbados, 2093, to Antigua, 698, to Nevis, 250, to Virginia, 2734, total, 17,285.

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Copy whereof is hereunto annexed, Marked B that the Seperate Traders have Imported into

	Negroes
Jamaica	3982
Virginia	630
Barbadoes	340
Antegoa	530[5]
In all	5482

Besides those Imported by Ships fitted out in the Plantations for the Coast of Africa, the number whereof is not known here, and by the said Paper B. it appears that the Company have only Imported into Antigua 440 Negroes.

The Seperate Traders say, that there are but three of the above mentioned 40 Ships dispatched in this Year's Trade, yet arriv'd in the Plantations; so that if the rest arrive safe, the said Plantations will in all Probability have a plentiful supply.

As to the Rates of the Negroes sold in the Plantations, they can give Us no Account of those sold by the Company, but do say that they have usually sold their Negroes at Jamaica, from 15 to £26 per Head; at Virginia about £25 per Head; but dearer at Barbadoes, and in the Leeward Islands, by reason that the Credit of Barbadoes has not been re-established since a late Act passed there for making of Paper-Money current;[6] nor the credit of the Leeward Islands, since the Taking of Nevis.

We have received, since Our above-mentioned Report of the 27th of January last, further Accounts from the Plantations, of the Importation of Negroes there, since the 24th of June 1698, which We take leave to add here, and are as follows:

[5] The *Calendar*, 1708-1709 (p. 523), gives "Antigua, 970".

[6] Barbados was far from admitting that the high price she had paid for slaves had resulted from her currency bill. In August, 78 planters signed a petition to the Commons asking for a joint-stock company, since they were convinced that the late high prices given for negroes had resulted from the liberty given to separate traders. These planters were also the signers of a joint letter, urging the friends of Barbados to give attention to the petition which Barbados had sent to the House of Commons (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 551). This is probably the same group whose names are found attached to a petition of July 20, 1710. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, pp. 308-309.

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	By the Company	By Seperate Traders	Totals
Virginia			
From the 24th of June 1699 to the 12th of October 1709.....	679	5,828	6,507
The Prices of Negroes are different according to their Quality and Ages, and to the time of their coming in; But the Medium for Men and Women may be reckon'd from 20 to £ 30 per Head for those sold by the Company; And from 20 to £ 35 per Head for the like kinds sold by Separate Traders.			
Maryland[8]			
From Midsummer 1698; to the 25th of December 1708.....	.....	2,938	2,938
This Province hath been supply'd with Negroes by the Seperate Traders only; Not one Ship of the Company's having been there in 20 years; The Men are sold at £ 30 per Head, the Women at 25 and £ 26 per Head.			
Connecticut[9]			
Not one Ship either belonging to the Company or Seperate Traders, have Imported any Negroes since 1698, or before that year.			
They have but few Negroes in the Colony with which they are supply'd from their Neighbours, and sometimes with about six in a year from the West Indies.			
Rhode Island[10]			
None Imported since 1698, by the Company, or Seperate Traders.			
Their only supply of Negroes is from Barbadoes, from whence yearly they have between 20 and 30 Negroes, who are sold from 30 to £ 40 per Head, if sound.			
Barbadoes[11]			
Imported from Africa, from the 24th of June 1708, to the 1st of August 1709.....	.....	.....	1,293

Note; This Account does not distinguish the Numbers of Negroes Imported by the Company, and those by the Seperate Traders within the time there mention'd; so that We cannot make any computation of what further Number has been Imported within that time by the Seperate Traders here, or by the Seperate Traders in the Plantations, over and above the said 340.

The Seperate Traders do say, that they lost the last year twenty, and this year five of their Ships, which has been a great Discouragement to them; Notwithstanding which, they have this Year sent out 37, and they say they are now fitting out ten more, besides eight or nine of the last year, which are not yet return'd; so that there are

[7] Colonel Jenings to the Board of Trade, Nov. 27, 1708, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 156-158. The *Calendar* gives the number brought in by separate traders as 5692, and adds 236 brought from Barbados.

[8] Nov. 18, 1708, Governor Seymour to the Board of Trade, *ibid.*, pp. 150-151; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 55.

[9] Jan. 26, 1709, Governor and Council of Connecticut to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 209.

[10] Dec. 5, 1708, Governor Cranston to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 171-172, and this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

[11] Sept. 2, 1709, Governor Crowe to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 458, enclosure; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 96.

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at present about 55 ships employ'd by them in this Trade, whereas, as has been before mentioned, the Company have but three.

By the foregoing Accounts, it appears in what manner the Trade to Africa has been carryed on for this last year, whereby it is evident that Company so far have neglected the Trade, that had not the Seperate Traders carry'd it on in the manner they have done, this Kingdom would have suffer'd very much in regard to the following Particulars;

The Export of Our Woollen and other Manufactures had been greatly lessen'd, or rather had been so inconsiderable as not worth the being mentioned.

The Tunnage of Shipping employed in that Trade had been very small, to the great Discouragement of the Navigation of this Kingdom.

Our American Plantations would have suffer'd very much for want of a competent supply of Negroes, to the great Prejudice of the Sugar and Tobacco Traders (already labouring under the utmost Discouragements) and consequently the Revenues arising to the Publick from those Trades, must have been greatly lessen'd.

To all which we may add, that Our Trade to Africa might have been in danger of being lost to this Kingdom, and of falling into the Hands of other European Nations Trading to that Coast (for want of the Natives being furnished with Woollen and other Goods from hence) had not the Seperate Traders supply'd those Markets in the manner abovementioned.[12]

WHITEHALL
Decemb'r the 19th 1709

43. PETITIONS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

December 20, 1709.

A Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, Merchants, and Tradesmen, living in, and trading from, the ancient Corporation and Port of Leverpoole, in the County of Lancaster, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, having enjoyed the Liberty of Trade to Africa, since the Enlargement thereof by Act of Parliament, do now find, that the Royal African Company are endeavouring to get that Trade to themselves, exclusive of all others; which will be very prejudicial to the Petitioners, in regard of their great Increase of Shipping, and the many young Gentlemen from the neighbouring Counties, bred up in Merchandize there, and the

[12] Signed, "Stamford, Dartmouth, Ph. Meadows, J. Pulteney, R. Monckton, Cha: Turner".

[43] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 246.

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great Trade, they have to the Plantations, having sent many Ships to the Coast of Africa, since the opening of the said Trade: It will also discourage the Exportation of the Woollen Manufacture, and lessen her Majesty's Revenue, for want of their usual Returns from the Plantations: And praying, that the Trade to Africa may continue free and open to all her Majesty's Subjects.

January 24, 1709/10.[2]

A Petition of the Gun-makers, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Trade to Africa, when it was solely carried on by the Royal African Company, occasioned the Exportation of very great Quantities of the Petitioners Manufactures, and was a great Help to their Support; but the late great Difficulties, the said Company have laboured under by the late Settlement, has very much lessened that Exportation, to the Impoverishment of the Petitioners: And praying, that the said Company's Trade may be secured to them, under such Methods, as to the House shall seem meet. . . .

A Petition of the Dyers, Packers, Setters, Drawers, and Calenders, and others, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House, and read: setting forth, that the Royal African Company, by their Trade to Guinea, were wont to give Employment to the Petitioners, and many Hundred others; but their Trades are very much lessened by the Misfortunes, the said Company labour under, by reason of the War, and the Irruptions of the separate Traders, whereby the Guinea Trade is in great Danger of being lost to the Nation; which tends to the Detriment of the Petitioners, and their Families: And praying, that the House will grant the said Company such Privileges, as may encourage them to improve that Trade by

[2] *C. J.*, XVI. 273. Petitions continued to come in through January, February, and March, 1710: those interested in the woollen industry of Exeter and London; the iron workers of Birmingham; the shipwrights and all those concerned in the finishing and furnishing of vessels; the corporations of Plymouth, Bridgewater, and Bristol; the shipowners of Whitehaven; the corporation and merchants of Edinburgh; the boroughs of North Britain; even the butchers, the brewers and the bakers of London, petitioned against a restoration of the monopoly of the slave trade (*ibid.*, pp. 259, 260, 261, 267, 269, 308; Stock, III. 224-238, *passim*). The two petitions which follow, together with two from the company, Jan. 11 and Mar. 3, were the only expressions favorable to the company which came to the House during this session. On the same day that these papers were presented the company and the separate traders each proposed a scheme for the settling of the trade. The company's suggestion was that it be required to export to Africa £100,000 in manufactures and merchandize annually, and that the price and number of negroes it delivered in the plantations be left to the determination of her Majesty in Council. The plan of the separate traders, signed by Richard Harris and Humphrey Morice, suggested that the forts and factories of Africa be taken over by the queen, with whatever recompense the House thought necessary, such recompense to be raised by a duty laid on the trade to Africa, and that the African trade be laid open, subject only to the aforementioned duty (*C. J.*, XVI. 275-276, 300; Stock, III. 225, 236). These proposals, with all other matter bearing on the African question which had come to the House, were considered in committee of the whole until Feb. 9.

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more large Exportations, for the Good of the Publick, as well as the Petitioners Support.[3] . . .

44. Valuation of the African Forts.[1]

Royal African Company's Estimates of each of their Forts and Settlements.

1st. Cabo Corso Castle, bought of the former Company.

The Fortification consists of Out-works, Platforms, and Bastions; and has been enlarged with new Buildings, and made regular, by the present Company, with Brick, Lime, and Tarras; was Seven Years a doing: having Apartments for the Director General, Factors, Writers, Artificers, and Soldiers; Magazines, Warehouses, Storehouses, Granaries, Guard-rooms, Two large Water Tanks, or Cisterns, built of Brick and Tarras, sent from England, and holding about 200 Tons; Repositories to contain 1000 Negroes, and Vaults for Rum; Work-houses for Smiths, Armourers, and Carpenters; 74 great Guns, small Arms, Soldiers Coats, Blunderbusses, Buccaneer Guns, Pistols, Cartouch Boxes, Swords, and Cutlasses; Ammunition for great and small Arms; Stores and Tools for Brick-makers, Bricklayers, Smiths, Carpenters, Coopers, Surgeons, Armourers, Gunners, and Gardeners; A complete Chapel; Pinnaces and Canoes, attending on the Castle and Garison, and for fetching and carrying Materials for building and Stores, to and from the out Factories.

This Castle is situate in Fettue, the Residence of the Company's General, who manages their Trade and Alliances, with the several Kingdoms; and opens a Trade to Saboe, Cabesterroe, and Arkania, Cuffera, Dawnkra, and Ashantee; and is a Repository of Goods, for Supply of all the Factories: It has Gardens and Grounds, producing all Necessaries; as Plantanes, Bonanoes, Pine Apples, Potatoes, Yames, Corn, Colworts, Cabbages, and all other European Refreshments, for the Factories, and Shipping: also Ponds of fresh Water; and the Castle is a Security for all Ships on the Road, and by small Vessels taking in Cargoes, and Directions, from thence, to carry on the Trade to Windward, at these several Places; *viz.* to Cape Mount, Serrada, River Cestos, Sanguinee, Sujo, Cettra, Crew, Wappo, Grand Cettra, Cape Palmas, Sabboe on the Quaqua Coast, and Tahow Petera, Drewin, and River Andrea, Red Cliffts, Cottraow, Cape Lahow, Jack and Jack, Basham, Ashanee, Abbunee, Cape Apolonia; and to Leeward, as far as the River Benin, and Old and New Calabar; whereby a considerable Trade has been preserved, and carried on, to the Vent of 60 to 70,000 *l.* per Annum in Goods and Merchandize: All which, so circumstantiated, is valued at . . . . . £100,000.

[3] *C. J.*, XVI. 317-319. On Feb. 9 Lord William Powlett reported from the committee of the whole two resolutions: (1) that forts were necessary for the preservation of the African trade; (2) that the trade should be free to all her Majesty's subjects. The first passed without question, the second after an attempt to recommit it. The matter was then thrown back to the committee of the whole for further consideration. On the 13th the House received a petition from the creditors of the company, requesting that their security be safeguarded, and directed that the company submit a valuation of its African property, and that the separate traders submit their scheme for carrying on the trade (*ibid.*, pp. 300, 310, 312). The scheme of the separate traders elaborated the plan which they had already suggested: If an incorporation seemed necessary they proposed a regulated company, which any subject might join upon payment of dues to be determined by the House. The forts were to pass to the crown, and their maintenance and defense to lie in the hands of the crown. No governor or officer of the establishment was to be allowed to trade, and no development of agriculture was to be permitted (*C. J.*, XVI. 319; Stock, III. 232-233). A bill to settle the trade was introduced and given its first reading Feb. 25. *C. J.*, XVI. 339; Stock, III. 236.

[44] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 317-319.

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Brought forward	£100,000	0	0
2. Fort Royal, bought of the Danes by the present Company for 4597 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d.* This Fort is assistant to the Defence and Security of Cape Coast, and Shipping in the Road; and other Charges since stands the Company in double that sum	9,194	0	0
3d. Queen Ann's Point, in Saboe, built for the Security of Cape Coast, and for purchasing of Corn, Slaves, and Gold: Value at . . .	2,000	0	0
4. Commenda Fort, built by the present Company. The Fortification is Four-square, with Four Bastions, and a Tower; and contains Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, Storehouses, a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England; and a Negro House, for 150 Negroes; 21 great Guns, with small Arms, Stores, and Ammunition, for great and small Guns; with the Charge of Vessels and Canoes attending the building of this Fort, which was Four Years. This Fort stands in the Kingdom of Aguaffoe, and opens a Trade to the Kingdoms of Cufferoes, Dankarees, Ashantees, Arkania, Acqua, and Abrambo, for Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Palm Oil.[3] It was built at a very great Expence. Valued at	20,000	0	0
5. Annamaboe Fort, built by the present Company. The Fortification consists of Flankers and Out-works; Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines and Storehouses; 12 great Guns, Small Arms, Blunderbusses, Soldiers Coats, etc. Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms; Canoes, etc. attending the Building, and Garison; a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Bricks and Tarras, sent from England; with a Negro House, for 150 Negroes. This Fort is situate in the Fanteens Country, and opens a Trade to Fanteen, Braman, Acrong, and Akim, Capesteraes, and Arcania, for Gold, Corn, Palm Oil, and Oyster Shells; also a very great Trade for Slaves: Valued at	12,000	0	0
6th. Succundee Fort, built by the present Company, in the Antee Country, and near the Adooms, near a Dutch Fort; once taken and destroyed by Negroes; hired by the Dutch West India Company, and the rebuilding thereof afterwards interrupted by the same Interest; but since rebuilt, and fortified. The Fortification has Ten great Guns, Small Arms, and Stores; and also Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, and Storehouses; with a Tank for Water, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England; and a Negro House, for 100 Negroes: It affords a great Trade in Slaves, Gold, and Teeth: Valued at	8,000	0	0
7th. Winnebah Fort, built by the present Company. The Fortification has Four Bastions, Outworks, Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, Guard Rooms, a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England; a Negro House, for 100 Negroes; 16 great Guns, small Arms, Cutlasses, Soldiers Coats, and Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms. This Fort stands in the Queen of Anguina's Country, and opens a Trade to Ackim for Gold and Slaves; and has a River of fresh Water, to supply the ships; also Timber, and Oysters Shells, for repairing the Forts. Value	12,000	0	0
8th Dix Cove Fort was built by the present Company, and is situate in the Antee Country. The Fortification, being Four-square, has Four Bastions, with 10 great Guns, small Arms, and Stores; and also Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, and Storehouses; which opens a considerable Trade to Axim, Awawee, Warsaws, Dankarie, and Ashantee, Inland Countries, for Gold, Teeth, Slaves, and Corn; and furnishes Timber,			
Carried forward	£163,194	0	0

[3] An account of the African forts, prepared toward the end of the eighteenth century, describes Commenda as "near the Spot where all the roads divide, that communicate the Ashantee Trade to this part of the Coast". British Museum, Egerton MSS. 1162 B, f. 92.

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Brought forward £163,194 0 0

for Repair of Ships, and Factories, and Water for Shipping; also Lime-stone, and a Place for careening small Vessels; and a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England, for fresh Water; a Negro House, to hold 100 Negroes. This Fort lies between Dutch and Brandenburgh Forts, which is valued at . . 8,000, 0 0

9th Accra Fort, built by the present Company. The Castle is Four-square, and has a Tower, Bastion, and Out-works; Apartments for the chief Factor and Soldiers; Magazines, Guard-rooms, and a Tank, or large Cistern, made of Brick and Tarras, sent from England: A Negro House, for 150 Negroes; 26 great Guns, small Arms, Blunderbusses, and Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms, and Stores for Artificers. This stands in the Kingdom of Accra, and opens a Trade to Quambo, Ackim, Acquawoa, for Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Salt; and stands near to both Dutch and Danes, and is a Place of very great Trade, especially for Gold: Valued at 20,000 0 0

10th William's Fort at Whidah, built by the present Company; and hath Outworks, a Moat, and Apartments for the chief Factors, Artificers, and Soldiers: and Magazines, and Storehouses; a Guard-room, and Negro House, and 21 great Guns, and small Arms; Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms; Stores for Artificers; and is situate in the Kingdom of Whidah; which prevents the Dutch and French from engrossing the whole Trade of that Kingdom, and produces great Supplies of Negroes: Valued at 15,000 0 0

11th York Island and Fort, in the River Sherbrow, in the Kingdom of Sherbrow, fortified with great Guns; and having Apartments for Factors, Officers, and Soldiers; Warehouses, small Arms, and Ammunition; commands the Trade of that River, which supplies this Nation with Redwood; which, when the Company had the Trade, and not interrupted by separate Traders, was bought of the Natives at ⅓ of the Price it now costs. This Fort was built by the Company; and from hence, and Parts adjacent, was carried on a considerable Trade for Redwood, Elephants Teeth, and some Negroes: which, so circumstantiated, the Company values at 6,000 0 0

12th Bence Island, and the Island of Tassa, in the River of Sera Leone. On the First was a Castle, fortified; but in this War was plundered by the French, and not yet re-settled.[3] From those Places, and Parts adjacent, was carried on a good Trade for Elephants Teeth, and Negroes. The Propriety thereof valued at 4,000 0 0

13th James Fort, and Island, in the River Gambia; the island walled round; Out-works, great Guns, small Arms, and Stores; formerly mounted with 90 great Guns; with several Warehouses, Rooms for Factors and Officers; Work-houses for Smiths, and other Artificers; by means whereof, together with the Agreements with the several Kings of that Country, the Company have heretofore enjoyed the Trade of that River upwards of 300 Leagues, with Settlements and Factories at the Places following; *viz.* Barracunda, Alunjugar, Jamassar, Geregia, Tankerwall, Jovy, Sangrigo, Vintan, Gellifree, Barrafatt, Furbrow, Cumbo, and Benyoun, all within that River; and the Factories of Portodella, Joallee, Felan, and Bassally, without the said River; and by Sloops and Vessels, trading from the said James Island to Rio Pungo, Rio Nunez, Bissow, and Catchow, Places adjacent to the said Island; by all which in the time of settled Trade

Carried forward £216,194 0 0

[3] This fort the company finally surrendered in 1728. The description of the forts already cited says of this one, the property of Messrs. Richard Oswald and Company: "This Fort has not been any Expence to the Public (notwithstanding it has been kept in better repair, and supplied with every necessary for its defence), than the Forts at Senegambia, and on the Gold Coast, and Whydah have been, where so much Public Money has been expended. . . . Belonging to the Fort 33 Europeans and Mullatoes, 137 Castle Slaves, besides Women and Girls, 10 Sloops, and Schooners, the Fort in Good repair, 28 Cannon". Eg. MSS. 1162 B, f. 78.

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Brought forward	£216,194	0	0
they did receive a very considerable Income out of the Profit of that Trade, amounting to near 10,000 *l.* per Annum, clear of all Charges. It is acknowledged, that the said Fort, having been several times taken, and plundered, by the French, is not now in the same good Condition, as formerly; and therefore what might justifiably be valued at 60,000 *l.* is now valued only at	20,000	0	0
14th Annishan, Agga Tantumquerry,[4] Shidoe, Alampo, Five Factories on the Gold Coast, for purchasing Negroes, and Corn, and at some times a very great Vent for Goods, those now continued, being only Agga, and Shidoe, and the Property in the others: Valued at	2,000	0	0
Total	238,194	0	0

15th The said Royal African Company crave Leave to lay before this House what other Estate they have on the Coast of Africa, and in the Plantations, the Preservation and Recovery whereof depends intirely upon their being in Possession of their Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, and the Trade to the Plantations; and, should they be divested of either, they humbly represent, that the said Estate will be in the utmost Hazard of being lost: The Account of which is continued under the following Heads; *viz.* 100 Black Canoe Men, employed in the sundry Occasions, for Support of the Settlements and Factories, valued at 40 *l.* each, being hard and seasoned Negroes	4,000		
100 Blacks, instructed in mechanick Arts, as Smith, Armourers, Carpenters, Coopers, Bricklayers, Brick-makers, Masons, Stone-cutters, Sawyers, Gardeners, Linguisters, and Messages, will yield in the Plantations 100 *l.* per Head	10,000		
500 Castle Slaves, as well for Labour, as Soldiery, at 40 *l.* per Head	20.000		
On the North Parts about 100 Gromettoes, or Castle Slaves, for Canoes, and working, valued at 40 *l.* per Head	4,000		
Debts owing from the several Kings, Cabashiers, and Tradiers, for Goods delivered to them on Credit	18,000		
Goods and Merchandize remaining in the several Factories, by the last Accompt	52,432		
Owing from the several Plantations	171,123		
	279,555	0	0

May it please this honourable House to take into their serious Consideration the extraordinary Charge, that of necessity must arise in the erecting, and preserving, such remote Buildings and Fortifications, by sending from hence Bricks, Tiles, Tarras, Lead, Iron-work, Boards, Timber, and all other Stores, Tools, and Materials, at great Freights; and in contracting with hiring, and transporting, Soldiers, Carpenters, Smiths, Bricklayers, Masons, and other Artificers, and from time to time supplying and recruiting the same, as well by reason of the Insults, and Losses, during the War with Holland, as also with France; the hiring of Vessels, and keeping Ships

[4] "The Trade, when it is not infested with the disputes between the Inland, and Sea Coast Negroes, has always been looked upon to be as good, as at any one of the other Forts, as the Akims used, when the Country was free from disputes, constantly to bring down Gold and Slaves, to a weekly Market, about 35 Miles from hence, bearing North, by East called Ninnan in the Country of Equina from whence they are conveyed by the Fantyns (the general name the inhabitants of this part of the coast bear), to the Forts at the Sea Side of which this of Tantumquery is not least considerable". Eg. MSS. 1162 B, f. 98.

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of Force upon Demurrage, for the Assistance and Protection of their Trade: To which may be added, the great Costs and Charges of obtaining Grants and Agreements, and making Alliances, with the several Kings, Queens, and great Men of the Country, as well in order to make Settlements, and build Forts, as to defend the Company against the sinister and undermining Designs of the European Competitors in that Trade.

From all which Considerations the Company do humbly hope, upon Examination, it will appear, that the foregoing Valuation, made by them of their Forts and Settlements, is moderate, just, equitable, and reasonable.

By Order of the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of England, the 16th February, 1709/10.

RICHARD BEAUMONT,
Accomptant to the said Company.

45. TESTIMONY OF JOHN HAYES.[1]

John Hayes late Master of the *Dorsett* Brigantine declareth that the said Vessell under his Comand was taken by a French Ship of War on the 5th day of June last off of Sierra Leone bound to Widda to take in Negroes for the Spanish West Indies [2] and in their passage down the Coast joyned a large french privateer which cruized between the River Sestis and Cape Palmas six Weeks and had taken a Vessell belonging to Antego another English Vessell called the *Coward* Gally, three Portuguez Ships and one Dutch Interloper after which they would have obliged the said Hayes to have pilotted them into Anamabo where there were divers English Vessells but the said Hayes carried them by that Port in the Night time soe that they could not get up again. After which the said French Ships Anchored at Winaba two dayes where the Governour of the Affrican Companys Fort came on board them, lay on board and purchased divers of the Goods taken in the English Prizes among which the said Hayes saw 400 barrells of Tallow carried ashoar by the French in their own boate to the Affrican Company's Fort at Winaba which Mr. Gray the Companys Agent and the Sergeant of the said Fort assured him were bought for the Affrican Company's Account after which the said french ships came to Anchor at Accra where they went ashoar and dined in the Fort with the Company's Governour and sold the remainder of the Cargoe of the two English prizes and the next day

[45] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 105, enclosure C in report of the separate traders to the Board of Trade, Dec. 11, 1710 (no. 50). If one remembers that the two countries France and England were at war, the purpose of the separate traders in sending this memorial to the Board of Trade becomes clear.

[2] It is to be remembered that France at this time held the assiento.

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the Company's Governour came on board and dined with the Commander of the French Ships.

That two Months before the said Hayes came to Winaba two French Ships came thither and tooke in Mr. Hickes the Company's Agent and carried him down to Widda to be Cheife there in the room of Mr. Willis who was dead and that the said French Ships were bound from Widda for the South Sea with their Negroes dated 5th April 1710.

JNO. HAYES

46. SIR DALBY THOMAS TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

CAPE COAST CASTLE 9th April 1710

. . . Capt. Thorn who is an owner of the Sloope [*Dolphin* from Barbados] finding Slaves so hard to come by here, thought it best for her to go to Windward and well approved of the Cargoe and much better could not have been brought from the River of Thames, Mr. Edward Birkhead who became Master by the Death of Capt. Wells was a very weak Silly Fellow. Capt. Thorn promised to put an Assistant on Board but Did not And for want of a Better I was forced to make Mr. Phripp Super Cargo.

Their Orders were to make the best of their way from Dixcove where they were to take in Goods for Cape Lahoe where they were to make their Trade, but they would Stopp every where at every Fort and Factory and never weighed Anchor untill 7 or 8 o Clock in the Morning except once and by that time the Land breeze is all most over and he that does not weigh by the begining of the breeze (which Sometimes begins at ten at night and Sometimes not till two in the morning shall never make any hand of going to windward, and they were 50 days ageing from Cape Appollonia [2] and bought but 30 Slaves where of one Died, they were bought at dearer rates then we give at Cape Coast, and parted with Little or noe Goods but Guns and Powder, tho' Phripps positive Orders were to mixe his Goods so for Sale that he should have of his Guns and Powder in proportion to the last, the Master sayes he stayed but as Phripps Directed him And Phripps Sayes he Stayed noe where, but for want of a wind, tho they lay at Anchor Severall times with windward Currents by the Masters Journall I was told by Some that were aboard that it was all a Careless Managemt: nobody lookt after any thing Mr. Phripp was more ashoar than aboard and when on board if the Blacks will not take what he bid them for the Slaves he would beat them over Board, And would not Rise tho in the Day time to look upon Slaves

[46] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 15-16.
[2] The distance from Dixcove to Cape Appolonia was perhaps fifty miles.

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when they have been brought on board, And at Cape Apollonia they told him for his beating them he might lye there as long as he would. Not a Slave Should Come aboard him He is a very unqualified Man for buissness were there no other fault in him.

Had Mr. Phripp done as he ought to have Done and Might have Done your Ships might have been Gone and we a getting a penny by the 10 per Ct. Men towards the Support of the Coast.

Capt. Cook in your *Pindar* Came to Cape Coast the 12 Octob. last and sailed the 23d last past and had two as good Cargoes the one for the Windward Trade and the other for the Leeward Trade[8] as we could put on board and not much Inferior to the Cargoes that she might have brought With her from Great Brittain for those Voyages and in all that time he purchased in both Voyages but

	Males	Females	Slaves
	99	50 in all	149
Wee took on Shoare from him not fitt for the Voya and Sold to the Portugese	3	1	4
	96	49	145
Wee put on board him at Cape Coast	83	36	119
and was put on board him by the out Factors	28	14	42
	207	99	306
Dyed on board before bill of Loading Signed as per bill of Loading Inclosed	3	1	4
	204	98	302

[8] The Leeward trade was that east of Cape Coast Castle, the Windward, that to the north and west of it.

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47. Ships from Great Britain to Africa, 1709-1710.[1]

An Acc't of Ships Dispatched from the severall ports of Great Britaine and the Plantations to the Coast of Affrica between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 on Acc't of the Seperate Traders with the Ten per Cent duty paid to the Royall African Company on each Ship, the Number of peeces of Woollen Goods loaden therein and the Number of Negros intended to be loaden in each Vessell To which is subjoyned an Account of three of the Company's Ships sent within that time alsoe.

When entered at the Custome House	Ship's Name from the Port of London	Ten per Cent Duty paid	Ten per Cent paid by Allowance on Ship's Lost	Woollen Goods						Long Cloths	Peeces of fustions	Stuffes and Blanketts	No. of Negroes designed by each ship	No. of Negroes imported in each ship	The Places where they arrived
				Peeces of perpets	Sayes	Bassados	Penistons	Carpetts	Bayes						
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.												
2d Oct'r, 1709	*Loyall Johnson*	69 13 0								2			200	180	at Carolina
	Houlditch Friggot	113 17 11											270	260	at Antego
8 Nov'r	*Three Crownes*	101 19 10		1100				50					205	200	at Nevis
Dec'r	*Thompson* Friggot	246 4 0		800				50					500		
15	*Prosperous*	38 14 0								2			120	125	at Virginia
18 Jan'y, 1710	*John and Robert*	42 2 0								1			130		
29 March	*Emelia*	352 16 0		2000					20				400		
1 Aprill	*Rachael*	58 16 7		100							40	Gold and	Teeth		
10 May	*John* Gally	148 7 7		2100		10		50					350		
	Dolphin, Glegg, M'r	95 3 0		1400									240		
	Little London		120 13 8	1400				100					300		
5 June	*Pearle*	97 16 6					24		2		6	6 pr. blankets	200		
17	*Joseph*	33 17 8	125 10 4	1930				50				200	350		
30	*William*	55 14 0		500				40					150		
27 July, 1709	*Raper* Gally	94 8 3	104 7 3	1680	40		6						350		
29 "	*Nancy*	161 11 0		2225							50	271		Gold	and Teeth
	Charles Gally	161 2 0		2200				50					350		
Aug't	*Fanteen* Gally	52 14 3	115 1 8	2078	18	16		100					350		
	Amey Gally	236 7 10						10	16	3	70		500		
												pr. blankets			
	Recovery	55 10 7	73 16 7	1627	10			50				50	300		

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17 "	*Dolphin*, pain M'r	91 0 3												250		
	Swallow Gally	127 12 8			1473				50				50	300		
18	*Dorothea*	295 16 6			600									450		
8 Sept'r	*Providence*	92 9 9						4			6			250		
		2823 15 2	539 9 6		23213	68	26	34	600	38	14	166	571	6515		
	On Import	417 6 4											[577]			
		3241 1 6														
	From the Port of	Bristoll														
	Heuville pd. after last Yrs. Acct. given in	101 13 5½			870	20		48								
Oct. 15, 1709	*Happy Returne*	73 5 11			500	10	10							180		
Nov. 21	*Leopard* Gally	72 4 11												200	201	at Virginia
Dec. 17	*Martha*	81 13 0			800									200	148	at Jamaica
31	*Union* Sloop	38 7 9			414									140	118	at Jamaica
Jan'y 4	*Indian King*	138 18 7			300		3		30					350		
Jany. 11, 1710	*Dover* Gally	112 12 9			825	30	6							250	245	at Jamaica
Mar. 29	*Union* Gally	61 8 9			580									200		
May	*Mermaid*	65 14 0	46 6 5		1200	25								270		
June 20	*Berkley* Gally	175 6 3			1850	20	20	12	24					350		
27	*Elizabeth and Sarah*	67 1 7			500									170		
July 5	*Affrica* Gally	161 2 4			1400		40							350		
Sept. 5	*Martha* Brigantine	84 18 4			700	10	10	10						180		
6	*Way* Gally		99 13 0		800	20	10		15					240		
	Expedition	15 2 11	69 1 4		600	20	10		15					180		
14	*Anne* Brigantine	111 10 4			975	15		21						200		
26	*Mary* Sloop	59 5 10			203			5						100		
	Neptune Sloop	64 9 11	37 17 6		850	20	12		15					180		
	Bridgewater	92 8 5												350		
	Port of Bristoll	1577 5 0½	252 18 3		13,367	190	121	96	99							
	London	3241 1 6	539 9 6		23,213	68	26	34	600	38	14	166	571			
		4816 6 6½	792 7 9		36,580	258	147	130	699	38	14	166	571			

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[*Account of Ships*—continued:]

When entered at the Custome House	Ship's Name from the Port of London	Ten per Cent Duty paid	Ten per Cent paid by Allowance on Ship's Lost	Woollen Goods: Peeces of perpets	Sayes	Bassa-dos	Penis-tons	Car-petts	Bayes	Long Cloths	Peeces of fus-tions	Stuffes and Blanketts	No. of Negroes de-signed by each ship	No. of Negroes im-ported in each ship	The Places where they arrived
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.												
	From the Island of Jamaica														
	The *Alexander* Gally												250	160	at Jamaica
	Neptune Brigantine From Barbados												140	126	at Jamaica
	Edwin Sloop												120	98	at Barbados
	Crow Sloop												120	104	do.
	St. Thomas												110	100	
													11,345	2,065	
	From Liverpool Two ships but the	Names not yet sent up from thence nor the					Ten	per Cent duty paid on them. The names now Come are							*Early* Gally / *Patience*
	Whitehaven One the Name not	yet sent.													
	On the Company's	Acct. three Ships only from the			Port	of	London	sent this Yeare			*Vizt.*)				
	The *Dorothy*	167 13 6		1,050											
	The *Camwood*	64 15 0		40			18								
	The *Broughton*	166 7 9		500				60							
		398 16 3		1,590			18	60							

[47] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 104 (1)-(4).

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48. Accounts of the *Pindar*[1]

London the 22d August 1710

Barbadoes June 1710

Negroes being 280 recd. per the *Pindar* Galley William Cooke Commander from Cabo Corso Castle on the proper account of the Royal African Co. of England to sundry charges.

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
			8.	9
May 5.	To cash paid for plantins yames, potatoes, limes etc. sent on board	3.	13.	6
6	To Ditto paid for Ditto sent on board	1.	7.	8
8	To Ditto paid for Ditto sent on board	8.	8.	1½
10	To Ditto paid for 501½ yds of blew linnen which was sent on board for Negroe Cloths they having none D D them on the coast at 10½ per yd	21.	18.	9½
	To Ditto paid bringing 260 Negroes on shoar	2.	3.	4
	To Ditto pd for a barrel of beefe at 2 *s.* pr. head	2.	2.	6
	To Ditto pd. for Plantins, yames, potatoes, limes, wood, candles etc.	4.	17.	6
11	To Ditto pd. for 2½ quintalls of fish at 22 *s* 6 per qtl	2.	16.	3
12	" " pd. for plantins yames, kankies etc.	3.	13.	8
13	" " pd. for yames, plantins, wood, etc.	2.	11.	8
15	" " pd. for 2 quintalls of fish, plantins, etc.	3.	2.	10
17	" " pd. for plantins wood, etc.	1.	19.	6
	" " pd. for tobacco and pipes	1.	18.	6
	" " " pd. for 30 galls. ½ of Rumm at 10 *s.* pr. gall.	1.	5.	5
21	" " pd. for plantins, potatoes, etc.	3.	19.	3
25	" " pd. for potatoes, plantins, wood, candles	2.	17.	8
26	" " pd. for plantins, yames, and kankies	1.	11.	10
	" " pd. 3 w'te men and 4 negroes for tending and taking care of the new Negroes from the time of their coming on shore till sold at 1 *s.* 3 *d.* each pr. day	7.	8.	9
	" " pd. for 6 new iron bound tubbs for the house	1.	0.	0
	" " pd. sam'l Jones for Dietting the 3 white men which tooke care of the Negroes 17 days at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* each per day	6.	7.	6
	To Doct'r Will'm Sommerfield for his head money on 280 Negroes at 12 *s* pr. head	14.	0.	0
		94.	14.	2¾
	To the Royall African Company of England their Acco't curr for the N't produce of the sale is	7112.	5.	9¼
		7207.	0.	0

London the 22d August 1710

per Contra

		M.	W.	B.	G.	£	s.	d.
May 11	Joseph Jordan	10				360		
	Robert Lampley			1	1	55		
	John Gill	1				38		
	John Bentley	2		2		112		
	Francis Bond	5	3			280		
	Martin Bentley			1		25		
	Reeves Phillips			1		25		
	. . .							
	Total[2]	145.	68.	40.	16	7027.	0.	0

[48] [1] T 70: 956, "The Invoice Book Homewards of the Royal African Company of England", no. H 24, from Jan. 5, 1708/9, to Dec. 29, 1711".

[2] There follow 79 similar transactions, the number of slaves bought by each purchase varying from 1 to 20.

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[*Accounts of the "Pindar"*—continued:]

	M.	W.	B.	G.
Delivered Capt. Cooke for his Com'n	5.	5.	1.	0
	150	73	41	16
	73			
	41			
	16			
	280 Negroes in all Recd.			

Mem. There is 5 negro men which Capt. Cooke keeps on board for the use of the ship pursuant to your Hon'rs orders

269 Sold
11 Captain's Commission
5 made seamen on board the *Pindar*
21 Dyed per Oath of Capt. and Dr.

306 Tooke in in all

Barbadoes. This day personally appeared before me Mr. Rayns Bate and Thomas Stewart Esqr. Agents to the Royall Compa. of England and made Oath on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God that the Above and foregoing is a true and just accompt of the number of Negroes sold at the prices they are sett down according to the best of their knowledge and belief.

Witness their hands this June 1710.

RAYNES BATE
THOS. STEWART

Jurant 10 die Junii
Anno Domino 1710 coram me
THO. EDWARDS.

49. TESTIMONY OF JACOB DUCE.[1]

I Jacob Duce late Supercargoe of the Ship *Richard and James* Capt. Richard Johnson Comander on a tradeing Voyage to Guinea has for severall Yeares past been severall Voyages on the Coast of Affrica where I observed a constant practice among the English Royall African Company's Agents and Factors upon the Appearance of any Portuguez Ships in the Offing to send a Man on board said Portuguez as a Protection to secure them from the Dutch Company's Cruizers to whome they are obliged to pay a large duty for their Licence to Trade and when Dutch meet them generally carry them under Command of their Settlements for this end and provided the Portuguez have no other Species of Goods on board for Trade then what are allowed of by a Stipulated agreement between them they are otherwise made and adjudged good prizes to the Dutch. The Man soe put on board of the Portuguez has usually a Note or Certificate from

[49] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 106, enclosure D in the report of the separate traders, Dec. 11, 1710, no. 50.

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one of the English Royall African Companys Factors from some Settlement signifying that the said Vessell goes consigned to some other of their cheife Agents lower down on the said Coast only under a Colour to protect the Portuguez from the Dutch Seizures for which Care the English Royal African Companys Agents or Factors have generally very large presents made them.

I the said Jacob Duce was in the English African Company's Factory at Accra in January last where I saw a Portuguez Ship come to an Anchor in the said Road as near as she could to the English Castle and the Merchant or Supercargoe of the said Ship came ashoar to the Royall African Companys Agent for his protection to secure him in his Trade from the Dutch which I suppose was granted because that Evening I saw severall Canoes goe off from the Shoar with Slaves on board the said Portuguez when at same time the African Company's Agent would not suffer the Negroe Inhabitants to carry their Slaves from the English Settlements Landing place on board our Ship which was a private Trader from London and had paid their Ten per Cent duty to the Royall African Company but was forced to carry them from the Dutch Factorys Landing place to the great prejudice of our Trade.

Wee weighed Anchor from hence and left the Portuguez at Accra in full Trade and proceeded to Widdah further to Le Ward on the Coast of Affrica where wee found six Sail of Portuguez large Ships a tradeing there who had all the Assistance was possible from the English Royall African Company's Factors and Agents and gave from four to six Ounces of Gold per head for Negroes and other Goods in proportion to that Value soe that wee could not purchase above two thirds of our Number although wee had a large well sorted Cargoe of Goods for Trade. I have been severall Voyages at this place before the Portuguez had this Encouragement and Assistance and then wee used not to give much above one halfe Value for Negroes of what wee are forc'd to give now.

I further observ'd that there were from eight to ten Factors or Merchants on board each Portuguez Ship who being of different Interests and most of the Sailors having likewise a Right to purchase Negroes who each vying with each other and bidding one upon another is the only true Reason of the advanced high prices given now on the Coast of Guinea and dureing our Stay at Widdah which was three times longer then wee us'd to doe by this Cause . . . to the vast prejudices of our Voyage as it was to all other British private Traders, there were five Sail more of Portuguez fresh Traders came to Anchor by us.

dated in LONDON Dec'r the 9th 1710.

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50. The Separate Traders to the Board of Trade.[1]

Rt. Honble., In pursuance of the Directions reced from your Lordships Secretary of the 1st of last month Wee pray Leave to lay before your Lordships the following Answers to the severall Querys then sent us.

To the first Query: How much wee compute has been paid to the Royall African Company by the seperate Traders to Affrica on account of the Ten per Cent from Michmas 1709 to Michmas 1710?

In answer: Wee pray Leave to acquaint your Lordships That having examined the Bookes of the Ten per Cent duty kept at the Custome house here and haveing alsoe reced an account of what hath been paid at the Custome house at Bristoll attested by the proper Officers there doe find *(Vizt.)*

That the sume paid in London amounts to 3241 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* in money and by allowances on ships lost 539 *l.* 9 *s.* 6 *d.* and the sume paid in Bristoll amounts to in money 1577 *l.* 5 *s.* 0½ *d.* and by allowances on ships lost 252 *l.* 18 *s.* 3 *d.* the whole amounting to 5610 *l.* 14 *s.* 3½ *d.* as appeares more perticulerly by List No. B. but having not yet reced an Account from the port of Liverpool (for which wee have for some time waited) of what hath been paid on the two Ships fitted there, nor of what hath been paid at Jamaica and Barbados on the five Ships fitted there, nor of what have been fitted out from other Islands etc. . . . 8 or 900 *l.* more which altogether will make out 6000 and odd hundred pounds paid by Seperate Traders between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 for the Ten per Cent duty besides what hath been paid by the Company here and at Barbados whence wee heare they have fitted out two Vessells.

To the second Query: How many ships have been sent on that Trade by the private Traders within that time?

In Answer to which wee have formed the List No. B whereby your Lordships will perceive Wee have fitted 24 ships from the port of London, 20 ships from the port of Bristoll, two from Liverpool etc . . . from Barbados making in all 51 Ships fitted out by private Traders between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 notwithstanding etc. . . . from this port five ships; from Bristoll two Ships; from Plymouth one etc. . . . plantations which wee have not yett the Names of; whereas on the part of the Company etc. . . . Great Britaine this Yeare the Names whereof are annexed

[50] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 102 (1)-(7). Late in October, 1710, the Board of Trade again turned to the African question. The company and the separate traders were asked for an account of the negroes introduced since 1708, and for the amount of the ten per cent. duty which had been paid. On Dec. 2 the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State, referred to the board petitions from the planters of Barbados (July 20, 1710), and the company's creditors. To these the board at first returned a perfunctory reply, but on Queensberry's request for serious consideration of the subject of the African trade it began a series of hearings. *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 191, 198, 202, 207, 214-235, *passim*; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, pp. 247, 294, 303, 306-309.

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to the above List No. B with the respective sumes paid by them for the Ten per Cent duty amounting to 398 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.*

To the third Enquiry: What Number of Negroes have been imported into the plantations by the private Traders from Michmas 1709 to Michmas 1710 and at what Rates have such Negroes usually been sold within that time?

In Answer: Wee can not better informe your Lordships of the Number of Negroes imported into the plantations within that time, then in laying before your Lordships again the List of Ships dispatched last year on Account of seperate Traders marked A with an Account of the success that hath attended each ship and the Number of Negroes imported by such of them as did arrive whereof all except three Vessells delivered their Loading between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 amounting to 5975 Negroes besides which wee have Notice of eleven Ships in this Yeares List marked B which have delivered within this time alsoe 2065 Negroes between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 making together 8040 Negroes which were sold at Jamaica etc. (per head comes after sum of money) . . . the money of those places being 20 per Cent Worse then that of Jamaica. But it must be observed by the Success that hath attended each Vessell in List No. A. that three or four of our biggest Ships . . . 2700 Negroes delivered into the plantations within this time less then otherwise would have been Yett . . . of private Ships in this year's Trade Mark'd B exceeds that of last year mark't A by fourteen Ships, . . . by the Company and their advocates . . . then at any time in peace heretofore under the Company . . . while they incourage by all Meanes imaginable the Portuguese our great Rivalls in the Sugar Trade, the Case whereof wee think is our Duty more perticulerly to lay before your Lordships.

Tis well known that between the Yeares 1650 and 1660 the Dutch and Portuguez were at War in which the Dutch tooke the Portuguez Settlements in Guinea and Fernambuck[2] in Brazile which upon the Treaty of peace between those two Nations was settled upon this foot *(Vizt)* That Fernambuck should remaine to the Portuguez and the Settlements on the Gold Coast should remaine to the Dutch upon Condition Nevertheless that all the Portuguez Subjects who traded on the Gold Coast should first come to the Dutch Settlements and pay 25 per Cent on the Value of their Cargoes but be debarred purchasing any Negroes on Forfeiture thereof and for the better Securing this Duty the Dutch are constantly at the Charge of keeping a Friggott or two to bring all Portuguez Vessells to their Settlements to examine their Cargoes from time to time which in Effect amounts to a Prohibition to the said Portuguez but for some yeares past

[2] Pernambuco.

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among many other Wayes contrived for the hindering the Trade of the seperate Traders the Companys Agents on the Coast on Sight of a Portuguez Vessell send an English man on board and bring them to Cape Coast or some other of our Settlements where they are loaded with what Negroes the said Agent hath by him or can furnish them with and then letts them purchase what they can of the Natives besides; All which would otherwise naturally fall into the hands of the British Traders and be carried to our plantations Whereas the portuguez bringing great Quantitys of Gold from Brasile and giving 4 to 6 ounces of the said Gold per head for Negroes can load their Vessells by that Meanes and by having the Benefitt of preemption alsoe whilst ours must lye now out at Sea as long againe as usuall for their Loading and cannot purchase one Negroe as long as any Portuguez is in the Road.

But this is not the sole Evill from this Practice for as there are severall Merchants or Supercargoes who have distinct Interests in the portuguez Vessells and as each Seaman on board those Vessells by reason of sailing for small wages hath the priviledge of loading one or two more Negroes on Freight soe 20 to 50 Men coming ashoar at a time to markett out of one Ship and bidding one upon another raised the price of Negroes last Year wherever they came to more per head on the Coast then Wee sell for at Jamaica which is the true reason of the dearness of Negroes on the Coast soe much talked of by the Company but designedly occasioned by themselves.

The Consequence of which Wee humbly think must needs be in a little time very fatall to all our Sugar Plantations, the Meanes of increasing those of Brasile and decreasing our own and upon Enquiry 'twill be found that in a few Yeares past the Brasile fleets have increased in their Imports of Sugar from 25,000 to 50,000 Chests per each fleet besides Tobacco in proportion which is such a Quantity that if it increases (as it is to be fear'd it may by this practice) our European Marketts will be glutted with Plantation Goods; the ballance of Trade abroad will be transferred from us to our Rivall Neighbours and our Navigation and Breed of Seamen be lessened in proportion.

But as 'tis humbly conceived this practice of our Companys Agents is a breach of the Federall Union between the two Nations of Holland and England[8] soe tis thought the Reason why the Dutch West India Company don't make Complaints thereof is because it very much discourages the British Seperate Traders, it being that Company's Interest as well as our Companys that the said Seperate Traders should be ruin'd if possible and then those two Companys

[8] It must not be forgotten that the Dutch and English were at this time allies in a war against France.

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would have the Trade of the Gold Coast between them, and as there hath already appeared an Agreement between our Affrican Company and the French African Company concluded between Monssr. Le'Apotre a principall Member of the said French Company on the one hand and some of the Comittee of our Affrican Company on the other which hath in a great Measure prevented the seperate Merchants from Trading to the North Coast whereby that Trade now mostly falls into the hands of the French soe there is all the reason to beleive the same Designe carried on by their Agents abroad as is by their Managers at home whereof this great Incouragement given to the Portuguez and Discouragement given to the Seperate Traders is a fresh Confirmation.

Thus the Settlements in Affrica which there hath been soe much pains taken lately to prove absolutely necessary to the Trade in Generall and the Benefitt of preemption depending thereon are now become necessary only to our Overgrown Rivalls in the plantation Comoditys and the Necessity now seems to be either to demolish them or hinder the great prejudice they Occasion to the Trade of Great Britaine by reason of this ill use they now serve to; whereby the Company have laid a foundation for the effectuall Ruine of our Plantations.

But seeing our Settlements in Affrica were esteemed equally on the same foot as our Collonies in America and in all respects lyable to the Restrictions in the Act of Navigation by Virtue of which the Companys Agent in Gambia seized and confiscated a Portuguez Ship there when it served their Turn some years since for trading neare that Settlement And as this practice of the Company's Agents is a direct Breach of the said Act, by the express Words whereof every Governour of any of our Settlements in Asia Affrica and America forfeits his Government on permitting other Nations to Trade there soe it is humbly conceived the chiefe Remedy of this great Evill would be to recall the present Governour of Cape Coast[4] the promoter of this Mischiefe or That Instructions should be given that this evill practice should be discontinued.

And for your Lordships better Information wee have added to List No. B the Number of peeces of Woollen Goods of each Species exported this Yeare by private Traders which amount to many thousand peeces more then the Company exported in four Yeares when exclusive in time of peace as appeares by one of their own papers delivered by them in the Lobby last Yeare where they enumerate the severall sorts of Woollen Goods exported by them between 1683 and 1686 to which they added 71000 peeces of anabasses which they Term peeces of Woollen Goods alsoe although they are Clouts made

[4] Sir Dalby Thomas.

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of Cotton of a Yard long which sorts Wee doe not reckon in our said List No. B.

In Proofe of divers of the Facts above mentioned Wee pray leave to lay before your Lordships the Copys of two Originall Papers or Testimonys of John Hayes late Master of the *Dorset* Brigantine and of Jacob Duce late Supercargoe of the *Richard and James* marked C and D To which wee humbly referr your Lordships and remaine [5]

Your Lordships most obedient Servts.

Joseph Martyn	Ja. Wayte
Jno. Radbunness	Isaac Millner
Hum. Morice	Rich: Thompson
Rd. Harris	Wm. Vere
Charles Ken	George Martyn

Dated in Lond. Dec. 11, 1710.

51. Signatures to the Petition of the Royal African Company and their Creditors.[1]

John Collys	Rich'd Mostyn	Mary Eston
John Collys, for the Hon'ble Mrs. Hester Egerton, and for Mrs. Anne Blount	Robt. Jennens	Rich'd Preslidge
	Ann Dashwood	Rich'd Grosvenor
	H. Mann	Step. Evance
	Saml. Horsley	Ed. Gould
	Everard Cater	Fran. Dashwood
Cha. Napier	Cha: Goode	Phineas Gomes Serra
Ch. Frampton	Ed. Shepherd	Robt. Moulins
Nicolas Ghiselin	John Deacle	John Raboteau
Robt. Chawdler	Tho: Trenchfeild	Isaac Lejay
F. Zouch	René Rane	Peter Joye
Ro: Western	Henry Phillips	J. Darnall
Nich: Santini	James Talford	Abr. da Costa
Jonathan Forward	David Bezanquet	Daniel Hays
Sam'l Wight	James Steward	Jona. Andrewes
John Hollis	Nath. Lacey	Hen. Lovibond
John Browne	Geo. Smith	Humphrey Pickfatt
Beatrix Cooke	Stephen Seignoret	Br. Hobson
Lo. Mansfield	Charles Dickinson	Edw. Turvey
Sarah Atkinson	Wm. Nutt	Charles du Bois
Wm. Simmonds	Charles Dymond	Geo. Guy

[5] These are *ante*, nos. 45 and 49.

[51] [1] The petition itself, undated, will be found in *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, pp. 306-308. The signatures are here printed for the information which may be gleaned from them as to the ownership of the capital of the company, and the amount of influence which it might be expected to exert in the House of Commons.

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Mary Datcheler
Christ: Jackson
John Cazalet
Wm. Benson
Nathl. Gwillym
John Williams
Wm. Rophe
John Stone
Richd. Beaumont
Geo. Strode
Geo. French
Will'm Myers, for
John Hill Esqr.
Willm. Myers
Ephraim Crow
Ben. Barret
John Marvin
John Hodges
John Plumpton
Tho. Brand
Tho. Butler
Geo. Stead
Wm. Grahame
John Pery
Lewis de Tudert
Peter Fabrot
Cha: Mawhood
Tho: Ashby
Wm. Wyld
Ja. Norcock
Nath. Halhed
Edw. Sargeant
Jerom Knapp
Gideon Lauberainne
John Meade
Will. East
R. Stoughton
John Gouson
Urban Hall
Tho. Knapp
Bernard Bolen
Humphr. Brent
Tho: Rudduck
Wm. Chauncy

Peter Meyer
Sarah Bye
John Johnson
John Sibley
Edw'd Nicholson
Geo. Taylor
John Cradock
Robert Comport
Wm. Waddis
Robert van Sittart
Ra. Longford
Rich'd Barker
John Cooke
Saml. Stanier
Ed. Crull
M. Lacoze
John Jenkins
John Freke
Gideon Leglize
Matth. Testas
Tho. Thomas
Rob. Friend
Fran. Pereire
Nico. Bosquet
Benj. Rusbatch
Antho. Kingsley for
Jane Pincke
Stephen Copping
Lovell Huckell
Edw'd Harrison
John le Clerc de Virly
Rene de Boyuills
Nath. Meazy
Geo. Foote
Robt. Stamper
John Merriden
Louis Lloyd
Claude Haye
Tho. Goldsmith
John Dyer
Dan'l Waite
Wm. Fazakerley
John Lade
Amb. Crowley

J. Caillouet
Ben. Pitt
Benja. Thornbery
John Hammers
Henry Marshall
Peter Ripert
Sarah Buggin
John Campbell
Tho. Bathurst
Alex. Pitfeild
P. Cartwright
John Luck
Wm. Humfreys
Joseph Jory
Tho. Luke
Ja. Blake
Thomas Pindar
Jno. Cutting
Wm. Lancaster
S. Pendarves
James Gohier
Geo. Frye
Wm. Bridgman
M. Emeding
J. Robinson
P. Henriquez
Tho. Steed
Saml. Rayson
Benjamin Francklin
Rich'd Eston
Jno. Shorey
Wm. Carpenter
A. Evans
Alex. Cleeve
Jno. Martin
J. Jermain
Jno. Whishaw
Fletcher Albert
James Marshall
James Smyth
Jno. Cooke, junr
Benja. Lethieullier
Christopher Lethieullier
John Bone

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Stephen Bach	John Boddam	Hamond Potter
Bennett Metcalfe	John Whitby	Jno. Metcalfe
Will. Turpin	Stephen de la Creuze	Mary Thody
Ben. Howell	Ed. Basse	Bennet Hoskyns
Ed. Bowman	Martha Crechett	Tho. Pearne
Tho. Louering	Robt. Knox	Jno. Biddle
Ste. Child	John Danvers	Abraham Harrison
John Ford	John King	Peter Baraille
Wm. Predden	Henry Woolball	Edw. Davis
John Noquier	Jno. Carpenter	Wm. Ford
Wm. Sedgwicke	Hugh Strode	Sam. Shepheard
Richd. Morson	Nath'l Carpenter	Tho. Saunders
Fran: Smart	Wm. King	Richard Dyer
David Wilford	Tho. Martin	James Gray
Sam. Ongley	William Cater	Jno. St. Clair
	John Brookes	

52. The Separate Traders to the Board of Trade.[1]

Pursuant to the Direccions receed from yo'r Lordships Secretary of the 23d past for laying before your Lordships our Thoughts in Writeing touching this particuler point *(Vizt.)* which is the most proper Method for Carrying on the African Trade to the best Advantage whether by a joynt Stock exclusive of others or by what Method may it be done? Wee pray Leave humbly to Offer As well in Answer to that point as to the Royall African Companys Scheme for an Exclusive Trade then sent us by your Lordships Secretary. That as to the Scheme wee cannot by any Meanes think it a safe durable or proper Method for Carrying on the African Trade or for securing it to this Nation by reason of the many Objections which naturally offer against it; some of which wee humbly lay before your Lordships.

Some Objections to the Royall African Company's Scheme for an exclusive Company.

1. Tis well known that all the African Companys which have ever yet been established in Europe have become Bankrupt in some Yeares after their Establishment Witness the Portuguez Brandenburgh and Dutch Companys[2] besides ours in England who have failed three times since the Restoration and in the Intervalls of time the Trade altho lost by such Companys hath been again restored supported and

[52] [1] C. O. 388: 14, no. 3; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 219. The separate traders had had under consideration a plan for the trade, proposed by the Royal African Company. This was a development of the proposals made by the company on Jan. 24, 1710.

[2] The French companies would have furnished even better illustration of this point than those here cited.

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carryed on by private traders in England: by the Brazile Traders and planters in Portugall: and by the Interlopers in Holland or else the African Trade must have been lost to each of those Nations especially to ours and the plantations must long since have been ruined had it not been for the large Supply of Negroes yearly furnished by private Traders and the Liberty the planters have had of fetching their own Negroes.

2. As 'tis the Intention of the African Company's Scheme that a new exclusive Company be erected on their Foundation whose Managers having not Creditt to be trusted with any more Money by their Members and oweing great Summes more then they are able to pay; Soe the Traders to Affrica who have a large Capitall visibly imployed in this Trade cannot with any prudence or Safety come into this Scheme especially se[e]ing the last Money subscribed into them by new Adventurers in the Year 1698 for 4000 and odd Shares which the Company then tooke in amounting to 57,096 *ll.* was all but 2000 *ll.* sunk before the next Yeare as well as 64,150 *ll.* paid them by their Members in the Yeare 1702 and 74,112 *ll.* 10 *s.* paid them in the Yeare 1704 which were alsoe sunk the next Yeare after they were paid as may appeare by the Ballances of their Bookes given in to your Lordships by the said Company some time since.[3]

3. An Exclusive Company w'th a parliamentary Sanction as is intended by this Scheme would prove to this Nation a dangerous Experiment and the greatest Greivance of any in the Worst of times which will plainly appeare on Considering the Consequences as being but one Buyer of the many sorts of Woollen and other British Manufactures proper for Affrica: as being but one Freighter of all the ships imployed in the Trade outwards: but one Seller of Negroes to our plantations: but one Importer of Gold from Affrica and Silver from the Spaniards: but one Buyer and but one Freighter of almost all our Productions from America, and but one Seller of all those productions here again after their arrivall: on all which the Compa. would put their own prices and consequently become the sole Director of this great Circle of Trade and Navigation, wherein are imployed neare 1000 Sail of Ships and on which depends 4 or 500,000 persons Livelyhoods of all sorts who must directly or indirectly be subject to the Managers of this Company; and on this Company would depend the Rise or Fall of our plantations; the Ballance of Trade abroad, the Increase or Decrease of our Breed of Seamen and navall Architecture; soe that the Confineing of this Trade to one person or

[3] The general court had called for a payment of £6 per cent. on all stocks and bonds in 1702, and of £7 in 1704. There were calls in 1707 and 1708 for £4 each year, which the representation of the separate traders does not mention. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 28.

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Monopoly would in it's Consequences effect the very well being of Great Britain in all its most tender parts.

4. By this exclusive Scheme all the outports of Great Britaine which now depend intirely on the plantation Trade and are already excluded from any part of the Trade of Asia by Meanes of those Companys already on Foot will alsoe be excluded from that of Affrica and America whereby they must all decline by Degrees when this Trade falls to London and the greatest part of Britain confined to the Trade of Europe only; which the said Outports are very sensible of as appeares by the many Petitions on this Subject to the house of Commons last Session wherein those of North Britain among other Reasons sett forth that such a Monopoly would be a direct Breach of the Articles of Union.[4]

5. By this Scheme above Mentioned the Planter is debarred fetching Negroes for his own Use when by Accident of War or otherwise he cannot be supplyed by Way of Europe and as the Portuguez Planters in Brazile now have and alwayes have had the Liberty of fetching Negroes for the Use of their plantations (which in a great Measure they are now furnished with by our Companys Agents in Affrica) soe twould be the greatest Discouragement to our Islands if our Planters should be deprived of that Liberty alsoe.

6. As to the Company's Argument for an exclusive Trade under pretence of furnishing the Assiento or Spaniards and Portuguez with Negroes; 'tis well known The Company when exclusive never did or could Supply the Assiento with one Quarter of what they agreed for: but since the Trade hath been open the private Traders have supplyed them with more then they wanted, having often brought the Negroes from the Coast of Peru back againe to Jamaica and as for any Contract to be made with the Portuguez if they mean to supply the Ships of that Nation on the Coast of Affrica as they doe now, twill naturally increase the Growth of Brazile Sugar and Tobacco plantations and their Navigation who are our only Rivalls in those Comoditys and prevent the same Negroes being Carried to raise the productions of our own Islands: Which practice hath already proved of very evill Consequence to us in our Ballance of Trade abroad by Meanes of the great Quantitys of those Goods being brought from Brazile; soe that our Sugars and Tobaccoes are soe low that they doe now little more then pay Freight and Custome and 'tis humbly conceived wee ought not to supply the portuguez at any Rate altho it may be reasonable to supply the Spaniards who doe not interferre with us in our productions but imploy themselves chiefly in improveing their silver Mines.

[4] This argument was used by a number of Scottish boroughs in the petitions of 1709.

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7. Were there noe other Reason against the Companys exclusive Scheme there are at least three very material ones 1st our Ancestors have found it absolutely necessary to lay open all the Trades that have been monopolized such as the Canary, Hamburgh, East Country, Spanish and others which have thereby become very extensive. 2d Wee have laid open lately the Russia Trade[5] which a few yeares since imployed but 5 or 6 ships a Year when exclusive but now since its being open'd above 100 ships a yeare. 3d. On the other hand 'twas thought fitt some Yeares agoe to erect a Greenland Company exclusive to all others under the specious pretences now made use of in this Scheme for an Exclusive Affrican Trade but in 4 or 5 Yeares time that Company became Bankrupt and the persons usually imployed in that Trade left our Country which is thereby now intirely lost to this Nation.[6]

8. As to the pretended Argument in the Scheme of supplying our plantations at moderate prices by an exclusive Company. That is impossible for many Reasons for even this Company now under the Meanest Circumstances are at more Charge at home in Sending out three ships only this Yeare then the private Traders have been in sending out 51 ships in the same time And tis plain that the Company on their own Computation mencioned in one of their papers delivered in the Lobby last Yeare are at more Charge in the first Cost and Freight of their Negroes before they come to Markett then the private Traders sell theirs for after their Arrivall And 'tis well known when this Company was exclusive they had from five to six hogsheads of Sugar per head for each Negroe in the Plantations whereas since the Trade hath been open the private Traders have sold good Negroes for one and an halfe to two hogsheads of sugar per head and not only supplyed our Plantations abundantly but the Spaniards alsoe Whereas the Company when Exclusive by selling their Negroes in Lotts one had a bad Lott another a good one according to the Interest each had with the Company's Factor and there were continuall Comp[l]aints against the Company on these heads formerly Altho in time of peace when Barbados was frequently supplyed with Negroes from the Island of Eustatia one of the Carribees which were brought thither by Dutch Interlopers.

As to a certain price which the Company pretends to deliver Negroes at; that cannot be because in all our Accounts of Sales wee find even in the cheapest times Negroes sold at from five pounds per head to twenty five pounds per head and if they are not obliged to a

[5] The Russian company had ceased to be a joint-stock company and become a regulated company in 1669, but remained a monopoly until 1698. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 68-69.

[6] After nearly twenty years of open trade an exclusive Greenland company was re-established in 1692, with a grant for fourteen years. Before that period had expired the company had failed and the trade was once more open. Scott, II. 379.

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certain Goodness which is impossible our Collonies cannot be the better for such as are brought to them soe that tis plain this Scheme is a dangerous ill grounded project of the Company's who like a Man goeing to prison will promise Mountains and in this Case if they gain their point will sell their Stock and leave others to performe the Bargain.

9. As to the Argument for this Exclusive Scheme for making Alliances with the Natives in Affrica were there such Weight in that Matter as is pretended there is nothing more plain then that a Comittee of a Regulated Company either on their own bottome or under the Umbrage of the Crown can doe all that a Comittee of an Exclusive Company can doe on that point and 'tis hoped much more when the preservation of the Trade by all Meanes necessary is the sole Interest of the Traders and not the Designe of selling and buying Stock as is the Case and cheife End of all Companys Exclusive.

And as to the Argument in this exclusive Scheme for giving a necessary Credit to the Planter 'tis well known that the Company hath been under Agreement with their Factors for many Yeares past to make Returnes in a certain short time by which Meanes they give little or noe Creditt to the planter for performance whereof they take Security here in England Whereas the private Traders have constantly given two to four Yeares Creditt in most of the plantations.

10. As to the Company's proposall in this Scheme for carrying on the Trade to the Extent that they will be obliged to Export 100,000 *ll.* Value in Goods annually It appeares by the Account of the Ten per Cent duty laid before your Lordships some time since by the Company that there were exported in two Yeares of the last peace 295,-593 *ll.* value in Goods from England besides what went from the plantations and had the peace continued would have much more increased soe that by this very Scheme they even propose to lessen one Third of the Trade as soon as it comes into their hands.

11. Tis an undoubted Truth that nothing conduces soe much to the Increase of Trade as Emulation among Traders and to that point cheifly wee owe our greatest Discoverys and Improvements in Trade which cannot be in an exclusive Company who have noe Rivalls and as such Companys take noe Apprentices soe the very reason and Cause of the Continuance and Improvement of Trade by that Meanes (in Case of Failure of such single Trader or Monopoly) ceases to be any longer and every such Trade soe monopolized must be lost to the Nation as in the Case of the Greenland Trade before mentioned.

But as to what other Method the Trade may be Carried on to the best Advantage Wee are confirmed by daily experience that the said

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Trade can never be carried on to the most Extent or preserved for Futurity any otherwise then under a regulated Company like that to Russia, wherein every one may Trade with Freedome; For the better effecting whereof Wee pray leave to lay before your Lordships our Scheme Mark'd E [7] by which tis proposed that the Settlements in Affrica be vested in the Crown and the Traders incorporated in order to be rendred capable of Choosing a Comittee who may always attend such persons as her Majesty shall appoint for the more easy supply and Management of the said Settlements which Scheme wee humbly offer as the most durable safe and effectuall for the preservation of the Affrican Trade, for the Support of our Collonies in America, and for the future Benefitt of Great Britaine for all times to come as may be evinced by many reasons some few of which wee humbly offer.[8]

1. By long Experience all our Settlements or Collonies in forreigne parts under Proprietor Ship have been subject to so many Inconveniences, that it hath been found absolutely necessary to annex most of them from time to time in the Crown, and where that hath not been done, such Proprietor-ships have been lost to this Nation, and fallen into the Hands of our Enemies, as lately the Island of Providence in America, and our Settlement in the River Gambia, which with most of the Trade of that River hath fallen into the Enemy's Hands twice since the Revolution.

2. And as the very being of all our Colonies so annex'd to the Crown, depends entirely on the African Trade, so 'tis doubtless highly reasonable to establish those Settlements on the same Foot as our American Colonies are on, for which we have a very good Example by the Portugueze, who have establishd their Settlement at Loando St. Pol on this foot, the same is now become a great City, and commands most part of the Kingdom of Angola,[9] wherein 'tis not possible for any Power in Africa to disturb them, and hath prov'd the great Nursery and Support of the Brasils, by the Numbers of Negro's furnish'd to that mighty Colony now and in Times past.

3. As the African Trade hath increas'd very much since its being laid open, more than when Exclusive, altho' under the greatest Oppression and Obstruction from the Company and their Agents, who being vested with a Military Power, maintain'd at the Charge of Private Traders, have made use of the said Power to ruin the Trade in general, so when the Trade is freed from that Nusance, there is

[7] E, which is C. O. 388: 14, no. 4, is not here printed, since the substance of it is included in the report of the Board of Trade Feb. 1, 1711 (*post*, no. 53).

[8] The remainder of the document is taken from C. O. 389: 21, as the manuscript (C. O. 388: 14) is torn at this point.

[9] It is probably true that the Portuguese were the only people who actually settled in West Africa.

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reason to believe 'twill increase much more than ever before, and that the Settlements in Africa will become Towns of British Inhabitants, and our Trade be carry'd far into the Gold Countries, and the other Inland Parts of Africa; whereas now the Traders are hindred from Selling their Goods ashoar, even on the Sea-Coast, but all Trade is negotiated on board our Ships, and frequently the Goods so bought are taken away from the Natives who bought them, after they come ashoar, by the Company's Instruments; Notwithstanding which we have near beat out the Dutch Interlopers, who, we are inform'd, had but three Ships on the Coast this Year, whereas when the Company were Exclusive, those Traders usually swarm'd in most Parts of Africa.

4. By Vesting the Settlements in the Crown, all Grievances of this nature will be prevented, our Planters will be on the same foot as those of Brasil, and our Exports and Navigation will exceedingly increase; But as this Topick hath been so much debated, we need not tire your Lordships Patience with a multitude of other Reasons to support this Scheme for a Regulated Trade, but humbly refer the same to Your Lordships Consideration: being with all Submission. May it please Your Lordships

Your Lordships most Obedient Servants,

RD. HARRIS, HUM. MORICE } For the Separate Traders to Africa.

Dated this 3d of January 1710[/11].[10]

53. THE BOARD OF TRADE TO THE QUEEN.[1]

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Majesty. In obedience to your Majesty's Commands, we have considered the Petitions of the Royal African Company, and of several Planters and Inhabitants of your Majesty's Island of Barbadoes, with some other Papers relating thereunto, which were transmitted to us by the Duke of Queensberry the 9th of December last;[2] and we have been attended by the said Company and by several of the principal Seperate Traders to Africa;[3] . . .

[10] Endorsed, "Recd. [and] Read 3d January, 1710/11".

[53] [1] C. O. 389: 21, pp. 441-457. This representation, the result of a month's deliberation (see *ante*, no. 50, n. 1), was sent with a covering letter to the Duke of Queensberry on Feb. 1, 1711. A summary of its contents is printed in *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, pp. 352-353.

[2] The "other Papers" to which reference has not already been made were: Letter from Sir Dalby Thomas and others to the Royal African Company, Nov. 26, 1709; Letter from Mr. Crabb to John Perry, Commenda, Mar. 19, 1710. The petition from Barbados was dated July 20, 1710; that of the Royal African Company is undated. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, pp. 306-309.

[3] The succeeding paragraphs refer to the earlier report which the board had made.

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[We] shall confine our selves to such new matter as has arisen upon the Petition of the Royal African Company, their Scheme, and the other Papers relating to that Trade, which were last Referr'd to us.

Their Petition sets forth,

That the Company laid their Case before the House of Commons in the two Sessions of the last Parliament, but without having any Relief; For that the Seperate Traders had possessed some Members with impracticable Notions (as they say) of an open Trade.[4]

As to which we find, That the Trade to Africa was under the Consideration of the late House of Commons, during the times mention'd; That the said Company and the Seperate Traders were then several times heard at a Committee of the whole House, upon their respective Petitions, and other Petitions preferr'd to the House in behalf of the Company, and of a Seperate Trade; That several Accounts and other Papers were then laid before the House relating to that matter, and that in the latter of those Two Sessions, the House came to the following Resolutions,

"Resolved, that Forts and Settlements are necessary for carrying on and preserving the Trade to Africa.

Resolved, That the Trade to Africa be free, and open for all Her Majesty's Subjects to Trade to Africa from any part of Great Britain or the Plantations, under such Regulations and Provisions as may be for the Preservation of the said Trade, and maintaining the said Forts and Settlements.[5]

Pursuant whereunto, a Bill was afterwards brought into that House, for settling the Trade to Africa, and some progress was made therein;[6] But it did not pass the Committee. And we find that the like Petitions were deliver'd the like Hearings and Proceedings had, and that thereupon Resolutions to the like Effect, were made in the foregoing Session, wherewith we presume, it will be needless to trouble Your Majesty.[7]

Their Petition further sets forth, "That the Creditors of the Company are now willing to unite with them."

If they can engage their Creditors to unite, (whereby the Debt which now lies so heavy upon the Company will be sunk in their Joynt Stock) such an Union will be necessary to the erecting a New Exclusive Company on their Foundation, should the doing thereof be found adviseable.

[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 307.

[5] *C. J.*, XVI. 300; Stock, III. 229.

[6] The bill was given its first reading Feb. 25, 1710. *C. J.*, XVI. 339, 356; Stock, III. 236.

[7] Resolutions similar to those here cited were reported to the House on Mar. 17, 1709, and on the 21st a bill was presented. *C. J.*, XVI. 160, 167; Stock, III. 217-218.

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It having been formerly objected to the Company, That if the Trade to Africa was confin'd to an Exclusive Company, it would not be carry'd on to the greatest Benefit of this Kingdom and of the British Plantations, by a large annual Export of the Manufactures and other Goods of Great Britain, and by a sufficient Supply of Negroes to the said Plantations at Moderate Prices; For answer thereunto, the Company in their said Scheme, do say,

That they will be obliged to Export annually for the Coast of Africa in Manufactures and other Merchandizes to the Amount of One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, or upwards; and if it shall at any time appear by Application to Your Majesty in Council, that greater numbers of Negroes are required to be sent to the said Plantations, the Company may be subject to the Direction of Your Majesty in Council, to Export annually such further Value in Goods and Merchandizes as shall be judg'd necessary.

This Proposition being calculated as a Rule for the Value of their yearly Export in time of Peace, as well as during the present War, We humbly submit it to Your Majesty, whether such a yearly Export will be sufficient to carry on that Trade to its utmost extent in time of Peace, since by the Account of the Ten per Cent Duty, which was laid before us by the said Company, (and made part of our before mention'd Representation to Your Majesty, relating to the said Trade) it appears that there was Exported by the Company and by Seperate Traders in two years of the last Peace, upwards of £295,000 Value in Goods from this Kingdom, besides what went to Africa within that time from the British Plantations.

As to the Supplying the said Plantations with sufficient numbers of Negroes at moderate Prices, and the giving a Credit to the Planters, as propos'd by the said Scheme; We conceive, the same to be absolutely necessary, and therefore it will be proper that in such Law as shall be Passed for Settling the Trade to Africa, some Provision be made for the foresaid Purposes, in whatever manner that Trade shall be settled by Parliament.

In reference to the above mention'd Petition of several Planters and other Inhabitants of Barbadoes; the Petitioners say,

That for many years while the African Company had the sole Management of that Trade, Barbadoes was duly supply'd with a sufficient Number of Negroes at Moderate Prices from 10 to £20 per Head the highest; But that for several years past, since that Trade has been laid open, the Number of Negroes imported by the Company and Seperate Traders together, hath not been sufficient to supply that Island, and that those imported have been sold at extravagant Prices, from 20 to £40 per Head, if tolerably good, occasion'd, as they conceive, by the different Interests of the said Company and Seperate Traders, each bidding on the other: Wherefore they pray that the British Interest on the Coast of Africa may be effectually preserved, and the Trade, put on such a foot,

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that the Petitioners may be supply'd with a sufficient Number of Negroes on reasonable Terms.[8]

In Answer to which, the Seperate Traders do say, That the Law made in Barbadoes some years past, whereby Paper Money was made current in Payment for Negroes and all other Goods, has been the Occasion that the said Island hath since that time been slenderly supply'd.

On this Occasion, We humbly beg leave to observe to your Majesty, That by the Minutes of the Council and Assembly of Jamaica in 1710, (now lying before us) it appears to be the general Desire of the Planters and others in that Island, that the Trade to Africa be left free and open to all your Majesty's Subjects, as, what they conceive, will be most for the Benefit of the British Plantations. In further Proof whereof, the Seperate Traders have produced to us a copy of a Petition of the Planters and Merchants inhabiting in that Island (intended to be laid before the House of Commons) setting forth,

That since the laying open the Trade to Africa in the year 1698, that Island hath been better supply'd with Negroes by Seperate Traders, than at any time before by the African Company, when Exclusive, and that Market has been so plentifully provided, that great Quantities of Negroes have been yearly Exported from thence to the Spanish West Indies, and there sold for Gold and Silver. That thereby the former Mischiefs and Hardships, of not having Negroes enough for their Plantations, and of being obliged to buy them of but one Seller only, (the African Company's Factor there) and to sell most of their Plantation Commodities again but to one Buyer (the same Person) at what Price such Buyer pleases, has been by this Liberty of Trade, wholly redress'd, to the great Benefit and Encouragement of that Island. That if the African Company should again obtain this Trade in a joynt-Stock Company Exclusive, they fear that all the same Prejudice and Inconvenience of a Monopoly of the Trade to Africa, so often complain'd of heretofore, and which has been so grievous to the Plantations, will return, and if granted, will occasion the Ruin of Jamaica, the Loss of the Spanish Trade, and the Decrease of Navigation; Wherefore they pray, That the Trade to Africa may be open and free to all the Subjects of Great Britain to Trade thither on equal Terms.[9]

And it must be admitted, that Jamaica in regard to its Situation, and the great share it has in the Assiento Trade, is more concern'd in the Negro Trade, than all the other British Plantations.

The Seperate Traders have laid before us a Copy of their Scheme

[8] July 10, 1710, C. O. 28: 13; also Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 61, signed, "Robt. Vaughan, Thos. Carney".

[9] This undated petition from Jamaica (C. O. 388: 14, 81) was transmitted to the Lords of Trade by Richard Harris, on Jan. 4, with the following explanation: "With it came a letter, that 'twas signed by some of the Council, most of the members of the late Assembly and all the considerable merchts., and if our Assembly had not been suddenly dissolved, it had been done by the whole body of the Island." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 336.

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for Settling the Trade to Africa in a Regulated Company, wherein they propose;[10]

That all the British Settlements in Africa be vested in Your Majesty, Your Majesty's Heirs and Successors, and that such Governors be appointed from time to time, as Your Majesty shall think fit.

That the Traders to Africa be Incorporated in a Regulated Company, like the Traders to Russia, in order to their being render'd capable of Choosing a Committee, who may at all times attend such Persons as Your Majesty shall appoint for taking Care and Managing the said Settlements, so as all Your Majesty's Subjects of Great Britain and the Plantations may have an equal Freedom of Trade.

That an Equivalent be given to the Royal African Company for their Interest in the said Settlements, according to a Valuation.

That for enabling Your Majesty to maintain the said Settlements, and for providing the Equivalent for the said Company, the several Duties appointed by the late Act for Settling the Trade to Africa, be continued and made payable to Your Majesty, Your Majesty's Heirs and Successors; And if those Duties shall not be thought sufficient, then that such further Duties be appointed as shall be thought necessary.

And that the several Clauses, Proviso's and Regulations, etc., mention'd in the said Act, with an Addition of such other Clauses as may be thought necessary, be continued.

The African Company objected hereunto, That the Trade to Africa is of such a Nature, that if laid open, there can be no security that the same will be preserv'd, carry'd on and improv'd, so as to produce a certain Sufficient Fund for maintaining such Forts and Settlements on that Coast as shall be found necessary to be maintain'd by Your Majesty for preserving, carrying on and Improving that Trade.

In Answer, the Seperate Traders say, they conceive there can be no greater security of the Continuance of any Branch of the British Foreign Trade, than the absolute necessity and the great Benefit thereof, as is the case of the Trade to Africa; That there being such a moral certainty that the said Trade will be carry'd on, the Duty charged upon it must consequently arise; and they say, That the Ten per Cent. Duty (upon a Moderate Computation of what it has yearly produced for several years past) especially if thereto be added a further Duty as propos'd, will be sufficient to defray the charge of maintaining the necessary Forts and Settlements in time of War, and will much exceed such Charge in time of Peace.

The Company further objected, That if the said Trade is laid open, 'tis impracticable to have a sufficient Stock of Goods lying in the several Forts to be from time to time, as Occasion shall require, charg'd and dispos'd of for preserving, securing and increasing the Number of Contracts and Alliances with the Natives, and with the

[10] The plan of the separate traders (C. O. 388: 14, no. 4), presented to the Lords Commissioners by Richard Harris and Humphrey Morice Jan. 3, 1711, was practically the one suggested by them on Jan. 24, 1710.

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several Neighbouring Petty Kings of the Country, and for Increasing the number of Forts and Settlements, with sufficient and proper Powers for those Purposes, which they said, could only be perform'd by an Exclusive Company with a Joynt Stock.

To this the Seperate Traders answer, That in the Act to be pass'd for settling the Trade to Africa, and for Vesting the Forts and Settlements in your Majesty, there may be a Clause for Incorporating the Traders to that Coast, whereby they may be enabled annually to choose a Committee, who may have Power to send Factors or Warehouse-keepers with Goods to Cape Coast, or elsewhere on the Coast of Africa, as may be needful, which Factors or Warehouse Keepers may take charge of all Goods, and issue them for the forementioned Purposes by directions of the Governor and Council of Cape Coast, who may keep a constant Correspondence with the said Committee; which Governor the seperate Traders humbly hope they may have liberty of recommending to your Majesty: So that they say, there seems to be no more Difficulty as to this Point, under a regulated, than under an Exclusive Company, in regard that the Committee and Governor of the one, can doubtless do the same things as the Committee and Governor of the other.

Lastly, The African Company said, That while the Trade lyes open, and there are several Sellers of Goods from Great Britain, and several Buyers of Negroes, and other African Goods on that Coast, the British Goods will unavoidably be greatly depretiated, and those of Africa as much enhanced by the Natives, of which the Company said there have been many Instances since the Trade had been laid open.

To this the seperate Traders answered, That the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects to Africa is no way better secur'd than by their being able to sell cheaper than other Nations; whereas should they put their own Prices upon their Woollen Goods, or sell them dear, other Nations would quickly beat them out of that Trade, and the Natives of Africa rather cloath themselves with East India, than with Woollen Goods: So that the Depretiating British Goods, or selling them cheaper than other Nations, is an Advantage to the Kingdom; in that it occasions a larger Consumption thereof, however it may lessen the gain of the merchant; and if the seperate Traders, in being so many Buyers, buy dear on the Coast of Africa, it follows that they being many Sellers in the British Plantations, must sell Negroes cheaper to the Planters, which is wholly to the Advantage of the said Plantations.

To which may be added, That in an Exclusive Trade, there will be but one and the same Buyer of the many sorts of Woollen and other British Manufactures proper for Africa; but one and the same

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Freighter of all Ships employ'd in that Trade Outwards; but one and the same Seller of Negroes to the said Plantations; but one and the same Importer of Gold from Africa; but one and the same Buyer, and but one and the same Importer of a very great part of the Productions of America; and but one and the same Seller thereof here, when imported into this Kingdom. Besides, that the said Trade will be confined to the Port of London, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of Bristol, and of several other Out Ports of Great Britain.

Upon the whole matter, we are humbly of opinion, That the Trade to Africa is very valuable, and of the greatest Importance to this Kingdom, and to the British Plantations.

That Forts and Settlements are necessary for the carrying on and Preservation of that Trade.

That the said Trade be speedily settled, in regard the Act, under which it is now carry'd on, continues to midsummer next, and to the end of the then next Session of Parliament and no longer.

And, That if the Regulations and Provisions contain'd in the aforementioned Scheme of the seperate Traders with such further Regulations and Provisions as may be made by Parliament, shall be judg'd by Your Majesty in Parliament proper and effectual for preserving and well carrying on the said Trade, for maintaining the said Forts and Settlements, and for raising the said Equivalent; We are humbly of opinion, it will be for the greatest and general Benefit of this Kingdom and the Plantations thereunto belonging, That the said Trade be free and open for all your Majesty's Subjects, to trade to Africa from any Part of Great Britain, or from the said Plantations, in a Regulated Company, under such Regulations and Provisions as aforesaid.[11]

WHITEHALL,
Febry. the 1st 1710/11

54. PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

April 14, 1711.

A Petition of the Dealers in Wool, Serge-Makers, Wool-combers, and Weavers, in behalf of themselves, and great Numbers of poor People, in and about the Town of Ashburton, in the County of Devon,

[11] The report is signed, "Stamford, Ph. Meadows, J. Pulteney, R. Monckton, Cha. Turner, Geo. Baillie".

[54] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 595. Following the presentation of the foregoing report the House of Commons received petitions from the adventurers and creditors of the Royal African Company, and from merchants, artisans, and planters, both in England and in the colonies. On Mar. 1 the House called for the customs accounts, and on Mar. 15 the Commissioners of the Customs laid before the House all the papers on the African trade in their possession, but, as in earlier sessions, no bill was passed. *Ibid.*, pp. 521-522, 528, 534, 536, 549-552, 561, 570, 575, 588-589, 604; Stock, III. 246-251.

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was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that of late Years the Trade on fine Serges has been lessened, we have been employed in making coarse Serges, commonly called Perpetuanas, for the Coast of Africa, which of late have been much encreased, and the Petitioners have not only by that a Manufacture of coarse wool, and many poor People are thereby employed in spinning for those coarse Goods; and being informed, that Endeavours are used to confine the Trade to a Company, whereby the Quantities made will be lessened, and the Petitioners exposed to the utmost Straits: And praying to be favoured in the Consideration of their Case.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the Consideration of the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Adventurers and Creditors of the Royal African Company and others, Subscribers for the Support and carrying on that Trade, is referred.

55. Seth Grosvenour and James Phipps to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 16 May 1711.

In our Last we advised your honours we could not come to an agreemt with Capt. Legg and Chadwick for your Ship *Camwood*[2] but Contrary to our expectation, they made a tender of her to us a Second time, after having kept her a month in their Custody in the Road and on pretence of doing your honours a piece of Service Capt. Legg told us we might have her with what part of her Cargoe was Remaining on board for five hundred pounds which we agreed to Conditionally if She is prove to be a prize, and have given Capt. Legg Bills upon your hon'rs for the Same of which we desire your Acceptance, hoping she will not prove to be a [*torn*] bargain, there being near three hundred pounds Cargoe on board her, prime Cost, and we have Capt. Leggs Certificate for the delivery of the Ship to us.

We have an Acco't there was Seventy Slaves on board your hon'rs Ship *Camwood* which retaken by Capt. Legg, that was purchased by the French with the Goods belonging to her and there was also sundry of the *Camwoods* Goods taken on board the *Cezar* prize which we made a demand of, but Capt. Legg refused us them Saying they was as properly his prize as the French ships was: and the Slaves Capt. Legg has since disposed of to the 10 per Cent. Ships and fourty Welch plaines we bought of him to put on board your hon'rs Ship *Broughton* to Compleat her Cargoe for the Windward trade: there was also two Neg'r Sailors taken on board the *Cezar* which belonged

[55] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 35-36.

[2] The *Camwood* (or *Camwood Merchant*) had been captured by the French and recaptured by Captains Legg and Chadwick of the *Anglesey* and the *Foy*. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 658-659. See *post*, no. 57.

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to your *Camwood*: but they like the other goods were prize; and we could doe no further in it then to give your hon'rs a true account thereof as far as came to our knowledge Capt. Ashby and Park was present at the retaking your Ship *Camwood* and Can be better able to give your hon'rs an account what was found on board her.

Wee should not have drawn bills upon you knowing it Contrary to your honours directions, but Considering the occasion it Could not be avoided, and doubt not your honours approbation.

It would have been much more to our Satisfaction to have p'd the mony here, Rather then have drawn bills, but your hon'rs Ship *Camwood,* being no Longer in the Enemy's Custody then twenty Eight days, our Opinion is She cannot be made a Lawfull prize, and that no more then Salvage can be demanded for her.

56. Memorandum from the Papers of Matthew Prior.[1]

[July, 1711?]

Memoire pour l'Etablissement des Comptoirs de Panama, Portebello, Cartagenne, Sainte Marthe, La Veracrux et la Havane etc.[2]

1. A l'Egard de l'Introduction des Negres comme les affaires de la Sciente francoise ont toûjours eté en decadence, il est dificile de dire la quantité de Negres que l'on pouvvoit vendre dans chaque Comptoir.

2. Il y a eu des tems qu'on a introduit a Panama jusqu'au 2000 Negres par an, a Cartagenne 1000 a 1500: a Sainte Marthe 5 a 600, a la Havanne environ 1000, et quelquefois plus sans tous ceux qu'on a vendues en fraude venus de part et d'autre ce qu'on peut empecher facilement a present.

3. A Panama il y a des tems qu'il y a des sommes immenses qui entreroient dans la Caisse de la Compagnie si Elle avoit quantité de Negres, et d'autres tems que l'on ne trouveroit pas a en vendre une 100'me [3]

4. C'est pourquoy il faudroit que Messieurs de la Compagnie Etablissent leur Magazin general a la Jamaique pour les Negres qui

[56] [1] Welbeck Abbey MSS., Papers of Matthew Prior, "Plenipotentiary in France, temp. Queen Anne". The document is endorsed by Adrian Drift, Prior's secretary, "Memorial relating to the Negro Trade". For the paper, the editor is indebted to the kindness of Richard W. Goulding, Esq., librarian for the Duke of Portland.

[2] Stanhope's failure to obtain the assiento with Spain in 1707 (see *ante*, no. 18 and notes) by no means discouraged England in her hopes of acquiring it. In July, 1711, Matthew Prior was sent to Paris to discuss in secret the English demands for a peace, among which was a demand for the assiento and for settlements within Spanish-American territory which the English might fortify. Though the answer to Prior's requests was such as to make his "heart ache extremely", the French had practically agreed to English terms by the end of September (*Portland MSS.*, V. 34-41). The memorial here printed was doubtless drawn up by Prior on the occasion of the visit to Paris. See Donnan, "Early Days of the South Sea Company", *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.*, II. 421-422.

[3] Centime.

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viendront de la coste de Guynée ou d'autre part, comme aussy les marchandises et a mesure qu'on en auroit besoin dans les dits comptoirs soit Negres ou autre choses, les Directeurs demanderont a celuy de La Jamaique de leur en envoyer ce que leur prudence jugeroit necessaire en observant de ne demander guere plus de Negres qu'ils en pouroient vendre, C'est pour éviter la mortalité et les grosses depenses que causent les Negres dans les Magazins de Panama etc.

5. Il se trouveroit que par la Suitte le Commerce seroit plus courant qu'il n'a esté par les tems passez, pour cet effet Messieurs de la Compagnie doivent avoir dans leurs Comptoirs des Directeurs habils et au fait du Commerce scachant les manieres Espagnolles et connoissant les gouverneurs avec lesquels Il faudroit vivre d'intelligence et d'estre Civils et affables avec les Espagnols.

6. Pour l'Introduction des Negres aux Indes, il faudroit avoir a la Jamaique quatre Barques ou Brigantins et mettre dans chacune des Barques qui iroit a Portebello ou ailleurs a la coste pour aporter des Negres chaque fois 100 ou 60 plus ou moins, l'on pouroit embarquer sur les dites Barques soit pour Portebello et Panama environ pour 12 a 15000 piastres de Marchandises chaque voyage.

7. Il est à Remarquer que plus les dites Barques feront de voyages, on introduira par ce moyen une plus grande quantité de Marchandises sous pretexte d'aller aporter des Negres.

8. L'on pouvoit disposer l'une des d. Barques pour aller et venir a la Coste de Caracque et a la ville de Saint Dominique d'ou l'on peut tirer des Cuirs, du Caco, et du Tabac de verine en leur aportant les Negres et ce qu'ils auront besoin.

9. Une autre Barque peut servir pour aller et venir a la Coste de Cuba pour fournir aussy des Negres et Marchandises et en raporter des Cuirs etc.

10. Une autre peut servir pour la Veracrux et la Havanne et en tirer de la Cochenille et des Cuirs etc.

11. L'autre Barque peut servir pour Portebello et Cartagenne etc.

12. Les Vaisseaux qui viendront de la Coste de Guinée avec les Negres a la Jamaique raporteront en Angleterre les Especes d'Or et d'Argent et les Marchandises qui viendront de la Coste des Indes Espagnolles qui se trouveront alors dans leur Magazin general.

13. La Raison est qu'il vaudroit mieux pour Messieurs de la Compagnie d'envoyer des Batteaux a la Coste Espagnolle que des vaisseaux par raport a ce que les vaisseaux sont de trop grande dépense et font plus de frais, il se trouve souvent beaucoup de malades dans les d. vaisseaux par la Longueur de leurs voyages, et a la Jamaique ils n'auront point de retardement comme s'ils étoient obligez de porter leurs Negres a la Coste des Indes Espagnolle[s].

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Enfin s'il est necessaire on fournira un Memoire pour les Employez qu'il conviendroit pour le service de la Compagnie dans ces pays là.

57. Thomas Stewart and Raynes Bate to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados 19th Sept. 1711.

The 12th Capt. Legg arrived with her Majesty's Ships *Anglesra, Foy* and *Scarborough,* and your Honours Ship *Camwood* Isaac Barber Master Retaken by Capt. Legg but delivered up to your Agents at Cape Coast upon Condition, If found to be a prise Your Honours to pay him Five Hundred pounds Sterling, If not, only Salvage, we shall doe what's in our part, and make the best Defence we Can.[2]

The 22d of May she Left the Coast with Two hundred Slaves and broug[h]t in here one hundred Sixty three, in a very poor Condition having had nothing to Eat the Greatest part of that Extraordinary Long Passage but musty decayed Corn and a Little Salt Sometimes. We believe they have been Likely People when first Shipt, and no Care wanting in the Voyage.

What are Sold have been to Good prices and in all is Eighty One. They want for no provisions, tho dear, but the feeding one Costs almost as much as three formerly.

The *Experiment* Man of Warr being bound upon a Cruise and to Convoy out Some Ships and particularly those to Nevis and St. Christopher's we Shall Ship in him for Mountserratt (believing these two Ships will at this time [*torn*] the Markett at Nevis) between fourty and fifty Negroes.

58. The Board of Trade to the Queen.[1]

[Whitehall, March 15, 1711/2.]

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Maj'ty, In Obedience to Your Majesty's Com-

[57] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 35-36.

[2] On Oct. 25, 1711, Bate and Stewart wrote: "Capt. Legg and Capt. Chadwick Libell'd the Ship *Camwood* in the Court of Admiralty, our Lawyers made the best defence they could, after a Tryall of four hours, the Judge Condemned her, our Lawyers being very positive the Judgemt would be Reverted by the Queen and Councill If your hono'rs think fit to prosecute it, We have appealed and given Security accordingly" (T 70: 2, p. 36). Dudley Woodbridge, judge of the admiralty court of Barbados, sent the papers in the case to the Earl of Dartmouth, then principal Secretary of State, and the matter was referred by the Privy Council to the committee for hearing appeals for prizes. *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 658-659; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1711-1712, pp. 122-123.

[58] [1] C. O. 389: 22, pp. 447-451. On June 20, 1711, the Board of Trade had been instructed by the queen, who acted in response to a request from the House of Commons, to take up the manner of carrying on the African trade. At this time the commissioners concerned themselves almost wholly with an investigation of the strength of the African fortifications, on which subject they signed a representation July 27, then turned to other

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mands signify'd to us by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Secretary St. John,[2] upon an address from the Hon'ble the House of Commons to Your Majesty, relating to the Settlement of the Trade to Africa; We have examined into the Nature of that Trade and have consulted the African Company, and seperate Traders, in what manner the same may best be carry'd on, and thereupon humbly take leave to represent to Your Majesty, That the African Company and Seperate Traders agree;

1st That for the preserving, better carrying on and Improving the Trade to Africa, it is necessary that Forts and Settlements be maintain'd and inlarg'd on that Coast.

2d That the charge of maintaining the said Forts and Settlements ought to be born out of that Trade.

3d That it is necessary, the Contracts already made with the natives should be maintained, and other Alliances from time to time made, for the inlargement of the Trade to Africa.

4th That the Plantations ought to be supply'd with sufficient Quantities of Negroes, at reasonable Rates.

5th That a considerable Stock is necessary for the carrying on the Trade to Africa, to the best Advantage of your Majesty's Subjects, and for preserving and improving the same.

6th That it is necessary, an Export of £100,000 at least, in Merchandize, be annually made from Great Britain to Africa.[3]

7th That a sufficient Stock of Goods be always kept in the several Forts and Settlements to be from time to time disposed of, as occasion shall require for preserving, securing and Increasing the Number of Contracts and Alliances with the Natives, and with the several Petty Kings of the Country, and that the Governors there may have proper powers to dispose of such Goods for those purposes, and for increasing and varying such Forts and Settlements as the Nature of the Trade shall require.

To Answer these severall Purposes, The Company say, That considering the Nature of that Trade the annual Export to Africa of £100,000 the value of Goods always to be kept in the Forts and Settlements; The large Credit necessary to be given to the Planta-

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business (*B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 288-289, 292-296). In January, 1712, a mass of papers was transmitted to them and they renewed their hearings, as a result of which they presented to the queen a report on Mar. 15 (*ibid.*, pp. 322-349, *passim*). The petitions brought forth by this renewed consideration are to be found in the *Commons Journals*, XVII. 55, 56, 76, 112, 131, 132; Stock, III. 276-295, *passim*.

[2] St. John had supplanted Queensberry as Secretary of State in 1710.

[3] On Mar. 31, 1712, the committee of the whole House brought in a report embodying the first six of these recommendations. Five of them the House of Commons agreed to, but it refused to endorse the necessity for sending £100,000 in merchandize to Africa each year. *C. J.*, XVII. 164; Stock, III. 288.

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tions, and the making a Contract or Assiento for supplying the Spaniards with Negroes (if such Contract can be obtain'd to this Kingdom) can only be carryed on, and perform'd by an Exclusive Joynt Stock, which ought not to consist of less than £500,000, not including the value of their Forts and Settlements on the Coast. And the Company further propose, that if at any time complaint be made from the Plantations, either as to their not being supplyed with sufficient Quantities of Negroes, or the high price of them, that the Regulation thereof be submitted to your Majesty in Council.

The Seperate Traders say, That these Purposes may be answered and performed by a regulated Company, with the powers of a Body Politick, like that of Turkey or Russia, and that they can upon the Fund of the Duties rais'd by the 10 per Cent (which if it be found necessary may be augmented to fifteen) borrow money upon their Common Seal, for giving the present Company an Equivalent upon a reasonable valuation for their Forts and Settlements, and can establish Consuls on the Coast, with sufficient Quantities of Goods for paying Ground Rents, Presents and all other Occasions; That they shall then be capable of Managing that Trade to the Advantage of Great Britain and the Plantations, as well as a Company with an Exclusive Joynt Stock. And they are ready to give such security touching the Management of the African Trade (when formed in a regulated Company with the powers of a Body Politick) as shall be thought fit by Parliament.

They further propose that if at any time complaints be made from the Plantations as to their not being supplyed with sufficient Quantities of Negroes, that the Regulation thereof be submitted to your Majesty in Council.[4]

WHITEHALL March 15th 1711/12

59, RAYNES BATE AND THOMAS STEWART TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

BARBADOS the 22d Aug. 1712.

. . . The 7th Instant the *Canada* Henry Wishart Comand'r arrived here in Company with Capt. Prince and Rogers who sayled that day for Jamaica, she took in at Whidah five hundred and ten Neg'rs and brought into this Road 487 most of them in a miserable Poor Condition,[2] but the Masters Mate and Surgeon say they were

[4] Signed, "Winchilsea, Ph. Meadows, Robt. Monckton, Cha. Turner, Geo: Baillie, Arthur Moore, Fr. Gwyn, Oxford, Buckingham, Dartmouth, H. St. John, R. Benson".

[59] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 49-53.

[2] On Apr. 11 the factors at Cape Coast wrote that the *Canada*, Capt. Thomas Lovell, had arrived there Mar. 24, and that they had placed on board corn and other provisions for six hundred negroes; that the captain was to take corn from Anamabo and Winnebah also, and to sail for Whydah, where he was to receive his negroes in eight days' time (T 70: 2, pp. 42-43). For a cargo in poor condition the loss here reported does not seem a large one.

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much worse when first taken on board, so very bad were the first fifty that they refused to receive them beleiving they were not worth the freight but finding the Charter Party and your hon'rs Instructions Obliged them to receive what the factors tendered they Complied, they have given only a Certificate of the Number shipt without mentioning their ages or Quallifications they impute this to Mr. Hick's death, the Neg'rs in the two 10 per Cent Men are in Extraordinary good Case and they Generally Come better then the Company which we do not admire at if it be true of the Masters that they often Purchase their Choicest from the Factors, the ordinary they ship, this is a Great Loss to your hon'rs, as well as hard upon us who to keep up the Price are forced to give Extravigant and Long Creditt and that will not doe. . . .

As to the Extravigant Charges of Provisions and Nurseing the Neg'rs of the *Eliza.* and *Dolphin* there is no more than what was truely Paid neither of the Vessells brought Provisions into the Road and the Neg'rs in the worst Condition we ever saw any and had we not taken Extraordinary Care in feeding and nurseing them half of them had died, and it was at a time Provisions was very scarce and dear, the Perticulars are Expresst in the Acco't Sales, we never Charge according to the Number of Neg'rs but what we really Pay according to their wants and your hon'rs have formerly Encouraged our not Stinting the Neg'rs of what's necessary to raise them, and we thank God our Care and Charge has proved to be of great service to the Company in not only Preserving Poor sickly Creatures but in recruiting the Poor and mauger many of which that would not [have] sold for 40 *s.* has been raised and sold for Good Prices And you have Lost more Neg'rs before our time in one sale (and Perticularly by the *Jane*) then has Dyed with us in 6 years. these Losses were Chiefly want of Provisions and Care. If your hon'rs desire our Perticular Affadavit that shall be sent, but think it very hard you should suspect us in this and we do Protest we have to the Utmost of our Power always faithfully Endeavoured to Promote your Interest and have spared no Pains or Cost in doing it.

When we freight any Vessells for the future shall send Coppy the Charter Party, for the 45 Paid the Owners of the Sloop *Dolphin* Wee thought it what in Justice they ought to have and we have Sworne to the Acco't but you may have the owners of the receipt for it And we shall send it per next the 27.17 Charged for the Owners Part of the Sale, it was then Exactly made up and came to no more, all the time the Neg'rs were on board was at the Company's Charge for the time they were on shoar they were Charged the full Proportion and there was but seven Neg'rs of the Sloopes at Nurse, the 1. 10. 10 is no new Charge for bringing the Neg'rs on Shoar, you'l find

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every Accot. Sales two Pence per head Paid for bringing them on Shoar. . . .

As to your Objections for your Levy on trade Referr to our Letter Nov. 2, 1710 Your hon'rs are Taxed per the name of the Royall African Company these 20 years for your trade, and for our trade we are Perticularly taxed besides and Last year were taxed and paid above three times as much as your hon'rs were that Year and its Generally in Proportion to the Neg'rs Imported, we may as well be Charged the 5 shillings per head. . . .

The Reason we hired Doct'r Sidney at a Sett Sallary to look after the Compa's Neg'rs was that the Great[est] Care might be taken in Constantly Attending and looking after the sick Neg'rs which the Surgeons of the Ships had not the means or Possibility of doing, we found it to be very much to your Interest both in the Expence and Safety of the Neg'rs and when we found no great Occassion Wee Discharged that and have done so for some time, But shall now be forced to renew it the Surgeon of the Ship having as much as he Can do to look after the Sick Neg'rs on board.

BARBADOS Sept. 18, 1712.

The fifth Instant the *Pindar* Galley Capt. Richd Rands Com'd arrived here from Cabo Corso Castle with Two hundred Ninety Two Neg'rs in the best Condition we have seen any this Six Years, he brought no Certificate but they Came Nearer the Ages than any of the former, Inclosed is Capt. Wishart's receipt for freight of 479 Neg'rs per the *Canada* amt. to £3832. . . . We have not Paid Capt. Wishart any Part of the Commission Neg'rs by reason we find in a Letter of your hon'rs of 25th October 1705 That if any Capt. of the Comp's Ships Dies in the Voyage before the Ship arrives with us that we stop the Capts. Com'n in our hands till we have your hon'rs Orders how the same shall be Distributed, And tho' this be not the Comp'as Ship yet the Present Master being inclinable himself to have it so, we thought it very reasonable and for your hon'rs Interest, for we understand Capt. Lovell Obliged his Mate to renounce the Com'n in Case of his Death and this Advantage being Lost may make the Succeeding Com'rs Less Carefull, tho upon Inquiry we find this Man has taken all the Care he Could.

The Hurry we have been in in Selling the *Pindar's* Neg'rs getting sug'r and freight etc. have hindered us ballancing the Old Debts Acco't. . . .

You have here the bill of Mortality of the *Canada's* Neg'rs and the Doct'rs Receipt for his head mony £23. 19 with the Bill of Mortality

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of the Neg'rs per the *Pindar* and the Doct'rs receipt for the head mony £14. 12. . . .

We have sold of the *Canada's* Neg'rs 364 and of the *Pindar's* 272.

60. The African Company's Property in the Trade.[1]

An Explanation of the African Company's Right and Property in the African Trade. And of the Merit and Value of that Property. Both which will appear from these Facts and Considerations.

I. That the African Trade was often attempted, but could never be gain'd, and was absolutely lost, when the Company undertook the hazard of the Purchase.

II. That the Forts and Trade are inseparable; That the Trade without the Forts could never be gained, nor can now be maintain'd; And the Forts without the Trade, had never been thought of, much less had been built or preserved at such a vast Expence, as has been laid out upon them.

III. That the Company are Purchasers of both Forts and Trade, not only for an Immense Consideration, but at the hazard of Losing the whole in the Adventure, which makes their Right and Property equal to any Gentleman's Title to his Freehold or Leasehold in England, or in the Plantations.

IV. That the African Company's Right and Property in the sole Trade, is no Monopoly, nor Discouragement to Industry, nor Injurious to the Liberty or Freedom of their Fellow Subjects of Great Britain or the Plantations.

V. The present Value of the African Company's Interest in the sole Trade, and the true Reasons why their Estate and Credit are at this time low.

VI. The Nature of that Right the Legislature has, to take Care of the Management of the African Trade. . . .

The True Reasons of the African-Company's present Misfortunes are three,

1. The Calamities of the War that followed the Revolution, fell heavy on the Company, the French taking their Ships and Goods, to a very great Value.

But this they could have retrieved.

2. The Invasion and forcible Entries of the Interlopers, which prov'd a worse Plundering than the French Depredations; Yet this they could have avoided.

[60] [1] ***An Explanation of the African Company's Property in the Sole Trade to Africa,*** **"Making their Right equal with any Subjects' Right to his Freehold. Do unto the Company and their Property, as you would have others do unto you, and your Estates" (London, 1712).**

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3. But the most grievous blow of all, was that hard Law made in 1697, which gave liberty to other Subjects, in the Nature of Lodgers or Inmates, to enter the Company's Forts and Settlements, and take the benefit of the Trade, for the space of thirteen Years, paying a small Rent of 10 per Cent. out of the Exports, only to keep the Company's Houses in good repair for these New Guests.

This stroke has held the Company under assured Bondage; they have groaned and languished under the Weight of it these thirteen Years. It forced them to stand by quietly, and see the Separate Traders (like the Sequestrators formerly) domineer in the Company's Houses, and devour the Profit of their Trade. But was it not an Invasion of Property? Would the Company have adventured their Substance in gaining the Trade, if they had foreseen this taking away of the Fruit of their Labours, Purchase and Hazard, and the giving it to their fellow Subjects, for no other Reason, but because they coveted, desired and asked it?

As to the present Value of the Company's Interest in the Trade.

They insist that their Estates being now returning into their Possession from under a long Sequestration; it will (when free) be of a Value equal to all their Disbursements and Adventures; it will (when in Possession) give them Credit, and means to improve it, and enable them to make to their Creditors full Satisfaction.

They insist, that the Fallacy touching the Value, as if they had no Interest, but what must arise from the Forts and Castles, as such only, shall not be imposed on them; they claim the Value of the Trade, and insist, that no Value can be put on the Forts, but what is the Value of the Trade; for the Trade is the Fruit or Jewel appendant in those Forts and Castles, and was gained by them, and without which, those Forts and Castles had never been built, at the prodigious Expences that have been laid out on them. . . .

VI. As to the Sixth, the Nature of that Right, the Legislature has to take Care, that the African Trade, or any other Subjects Trade, be used or managed for the Good of the Kingdom.

As to this the Company humbly submit to such Regulations as to the Exporting Manufactures and Merchandize from Great Britain, and furnishing sufficient Quantities of Negroes to the Plantations at reasonable Rates, and preventing Abuses: As the Legislature, in their great Wisdom shall think fit to direct (saying that their Right and Property to the sole Trade be not impoverished or taken from them.) The Company have sustain'd much Hardships and Damage, but have behav'd themselves peaceably: If any Misdemeanours were laid to their Charge, they might expect the benefit of a fair Tryal; But to be Demolish'd, to be Confiscated, to be Condemned as the worst of Malefactors, and their Estates taken from them, to the

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utter Ruin of them, their Creditors and their Families, without Fault, without Crime, without Forfeiture, without Tryal, is so contrary to Natural Justice, so unprecedented, so shocking to Free-born Subjects, That the Company humbly hope they have no just Reason to fear any such thing from This Parliament.[2]

61. The Assiento Contract considered.[1]

[January 20, 1713.]

The Trade with the Spaniards from Jamaica (tho' Collusive) has been very considerable: and 'tis certain for seven Years past (about which time it commenced *de Novo*), the Spaniards have been supplied from thence, one Year with another, with three or four thousand Negroes, in return for which, and for Flower, Woollen and other Goods, there has been received of them in Gold and Silver and the Produce of New Spain, 200,000 *l.* or 250,000 *l.* Yearly. . . .

As to the Trade from Jamaica with the Spaniards, I fear from the Power the French King has over King Philip, and the growing as well as the present Strength of the French; as also the Encouragement they have given them by King Philip in those Parts, it must be soon at an end. 'Tis probable Great Britain may have the Assiento, or the supplying the Spaniards with Negroes, if there can be found any Persons, incorporated or not, so inconsiderate, as to accept it on the Terms her Majesty has acquainted her Parliament.[2] (pp. 2-3). . . .

[2] The arguments against the company's monopoly were: (1) it hindered the sale of woollens; (2) it contributed to the decay of the navy; (3) it advanced the trade of other nations; (4) it lowered the price of English goods; (5) it tended to ruin individuals; (6) it made it possible for the company to set its own price on vessels; (7) it allowed the company to seize the property of others; (8) it hindered the collection of customs; (9) it prevented African discoveries; (10) it would ruin the plantations: *a.*, by failing to supply a sufficient number of negroes; *b.*, by increasing the price of the negroes; *c.*, by transporting unfit negroes; *d.*, by controlling the prices of the planters' goods. *Some Considerations relating to the Trade to Guinea* (n. d.).

[61] [1] *The Assiento Contract consider'd: as also the Advantages and Decay of the Trade of Jamaica and the Plantations, with the Causes and Consequences thereof*, "in several Letters to a Member of Parliament" (London, 1714). The project of the South Sea Company, probably drafted by Robert Harley, had been introduced in Parliament in May, 1711, and the company incorporated in the autumn of that year. From the first it was assumed that once England achieved the assiento the privilege was to go to this company. The contract was not yet completed between the countries concerned at the date given to this letter, though there remained only the determination of details. See Donnan, "Early Days of the South Sea Company" (*Jour. Econ. and Business Hist. II.*, 423-431), for an account of the assignment of the contract.

[2] The objections to the contract with Spain, prevalent in the West Indies rather than in England, are forcibly expressed in these letters, which contradict the statement frequently made that the assiento was received by the subjects of Queen Anne with universal acclaim. The misstatements made concerning the effect of this contract on the English slave trade and the history of the colonies are too numerous to be cited. It of course dealt solely with the trade to Spanish America and could have only an indirect effect on the British colonies of the Continent. What the Jamaicans feared would be the effect can be seen from this pamphlet. As was pointed out in the first volume of this work, this was by no means the first time that the British had supplied the Spanish with

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[April 20, 1713.] [3]

As I have before acquainted you, that the private Trade from Jamaica to the Coast of New Spain, has been very considerable, and brought more Mony into her Majesty's Dominions in a Year, than the Contract can, admitting the 4800 Negroes, or more, should be taken off yearly by the Spaniards, so 'tis to be feared, that this Contract will soon put an end to the said Trade; and that by it numbers of Merchants, or Factors, and Sea-faring Men, will be prevented going to Jamaica, as well as many now Inhabitants of and belonging to the Island, will be obliged to leave it; and that as much less of the Manufactures of Great-Britain, etc. and Provisions from Ireland will be sent to the Island: so the quantity of Shipping that went yearly to it, will consequently lessen and fall short; whereby the Planter that can't Ship the Produce of his Plantations to Great-Britain, will be under a Necessity to sell it at a much lower Price, and he that can Ship it, must give a much higher Freight. That these and many more, will be the Consequences to Jamaica from this Contract is undeniable, unless those, who 'tis said are to have it, will not make use of the Power with the Government, etc. (stipulated in the said Contract, to prevent the Subjects of Great-Britain, and the Plantations, from importing Negroes, under Penalty of Forfeiture) or by their Agents, (as 'tis to be feared 'twill be in their Power) obstruct or hinder the Trade they may or can otherwise have for Merchandize with the Spaniards.

That the Contract for supplying the Spaniards with Negroes, has prov'd a loss to former Assientists, has been acknowledg'd by Contractors themselves (pp. 6-7). . . .[4]

We are told in the Preamble to this Contract, that it was given to her Majesty, in Condescension and Complacency to her, as the Draught was put into King Philip's Hands by Don Manuel Manasses Gilligan,[5] at which I am not a little surpriz'd, since by the said Contract I will take upon me to say (tho' by the Reservation to King

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slaves, though it was the first time that the government had been concerned in the formal contract to do so. The chief effect of the assiento was to give the countries England and Spain a subject of contention. For the English trade with Spain under the French assiento see Nettels, "England and the Spanish-American Trade", *Journ. Mod. Hist.*, March, 1931, pp. 19-25.

[3] Between the date of the first of these letters and this one, the assiento had been signed (Mar. 26). The text of the contract will be found in Frances G. Davenport's *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States*, vol. III., as yet unpublished. The transfer of the assiento to the English was provided for in art. XII. of the treaty of Utrecht.

[4] The 42d article granted permission to the English to enter in Spanish-American territory an annual vessel loaded with general merchandize, a privilege which was supposed to offset possible losses from trade in negroes.

[5] Manuel Manasses Gilligan, who as Spanish agent had had a large share in the conduct of the negotiations leading to the signing of the assiento, was to receive seven and one-half per cent. of the profits from the trade. He was one of the signers of the petition from Barbados of July 20, 1710 (C. O. 28: 13), and had for some years been concerned in the slave trade.

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Philip in the 42d Article, as well as in the Hints, as to the Repayment of the 200,000 pieces of Eight to be advanced him in other Articles, it be taken for granted, it will be a very profitable thing for the Assientists, and has been given out and asserted in several Addresses to her Majesty, to be of very great Benefit and consideration to Great-Britain.) that not any Body of her Majesty's Subjects will be Gainers, or the Kingdom have any new Advantage, or Supply of Money accrue to Her thereby (pp. 7-8). . . .[6]

62. Raynes Bate and Thomas Stewart to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados May 12th 1713.

We are sorry your Hono'rs Complaine of the Charges on the Negr's after Landing and hope upon a Review of the Account we will make some Deductions, If your Hono'rs were to see some of them, and the miserable Condition they come in and the care taken of them in Washing, Bathing Dressing and feeding You would be of Opinion what we pay for it were very well laid out: for all these Poor creatures are fed every day twice with Broths and fresh Meat, which is very dear here, and they have but 15 *d.* a day for feeding and Looking after them, and we ourselves goe very often to see them and how they are fed, It is the lowest we could agree for or ever was that we know of, and as little as they can afford to feed them, for if well fedd, We doe assure your Honors we never Charged one penny more then we bona fide paid of which we Wrote you before, if you desire it we will send our Depositions and the Deposition of our Accountant that payes the money and is present at the Agreement. If we could make Deductions we were not fit to serve your Hono'rs for we must have wronged you of that, and we do not suppose you intend we should pay any of that Charge ourselves, the Charges we have been Obliged to by our Articles being very much above what our past business would allow, It hath yearly amounted to between four and five hundred pounds, with the Loss upon Lawyers Acc'ts more then the Court allows, And tho' Wee have made as few bad Debts as any for the time, that were before us, Yet upon a late Scrutiny we find three thousand pounds very Dubious and as much more we Judge Good, that we must come into Termes of Staying three or four Years or the Estates will be tore to pieces, and we put upon Land that will neither Rent or Sell, there's some of your old Debts under these Circumstances, so your Hono'rs are good Judges of our profitts hitherto. If our Comission and Interest will keep us on Ballance we

[6] In the letters which follow, dated Nov. 10, 1713, and May 5, May 10, May 25, and June 12, 1714, the author demonstrates that the assiento brings no advantages to Great Britain but tends to destroy existing trade. *Assiento Contract,* pp. 10-36.

[62] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 64-65.

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shall be very glad, and we hope you'l be of Opinion not to desire us to be at any further and new Expence.

63. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1713, June 10.

Ordered, That a Comittee be appointed to Consider of the Bill now depending in Parliament For Establishing the Trade to Affrica free and open to all her Maj'ties Subjects of Great Britain and the Plantations[2] And to draw up Such Clauses as they shall think convenient to be added thereto, as may be most for the Advantage of this Company with respect to the Carrying on the Assiento Trade, And Report the same to the Court And that the Chancelor of the Exchequer Mr. Blunt, Sr. Saml. Clarke, Mr. Doliffe, Mr. Hamond, Sr. Theo: Janssen, Mr. Moor, Sr. Joseph Martin, Mr. Maeter [Master?] Mr. Shepheard, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Williams be that comittee whereof 5 to be a Quorum And all the Directors who came to have Votes and that they be summoned to meet tomorrow Morning at Seven of the Clock.[3] . . .

1713, June 27.[4]

The Minutes of the Committee for the Assiento of the 26th Instant were read And a Motion being made,

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court That for the Enabling this Company to Carry on the Assiento Trade of Negroes,

[63] [1] British Museum, Add. MSS. 25495, p. 116. The assiento, in Spanish and English, had been laid before the General Court of the South Sea Company by Lord Bolingbroke on June 2. The next day its provisions, article by article, were read and commented upon. A committee on buying was directed to ascertain how much clothing, medicine, provisions, and other necessaries would be required for negroes on the ships of 150 tons, how much money would be requisite to buy 4800 negroes, and whether it would be wise to plan to send out more than this number. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112, 114. See Donnan, "South Sea Company", *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.*, II. 431-432.

[2] The African bill, providing for open trade, had been brought from the Commons to the House of Lords on June 9. It was read on the 17th and the 23d, with petitions from the African Company and certain West India planters against it, and was committed on the 25th. Nothing further happened (*Lords Journals*, XIX. 577, 580, 583, 586). A list of papers relating to Africa, presented June 24, will be found *ibid.*, pp. 584-585; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 438-439; Stock, III. 325-326. These papers are in large part those which the Board of Trade and the House of Commons had been considering during the years 1708-1713, some of which have been printed in this volume.

[3] On June 12 the African bill was read in the court of directors, and the committee was instructed to consult with separate traders and with the African Company about the best method of settling the trade. It met promptly, received proposals for its supply of blacks from the separate traders, and on June 19 conferred with a committee of twelve sent by the African Company. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 118, 120.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. On June 18 the company, in an address to the queen, expressed its thankful acceptance of "the Contract w'ch Your Majesty out of yo'r Princely Care for the Trade and Welfare of Your Subjects has been pleased to make with his Catho. Majesty, with Privileges beyond what any former Assientist ever Enjoyed", at least so the address seems to read. Its wording is ambiguous. Nevertheless, though it was everywhere taken for granted that the privileges of the assiento would go to the South Sea Company, the formalities incident to the assignment had not yet been completed. Add. MSS. 25559, f. 16, pp. 28-29.

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proper Clauses be drawn up to be offered to the House of Lords, to be inserted in the Bill depending there for making the Trade to Africa free and open, that may be for the benefit and advantage of this Company. And that the said Clauses be upon the following heads, *Vizt.*

1. For Effectually Securing the true payment of the 10 £ per Cent. to be paid by all Traders to Africa.

2. For Re-exporting Such Goods as shall be Exported to Africa and bro't back to Great Britain without paying that duty again.

3. That this Company have Liberty to trade in their Politick Capacity in the Name of this Corporation.

4. For prohibiting any Director of this Company from being a Director or Manager of the Royal African Company or of the Company to be Erected by the intended Act, at the same time.[5] . . .

1713, July 8.[6]

. . . Ordered, That the Comittee for the Assiento do Sitt twice a Week, *vizt.* on Tuesdays at 4 in the Afternoon and Thursdays at 9 in the forenoon to Receive Proposals from all persons for the better Carrying on that Trade and that Notice thereof be given on the Exchange and at the door of the House And that all persons who are willing to go abroad in the Companys Service do make their application to the said Comittee.

Ordered, That the said Comittee do at their first Meeting Consider of proper Places in which to Settle Factorys or Settlements and how many and what Officers at each place And at what Sallarys or if by way of Comission, at what Comission, And that they Report their Opinion to the next Court.

Resolved, That it be Recommended to the said Comittee To Consider what shiping both as to the Number and Tunage will be requisite for Carrying on the Assiento Trade And in General to Consider of any other Matters or Affairs relating to the said Trade. And that all things may be forthwith Settled and adjusted which Concern the Company.

[5] A committee was appointed to draw up such clauses. On June 30 the court agreed that to the bill then pending in the House of Lords there be added the following provisions: (1) that goods exported, brought back, and re-exported should not pay a second duty; (2) that the company should trade to Africa in its own name and right; (3) that no officer of the South Sea Company should be an officer of the Royal African Company, and that no private trader to Africa should be an officer of the South Sea Company while engaged in private trade. At the same time the company expressed the opinion that it would be better for its interests if the bill did not pass. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 129-130.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 133. The secretary was instructed to call for proposals in writing from the Royal African Company and the separate traders, as to the terms on which they would furnish 4800 negroes, *piezas de Indias,* for one year, to be delivered before Mar. 25 next—1200 at Buenos Aires, 3600 at Porto Bello, Vera Cruz, or Jamaica.

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1713, July 14.[7]

[Letters from several separate traders and from the Royal African Company were read and Mr. Heysham, Kent, Thompson, Milner and Harris, traders to Africa attended and were discoursed with concerning supplying the company with 4800 negroes yearly.]

Resolved that they be asked to give in their proposals on Thursday. "For Delivering healthful Sound Negroes of all Sizes at Carthagena, Porto bello, Vera Crus or Jamaica. And also 1200 At Buenos Ayres yearly in Such Condition as to be able to go over the Ships side.

And How many Negroes they will deliver on or before the 25th March next And at what places.

Ordered, That the Secretary write to the Royal African Company to Give in to the Comittee for the Assiento by Friday next in the afternoon their Proposal Sealed for furnishing the Company with Negroes as before mencioned: And that it be an Instruction to the said Comittee That they do not open the Separate Traders Proposal til they have recd. that of the African Company Provided they deliver the same by Tuesday Evening next.

1713, July 22.[8]

[Proposals of the Royal Company and the Separate Traders read. The Committee of the Assiento was directed to determine how much money would be requisite for purchasing negroes on the coast and carrying on their own trade to Africa.]

Ordered, That it be also an Instruction to the Comittee of the Assiento That they make no Contract either with the Royal African Company or Separate Traders for furnishing the Company with Negroes for any longer time than One Yeare.

July 29.[9]

. . . Ordered, That it be referred to the Comittee of Shiping to provide Ships and the Comittee of Buying proper Cargoes wherewith to purchase 2000 Negroes on the Coast of Africa And that they dispatch the Same in all August next, if possible or as soon after as may be. . . .

Resolved, That a Comittee of 5 be appointed to Treat with a Comittee of the like Number of the Royal African Company, whereof 3 to be a Quorum. And that Mr. Andr. Harley Mr. Moore Mr.

[7] Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 134-135.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

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Dolliffe Mr. Vernon and Sr. Joseph Martin be that Comittee and that they make their Report from time to time to the Court.[10] . . .

1713, Aug. 14.[11]

The following Account of a Proporcion of Provisions for 100 Negroes to be taken in at Guinea Dated the 14th Instant Signed by Samuel Whittingham was by Sr. Samuel Clarke laid before the Court and ordered to be read, *Vizt:*

	Ackeys	Tackeys
80 Chests of Corn at 5 Ackeys per Chest is	400:	00
4 Bushells of Salt at 1 Ackey per Bushell	4:	00
20 Gallons Palm Oyl at 8 Tack's per Gallon	13:	04
50 ch Malagetta at Ackeys per	4:	00
	421:	04

421 Ackeys, 4 Tacks at 5 *s.* per Ackey is £105: 6: 8.

The Above is according to the present Usage of the Royal African Compa. . . .

9th Septemb'r 1713.[12]

The Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company attending were called in. . . . and a Minute of that Court, upon the Matters in dispute,[13] And also the agreemt. made on behalf of both Companys by the Comittees of Five of the 13th past were severally read.

And S'r James Bateman acquainted the s'd Court of Assistants That this Court was called on purpose to Conferr with them upon the Matters in dispute and to shew the readiness of this Court in coming to a Conclusion. They do agree.

1. That the 14 days for the Ships which are to go to Widah and to touch at Cape Coast shall not be deemed part of the 70 running days for the Ships to Stay upon the Coast of Africa.

2. That the Royal African Company may load on the Ships of this Compa the Goods and Stores they shall think fitt and which the Ships can conveniently Carry (over and above the Necessarys Stores

[10] Andrew Harley was a brother of Robert; Arthur Moore, a member of Parliament 1695-1700, 1701-1715, and 1720-1721, was a member of the Board of Trade 1710-1714, and a director of the South Sea Company. He was at one time accused of attempting an illicit trade with the Spaniards under cover of the assiento, and was suspected of being one of the favorites to whom Anne desired to assign her share of the profits of the Spanish bargain (Abel Boyer, *Quadrennium Annae Postremum; or the Political State of Great Britain during the Four Last Years of the late Queen's Reign*, London, 1718, VII. 535-540, 568-570). This committee reported on Aug. 12 and was directed to "treat and conclude" with the Royal African Company for 4800 negroes for one year on the most advantageous terms possible, and to report the same. On Aug. 14 their agreement was read and approved. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 148, 150.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 164. The names of those attending are here omitted.

[13] The two companies had been in negotiation since July, and had arrived at an acceptable price scale: £10 for negroes over sixteen, £6 for those under sixteen (Aug. 12, 1713, T 70: 88). The questions here considered had been discussed on Sept. 3 and 8. Add. MSS.. 25495, pp. 158, 162.

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and Provisions which shall be put on board for the use of the Ships their Companys and Negroes) the Ships to be loaded in such manner as shall be approved by the Surveyors of both Companys.

But That during the intended Contract with the Royal African Company This Company do insist upon a Liberty of purchasing Negroes in Jamaica or any other part of America Provided they are not of Ships which shall go from Great Britain after this day,

And That no more than 20 days demorage shall be allowed for the Ships to Stay upon the Coast of Africa Over and above the 70 running days, the same to be paid by the Royal African Company.

And after a long Debate upon these two heads the Gentlemen of the Royal African Company withdrew, And being returned, Mr. Pindar deliver'd into the Court, a Paper from them, which being read (they withdrew) and is as followeth, *vizt.*

9 Sept'r 1713.

The South Sea Company agree to be restrained from purchasing any Negroes out of this Contract (Excepting a Liberty which they reserve to themselves of Buying what Negroes they think fitt in the West Indies from such ships only as are already departed from any part of Her Maj'ties Dominions for America) which the Royal African Company agree to, Provided the South Sea Company recede from their other demands,

And the Court having debated thereupon, the Gentlemen were called in and acquainted That this Company cannot recede from the liberty of Purchasing Negroes in the manner already told them Nor allow them more than 20 days demorage upon the Coast of Africa, And then the Gentlemen withdrew, and being returned Mr. Pindar acquainted the Court That they were willing to accept of 25 days demorage; and being withdrawn: The Court Consider'd thereof: And they were called in again and acquainted by the Sub Gov'r That they cannot allow more than 20 days demorage on the Coast of Africa; where upon the Conference brake off.

64. Contract between the South Sea Company and the Royal African Company.[1]

Articles of Agreement Indented Made and Agreed upon the —— day of————Anno Dom 1713 and in the 12th Q. Anne etc. Between the Governour and Company of Merchants of Great Brittain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America, and for Encouraging the Fishery of the One part And the Royal African Company of England of the other part in manner and Form following (that is to say)

[64] [1] T 70: 38.

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Imprimis The said Royall African Company for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant, Promise and Agree to and with the said Governour and Company and their Successors in manner and forme following (that is to say) that the said Royal African Company and their Successors shall and will Provide, Furnish and Deliver to the said Governour and Co: and their Successors Agents or Assignes Four thousand Eight Hundred, good sound healthy and Merchantable Negroes Consisting of both Sexes and of the Ages hereafter mentioned and deliver and put the same on board the Ships that shall be Provided and sent by the said Governour and Co: for receiving them on the Coast of Africa at the Places and times and at the severall Rates and Prices and under and Subject to the Conditions herein after mentioned (that is to say) Negroes from the Ages of Sixteen Years to the Ages of Forty Years At the price of Ten Pounds Sterling per head and Negroes from the Ages of Ten Years to the Ages of Sixteen Years at the price of Six pounds Sterling per head And that two third parts at Least of the said Negroes so to be delivered shall be Males, and that none of the said 4800 Negroes shall be under the Age of Ten Years, and that nine parts in Ten of the said 4800 Negroes so to be furnished shall be of the Age of Sixteen Years at Least and None of them shall Exceed the Age of 40 Years.

2. Item And that the said Royal African Company or their Successors shall and will deliver and put or Cause to be delivered and put on board the ships that shall be Sent by the said Governour and Co: as aforesaid for receiving the Same on the Coast of Africa the sd 4800 Negroes at the respective places and in the Proportions following *Vizt.*

At Whidah One thousand Nine hundred Negroes	1900
At Cape Coast and Factories adjacent One thousand five hundred Negroes	1500
At Windward Coast and Cape Coast five hundred Negroes	500
At Gambia Serraleon and Sherbrow two hund. Negroes	200
At Gambia and parts adjacent Seven hund. Negroes	700
	4800

3. Item That the said Number of Negroes so agreed to be delivered as aforesaid shall be so delivered and put on board the Shipps that shall be Sent by the sd. Gov'r and Co. for receiving the Same at the respective places and in the Proportions following And that the said Shipps shall depart from the Port of London within the following times (that is to say) In Ships to depart from the Port of London on or before the day of

At Whidah in two Ships at Least nine hund: Negroes	900
At Cape Coast and the Factories thereto near adjacent in two Shipps at least Six hundred Negroes	600
At the Windward and Cape Coast three hundr Negroes	300
At Gambia and the parts and Factories thereto near adjacent three hundred Negroes	300
At Serraleon Sherbrow and Gambia two hund. Negroes	200

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And in Ships to depart from the Port of London on or before the day of next

At Whidah Five hundred Negroes	500
At Cape Coast three hundred Negroes	300
At Gambia two hundred Negroes	200

And on Ships to depart from Great Brittain on or before the day of next

At Whidah Five hundred Negroes	500
At Cape Coast three hundred Negroes	300
At the Windward and Cape Coast two hundred Negroes	200
At Gambia two hundred Negroes	200
	4800
	[4500]

Provided that in Case the said Gov'r and Co: shall be minded or desirous that the Negroes mentioned to be provided and Delivered at Gambia shall be provided and delivered on board the Ships of the sd. Gov'r and Co: on the Gold Coast and at Whidah or One of them and shall Signify such their desire by writing under the hand of the Secretary of the sd Gov'r and Co: for the time being to the Court of Assistants or Secretary of the said Royall African Co: That then and in such Case the sd Royal African Co: do hereby Agree for themselves and their Successors to furnish provide and deliver on board the Ships of the said Gov'r and Co: to be sent for that purpose on the Gold Coast and at Whidah Seven hundred Negroes to be purchased in those parts Over and above the Number of Negroes before agreed to be provided and delivered on the Gold Coast and at Whidah the Same to be in Lieu of the 700 Negroes before mentioned to be delivered at Gambia, And in such Case it is mutually agreed by and between the sd two Companies that the ships for the last mentioned 700 Negroes shall not depart from Great Brittain 'till on or after the ——— day of ———

2. 3. Item, the said Gov'r and Co: for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant, Promise and agree to and with the sd Royal African Company and their Successors that the said Gov'r and Co: and their Successors shall and will at the time above mentioned provide and Send from the Port of London to and for the respective places on the Coast of Africa aforesaid ships to take on board the respective Number of Negroes before agreed to be furnished and delivered by the said Royal African Company.

4. Item That the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors shall when and as often as they shall agree for any ship or ships to be imployed in Pursuance of this Contract give Thirty days Notice thereof and of the number of Negroes for which the Same is so agreed in writing under the hand of the Secretary of the sd. Gov'r and Co: to the

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Court of Assistants or Secretary of the sd. Royal African Company in Order to the providing and shiping their Cargoes to be by them put aboard such respective Ships and in Case the said Royal African Company shall not before the Expiration of the said 30 days have provided and Shipt their Cargoes That then and in such Case it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sd Royall African Company and their Successors to detain such respective Ship or Ships in which they shall not have Laded their Cargoes within the sd 30 days any Number of days not exceeding 10 days over and above the sd 30 days upon paying such Sums of money for demorage for those days so Detained over and above the sd 30 days as shall be reasonable which Sums for such Demorage the said Royall African Co: for themselves and their Successors do hereby agree to pay to the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors accordingly within 10 days after the expiration of the days of demorage.

5. Item That the Ships which the sd Gov'r and Co: shall send for taking in their respective Complements shall if required by the Royal African Company's Chief Agent or Factor at the respective Forts, Ports, Factories or Places on the Coast of Africa where the said Ships shall respectively be for the time being remain on the Coast of Africa 70 Successive or running Days from the respective times of their arrival at their respective first Loading Ports, and in Case the Royal African Company's Chief Factor or Agent at the respective Forts, Ports, Factories or Places on the Coast of Africa where the said Ships shall respectively be for the time being shall by writing under their hands to be delivered to the Masters or Commanders of any of the sd Ship or Ships require such Ship or Ships to Stay upon the Coast of Africa longer than the sd 70 runing days That then and in such Case the Ships so required to Stay shall and may Continue on the Coast of Africa any time not exceeding 20 days over and above the sd 70 running days for which 20 days the sd Royall African Co: for themselves and their Successors do hereby Agree to pay to the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors such Sums for demorage as the sd. Gov'r and Co: shall be Obliged to pay those respective Ships and at such time and times Place and Places.

6. Item That the Ships which shall be taken up and appointed for Whidah shall touch at Cape Coast Castle and there deliver such Goods and Stores as shall be Consigned thither and shall there and at the Factories thereto near adjacent take in such other Goods and Merchandizes for Whidah and Corn for their Negroes as shall be required by the Royal African Compa's Cheif Agent or Factor there to be taken on board the time of doing whereof shall not be taken as part of the said 70 days But in Case more than 14 days shall be Spent in so doing It is mutually agreed between both the sd

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Companies that the Number of days above those 14 days shall be deemed and accounted as part of the aforesaid 70 Successive or runing days and not otherwise.

7th. Item the sd Gov'r and Co: for themselves and their Successors do further Covenant and Agree to and with the sd Royal African Company and their Successors that the sd. Royal African Co: and their Successors may Load from Great Brittain to Africa on such Ships as shall be Imployed by the sd Gov'r and Co: in this Contract such Goods and Stores as the sd Royal African Co: shall think fitt and which such Shipps can well Stow (over and above the necessary Stores and Provisions for the Use of the Ships their Company's and Negroes) and that for such Goods and Stores so to be Shipt the Capt'ns or Commanders of such Ships respectively shall sign bills of Lading for delivering the Same to the Royal African Company's Agents freight free. And it is mutually Agreed between both the sd Company's that the said Shipps shall be Loaded in such manner as shall be approved of by the Surveyors of the two Companies.

8. Item the sd Gov'r and Co: do Consent and Agree that the Capt'ns or Commanders of such Shipps which shall be so imployed pursuant to these presents whilst on the Coast of Africa shall follow and perform the Orders and Directions of the Agents of the Royall African Compa and of such Factors as they or their Agents shall put on board them so as the Same be not Contrary to the terms Conditions and Agreements herein mentioned and shall also give the Assistance of them and their Ships Company's in Landing and Lading their Cargoes and furthering their dispatch in all respects.

9. Item That the Commanders, Officers or Seamen belonging to the said Shipps which shall be so imployed pursuant to these presents shall not Carry out from Great Brittain any Goods or Merchandize for Sale or Sell any Goods or Merchandize on the Coast of Africa other than and except such Goods and Merchandize as shall be mutually allowed them in Writing by the Court of Directors of the sd Gov'r and Co: and the Court of Assistants of the sd Royal African Company the produce whereof to be invested in Gold only.

10. Item The sd Gov'r and Co: do hereby for themselves and their Successors Covenant and Agree to and with the sd Royall African Company and their Successors That the Capt'ns or Comanders of the Ships which shall be so Sent as aforesaid Pursuant to this agreement shall receive and take on board all healthy Sound Merchantable and good Negroes within the tenour and true meaning of this Contract and as they shall be Sent or required by the Royall African Company's Agents or Factors to be received on board. Provided they be not in less Numbers than 40 Negroes at any one time unless it be the last parcell of Negroes to be put on board each such re-

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spective Ship and that the respective Capt'ns or Commanders of each such Shipp shall give a receipt in writing for each parcell of Negroes so recd. and upon having their Complement of Negroes or the time for their Stay shall be expired which shall first happen shall give the Royal African Company's Agents upon delivering the Receipts *four* Certificates *thereof all of the same tenor and date* in writing under their respective hands and also shall sign such bills of Lading for the Same as shall be directed by the Court of Directors of the sd Gov'r and Co: and shall give 4 bills of Lading for each Ship all of them of the same tenor and date *Two of which bills of Lading or more shall be delivered to the sd Royal African Company's Agents.*

11th. Item the Royal African Compa. for themselves and their Successors do further Covenant and agree to and with the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors that the sd. Royall African Compa. and their Successors shall and will at their own proper Costs and Charges provide furnish and deliver on board each respective Ship that shall be imployed to carry the whole Number of Negroes which by this Contract they are Obliged to deliver on board such Ships as aforesaid during their Stay on the Coast of Africa a Sufficient quantity of African provisions as Corn Mallagetta Salt and Palm Oyle during their Stay on the sd Coast and at the departure of each respective Ship from the Coast of Africa shall also at their like Costs and Charges provide furnish and deliver on board each such respective Ship for the feeding and Sustaining such Negroes for the rest of the Voyage the following quantities of the said African Provisions (that is to Say) for every hundred Negroes of Corn Mallagetta Salt etc. Palm Oyle and so proportionably for a greater or lesser number than One hundred Negroes being the Usuall quantities of provisions allowed to Negroes from the Coast of Africa to Jamaica, and in Case any of the sd Negroes shall be design'd for any Port or place more distant from the Coast of Africa than Jamaica so as to require a greater quantity of Provisions that then and in such Case the Royall African Compa's Agent shall and will Supply and furnish such further Provisions for such Negroes as shall be necesary at a reasonable Rate and Price.

12. Item It is further agreed between the sd two Compas that the Capt'ns or Command'rs of each such Ship as shall be imployed in this Service pursuant to this Contract shall give to the Agents of the Royal African Company their Orders in Writing upon all Occasions for Supplying them on the Coast of Africa with what Stores necessaries and provisions they shall want on Account of their respective Shipps Seamen or Otherwise and on receipt of any Stores Provisions or Necessaries of any kind shall give Certificates thereof to the Royall African Compa's Agents under their hands in Writing.

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13. Item that the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors shall not nor will on or before the day of Contract or agree with any Person or Persons body politick or Corporate whatsoever other than the sd Royal African Compa. for any Number of Negroes Unless for such part of the said 4800 Negroes as the Royall African Compa. shall fail to Supply according to the true intent and meaning of these Presents Provided nevertheless that it shall and may be Lawfull for the sd Gov'r and Co: at any time or times to buy Negroes at Jamaica or other parts of America so as the same Negroes or any part of them be not imported into any parts of America in any Ship or Ships which shall depart from Great Brittain on their Voyage to or towards Africa after the day of

14. Item that the respective Capt'ns or Command'rs of the Ships of the sd Gov'r and Co: which shall be imployed pursuant to these presents shall have the Liberty and freedom of Wooding and Watering their respective Ships in all and every the Ports and Places belonging to or possessed and Injoy'd by the Royall African Co: and to have all other accomodations and assistance of Stores Provisions and necessaries for their Ships and their Compa's which Can be furnished by the Agents of the Royal African Co: at the usuall Rates and prices on that Coast which the sd. Gov'r and Co: hereby agree to pay for the Same to the Royall African Co: or their Successors accordingly together with all such moneys as the Royall African Compa's Agents shall disburse for or on Acco't of the sd Gov'r and Co: in such manner as is herein after mentioned And it is mutually agreed by and between the sd two Compa's that One third part of the hire of Cannoes which shall be imployed in this Service in Africa shall be Equally paid by the two Compa's the other two third parts of that Charge being to be paid by the Owners of the respective Ships.

15. Item the sd Gov'r and Co: do hereby for themselves and their Successors Covenant and agree with the sd Royal African Compa. and their Successors that the sd Gov'r and Co: or their Successors shall and will Advance to the said Royall African Company or their Successors the Sum or Vallue of £20 000 of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain in the proportions foll. 9 *Vizt.* the amount of Nine Pounds Sterl. per head for the Number of Negroes that each Ship shall be taken up for to be paid to the Royall African Compa. when and so Soon as they shall have put their Cargoes on board the sd respective Ships three fourth parts thereof to be paid in money and the other fourth part in such Ranters as the sd Gov'r and Co: have already bought, the sd Ranters to be taken at the prices they Cost the sd Gov'r and Co: including all Charges Disbursed by them as part of the said £20 000 So to be advanced.

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16. Item that the sd Gov'r and Co: or their Succes'ors shall and will within 30 days after producing to the Court of Directors of the sd Gov'r and Co: by the Royal African Co: or any Committee thereof a Certificate or Certificates or a Bill or Bills of Lading from the Capt'ns or Comand'rs of the Ships to be Imployed in this Service by the sd Gov'r and Co: for the Negroes which they shall respectively have received on board their respective Ships as aforesaid well and truely pay or Cause to be paid unto the said Royal African Company or their Successors for the Number of good Sound healthy and Merchantible Negroes which shall have been received on board such respective Ships so much Money as the same shall Amount unto At and after the rate and price aforesaid, And Also shall and will at the Same time pay for such Stores Provisions Necessaries and disbursem'ts as shall have been furnished the sd Ships by the Agents of the Royall African Co: Out of each of which respective payments for the sd Negroes the Royal African Company agrees that it shall and may be Lawfull to and for the sd Gov'r and Co: to deduct and Retain a proportionable part of the said £20,000 soe to be advanced as aforesaid to be Computed at 4 *l.* 3 *s.* 6 *d.* per head Untill the said whole 20,000 *l.* be fully allowed and Discounted And that in Case the said Deduction of £4 3 6 per head to be made by the said Gov'r and Compa. out of Each respective Paym't for the Negroes which the said Royall African Compa. shall furnish and Deliver in Pursuance of this Contract shall not be Sufficient to repay to the said Gov'r and Compa. the said £20,000 so to be by them advanced that then and in such Case It shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors to deduct, detain and keep out of the money payable to the Royall African Company for the Negroes that shall be Shipt on board the last two Ships so much Money per head as will be Sufficient to repay all that shall be then remaining due of the whole money for such Negroes if less than the whole shall not be Sufficient And in Case the Royall African Compa. shall not deliver a Sufficient Number of Negroes according to the true Intent of this Agreement so as by such Deductions as aforesaid to repay to the said Gov'r and Compa. the said £20,000, that then and in such Case the Royall African Compa. for themselves and their Successors do Covenant and Agree to and with the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors to pay to the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Success'rs so much as the Same shall fall short to pay together with Interest for the Same from the time of the receipt of such money by the Royall African Compa. to the time of Repaym't.

17. Item that in Case by any Accident of bad Weather, or Otherwise the said Shipps of the said Gov'r and Compa. or any of them shall depart the Coast of Africa before the Capt's or Commanders

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of them shall have Signed the Bills of Lading and Certificates as aforesaid, Yet notwithstanding the said Gov'r and Compa. shall and will within thirty days åfter it shall Appear to them what Number of Negroes and of what Ages and Sex shall have been delivered on board such respective Shipps and what Stores Provisions or Necessaries shall have been Supplied by the Agents of the Royall African Company for the Use of such respective Ships well and truely pay or Cause to be paid into the Royall African Compa. or their Successors so much Money as such Negroes shall Amount unto at the rates and Prices as aforesaid, and also for the Stores, Provisions and Necessaries to such Shipps as shall after appear to have been furnished and Supplied by the Royall African Company or their Agents Deducting thereout the proportion of the said £20,000 as aforesaid.

18. Item the Royall African Company for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant and Agree with the said Gov'r and Company and their Successors that in Case the said Royall African Company or their Agents shall make default in delivering on board all or any of the Ships that shall be Sent by the said Gov'r and Company in pursuance of this Agreement at the respective places and within the respective times above limitted And agreed for that purpose, the Numbers of such Negroes as in pursuance of this Contract ought to have been delivered and put on board the said respective Ships that then and in such Case the said Royall African Company or their Successors shall and will well and truely pay or Cause to be paid unto the said Gov'r and Compa. or their Successors such dead freight for so many Negroes as shall be delivered short as the said Gov'r and Company shall be Obliged to pay to the Owners of such respective Ships and also shall and will make up the full Complement of Negroes in other parts of the Gold Coast or at Whidah, and make good all Reasonable Damages accruing to the said Gov'r and Compa. by reason of any failure or Non performance of any part of this Agreement on the part of the said Royall African Compa. And the said Governour and Compa. for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant and Agree with the said Royall African Company and their Successors to make good all reasonable Damages accruing to the said Royall African Compa. by reason of any failure or Non performance of any part of this Agreement on the part of the said Governour and Compa.

19. Item the said Governour and Company further Agree with the said Royall African Company that in Case any greater Number of Negroes shall be furnished and Delivered by the said Royall African Company's Agents on board the Shipps of the said Gov'r and Company than by this Contract the said Royall African Compa. are Obliged to furnish and Deliver That then and in such Case the said

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Governour and Compa. shall and will well and truely pay or Cause to be paid to the said Royall African Company for such Number of Negroes as shall appear to have been so furnished over and above the said 4800 Negroes hereby agreed to be Supplied according to the Rates and Prices herein before agreed to be paid for the said 4800 Negroes And it is agreed between the said two Compa's that the Negroes which shall be so delivered over and above the said 4800 Negroes shall be Subject to all the Articles Provisos and Agreements Contained in this Contract as if the Same were part of the said 4800 Negroes.

19 [20]. Item It is mutually Agreed by and between both the said Company's that in Case any Dispute or Controversie shall happen or Arise between the said two Companies touching or Concerning any Article Matter or thing herein Contained or the Execution or performance hereof or of any part hereof that then and in such Case and so often as any such Dispute or Controversie shall happen the Same shall be Left to the Determination of Five indifferent Persons who shall at that time be no ways Interested or Concerned in Either of the said Companyes, and that in Order to the Chooseing such five persons for Arbitrators Six persons shall be Chosen And which Six persons the said two Companys do hereby agree to Choose in manner hereafter mentioned, *Vizt.* three of them by the Court of Directors of the said Governour and Company and the other three Persons by the Court of Assistants of the Royall African Company, Out of which Six persons such One of them shall be Left out as shall be determined by Lott to be drawn in the presence of both Courts or of a Committee of each Court to be thereunto appointed and that the remaining five Persons or any three or more of the Same five Persons shall be the Arbitrators and that Each of the said Companyes Shall Stand to abide and perform such award Arbitration and Determination as the said five Arbitrators or any three or more of them shall award and make the matters to them referrd, and which shall fall under their Determination.

Item For the true payment and performance of all and Singular the Payments, Covenants Articles, Clauses Conditions, Provisos and Agreements herein Contained on the part and behalfe of the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors to be paid, done, Observed, performed and kept, the said Governour and Compa. bind themselves and their Successors unto the Royall African Compa. and their Successors in the penal Sum of fifty thousand Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain, and for the true payment and Performance of all and Singular the Payments, Covenants, Articles, Clauses, Conditions, Provisos and Agreements herein Contained on the part and behalfe of the said Royall African Company and their Successors to be paid done

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performed Observed and kept the said Royall African Company bind themselves and their Successors unto the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors in the Penal Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain firmly by these Presents In Wittness whereof to these Present Articles the said two Companyes respectively have Caused their Common Seal to be affixed the day and year first above Written.

65. John Pery to the South Sea Company.[1]

African House, the 15th 8ber, 1713.

S'r, I am Order'd by the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company to desire you that you would acquaint the Directors of the South Sea Company, that they desire they would take up Two Ships more to be dispatched for Cape Coast Castle for 300 Negroes each It being their Opinions that the Ship now ready and the other Two now desired will meet with a speedy dispatch on the Coast.[2]

66. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1713, Oct. 28.

A License for Capt. Solgard comand'r of the *St. Mark* for carrying Several Goods on his own private adventure to sell on the Coast of Africa Amounting to £145 : 0 : 0

And also another for Capt. Marshall comandr of the *Windsor* Frigate to carry Goods on his own private adventure and dispose there of on the Coast of Africa, Amounting to £225 : 0 : 0 both signed by the Royal African Company, were severally read.

Resolved, That the said Captains be permitted to Carry the said Goods to Sell on the Coast of Africa And that the Secretary Sign the Said Licenses in the Name of the Court.

The Minutes of the Comittee of the Assiento of the 23th and 27th Instant were read and Agreed to, And are as follows, *vizt.*

Resolved: That for the better carrying on the Assiento Trade there be Factorys at the following places *Vizt.* Carthagena, Vera Crus, Buenos Ayres, Panama, and Porto bello, Havannah, and Caraccas.

Resolved, That the Company have the Six following Officers: At Carthagena *vizt.*

[65] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, f. 6v, p. 8. John Pery was secretary of the Royal African Company.

[2] Endorsed, "Read in the Comittee of Shiping and order'd to be laid before the Court 21 8b'r, 1713". On the 14th the court of directors of the South Sea Company considered proposals for a surgeon, as a "means of better preserving the lives of the negroes". Add. MSS. 25495, p. 182.

[66] [1] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191.

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1. A President or Chief; 2. An Accomptant or Bookkeeper; 3. A Warehouse-keeper; 4. A Secretary; 5. Two Assistants or Under Factors whereof One (6) to be a Surgeon and both for any Business of the Company.

Resolved, That there be the like Six Officers at each of the Factorys of Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and Panama;

Resolved, That there be the Six following Officers at Porto bello, *vizt.*

1. A Chief; 2. An Accomptant; 3, 4, 5, 6, Four Assistants or under Factors for any business of the Compa. whereof One to be a Surgeon And that this Factory be dependent on that of Panama and its officers to reside at any place or places as the s'd Factory of Panama shall direct.

Resolved, That at the Havannah there be the three following Officers, *vizt.*:

1. A Chief, 2. An Accomptant, and 3. A Surgeon who shall likewise be Storekeeper and for other Affairs.

Resolved, That at the Caracas there be the like three Officers as at the Havannah.

Resolved, That the Sallarys of the Companys Officers in America be as follow, *vizt.*

			P's 8	
Carthagena	The Chief	per ann.	4000:	
	The Second	½	2000:	
	The Third	⅓	1333:⅓	
	The Fourth and 5th	¼ each	2000:	
	The Sixth	1/5	800:	
				10,133:⅓
Panama	The Chief	per ann.	5000:	
	The Second	½	2500:	
	The Third	⅓	1666:⅔	
	The 4th and 5th	¼ each	2500:	
	The Sixth	1/5	1000:	
				12,666:⅔
Vera Crus	The same as at Carthagena			10,133:⅓
Buenos Ayres	The same			10,133:⅓
Porto Bello	The Chief	per ann	2000:	
	The Second	½	1000:	
	The Third	⅓	666:⅔	
	The 4th and 5th	¼ Each	1000:	
	The Sixth	1/5	400:	
				5,066:⅔
Havannah	The Chief	per ann	2500:	
	The Second	½	1250:	
	The Third	⅓	833:⅓	
				4,583:⅓
Caraccas	The Same			4,583:⅓
		per ann. P's 8		57,300:—
	P's 8 57,300: at 54 *d.* per pieces of 8			£12,892:10

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Resolved, That in Consideration of the Sallarys allow'd as above to the Companys Officers and Servants in America, they are to maintain themselves in every thing, Except Rents.

Resolved, That this day Fortnight be appointed for reading the Peticions which are or shall be given by persons desirous of going to America in the Companys Service and that Notice thereof be Sett up at the Exchange and the Gate of the Company's House.

The Minutes of the Comittee of Correspondence of the 27th. Instant were read: and the Draft of the Instructions to the Commanders of the Ships hired by the Company to go to the Coast of Africa and America was read and with some Amendments agreed to and ordered to be Sent to the Royal African Company for their Perusal.

Mr. Chapman reported from the Comittee appointed to apply for the Assignment of the Assiento Contract that Mr. Lowndes had acquainted them that the same may be finished tomorrow.

A Letter of the 27th Instant from the Royal African Company Importing That they had Shipt their Cargo for Guinea on board the *St. Mark* and *Windsor* and that their Goods were also ready for Shiping on the *Canada* And the said three Ships being taken on for 1230 Negroes, they Desire this Court will give orders for payment of the money pursuant to the Contract, was read.

Resolv'd, That it be referr'd to the Comittee of Accompts and that they Report their Opinion thereupon.

67. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Wednesday the 4th Nov. 1713.

Be it known unto all men to whom these presents shall come that Capt. Peter Solgard Com'dr of the Ship *St. Mark* burthen 180 Tunns or thereabouts manned with the Said Com'dr and 25 Men is freighted by us the English Company of the Assiento to Saile from London to the Coast of Affrica and from thence with 280 Negros or thereabouts to proceed, for Carthagena or any other the Ports of the Spanish Domin's on the North Side of America pursuant to the Contract made between the Queen of Great Brittain and his Catholick Maj'ty signd at Madrid the 26th March 1713 for carrying on the Assiento trade for the furnishing Negros to the Spanish West Indies. Wherefore wee recomend him the said Comand'r Capt. Solgard or his Successor, his Ship, the *St. Mark,* all his men, and the said 280 Negros, or so many of them as shall be living at his Arrival in any of the said Ports and during his Stay there to protection of the Generalls

[67] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, "Instructions to go with each ship freighted by the Company to go to Affrica and America certifying that the same belongs to them and goes on acco't of the Assiento".

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and Governours of his said Catholick Maj't and to request from them the Admission of the aforesaid Negros for Sale according to the Articles of the Assiento aforemencon'd, for truth whereof we have hereto affixed the Seal of the Said Company.

68. John Pery to James Pym.[1]

African House, the 24th Nov. 1713.

S'r, The Three Ships [2] belonging to the South Sea Company which are dispatched, being taken on for Twelve Hundred and thirty Negroes, The Cashier of the Royal African Company of England has received of the South Sea Company Five thousand Pounds in part of the Payment that is to be made in money for the said Twelve Hundred and thirty Negroes according to the Agreement. But the same amounting to Eight Thousand three Hundred and two Pounds Ten Shillings, It is desired that the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company would give Order for Payment of the Remainder of that money.

I am also Directed to acquaint you that if the South Sea Company will take up Two Ships to take in Three Hundred Negroes each on the Gold Coast to depart in a Month, And one Ship to take in Five Hund'd Negroes at Whidah to depart in all January The Royal African Company will upon Notice of their being taken up provide for their Dispatch.[3]

69. Journal of the Board of Trade.[1]

December 15, 1713.

Mr. William Heysham, Mr. Rowland and Mr. William Tryon, Colonel Cleland, Colonel Sharpe, Mr. Duport, Mr. Chester, Mr. Kent, Mr. Harris and Captain Boun [2] attending, as desir'd the 10th instant, in relation to the advantage or disadvantage it may be for Great Britain to have a liberty of importing negro's into the Brazils from the coast of Africa.[3]

[68] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, f. 6, p. 8. Signed, "Jno. Pery Secr'y", and directed to James Pym, secretary of the South Sea Company.

[2] The third ship was probably the *Canada,* Captain Cleveland, which on Nov. 10 the committee of shipping was directed to despatch to Jamaica, "in like manner as *St. Mark* and *Windsor*". Add. MSS. 25495, p. 198.

[3] This letter was read to the court of directors of the South Sea Company Nov. 28, 1713, and the committee of accounts was directed to make out a warrant for £3302 10*s.* when the invoices and bills of lading were submitted to them. *Ibid.,* p. 206.

[69] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1709-1715, pp. 491-492.

[2] William Heysham and Colonel Cleland were agents for Barbados; Duport, for the Leeward Islands; Colonel Sharpe was Col. William Sharpe of Barbados; Richard Harris was a well-known African trader; William Tryon was doubtless present because of his familiarity with conditions in the Leeward Islands; Chester was probably Edward Chester of Antigua, though it is conceivable that it was Robert, a director of the South Sea Company; Charles Rowland was a Nevis planter.

[3] On Nov. 20 the Board of Trade had suggested to Lord Bolingbroke that the Portuguese be asked to allow the English free access to Brazil with negroes. Bolingbroke wrote asking further information, whereupon the Lords called upon the African Company

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Mr. Heysham said, it was his opinion our carrying negro's to the Brazils would be prejudicial to our plantations in America, for that such supply of negro's to the Portuguese in Brazil would enable them the easier and cheaper to produce sugars, whereas it would have a contrary effect on our plantations, whereby the Portuguese would under-sell us in that commodity in the Markets of Europe.

But it being ask'd of these gentlemen, whether, after British plantations had a sufficient annual supply of negro's at moderate rates, it would not be our interest to carry the surplus to the Brazils, rather than suffer the Portuguese themselves, the French, Dutch or Brandenburghers to have that benefit, as at present, since there seems now to be a favourable opportunity of procuring the British subjects to be admitted at least into a share of this trade.

Colonel Cleland answer'd, That it was impossible our plantations should leave any surplus of negro's; that the only method which seem'd to him capable of supporting our Colonies in so declining a condition, was, that we should endeavour to exclude all other nations from the negro trade, etc., on the coast of Africa; that the ground in Brazil being much more fertile than our plantations, which Captain Boun, who had liv'd there eighteen months, and was lately come from thence, affirm'd to their lordships, and a less number of negro's requir'd to cultivate the same, the Portuguese could afford to give better prices for negro's, so that our Colonies would not be supply'd, and our rivals in the sugar trade very much encouraged.

Whereupon Mr. Kent reply'd that Colonel Cleland's proposal of our getting the whole trade for negro's, etc., on the coast of Africa, would be of extraordinary benefit, were it practicable; that the Dutch, Brandenburghers, and others, as well as the Portuguese, would not be prevented carrying negro's to the Brazils, and that the cheapness of negro's in America would put the French in a condition to cultivate more land in St. Domingo, which, as it was more fruitful than ours,

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for a conference on the subject. On the 8th Mr. Pindar, Mr. Hopegood, and other members of the company presented objections to the plan. For the English to carry negroes to Brazil would increase their price in English plantations, and decrease the price in Brazil. It would also prevent the English sales to the Portuguese in Africa at a fifty per cent. increase over the first price. On the 10th the opinions of several independent traders, and of Captain Boun, who had recently come from Brazil, were listened to by the board. Mr. Robert Heysham expressed his belief that, though such a trade would increase English navigation, it would injure the plantations. Mr. Kent differed from this, since if the Portuguese did not get negroes from us they would get them from the Dutch, French, or Brandenburgers. If the English could achieve a monopoly of the slave trade then it might be advisable to shut off the Portuguese supply. Dear negroes he believed to be advantageous to the planters because, were they cheap, the French would improve their sugar plantations in Hispaniola and undersell the English sugar. Mr. Harris thought that it would do no harm to furnish Brazil with negroes for a year or two. Captain Boun agreed that with more negroes the Portuguese would make more sugar, but thought that there was no chance at all that the Portuguese would allow the English to carry negroes directly to Brazil. *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 488, 490-491.

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would be a more immediate detriment to our trade. And Mr. Harris observ'd that the extraordinary profit of a negro's labour in the mines about [above] the producing sugars was the reason why the Portuguese could afford to give a better price for them; that our plantations were supply'd with more than 20,000 yearly, and some that could not be sold in the British Colonies, were carry'd to Martinique. To which Colonel Cleland answer'd, the dearness of those negro's occasioned the British planters not buying them, though the French allow'd greater prices; and in relation to the Brazils, Colonel Sharpe was of opinion that a negro sold there at 50 *l.* would not be of so much advantage to the interest of Great Britain, as one sold in the British plantations for 25 *l.*

Upon the whole, it being consider'd that the African trade is shared by so many several nations, the more persons are engag'd in supplying the Brazils with negro's, The cheaper will negro's and their labour be, and consequently their sugar-works better supported, these gentlemen all unanimously agreed that our carrying negro's to the Brazils would be prejudicial to the British plantations in America.

70. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday 5th January, 1713/4.

Mr. Kent and Mr. Thompson [2] attended this Comittee and being discours'd with concerning the Landing and refreshing the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica and reshipping them in Order to be transport'd to the Spanish West Indies they acquainted the Comittee that by the Practice of picking out the Refuse Negros and recovering them much money had been lost therefore the best way is to take them out to sell 'em for what can be obtain'd for them there being several persons on the Island who drive that Trade And that it is their Opinion the Compa. shou'd carry the Good Negr's over to the Coast in Sloops of their Own or hyred ones and not in the Ships that bring them for if they are Carried in Sloops they may be Sold for ready money but otherwise for trust which has proved Hazerdous, that the Agents in Jamaica should keep a Correspondence with the Spanish Ports to know where Negroes are wanted.

That the Cost of a Sloop of about 80 Tunns to carry 200 Negroes will be about £600.

That the Duty at Jamaica is annually raised being 20 *s.* per head for every Negro shipt off.

[70] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 2-3.

[2] Colonel Thompson was a Jamaica merchant interested in Spanish-American trade. *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1714, p. 416.

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That the usuall Commission in Jamaica for securing the Debts and Returns is £10 per Cent.

That the Commission on such Negroes as are Sent thence by Sloop for Carthagena or Vera Crus and looking after the Sloops and keeping the Accounts and paying the Wages would be ½ Com'n or Twenty Shill's per head.

That they would engage for the punctuality and faithfullness of their House at Jamaica.

The Hyre of a Sloop from the Island to Carthagena for delivering 200 Negroes upon Arrival and returning upon their Own Charge will be about £50 Victualling the men and wages and Negro Victualls excluded and the Sloop to bear all may be 20 *s.* per Negro.

Dr. Wright and S'r Charles Peers offered Mr. Wright the Doct'rs son who is Agent at Jamaica for the Affrican Compa. to be this Compa's Agent and would give good Security for his faithfullness and referr'd the Com'n to the Court he is p'tner with Doct'r Stuart a Considerable Merch't.

A Memorial from Dr. Page relateing to Com'n for Negroes that may be Landed and Sold at Jamaica or exported from thence to the Spanish Coast was read.

71. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1713/4, January 6.

Ordered, That the Committee of Shiping freight three Ships for Africa the one to Carry 500 Negroes or thereabouts from Whidah and the other two for about 300 Negroes each to be taken in at the Gold Coast and that the Secretary acquaint the Royl. African Company therewith. . . .

72. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday 19th Jan'ry, 1713/4.

Mr. Kent and Mr. Thompson attended the Comittee and proposed Mr. Jno. Morris and Mr. Edward Prater to be the Comp's Factors at Jamaica, will as to the Com'n submitt themselves to the Court of Directors, and be Obliged for their Fidelity and punctual performance.

They will also be Obliged (if the Company Desires it) not to Trade in Negroes from the Coast of Africa to Jamaica nor shall their Factors Trade from thence to the Coast of the Spanish West Indies whilst the Compa. imploys Them.

Resolv'd, That the said proposals be laid before the Court.

[71] [1] Add. MSS. 25495, p. 230.
[72] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 3.

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Wednesday 20th January 1713/4.[2]

Dr. Page in behalf of himself and Mr. Peter Beckford being call'd in and asked what Com'n they expected for selling the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica securing the Debts and making Returns acquainted the Comittee that the usuall Com'n is 10 *ll.* per Cent. but that they would undertake it for 8 *ll.* per Cent upon the Gross Sale.

Mr. Rowland Tryon and Mr. Woodbridge attending were also called in, and Asked what Com'n they expected for disposing of the Companys Negroes at Barbadoes they Demanded 10 *ll.* per Cent. Messrs. Kent and Thompson were likewise called in and discoursd with upon what Com'n they Expected for Selling the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica, and they acquainted the Comittee that they could not undertake to make the returns upon the Sale of the Negroes in less time than ½ in six months and the other ½ in Six Mo's after that the Com'n must be 8 *ll.* per Ct. 4 upon the Gross Sale and 4 *ll.* per Cent upon the returns.

Then Mr. Tryon and Mr. Woodbridge were call'd in again and insisted on 10 *ll.* per C. exclusive of the Provisions and Physick for the Negroes and make the returns ½ in Six Months and the other ½ in Six Mo's in the produce of the Country.

Mr. Tryon and Dr. Wright were discoursd with about the Com'n they demanded on the behalf of Dr. Stewart and Mr. Wright for disposing of the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica and insisted on 10 *ll.* per Ct., Dr. Page was call'd in again and demanded 8 *ll.* per Ct. upon the Gross Sale and 5 *ll.* per Ct. or 20 *s.* per head for Shiping all Negroes accord'g to Instructions but could not ascertain the Time for making the returns.

Messrs. Kent and Thompson being calld in again the Comittee proposed to them to make the returns 1/3 in 3 Mo's another 1/3 in 3 Mo's more and the remaining 1/3 in 3 Mo's after w'ch they said they could not Comply with but agreed to do it by 1/3 in 4 Mo's another 1/3 in four Months after and the other 1/3 in 4 Months more and to advance money for paying the freight of the Ships in the Comp's Service after the rate of 40 *s.* per head—each Negro without any Consideration and for their trouble in Shiping of Negroes etc. from Jamaica 16 *s.* per head.

Resolv'd: That the proposition made by Mr. Kent and Thompson is a reasonable one. . . .

Tuesday 26th January 1713/4.[3]

. . . The Comittee agreed to the following Orders and Instructions to be given to Mr. Dudley Woodbridge the Comp. Agent at Barbad. *vizt.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, "Tuesday 26th January 1713, At a Committee of Correspondence. Present: Dept. Govern'r, Mr. Doliff, Mr. Gore, Mr. Vernon".

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SOUTH SEA HOUSE, Londo. Jan'r [26], 1713/4.

Mr. Dudley Woodbridge,

S'r, The Court of Direct'rs of the South Sea Company having Elected you their Agent at Barbadoes, These are to acquaint you That they have ord'd three of their Ships (w'ch they Suppose may be by this time arrived on the Coast of Affrica) to touch at your Island, *vizt.* the *St. Mark,* Capt. Peter Solgard—which is freighted for 280 Negroes, the *Windsor* Frygate Capt. Geo Marshall for 450 Negroes and the *Canada* Gally Capt. Jno. Cleland [Cleveland?] for 500 Negroes.

Our Orders are that if upon their or any of their Arrivals you find the Market will take of all or any of the Said intire Carg's of Negroes at £24. —. — per head round, money of Barbad's that then you may dispose of all or any the Said intire Cargoes.

You are to receive from the Several Com'drs whose Negroes you dispose of all the Negro provisions and Stores which have not been expended giving them a Receipt of the particulars and transmit us a Copy of the Same.

The Comand'rs are likewise to deliver you their Com'n Negroes being 4 in 104 of what are deliverd alive for which you are to pay them 20 *ll.* Sterl per head in weighty Dollars[4] at the rate of 5 *s.* Sterl'g per Dollar if they require the Same of you and have fullfill'd the Condic's of their Charter party (w'ch has induced the Co. to give them So large a price for their Com'n Negroes) whereof inclosed is a Copy according to which they are intitled to ¼ pt. of their freight if they demand it in like weighty Dollars at 5 *s.* Sterling per Dollar for every Negro they Deliver which you are to disburse pursuant to your Agreem't with the Compa. upon giving Such a Certificate and Oath as required by the Charter party.

You are to make returns of the produce of Such Negroes as you may Sell in good Merchantable Sugars *vizt.* 1/3 in 4 mo's after the Arrival of the Negroes 1/3 in 4 mo's after that and the remaind'r in 4 mo's after conformable to your Agreem't.

But if you find that your Market will not come up to our Limitted price for any of the Cargoes of the Negroes, Then you are to dispatch the Ships forthwith And give to each of the Comd'rs your Letter directed to Messrs. Thompson Morris and Prater Merch'ts at Jamaica to whom they are consigned.

If it be found necessary to put any refreshments aboard for the Negroes Wee desire you to do it.

Should it so happen that any of our Negro Ships Should be Sickly of any infectious disease so as it is apparent that the proceeding further w'th them may be of Greater damage to the Compa. than your Landing and disposing of them at yo'r Market price then you

[4] Frequent references to Barbados currency are to be found in these papers; see pp. 105, 137, *ante,* 216n., *post.*

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are to agree w'th the Cap'ts under hand and Seal for Such allowance of the freight as may be reasonable for Delivering them at Barbadoes instead of Jamaica and Sell them at the best price you can to the Compa's Advantage. . . .

Thursday 28th Jan'r 1713/4.[5]

P.S. You are likewise desired carefully to inquire into the Ages Sex and Quality of the Negroes whether they are conformabl. to the Agreement made with the Roy'l African Compa. by which they are obliged to load none but Sound healthy and Merchantable Negroes 2/3 of which at least are to be Males and none to be under 10 Years or exceed 40 years Old and nine parts in Tenn are to be from the Age of 16 Years to 40 and to give us a perticular Acco't thereof and when the Several Ships arrived on the Coast of Affrica and when they departed from thence.

73. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

Munday 8th February, 1713/4.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the said Comittee, That they confer with his Lordp.[2] upon the following Heads, *vizt.*

1. Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court That whoever are concerned in the ¾ part of the Assiento Contract, be the Assientists.

2. Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court That the Assiento be carried on by a Joint Stock And that the Assientists who are concerned in the ¾ parts thereof do raise and pay in from time to time their proporcionable part of the said Stock And that out of the said Joint Stock shall be paid and advanced whatever is Stipulated to be paid or advanced for the King of Spain's Quarter part, And also the 200,000 Ps. ß to be paid in Madrid, The Duty of the 4000 Negroes to be paid half yearly, And all other necessary Payments whatsoever.

And that all concerned shall have their proporcions of the profits of the 800 Negros w'ch are exempted from paying Dutys, And also of the profits upon the Negros which may be Imported Yearly over

[5] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 6. "The following postscript to the Letter to the Comp's Agents at Barbadoes and Jamaica was agreed to."

[73] [1] Add. MSS. 25495, ff. 126-127, pp. 250-251.

[2] Bolingbroke. On Queen Anne's notification to the company in June, 1713, that the assiento now belonged to England, that body had made its plans for trade without waiting for a formal assignment of the contract. When that assignment came it was received with consternation. Not only had the queen withheld her fourth of the profits, which the company had tacitly assumed that it was to receive, but a charge of 7½ per cent. was laid against the share of the profits assigned to the company. On these terms the company hesitated to accept the grant. Early in February Bolingbroke wrote that the queen desired an answer, and the court of directors laid the matter before the general court. In the end the company won the queen's share of the profits (Add. MSS. 25559, p. 44, 25562, p. 5; Bolingbroke to the queen, *Bolingbroke's Correspondence,* IV. 453, 456-457; Donnan, "South Sea Company", *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.,* II. 425-430). The resolutions here printed represent one step in the attempt to reach an agreement on the terms of the assignment.

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and above the 4800 Negros, Ps. de India, which are to pay but half Duty.

3. Resolved, That all the Persons concerned in the said Joint Stock be intitled to all Advantages whatsoever granted in the Assiento Contract And that their respective Shares be Subject to all the Condicions Stipulated in the said Contract.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court, That whereas by the Assiento Contract, the Same is to Commence from the 1st of May last, It Commence from the 1st of May next In Consideration That the Peace has not Sooner taken place.

4. Resolved, That it be an Instruction to the Comittee who are to attend my Lord Treasurer upon the aforesaid Matters That they know his Lordps pleasure when a General Court shall be called in order to Lay before them such a Draft of an Assignment of the Assiento Contract as her Maj'ty shall be pleased to Grant.

Ordered, That the Sub Comittee for the Assiento Attend the Companys Council and Consult, How far it may be Safe and advisable for the Company to Enter into any Covenants with the Crown, to perform the Several Articles of the Assiento, Or that the Company take the Assignment Subject only to the Condicions of the said Assiento.

74. Lord Bolingbroke to the South Sea Company.[1]

8° February, 1713/4.

That from the Uncertainty of the Proceedings of the Company, Her Maj'ty was not Sure, whether the Company would be the Assientists or not: Therefore Her Maj'ty had not given him any Directions to write to Madrid about the said Quoerys and Remarks, But that if Her Maj'ty was certain, that the Company would be the Assientists, As She had acted always with kindness and generosity to the Company, They need not doubt, but that her Maj'ty would exert herself in obtaining the Explanation of those Quoerys and Remarks to the Satisfaction of the Company. . . .

That as her Maj'ty had been, so she Expected now to be more pressed by the Minist'rs of Spain, to know who are to be the Assiento Company And therefore Her Maj'ty was very desirous to know the Companys Resolucions before that Courier was dispatcht that She might be able to write the Court of Madrid, who are the Assientists, And for that reason his Lordp. had sent the Message to the Court of Directors And do's suppose upon his attending Her Maj'ty tomorrow he shall have her directions to write to the Sub-Governor upon that Subject, in order to be Comunicated to the Court of Directors.

[74] [1] Add. MSS. 25495, f. 125, p. 249.

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75. Accounts of the *Norman* Galley.[1]

London, 11th January 1714.

Invoice of Sundry Goods laden on Board the "Norman" Gally Simon Jones Commander Bound for Sherbrow for Account of the Royall African Company of England, and consigned unto John Clark the said Company's Factor or his Successor at Sherbrow Vizt:

		£	s.	d.
Earthen Ware—6 casks				
[details of packing of Barbaroons, Gallon juggs and Quart Juggs]		6	7	6
Swords and Hangers etc.				
50 Swords at 20 *s.* ea.	£ 4— 3—4.			
20 Bayonetts and Belts at 18 *d.*	1—10—0.			
50 Guilt Hangers at 4 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.	11— 5—0.			
20 Bayonets and Belts at 18 *d.*	1—10—0.	18	8	4
Chest. 20 musketts doglocks at 10 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.		10	10	0
Buccaneer Guns. 1 chest.				
20 Buccaneer Guns at 17 *s.* ea.		17	0	0
Knives and Sheaths. 2 casks.				
100 Doz. Knives at 2 *s.* 2 *d.* per doz.				
100 " Sheaths		10	16	8
Shoes and Slippers etc. 1 cask.				
24 pr. Shoes at 3 *s.* 4 *d.*	£4— 0—0.			
" " Slippers " 2 *s.* 4 *d.*	2—16—0.	6	16	0
12 Castor Hatts lin'd and bands at 7 *s.*	£4— 4—0.			
36 Pr. of thread Hose at 2 *s.* 2 *d.*	£3—18—0.	8	2	0
Pewter, 3 casks.				
20 Tun quart Potts at *s*/2	2—3—4.			
20 Tun pint Potts at 3 *s.*	£3—0—0.			
10 Doz. pewter plates at 10 *s.*	£5—0—0.			
20 Quart Tankards at 2 *s.*	£2—0—0.			
20 Two quart " at 4 *s.* 2	£4—3—4.			
		16	6	8
Wollen Fringe etc. 2 casks.				
100 lb. Red Fringe at 2 *s.* 4 *d.*	£11—13—4.			
9 pr. Wooll Cards at 13 *d.*	9—9.			
50 lb. red / 50 " yellow } Fringe at 2 *s.* 4 *d.*	11—13—4.			
3 pr. Wooll cards at 13 *d.*	3—3.			
3 bandes 159 false corrall at 12 *d.* p. oz.	7—19.			
		31	18	8
Tobacco Pipes and Chest.				
6 groce of Tobacco pipes at 16 *d.* per groce			8	0

[75] [1] T 70: 921, "Invoice Book Outward of the Royal African Company of England, no. 19, from Jan. 11, 1714, to Dec. 8, 1720".

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[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	*s.*	*d.*
Iper Hollands etc. 1 cask.				
6 ps. iper Hollands (No. 914) 20 ells ea. yd. wide at 39 *s.*	£11—14—0.			
50 ps. blue paper Sletias at 7/8	£19— 3—4.			
50 Doz. fine steells at 7 *d.*	1— 9—2.			
50 Doz. Do. larger at 9 *d.*	1—17—6.			
40 Doz. Pewter Spoons at 20 *d.*	3— 6—8.			
80 Doz. Brass Chains at 2/6	10— 0—0.			
		47	10	8
180 lbs. Leef Tobacco at 6 *d.*		4	10	0
2 Brass Musketoons at 25 *s.* 6		2	11	0
Norwich Stuffs. 1 chest.				
2 Ps. Norwich Stuffs at No. 1 and 2 at 23 *s.* 6 *d.* pr. ps.	£2— 7—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (3) at 24 *s.*	1— 4—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (4) at 30 *s.*	1—10—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (5) at 40 *s.*	2— 0—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (6) at 34 *s.*	1—14.			
		8	15	0
Perpetts. 2 Bails.				
50 Red Perpetts at 10 *s.* each.		25	0	0
Red and Yellow Plains. 2 Bails.				
20 ells Red Plains at 31 *s.*	£31—0—0.			
20 Yellow at 31 *s.*	£31—0—0.			
		62	0	0
Iron Barrs				
cwt.				
1054 Iron bars wt. 241 at 17 *s.* per Cwt.		204	17	0
Gunpowder. 10 barrells at 60 *s.* per Barrell		30	0	0
Spiritts				
30 quartes casks wt. 726 galls. at 23 per Ton		66	5	4
Brass Kettles. 11 casks.				
[details]				
cwt. qr. lb.				
280—wt. 10—0— 1				
3—0—27 Tare 363				
6 . 3 . 2				
cwt. qr. lb.				
is 280 Brass Kettles wire bound wt. 6 3 2				
is 758 lb. at 16*d.* per lb.		50	10	8
5 Chests each 100 is 500				
Ditto 66				
6 chests is 566 Blew Paper Sleteas at 8 *s.* pr. Ps.		233	9	6
A chest 30				
Ditto 30				
a Baile 80				
140 Sallampores at 15 *s.* 10. [2]		110	16	8

[2]Salempool, a blue cotton cloth of Indian manufacture.

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[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	*s.*	*d.*
A chest 100 100 150				
350	Broad Chintz at 14 *s.* 2.	247	18	4
A chest 50 50 30	130 Yellow Perpetts at 13 *s.* 3 *d.* £86—2—6.			
20 50	70 Redd Ditto 15 *s.* 3 *d.* 53—7—6.			
200		139	10	0
A hhd. 62 Ditto 62				
124	Gallons of Brandy at 3 *s.* 6 *d.*	21	14	0
[Details of 14 Barrels containing] cwt. qr. lbs. 28 2 00	Nett Cowries at £6. p. cwt.	171	0	0
A chest 50 Arda clowded Cloaths at 16 *s.*		40	0	0
100 Cases Spiritts at 8 *s.* 3*d.* per Ps.		41	5	0
11 Barrells Gunpowder at 98 *s.*		53	18	0
The 10% Sworn to at the Custome house		147	13	10
For Cask Custome and Shipping Charges		56	17	2
[The vessel also was laden with "Stores," Carpenters' tools, medicines etc. to the value of £96].		96		
Negro provisions for 300 Negroes Consigned to the said Capt. Joseph Lenton *vizt.*				
150 gallons mault Spiritts at 18 *d.*	£ 7—17— 6.			
15 Bushells Salt at 5 *s.* 6 *d.*	4— 2— 6.			
11 hogheads and ½ vinegar	2—12— 6.			
300 lb. Tobacco at 6½ *d.* per lb.	8— 2— 6.			
10 groce Pipes at 8 *d.*	6— 8.			
3 puncheons Old Beef at £3—15 *s.*	11— 5— 0.			
1 ditto ditto remaining of the Ship's Store	3—15— 0.			
3 cwt. 0 qrs. 10 lbs. flower at 10 *s.* pr. cwt.	1—10— 0.			
12 0. 0. Biskett 8 *s.* 6 *d.*	5— 2— 0.			
40 Quarter of Beans at 20 *s.* pr. Qr.	40			
	84—13— 8.			
The 10 per cent	8—11—10.			
For casks customs etc.	10— 8— 6.			
		103	14	0
		£2127	18	2

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[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	s.	d.
For all charges till on Board.		37	8	9
Stores and Provisions.				
Bread 8 cwt. 0 qr. 0 lb. at 11/6	£4—12— 0.			
Beef 9 — 1 — 4 " 22/—	10— 4— 3.			
Flower 4 — 1 — 1 " 14/—p. cwt.	2—19— 7.			
Peas. 7 bushells at 5 *s.* pr. bushell	1—15— 7. [*sic*]			
Butter 1 firkin	1—10			
Cheese 1—0—12 at 33/—	1—16— 6.			
Brandy 12 galls and quart at 4/— p. gall.	2— 9— 0.			
56 lb. Sugar at 46 *s.* p. cwt. } 56 lb. Raysins Solis at 37 *s.* p. cwt. }	2— 1— 6.			
4 coils Cordage wt. 4 cwt. 2 qr. 5 lb. at 43/—	9—15— 5.			
1 barrell Pitch 2 3 18 at 13/—	1—17—10.			
1 barrell Tar at 25 *s.*	1— 5— 0.			
Bundle of Sundries [details]	7—13— 0.			
Stock fish 2 cwt. at 22 *s.* p. cwt.	2— 4— 0.			
3 doz. Candles at 6 *s.* 6 *d.* pr. doz.	19— 6.			
To cask Custom and Shipping Charges	6—15— 6.	57	18	8
		724	0	11

76. John Pery to James Pym.[1]

African House, 26 April 1714.

S'r, I am directed to desire you to lay the following Particulars before your Comittee

That for as much as the rainy Season on the Coast will not be over untill the latter End of July or beginning of August the Comittees propose that the South Sea Companys Ships for the remaining Negroes be dispatchd as followeth

In all June	1 for Cape Coast for	300 Negroes
	1 for Do and Windward	300
	1 for Whidah	400
	3 Ships for	1000 Negroes
In all August the Same (like)	Ships and for the same Places	1000 Negroes
In all September	1 for Whidah	430
	In all	2430 Negroes

Each Whidah Ship to touch at Cape Coast Castle

77. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday 20 July, 1714.

The Committee pursuant to Order of the Court the 14th Instant took into Consideration the disposing of the Cargos of Negroes Laded on board, the three Last Ships *vizt. Hope* Gally, *Smith* Frygate, and *Elizabeth*.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Comittee that whereas it is to late to Send Orders to reach the Said Ships on the Coast of

[76] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, f. 8v, p. 12.
[77] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 8.

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Affrica That Orders be Sent to the Said Capts. at Barbados to deliv'r their Negroes to the Companys Factors there And the Market at Jamaica being very Low as the Committee are informed, That the Said Negroes be Sold at Barbados if they can get 22 *ll.* per head Round But if there be a prospect of a better produce to the Company at Antegoa That then the Factors at Barbadoes have Liberty to consign them there Provided they Stand Obliged to make good Debts and to perform all other their Articles with the Company as if they were sold at Barbadoes. . . .

Wednesday 11th August 1711 [1714].[2]

Dr. Paige attending was calld in, and discours'd with upon the Subject of his Proposal which was referrd this day by the Court to this Comittee *vizt.* Of his being dispatched with the Companys Orders for Jamaica and one or more Factors to assist him to take from thence to the Several Spanish Ports such Negros as Shall be found fitt for that Market.

And Proposed to Serve the Company, either upon the terms in his proposal or by way of Sallary at £1000 per ann Jamaica Money[3] and £1000 per ann more for a Partner to be joined with him in case of Mortality.

Dr. Dover was also calld in and discourst with, upon that Subject, And proposed to Serve the Company, for himself and 3 Persons under him at £2000 per ann. Jamaica Money, or for himself alone at £1500 per ann.

And it was his Opinion that the Negros should be carried directly from the Windward Coast to the Spanish West Indies, without calling at Jamaica or else where.[4]

78. The South Sea Company to the Lords Justices of Great Britain.[1]

To their Excellencys the Lord Justices of Great Britain

In Obedience to your Excellencys Commands Signifyed in Mr. Addisons letter to the Sub Governour of the South Sea Company, The Court of Directors of the said Company do humbly crave leave

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] The rate of Jamaica exchange was about 130 at this time.

[4] To the end of 1714 the company seems to have reached no conclusion as to whether their West India headquarters should be established at Jamaica or at Barbados. At the meeting of the court of directors of Oct. 5 it was resolved that, "for the better carrying on of the Assiento trade a factory be established at Jamaica". That this by no means prevented Barbados from sharing in the benefits accruing from the assiento is evident from the fact that on Nov. 3 the committee of correspondence was directed to write to the agent at Barbados, telling him to buy 1000 negroes for Carácas and the Windward Coast. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 419, 439.

[78] [1] Add. MSS. 25559, "Memorials", ff. 34-36, pp. 65-69.

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to lay before yo'r Ex[c]ellencys a State of the Difficultys that remain upon the Assiento and Assignment thereof.

1st. There is in the 10th Article of the Assiento a Power only to Freight either at Panama or any other Part of the South Seas Ships of about 400 Tuns to carry Negroes to Peru Whereas we are well assurd the French had Liberty to Build or Buy Two Ships of 3 or 400 each at Panama or any other Part of the South Seas where are Yards for Building.

And the Company desire the like Priviledge if it be not provided for by the 39 Article.

2d. In the 22 Article It is Stipulated That if any Goods or Merchandize are found on board any Ships in which the Negroes shall be introduced the same shall be liable to be Seized and Subject to the same Penaltys as if found on Shore Whereas it often happens that Goods cannot be sold on the Coast of Africa and Ships bring them back in their return it is humbly submitted whether it may not be reasonable that Liberty be given in Such case to put them into the King's Warehouses and take them away on their departure provided Notice be given to the Royal Officers on arrival.

3d. It being provided by the 39th Article that all the Concessions in former Assientos to Don Domingo Grillo, the Consulado of Seville, Don Nicholas Porcio, Don Bernardo Marin y Gusman, The Companys of Portugall and France, not being contrary to the Contents of this Contract, shall be understood and declared to be in its Favour as if they were herein inserted.[2]

It will be necessary for the Company to have Authentick Copys of those Assientos, that they may know what Priviledges they are intitled to. . . .[3]

7. The Season of the Year is now so far advanced and the Company not yet so possessed of the Assiento as to be able to put in Execution the Powers thereof That it will be almost impossible for the Company before the 1st of May next New Stile to provide and introduce into the Spanish West Indies the full Number of 4800 Negroes P's de India which by the first article of the Assiento they are Obliged to Deliver, by that Time, And for which the full Dutys of 33 1/3 P's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head amounting in the whole for this Year to about £30,000 must be paid to the King of Spain whether they are introduced or not.

Therefore the Company do Humbly conceive it very reasonable, That as the Commencement of the Assiento, which by the Contract

[2] See this work, I. 105-107.

[3] By the 28th article of the assiento the Spanish king was empowered to appoint two factors to reside in London, two for the Indies, and one for Cadiz. The company wished to know how much power these factors were to have, and intimated a desire to have this privilege of appointment surrendered.

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is agreed to take Place the 1st May 1713 has been (as is recited in the Draft of the Assignment there of from her late Majesty to the Company) by the Consent of the King of Spain agreed to be altered to the 1st May 1714 should now be enlarged and Commence the 1st May 1715 or that the Company may be obliged to Pay Dutys for this Year only for so many Negroes P's de India as they shall introduce into the Spanish West Indies before the 1st May next.

8. It is recited in the said Draft of the Assignment from her late Maj'tie to the Company that it is expected that his Catholick Majestie will Consent that the 200,000 P's ℔ which by the said 3d Article of the said Contract, were to be advanced to his said Majesty at Madrid shall and may be retained and employed by the Assientists as part of his said Majestys Proportion of the Sum which they should Judge necessary for putting the said Commerce into a Good Order and Method according to the 28 Article of the said Contract.

It will be a great ease and Security to the Company to be ascertained that the King of Spain would so leave the sd 200,000 P's ℔ in their Hands. . . .

10. As to the Assignment of the Assiento from the Crown to the Company Her late Majesty having on the 17th June last Signified to the Company her Royal Will and Pleasure to Grant them the Quarter part which by the 28 Article is reserved to her so that the Company were to have the whole Assiento Contract (Except what was reserved therein to the King of Spain and also Except 7½ per Cent which the Company are informed was her Majestys Pleasure should be granted to M. Manasses Gilligan Esqr. which 7½ per Cent he desires to have the Liberty of accepting or refusing for 8 Months and if within that Time he shall accept it, he is to give Notice to the Company in Writing and Pay down £8000 and within a Month after that to make up the £8000 his full proportion of the money the Company shall then have Disbursed on that Account [).]

If it be your Ex[c]ellencys Pleasure that the Assignment be made according to her late Majesties said Intention.

The Court of Directors knows of no Difficultys remaining relating to the Assignment but those above mentioned.

By order of the Court of Directors

J. Bateman Sub Gov'r

South Sea House, 17 August, 1714.

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79. Accounts of Fort Commenda.[1]

Diary with Accounts, Commenda Fort, In Charge of Wm. Brainie, 1714-1718.

Comenda Fort the 23d Octob'r 1714.

Arrived here at Commenda with Instructions to receive into my Charge This Fort with all the Effects whatsoever belonging to the Royal African Company and here to Continue to manage the said Comp'ys affaires. Copy of the Inventory to be seen in the book of Acco'tts and of the Instructions in the book of Letters. . . .

1715, March 29th. Traders came into the Castle to Trade along with Jno. Cabess,[2] who came in Bawling and saying they were fools and he believed did not design to Trade for having Seen Two Slaves and asked them the price of them they had Told him Six Ounces Each and that he had offered them four Ounces and Told them it was the highest price we cou'd give for which he believ'd he cou'd gett them or a little more.

I answered Jno. to all this That I did not take it well in him that he should offer to Bargain for anything in a Town without my knowledge yet however Seeing he had offer'd four Ounces for the Slaves (tho it was the utmost farthing the Compa allowed for the very best) I to Save his Credit among the Traders wou'd give So much provided the Slaves were Good, Whereupon they were sent for, but when they came found them Two Old Fellows Not Worth 4 a. Each which made me very angry with Jno. and gave me Suspicion that he designd to put the Other Money into his Own pockett for which I checked him and told the Traders the Slaves were not worth buying. However bid them privately Return to me after Jno was gone, haveing something to Talk with them of. They accordingly did and Then upon Enquiry found they had Agreed with Jno Cabess for Ten pees [pieces] each slave whereby Jno Design'd to put Six pees in His own pockett of all this I Acquainted Winkey and Charg'd him to give account of every particular thereof to the Agents. . . .

1715 April 7th. This day rec'd advice from Cape Coast of their having no more goods to supply me with and desireing me to husband the goods I have to the Best advantage as also Intimation they can buy a good man Slave at Cape Coast for £10 or 11 pees of Spare[?] one Bendy Guns.[3]

Nota. This paragraph surprizes me very much for at this place they never stand to ask six ounces for a Slave it haveing of late been the Curr'tt price and it's with great difficulty I can gett any at the

[79] [1] T 70: 1464.

[2] John Cabess was a native trader with whom the English frequently dealt.

[3] A bendy or benda was the equivalent of two ounces in gold; a bendy gun would presumably be a gun or guns of that value.

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Comp'ys price and I have been Bargaining for this Last Slave above a Month before I cou'd come to an agreement, so hard are the Traders to deal with.

In a postcript to this Letter I recd. orders to seize and secure all annamaboes I can any ways discover till further directions. . . .

Nota. Thereupon I immediately sent for Mr. Cabess and charged him to Discover and deliver up to me all Annamabooes in and about his Crooms [4] and that with the greatest Secrecy that if any are there they may not escape. I also ordered my own Boys to Look all about for them and acquaint me If they find any. But am afraid Mr. Cabess is such an Ingrain'd Rogue that rather than discover, he'll set them out of the way that they may not be catch'd, however he has promis'd other ways.

April 26th. I find my Totall Trade these Two months to have been as Follows *vizt:*

Barter'd for Slaves			£	s.
2 Men 1 at 4 oz. and 1 at 3.4	14 Gunns	7 per 2 oz.[5]	4.	
	60 l. powder	20 per 5 oz		15.
	40 l. Brass	2 per	1.	4.
	1 Green p'p'te	5 oz. Ea.		5.
	3 firk[in] Tallow	4 oz. Ea.		12.
			7.	4.

May 19th . . . They advise me of the great disappointm't they met with in the *Dorothy's* Bringing so few Slaves being much in want thereof for Despatching the *Royal African* whose time is expired. And understanding a Great many Traders are on the 11th gone by way of Agwaffoo to Elmina Desire me to Encourage Jno. Cabess to procure what Slaves he can to be sent in a few days To Ca. Coast, and to use my utmost diligence to do the same and not to refuse any Good Slave, Now they are necessitated for a small difference of price.

Nota. This Letter was not sign'd by Mr. Blean who By a postscript to the Letter I understand is sick According to the Gent'ns Directions To purchase Slaves and their advice of their Necessity for them have this day sent to Elmina To a Cabb'r [6] there, Who has always great Dealing with the Traders with the Encouraging Offers of One Ounce for every Slave more than the Dutch. This man formerly promis'd to procure me all The Slaves he cou'd and am sure if there is any to be had, he will gett me them, I also order'd my Serv't Jm Kent, to speak privately to the Traders himself and to Encourage them to come here.

[4] Negro settlements.

[5] An ounce of gold was about £4 sterling. It was assigned as the nominal value of goods purchased in Europe for £2, but sold in trade at £4.

[6] Caboceer.

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The same night return'd my Messeng'r from Elmina acquainting me that he had spoke to the Traders himself as also that Cabb'r But there is none to be had there being nothing but Salt Merch'ts however he promises to send about the Countrey To look for Slaves for me. Which Jno. Cabess has also done and I myself have sent privately to Chamah where the Chief generally has Slaves by Him, But at that time he had none.

May 22nd. Recd. a Letter from the Agents per the *Royal African* Capt. Sam'll Foote Comm'r [in] which They acquaint me they have sent to Windward to purchase Slaves and put on board her for that end, all the Goods They had at Cape Coast which being but few ord'r me if Mr. Broughton Supercargo and Capt. Foote should want and Desire any good of me, To Deliver them as also all The Slaves I shall purchase. . . .

May 23rd . . . This Night came on Shoar Capt. Foote who showd me a Letter which he had Wrote for the Gent'n and the Windw'd Curr'tt being over Thinks it needless to attempt goeing further to Windward with the Ship, which would also prevent his Getting of thos Slaves there. The people hereabouts by Our encourageing price wou'd otherwise probably bring him Because most of these hereabouts if they have Slaves do not care to keep them so long as he might be a comeing back Lest they should disoblidge me or oyn that they do not bring their Slaves to the Castle when they find the Ship not in the Road, but rather chuse to keep them till her Return. Whereas if the Ship were in the Road They'd go as soon aboard as the Slaves come to hand which is Generally known Through one means or other. But if The Ship were gone They'll neither Trouble and hazard themselves in Goeing To seek for her, Nor if they wou'd, can we permitt them Lest instead of Goeing To seek a Ship that it is uncertain where to find her, They chuse rather To Go to Annamaboe Road where they are always sure of a bettyr Mirkatt from the Interlopers.

Therefore Capt. Foote and I have thought it most Convenient and Expedient for The R. Compa. Interest that he send his Long Boat with a small Cargo und'r the Direction of Mr. Broughton.

24th To Windward in ord'r To try what is to be done there which Capt. Foote has order'd To be gott Ready To go this Night.

Thereof I wrote The Agents and Inclosd In it a Letter from Capt. Foote.

26th. Capt. Foote came on Shoar and recd. a Letter from the Gent'n Inclosd in one for me where they advise of their observing the Goods I delivered the *Roy. African* and further Enjoining our Diligence for procureing Slaves. But there came this day a Man from Tackerado To this place who acquainted us that Last Night a Cabb'r

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haveing Brought some Slaves to sell Mr. Broughton at That place and after agreeing on the price and Goods The said Cabb'r Went on board to Receive the Goods, But when Mr. Broughton had Got him on board, orderd him To be seizd for selling Slaves To those he did not know To be Compa. people however if he woud Take a Bendy for Each Slave he was willing To Release him Where upon getting a Litle Respite from The Men who before held him fast he with his Slaves Jumpt out of the Boat and Swam ashoar by which Ill-management only designing to gain a Litle To himself, he Lost Good Trade There being a great many more Slaves at that place which he could have Bought. Hereupon Capt. Foote Lest the Trade might be thereby quite Lost and fearing his future Mismanagement, Resolv'd To go himself with The Ship haveing in his Last Letter more Time Granted him by the Agents and he accordingly saild This Night. . . .

May 29. But Besides all this whenever he [John Cabess] hears of Trade comeing he never Tells me but Borrows Goods To be p'd in 2 Months out of the warehouse and sending them up the countrey Intercepts the Traders and Buys their Slaves at a Small Rate and when he Brings them down if he find any Possibility of getting to Interlopers he is Sure to let me know of none of them But if he finds such Watch Kept as gives him difficulty to gett off he brings them into the Castle with some of his Crooms people whom he is sure I never saw before who Represent the Trad'rs with full Instructions To gett the full of my allowance for Slaves and the Best of Goods, and the ill Slaves which he buys for Litle or Nothing, he Brings To pay me what he owes me at the Compa. Rate which upon my Refusall of he Demands Liberty to carry them on board an Interloper that he certainly does. Thus dos Jno. Mannage. But I hope it will soon be over with him now the Traders haveing Generally conceiv'd an ill opinion of him or if that do not end it, he is not Likely to Live much longer being now old and beginning to grow Sickly and Infirm; and Till his End comes I am affraid the Compa. Trade will never begin To flourish. . . .

August 11th. Have this day got private Information of Jno. Cabess's designs to trade w'th Capt. Burgisson who still lyes here and who or his people are everyday with Jno. and when I look into their private dealings, Burgisson Tells me he will Complain of my Stopping his Trade and Recover his 15 per Cent that he paid for permission to trade here as he pleasd. Whereupon I ask'd him for her Clearance that I might take a Note of the Goods he p'd fifteen per C'tt for that I would allow him to sell. But he says he'll give me no such Satisfaction onely show me the Agents Orders To permitt him to Trade. But I have Refus'd and offer'd to prove by his own

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people that he Trades for Interlop'rs or w'ch is the same sells them his Slaves and despatches them off the Coast Comeing with their Goods Impudently and openly to purchase more for them even dareing me to Look into his dealings. He has been now a whole year on the Coast and has not above fifty Slaves, Tho' changed his Cargo 3 or 4 Times that now amounts to Three Times the Value of what he p'd 15 per cent for in Ba[r]badoes. I have told him that Like a D'd Rogue he comes for his 15 per Cent to Take 15 per Cent from every Interloper on the Coast for permission to Trade or whats as much or more, Tradeing for them.

The Compa. think it very hard to allow even the first of their Servants to gain anything considerable on this Coast tho' Capt. Burgisson's Sailers (as I have it from their own mouths) have in this one voyage gaind some £60 others 70 and others 100 or more pounds. . . .

1715, Dec. In my way from Accra I met at Shedoes with one Mr. Daniel Griffine, Supercargo of The *Jno. and Constance* an Interloper in Mr. Jos: Martine his Service who being almost Ready Slaved I Enquired into the Prices he allowed for Slaves and what he sold his Goods and found therein a pretty fair opportunity of doing the Compa. a peece of Service he offering his Guns at 4 a, Powder £ at 4,[7] p'p'tts at 3, Tallow at 3, Sheets at 40 per 2 oz. etc. and wou'd allow 18£ for Men and 14£ for Women wanting about 20 Slaves whereupon I freely offer'd him his passage To his Ship at Annamaboe and promisd if I cou'd assist him in Slaveing which he Thankfully accepted of and I accordingly proceeded and haveing put him on board his Ship went directly for Cape Coast where I Told the Agents of what had past and the fair opportunity of Tradeing for the Comp'y To Advantage [where]upon They orderd me on board at Night to invite him on Shoar And make a bargain with him and I accordingly went and haveing got his promise To Come on Shoar Returnd Next Morning about Eight o Clock with an Acc't of what I had done. But the Agents as I Came on Shoar Orderd their Bomboy off to take the flag out of my Canoe which I gave him on their message and as I came on Shoar they told me the Reason of their takeing down my flag was because I shou'd have gone Privately about that Business They Designing That nobody Shou'd have known of my goeing. To which I answerd that I did not think the Companys affaires were to be carryd on privately it Looke a Litle Suspicous and That I thought The Comp'ys Employment Authourd me to wear my flag. But recd. No Answer but Bitter words. The Gent'm Mr. Griffin being come on Shoar The Agents sold him 7 Men 3 Women 3 Boys and 4 gerles

[7] It is impossible to be certain what the amounts sold for 4 a and 3 a are; "p'p'tts" are perpetuanos.

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at 4 oz Each and One Man 4 Women at 4 oz 8a. Each they Recd.

50 2 lb. Bassons
55 4 Bassons } pewter 105 *l.* 5 *s.* per a.

12th. My Servant Return'd from Warsaw[8] with a man Slave who wanted the first Joint of his Thumb and cost 3 oz whereupon Sent him This Night To Annamaboe To an English Interloper and Sold him for 56 Sheets. . . .

80. Ships despatched to Africa by the South Sea Company.[1]

[December, 1714.]

Day dispatch't	Ships Names	Comdrs Names	Number Negroes	
5 Novr. 1713	*St. Mark*	Pet. Solgard	280	} 2
12 Do	*Windsor*	Geo Marshall	450	}

These two ships were designed for Carthagena but to touch at Jamaica but the peace not being proclaimed time enough for their Comd'rs to be informed thereof before their arrival at Jamaica the Negroes they had on board were obliged to be sold therein to the great Detriment of the Assientists.[3]

Day dispatch't	Ships Names	Comdrs Names	Number Negroes
19 Novr. 1713	*Canada*	Cleveland	500
22 Feby [1714]	*Hope*	Walt. Cronker	360
2 March	*Smith* frygat	John Taylor	280
10 Do	*Elizabeth*	Massie Owen	500

These four Ships were likewise designed for Carthagena but first to touch at Barbadoes or Jamaica. And since the Peace was proclaimed and this Company possessed of the Assiento they have sent Orders to those Islands that the Negros on board these four Ships Shall be sent either in the Said Ships or Sloops to Carthegena or Porto bello but they are not certain whether those Orders will arrive Time enough to prevent the Negros on board them being Sold at the said Islands which may prove greatly to the Damage of the Company.[4] . . .

[8] Wassau or Warsaw was an inland country north of Cape Three Points.

[80] [1] Add. MSS. 25555, p. 7.

[2] The minutes of Sept. 29, 1714, state that the *Windsor* had arrived at Jamaica with 193 negroes of the 201 put on board by the African Company's agents. Apparently therefore this record is of cargoes hoped for, not those actually carried. See Add. MSS. 25495, p. 415.

[3] In the manuscript this paragraph follows the brace above. The minutes of the court for Nov. 28 state that these two vessels were to touch at Barbados. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[4] This paragraph follows the brace above. Four vessels, carrying 1540 negroes, were also provided for Buenos Aires. Throughout the spring and summer the practical details incident to sending out these ships had been dealt with by the directors or assigned to committees. On Mar. 10 Captain Owen, of the *Elizabeth*, was given the right to undertake a private venture amounting to £250 (Add. MSS. 25495, p. 275); Woodbridge was allowed to charge to the company the cost of provisions and medicines which he had purchased for the company's negroes (*ibid.*, pp. 287-288); the committee on shipping was instructed to freight ships to carry the remainder of the negroes (2430) called for in the contract with the African Company (*ibid.*, pp. 296-297). A difficulty between that

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81. Gerrard Gore, James Phipps, and Robert Blean to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 23d March 1714/15.

Messrs. Gerrard Gore, James Phipps and Robert Blean write that they have taken care to Disappoint Interlopers, and have made Inquiry into the Company's Servants Trading with them.

Have found Mr. Anthony Franeia at Commenda concern'd in private Trade for which they Discharg'd him from that place. They sent him afterwards to Tantumquerry and for fear of a Disturbance at Accra, have join'd with Messrs. Gray and Stevenson there. They cannot get the Money from the King of Inamboe, but that will soon be repaid by the Ground rent.

Give a Long and particular Account of a Discovery they made of Capt. Holt's being Concern'd in private Trade at Anamaboe, which being made plainly to Appear, they Suspended him for about Six Weeks; But upon his Seeming repentance, and Earnest Application to be restored, they have sent him again to Anamaboe, where the Interlopers do not meet with so much Incouragement as before.[2] . . .

They are sorry for the *Elizabeth's* bad Success, and the *Pindar's* bad Circumstances, having lost her Capt. and has not above 140 Slaves aboard.

The *Royal Africa* arriv'd the 20th Feby. her Cargoe Sortable but Small. Her Arrival prov'd Seasonable. She is Gone to Shidoe; are afraid of her being Disappointed by Interlopers.

Capt. Hurle in the South Sea Comp's Service reports that Several More in the Same Service may be Shortly expected. This has advanced the price of Negroes from £20 to £26 per head at Annamaboe, and from £16 to £22 per head to Leeward.

The *Dorothy* arrived the 23d of February and brought from Sherbrow 39,312 ls. of Camwood 12 Slaves 1278 l. Teeth 134 high Cloth and 1344 ls. Rice. And from Gambia 60 Slaves, 2051 l. Teeth, 9

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company and the South Sea Company over the adjustment of payments was submitted to arbitration (Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 309, 324, 369, 375, 376, 380). A letter from Captain Solgard notified the company that he was proceeding to Jamaica, as the prices at Barbados were not up to the company's limit. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

[81] [1] T 70: 6, pp. 5-7, "Abstracts, 1714-1719".

[2] Captain Holt wrote from Anamabo on Mar. 12 that trade was so good that 12,000 perpets a year, besides guns, tallow, sheets, powder, pewter, and brass, could be disposed of. He would also undertake to sell 20,000 gallons of rum at an accy a gallon (T 70: 6, p. 10). A partial answer to the natural question that arises over the disposition of the woollens carried to Africa is to be found in a letter from Robert Parker, agent at Commenda in 1737, to Alderman Harvey of Norwich: "the Large quantity of Says, Persetts, Long Ells, etc. that comes upon this coast to severall Thousand pound per Ann, are most of them caried up into the Cuntry some Thousand some Fifteen Hundred Miles, th'are taken a Peices and unwove, and again made into Cloath of thier own devising". Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eleventh Rept. (MSS. of the Marquess Townshend)*, App. pt. IV., p. 355.

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Deer Skins and 12 Cow hides. Four of the Gambia Slaves Died in the passage and half the rest not worth their provisions and they believe will not live till the *Royal Africa* can take them in. . . .

Wish the inconveniences by means of Interlopers were at an end.

They state the difficulty of a Cargoe of Rum purchasing a Cargoe of Negroes. . . .

It is impossible to send attestations of the Wrongs Comitted by some Interlopers, as was the Case of Captn. Hayward. The best information might be had from some of the Ship's Company.

Several Robberies have lately been Comitted by Interlopers. Captn. Clark had three Negroes who were Carry'd off by Interlopers to Windward, whose Friends he is to caution against Trading with any Ships who have not the Company's Jack. Send Certificates ab't Slaves being panyar'd to Windward by Captn. Thirticle in the Snow *Abigail* a 15 per Cent Man, and Capt. Malthus an Interloper.[3]

Were obliged, in January, to barter 13 Small boys and 3 Girls with Captn. Malthus for Goods to Supply the Athantees.[4]

Were fain to sell 23 Slaves to Capt'n Thirticle and 32 to a portugeze for Goods to Supply the Out Factories.

Shall make no Difference between the South Sea Comp's Ships and Interlopers. Believe the high prices and Inconveniences they'l meet with, will Discourage them.

The *Union* purchased 156 Slaves and some Gold.

82. The South Sea Company to Thomas Bowles.[1]

1715, April 21.

You know how Considerably we loose by the Negros we Contracted with the Affrican Company for the last year, which we were all forced to Sell in the plantations at Great Loss w'ch upon Computation may be 40 per ct and may be reasonably insisted upon why we should not Commence any Duties untill from the 23: Xber N. S.[2] . . .

Mr. Wood Adviseth the 174 negros by measurement are made to be 166¾ That the Fees demanded are as follows *vizt.*

[3] A letter of Mar. 13, from the agents, accused Capt. William Thirticle (or Thirtull) of panyaring eight men while on the coast. T. 70: 6.

[4] Ashantis.

[82] [1] Add. MSS. 25555, ff. 18v-19, pp. 33-34. This letter, as well as many others among the papers of the South Sea Company, is a greatly abbreviated summary of the original letter, copied into the company's books for reference and permanent record. Bowles was the company's agent at Madrid.

[2] This is but one of many letters in this volume which argue that the company should pay no duty for 1713, and, for 1714, only on those negroes actually introduced.

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Guards from Boca Chica	8
Canoe hire for the visit	4
Scriviner before the visit	25
Doctr. for the visit of Health	87
A Lo fizial mayor de lay Roy Contaduria for the visit[3]	50
To the Head Guard for the visit	50
Secretary for measuring and regulating the Dutys	25
Ditto for the Register and Clearing	25
Secretary to the Inquisition	5
The ancherage	3
	282

You are to enquire and satisfy us what are the Legal and Established Fees the Company is to pay and forthwith acquaint us, either those must have been very compleat [?] Slaves or the Company severely treated in the measurement of them.[4]

83. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

April 27, 1715.

Ordered, That it be refer'd to the Joynt Committee of Buying and Shiping to Enquire what is necessary to be done in relation to the Duty of 20 per head upon all Negroes Shipt from the Island of Jamaica so far as it relates to this Company. . . .

May 4, 1715.[2]

Ordered, That it be refer'd to the Committee of Shiping that they take up either 3 or 4 Ships to go to Whidah for Negroes as they shall see best for the Service of the Company. . . .

84. The South Sea Company to James Stanhope.[1]

[May 25, 1715.]

To the Rt. Hon'ble James Stanhope

The Court of Directors of the South Sea Company having rec'd Letters from their Agent at Carthagena in America containing some Advices relat'g to the Commerce of the Spanish West Indies they have Ordered them to be Laid before you And Submit to your Hon'r w't is fitt to be done for redressing the matters therein Complaind of.

[3] The fiscal or financial officer who represented the royal exchequer in each port, whose business it was to see that the duty on the incoming negroes was correctly reckoned.

[4] This letter also informed Bowles that Woodbridge had written on Jan. 27 that he had sent the *Sarah*, John Stevens, to Cartagena with 300 negroes, and would the next day dispatch the *Three Brothers*, James Greenway, with 120 to the Windward Coast.

[83] [1] Add. MSS. 25496, p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[84] [1] Add. MSS. 25555, ff. 22v-23, pp. 42-43. Stanhope was Secretary of State for the southern department.

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Necessary Care ought to be taken to prevent Negros being brought from Jamaica, and Sold upon the Coast,[2] for it Seems very easy to Obtain Sufficient Instructions from his Majesty to the Gov'rs of the Several Islands not to Suffer any Negros to be brought to this Coast, as also to procure Directions for all Comand'rs of his Majestys Ships to Seize on any Ships or Vessels Bound to This Coast with Negros giving them for their Encouragement a Certain part, and, if it were possible, to get Commiss'rs from the King of Spain to Seize and take any Negros Coming to this Coast. . . .

85. Gerrard Gore, James Phipps, and Robert Blean to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 11th of June 1715.

Have not been able to Compleat the *Royal Africa's* Complement by 45 Slaves. They had but little assistance by the Slaves bro't from Gambia and Sherbrow per the *Dorothy*. The *Royal Africa* purchas'd but 36 Slaves, The *Dorothy* 39, and 104 were made up from the Castle. They come out at 3 oz. 14 ac. per head which is one Ounce per head Cheaper than any Interloper can purchase them on that part of the Coast.

The English Interlopers continue to Infest that Coast, Sev'l being lately Arrived, and Anamaboe is Seldom without Five or Six of them, and Shidoe Constantly frequented by them.

86. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

June 15, 1715.

The Court took up by Balott, according to the By Law in that behalf The *Dunwich Merchant* Capt. Blake, to carry 500 Negroes from Whidah to Jamaica [2] and the *Resolution* Capt. Trahern for 230 Negroes from the Gold Coast to Jamaica. . . .

A Petition of Mr. Isaac Fernandes Nunez on behalf of the Owners and Freighters of the *May Flower* Sloop relating to the said Sloops being Seized with 200 Negroes in the Spanish West Indies and Carried into Porto bello, was read,

Ordered That it be an Instruction to the Comittee of Correspondence That when they write to the Companys Factors at

[2] The letter from Cartagena which helped to bring about this letter to Stanhope reported that 16 negroes, brought from Jamaica, had been sold for from 115 to 120 pieces of eight. *Ibid.*

[85] [1] T. 70: 6, p. 18.

[86] [1] Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 79-80, 129.

[2] At Jamaica the *Dunwich Merchant* was to place her negroes on board sloops, to be carried to Porto Bello or Cartagena. News of the arrival of this vessel at Jamaica with 543 negroes reached the company on May 16, 1716. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 238.

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Carthegena or Panama they give them directions to claim the produce of the said Sloop and Cargo by vertue of the Assiento. . . .

August 31, 1715.

Resolved That the Capt. of the *Pearl* taken up to purchase Negroes on the Gold Coast be permitted to buy one half of them on the Windward Coast.

Resolved, That the Comittee of Shiping may Agree with the Owners of the *King Solomon* to purchase Negroes at Jacquin instead of the Gold Coast.[3] . . .

Sept. 14, 1715.[4]

Ordered, That it be an Instruction the Committee of Correspond'ce: to write a Letter to Mr. Woodbridge forbidding him to send to any place whatsoever, Any more Negroes till further order, and to let him know that the Company do not think fitt to buy the *Royal Assiento* Sloop mencioned in his said Letter. . . .

Oct. 5, 1715.[5]

Ordered, That the Committee of the Treasry affix the Company's Seal to one part of the Charterparty of the *Pearl* Galley Capt. Edward Tizard and to the Certificate in Spanish and English That the said Ship is freighted by the Company on account of the Assiento. . . .

A Letter from Mr. Mendes of this day, desiring that the Capt. of the *King Solomon* may have liberty to purchase 50 Negroes on the Gold Coast over and above the 50 which he has leave to purchase on the Windward Coast, was read. Ordered, that the Charterparty be made accordingly.[6]. . . .

1715, Nov. 16.[7]

Ordered, That it be referrd to the Comittee of Correspondence to write to the Companys Agents at Jamaica to dispatch a Sloop with Negroes for La Vera Cruz with orders to the Factors there to make returns in Cochineal or Indigo either by the said Sloop or the *Elizabeth*.[8] . . .

[3] The *Pearl* was to carry 300 negroes from the Gold Coast, the *King Solomon* 340 from Jacquin and the Gold and Windward coasts, to Jamaica, to be transported to Cartagena or Porto Bello. "Minutes" of Aug. 24 and Sept. 14, Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 126, 135.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[6] The warrants for that day include, "John Hoar Negro prov[isions?] £140 18 *s.* 7 *d.*".

[7] Add. MSS. 25496, p. 161.

[8] The same day the company despatched a letter to the Royal African Company, stating that the owners of the *Elizabeth* charged "dead freight" for 229 negroes and 20 days' "demorage" at Whydah, and asking whether the African Company accepted this charge. Add. MSS. 25555, p. 67.

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87. The South Sea Company: Representations to the Marquis of Monteleon.[1]

[December 7, 1715.]

Representations made by the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company to the Marquis of Monteleon, with Answers to them and to the pretensions of the Company concerning the Assiento granted and adjusted with this Court in manner following.

. . . .

2. He [the Marquis of Monteleon] represents and sollicits the Directors that they wou'd please to make the three payments of the dutys due to His Catholick Maj'ty at the End of Octob'r Last N. S. which after the rate of 33 1/3 ps 8/8 for each ps de India is Calculated may amount to 200,000 p's of 8/8 Errors excepted So that the Two parcells w'ch ought to be Forthwith paid by the said Gent. in Madrid amounts to 400,000 ps of 8/8.

Answer of the Company. As to Your Ex'ys demand of the payment at the said Court of Madrid of the 3 payments of the Dutys to his Catholick Majesty said to have become due the End of the month of Oct'r last N. S. The Assientists crave leave to say, That by the 18th Article of the said Contract It is 'specially and positively provided That peace should be proclaimed before any thing of that Contract cou'd be done or the Ass'o take place:[2] And forasmuch as the Peace was not proclaim'd until March 1714 N. S. It was not in the power of the Ass'ts to Introduce any Negroes into the Spanish West Indies between the 1st May 1713 and the 1st May 1714 N. S.

Therefore they Conceive they cannot be Liable to pay any dutys for that Year.

Moreover the Ass'ts have been very well assurd by the ministers of her said late Maj'ty And it is so specially mentioned in the Ass'o to this Company That his C. M. hath consented that the sd. Contract and Add'l Article[3] may take Effect from the 1st day of May 1713 for Introducing Negroes into the Spanish West Indies And for

[87] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 40-55, pp. 75-105. The selection here printed begins at f. 42, p. 79. Disputes over the interpretation of the assiento began almost before the signatures were dry on the document itself, and continued until the contract was finally abrogated. They are long, involved, and often unilluminating; they are also extremely difficult to abridge without omitting some point vital to the cumbersome argument. The statement which follows, with its summing-up of complaints, answers, and counter-answers, illustrates the character of the complaints which were constantly being sent to the Spanish court or to the Spanish ambassador by the company, or from the Spaniards to the company.

[2] Article XVIII. forbids further trade by the French after May 1, 1713, and grants to the company power to seize French vessels attempting to introduce negroes. It does not specifically forbid trade before peace has been proclaimed. Article XII. does make the inauguration of English activities in the Spanish ports depend upon the proclamation of peace.

[3] The "additional" article granted the privilege of introducing a vessel of 500 tons annually, loaded with general merchandize, to be sold at the yearly fair.

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the other purposes in the said Contract mention'd shall Commence continue and be reckoned from the 1st May 1714 N. S.[4] . . .

And Forasmuch as the s'd Contract was not assigned to this Company till the 7th Sep'r last [1714] Whereby it will be Impossible for these Ass'ts to introduce into the Spanish West Indies the full Number of 4800 Negroes before the 1 May next N. S. Altho' they have used and are using their utmost endeavours for doing thereof The Ass'ts do hope That the dutys of the present year will not be Exacted with rigour but rather his C. M. will be Content with the Dutys for this year for Such a number of Negroes as they shall have Introduced before the 1 May next And the rather for that it will be impossible for them for this present year 1714 to Reap the benefit of Sending the Ship of 500 Tuns granted them by the s'd Add Article. And his C. M. may be assured That for the future the payment of the dutys shall be punctually performed according to the Tenor of Contract.

Reply to this Answer. In this Condition are two parts: The first is an agreement from 1st May 1713 that the Assiento should run for account of the English Company till they had taken possession of the Same nor afterwards neither the French Comp'y nor any other Person can Introduce a Slave into the Indies and in Case they do His Catho: Maj'ty will Declare them (as he does by these presents Declare them) Confiscated and Lost in favour of the Assientists and as the Contract shou'd be Signed as it was done they were to send Circular Orders to the Indies that they should not admit any Negroes of the French Comp'y in any of their Ports and the Same was to be notified to their Agent in this Court and in Effect. The one and the other was done accordingly.[5]. . .

The Two Conditions being proposed accordingly to the Letter it seems the Company value themselves on the latter only forgetting the letter of the former which indispensably requires that from the 1st May 1713 the Assiento should run for their Account to pay yearly Dutys of the 4000 p's for tho' it is articled by the 5th Article that the Introduction shou'd be 4800 p's yearly the dutys were payable on the 4000 only His Maj'ty excusing the 800 in regard of the Interest and risque which might attend the Assientists in the payment and Anticipation in this Court of the Dutys which correspond to the 4000 p's Moreover for that it was agreed that from the Aforesaid Day the French Company should determine requiring Circular Orders for that End from whence it follows they deprived the Royal Haz'da[6] from receiving yearly the Dutys from the French who

[4] The failure to proclaim peace promptly also deprived the company of the profits of the ship of 500 tons, for 1713.

[5] The second part refers to the publication of peace before the execution of the contract.

[6] The royal treasury.

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would have paid the same and now the English Company excuse the doing it when we ought not to ask it of the French because of the prohibition. And if that was not done at the request of the English they cannot value themselves upon their Appeal in excusing themselves by what is Expressed in the End of the Article for they have against them the most plain and repeated Cause by their own Action which they ought not to deny as a proof of both the first part and the second. . . .

As to the part that says that till the Publication of the peace they could not make use of the Assiento this is to be understood in regard to all its parts for the reasons alledged not as to the indispensable payment of the annual Dutys. First for that prohibition actually was laid on the French Company without which they had paid it nor ought nor can His C Maj'ty loose the same receiving them from the one or the other And on the part of France the same was denyed them. Second For that as soon as the peace was proclaimed and even before there required an Indeterminate Time to prepare their Vessells for without them they could not put the Introduction in Practice which defect cannot be imputed to his Catho: Maj'ty tho it may to the Comp'y who for their own particular ends may have Suspended the Same.

And finally the 3rd is an undeniable argument that the Assiento is agreed for 30 years with the Express Clause to begin and run from the 1st May 1713 to the said day 1743 as by the first article And by Consequence the Exact Introduction of 120,000 Slaves p's of India in that Time and to pay indispensably for the Customs of them after the rate of 33 1/3 p's ℔ the payment stipulated to be made in this Court without dispute and Controversy in two only Times by half Every 6 Months. Now whether they introduce them or not the Accidents attending the same will no ways Affect the Royal Haz'da as to the dutys Whatever it does as to the Quarter part of the profits and so it follows what they shall not introduce in those months they may in the following For in the 6th Article it is Expressed that the Assientists shall have power after introducing the 4800 in Each year (which they may do during the 25 first Years) to introduce what more they please, paying half dutys which Exorbitant Clause the Comp'y have not regarded And by the want of them they will make the greater gain on those they may Introduce, as likewise in the Value of Such as shall be Seized and Indulted for being introduced After the prohibition, Since for this End they require the dispatches for the Same the receipt of which they cannot deny nor the use of them even before the Publication, and by the 8th Article is only Limited the Price as to Santa Martha, Cumana and Maricaiba but elsewhere they may sell at the highest price they can. And the ir-

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regular pretension of the Company is the more Evident in that they Excuse the payment of the said dutys and oppose the satisfying them even after the Publication of the Peace to the beginning of May 1715 forwards when the former reasons neither admit of delay, Reply nor excuse In that they ought to have done it from the 1 May 1713. The Damages they suppose to receive in being obliged to pay the dutys of the Time past tho they have had no Introduction were foreseen at the Time of the Contract So as to have obliged them to the indispensable payment of the dutys from the 1st May 1713, Since it appears by the End of the Assiento His Catho: Maj'ty in consideration thereof Granted them that were to have the same a License of 500 Tuns for every year to commence and Trade for 30 Years which favour is Superabundant and without any Example of former Assiento.

Addition to this Reply. 2. This Answer contains all the Arguments to confute and convince the Company for tho in another reply as will hereafter appear they recriminate that the Gov'r of Carthagena refused to admit 175 Negroes sent in a sloop from Jamaica because the peace was not proclaimed tho they shewed him the Translation of the Assiento signed by the Secretary of the Council of the Indies and a Letter from the Gov'r of Jamaica whence they argue that they are not Obliged to pay the Dutys of the year 1713 And That Even of 1714 they ought only to pay for so many as shall appear to have been introduced. The Aforesaid Answer Comprehends even a Satisfaction to this new Excuse for this only shews an Indiscreet restriction of the Gov'r of Carthagena and Consequently a prejudice to the Interest of the Company but as His Catho: Maj'ty in this particular is comprehended as he partakes of the Comp'y he cannot likewise be prejudiced in the Dutys which Result from the Contract as a (Regalia) Acknowledgement for the Introduction of the same is prescribed to the Term of 30 Years. It is reduced likewise to the Introduction of 12,000 p's in that term which being done in the Time remaining not only compensate this but even an advantage accrues for be it as it will this is a Merchandize like others Introduced into the Indies and with the advantage of a greater necessity there having been none admitted in the preceeding year. The price encreases in proportion to their Scarcity and without a Miracle the profit must be the greater than had the Introduction been Continued. But were to be supposed it should not so happen these Accidents ought not to prejudice the Duty of the Regalia to His Catho: Maj'ty for he perfected the Contract the 1 May 1713 as to what was his part delivering into their hands this Jewell *(Alheja)* that he had deposited in those of the French for the price agreed, which His Catho: Maj'ty has lost from that day prohibiting them the Introduction and Im-

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powering the new Comp'y to whom he had transpassed the Contract that they should confiscate for themselves the pieces of Negroes that the Company of France shall have introduced from that day. . . .

The Companys Answer, writt to Mr. Bowles 11 March[?] *1714/5.* 7. The Companys Agents at Jamaica have sent from thence a Sloop with 175 Negroes to Carthagena under the direction of Tho's Wood with a Certificate under the Companys Seal Importing that the Negroes were for Account of the Company An Orig'l attested Assiento Contract, A Letter from the Govern. of Jamaica to the same effect and the Proclamation of the Peace between Great Britain and Spain Notwithstanding which the Gov'r of Carth'a would not admitt the aforesaid Negroes upon pretence that the Peace was not regularly notified, without which he would not suffer them to be landed and sold there: This lessens not but it adds to the Strength of the Companys reasons why they should be eased from the charge of the dutys for the year 1713. And that for the year 1714 they should not pay for more than they can import.

Pretention. 10. That having liberty by the 25th Art. to carry Negroes from one port to another for the Supply of the Countrys that may want them most, there ought to be an Abatement of the dutyes in each Port for such Negroes as shall be there Shipt so that the Compa. shall not pay double dutyes: Only in those ports where they are sold they be obliged to pay under the regulation of the 15 days granted in the 25th Art. And this as often as it shall happen so that the Compa. may not be prejudiced by those Neg's which may happen to dye in their passage.

Answer. 10. That in the 25th Art. of the Assiento is expressly provided the form of debiting and paying the Customs of the Negros in the Ports and the Certifications of the Royal Officers that ought to intervene, that the Dutyes may not be paid twice so that nothing ought to be altered herein.

Pretension. 11. It is necessary that License be given to Erect such buildings in the Places assignd the Compa. as may Secure the Negroes from running away or falling upon the Fact'rs and for their Security against their Insults and where Ships may conveniently Anchor near the Settlement in the River Plate and that it be deliverd what parcels of Land his C. M. will please to assign according to the 9th Art. and the Preliminaryes of the Peace.

Answer. 11. As to this pretension His CM. will intirely comply with the Capitulations in Art. 9 and 35th,[7] in which this Assumption

[7] Art. IX. "It being hereby declared, that her Britannick Majesty, and the Assientists in Her Name, may hold in the said River of Plata some parcels of Land, which His Catholick Majesty shall appoint or assign, . . . sufficient to plant, to cultivate, and breed Cattle therein, for the subsistence of the Persons belonging to the Assiento, and their Negroes; they shall be allowed to build Houses there of Timber, and

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is treated of so that in Consequence of the 35th he will permitt them to Rent in the parts of their Factoryes the lands that they shall want to Sow and Cultivate with the Necessaryes for the maintenance of their Factoryes Equipping of their Vessels and Slaves they being in the same form as in the said Art. is expressed. . . .

For all the other Specious pretences which they would introduce to Solicit larger Extentions contrary to those Capitulated are of such evil Faith as likewise groundless and of bad Consequences For the extraordinary Cheapness of the Country in their maintenance, the abundance of Flesh at little or no Cost, the prohibition or impossibility of planting Vinyards or other Fruits of that Nature in that land, and the dispisable Supposition or Jealousy that the miserable Blacks naked unarmed and in so weak a Condition as they arrive from the Ships Should they run away or rebell in the Short time they are kept betwixt their Arrival and Sale makes these disguised pretences plainly dispiseable and therefore under the precautions Stipulated in the Assiento they will be complyed with as the same is expressed in this Declaration and for the Execution and practice thereof such Dispatches shall be given the Co. as may be necessary or they may require.

Pretension. 12. That in the 10th Art. only is a power granted to Freight Ships in Panama etc.[8] Whereas the French had power to build or buy Ships in Panama or in any other Port of the South Seas Where are Yards for building: The Compa. desire the Same, if not sufficiently provided for in the 39th Art.

Answer. 12. In the 10th Art. quoted by the Company is provided that they may freight Imbarcations to Introduce their Slaves in the Provinces of the South Sea and in the 39th Art. are granted them all the Conditions contained in former Assientos So that both in the one and the other the Letter ought to be Observed.

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not of any other Materials, and they shall not throw up the Earth, nor make any the least (or slightest) Fortification." Art. XXXV. "For the refreshing and preserving in Health the Negro Slaves, which they shall import into the West Indies, after so long and painful Voyage, and to prevent any Contagious Illness or Distemper amongst them, the Factors of this Assiento shall be allowed to hire such Parcels of Land as they shall think fit, in the neighbourhood of the Places where the Factories shall be established, in order to Cultivate the said Lands, and make Plantations in which they may raise fresh Provisions for their Relief Subsistence". . .

[8] Art. X. "In order to the carrying and introducing of Black Slaves into the Provinces of the South Sea, Liberty is to be granted, as it is hereby granted to the Assientists, to freight either at Panama or in any other Dock or Part of the South-Sea, Ships or Frigats of about Four hundred Tons little more or less, on board which they may Ship them at Panama, and carry them to all the other Ports of Peru, and no others on that side". . . . Art. XXXIX. "That all the concessions in the former Assientos . . . not being contrary to the Contents of this Contract, shall be understood and declared to be in its Favor, as if they [were] herein literally inserted; and that all the orders that have at any time been dispatched in Favor of those forementioned assientists shall be granted to these whenever they shall ask them, without any Doubt or Difficulty."

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Pretension. 13. It is stipulated by the 22 Art. That whatsoever Merch'dz shall be found on board the Ships shall be forfeited and liable to the same penalty as if landed:[9] whereas it often happens, that they cannot sell all the Merchandize on the Coast of Africa which are carried for the purchase of Negroes and the Ships carry them together w'th the Negroes to the ports of the Indies It is reasonable that liberty be given to deposit them in the Kings Warehouses and to bring them back again at their departure provided notice be given upon arrival.

Answer. 13. In the 22. Art. which the Compa. mentions is seen the highest Importance to prohibit the Vessels that come with Negroes from bringing any Merchandize on any pretext whatsoever: or the remedy of which the penalties are explained in the said Art. And the Compa. are desirous to pervert a thing so duly considerd under pretence that the merchandize which should remain unsold upon the Coast of Africa for the purchase of Negroes and with the Justification of depositing the same in the King's Warehouse to carry them away again And granting the first may happen and the Second may be practiced, doubtless it is a thing that the Company had present at the time of the Assiento And if the same was proposed then and not admitted, it ought not to be done now and much less if having then Concealed it with an evil design they propose it now with equal Sincerity they ought to abide by what is expressed in the 22th Art. without extend'g it in the least: For doubtless from thence an Infinite Number of Frauds would arise. It is enough that the means to avoid them are not so punctually provided as they ought.

Pretension. 14. The Assientists having power by the 25 Art. to return their Effects in the fruits and produce of the Country, they desire a liberty to go to the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras etc. to Cutt and Load Logwood.

Answer. 14. This Pretension of the Compa. Comprehends what is very far from the nature of the Contract: For in the 25 Art. is provided that they may Carry out the Fruits of the Indies such as they shall receive in payment for the Blacks they shall sell so that asking a Liberty to go to the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras to cutt and Load Wood, they ask an Extension not to be granted: For this belongs to his Maj'ties natural Subjects, without being able to participate the same to others and it suffices that the Compa. carry out after this manner as from the rest of the other parts what they shall acquire by the Sale of the Negroes.[10]

[9] The forbidden merchandize was to be burnt, those responsible for it to be excluded from all employment under the assiento. Art XXII., a long one, betrays the Spanish determination that the introduction of negroes shall not be a means of bringing in general merchandize.

[10] "Read in Court 7 Dec'r, 1715."

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88. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO THE JAMAICA FACTORS.[1]

SOUTH SEA HOUSE,
LONDON, 6 Feb'ry 1716.

Messrs. Thompson, Pratter and Hazelwood,

Gent'n, . . . We Note your Dispatching the *King Solom'n* with 289 Negros for porto Bello As Also the *pearl* Gally with 149 Negros for the same place, After taking out the Refuse, Which We should be glad you had supplied; not only because our Panama Factory advise us of the Want of them, but also for that We are obliged by Our Charter Partys to Pay Freight for the whole Number Bro't to Jamaica: Tho We Cannot but approve the not doing on it now for the Reason you give us of the Extravagant Price.

We renew our Former Directions that you take Care to Supply our Several Factorys with Negros as they write for them, And hope we shall be able from our Own ships to Furnish them But if not We must leave it to you to Buy them, if to be Had at reasonable prices.

We observe what you write Concern'g the Inconvenience arising to the Negroes from the Capts. taking in an Unreasonable Number above his Complement, which was the Case of the *King Solomon.* To prevent which for the Future we have Restrained all our Com'drs from purchasing with the surplus of their Cargoes above 6 Negros for every 100 they are taken up for: The Remainder of their Cargos being to be Invested in Gold or Elephants Teeth, for which We allow them a Commission.

The Number each Ship is Taken up for will appear by Our Instructions, and Copy of the Charter party, which each Comand'r takes with him, which you may peruse.

We Note your advice That of the *King Solomons* Negros, 1 Woman and 4 Children did not in Respect to their Ages Conform to the Charter party, and Desire you will Continue to give us Timely Notice of what ever Occurs Contrary to our Agreem'ts

Capt Cowards Rec't for 1000 pieces of 8 paid him by our Factors at porto Belo for Commission (instead of Freight as you and he agreed) and his Doct'rs Rec't for 55 pieces of 8 1 R'l paid by you for head Money, and also the said Capts. Rec't for 1046 : 10. paid by you For Freight are Come to Hand, and you will be Credited accordingly.

The Acco't of Sales of the 81 Refuse Negros per the *pearl,* and of their Charges is Come to Hand, the Net produce being £905. 13. 5½ which when Examined we shall Acquaint you therew'th.

[88] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 6-7.

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The *King Solomon* is safely arrived, and has Deliverd us according to the Bills of Lading, The Teeth and returnd Goods, which you took out of the *Pearl*. . . .

We approve your Buying out of the *Mercy* from the Gold Coast the 154 Negros and sending 140 of them in our Brigantine with the provisions Mentioned in Capt. Farrils Rec't to the Havanah: . . .

We Note your shiping on Board the *Newport* under the Direction of our Factor Mr. Cumberlege for St. Iago de Cuba 14 Negros, being the Remainder of those you purchased out of the *Mercy*, with 2 Negro Men Bought afterwards, and giving the proper Passes: We are Glad to hear Negros sell so well on that Island, and Desire you to supply his Demands. . . .

Since Ours of the 8th June wherein We Informed you that We had Actually sent Out three ships for About 1000 Negros And that We Were taking up Ships for About 2000 More for Guinea, and your Island, We have now in part of the said 2000 Dispatched the Following ships *vizt*.

The *Clapham* Capt. Peal Dispatched in August last for	230
The *Prince* Capt. Snelgrove Dispatched the same mo.	350
The *Indian Queen* Capt. Mabbot Dispatched in Nov'r Last	390

And shall give you Notice when we Dispatch others for the'r better Governm't. . . .

We Understand That Notwithstanding your Endeav'rs in the Comp's behalf against the Bill for Imposing a Duty on Our Negros exported from your Island, that the same is passed.[2] We shall do what We Can here to prevent its taking Effect and in the Mean Time, desire you to take the precautions you propose *vizt*. That none of our Ships Come into Your Harbour, but Lye at the Cays till Dispatched.

Our Factory at Vera Cruz advise us That the beginning of May Last Came in there a Sloop from Jamaica One Nixon Comand'r with 73 Negros bound as he pretended to Carolina, and obliged to put in there for Water etc. What Steps Our Factory have taken for Seizing them pursuant to the Assiento they have not advised us. We have Great reason to beleive she Came in there to sell her Negros, and what ever else she had on Board. We should be Glad to have from you an Acco't of this Affair and who were the persons Concerned in it, And Must repeat what We formerly Desired That you Timely advise as opportunity offers not Only us but our several

[2] On Feb. 28, 1716, the company asked that the duty of 40 *s.* which Jamaica had placed on negroes exported from the island be disallowed, since it would be a heavy charge on those negroes landed for refreshment only before they were sent to Spanish ports. In the end it would be a loss to Jamaica by causing negroes to be sent directly to their destinations. The subject was considered by the Board of Trade in March. Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 196-199, 206; 25550, p. 45; 25555, pp. 95-96; *B. T. Jour.*, 1714-1718, pp. 120, 121, 122.

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Factorys of all Designs you can find out of any Clandestine Voyages that the Necessary precautions may be taken for Seizing them on Arrival. . . .

P.S. This Comes by the *London* Frygt being the Ship We Wrote you in our Last we would send for Vera Cruz, on Board which you are to Ship with all Expedition not Exceed'g 150 Negros and Dispatch her as soon as possible for Vera Cruz. We shall in Less than a Fortnight Dispatch the *Herbert* Gally for Cathagena to bring home the Effects of the *Bedford*[2] Cargo She will have Orders to touch at your Island to take in not Exceed'g 200 Negros Which We Direct you to provide for her And Dispatch her to Carthagena as soon after her Arrival with you as possible they being to stay but 15 Days with you by Charter party.

89. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Vera Cruz.[1]

South Sea House,

Londo. 8 Febry 1716.

Concerning Indultos Confiscat's and Illicit Trade and Cedulas and processes relating thereto.

1st We Note what you Write in a former Letter of the 29 Nov'r 10 Dec'r 1715, That you had got possession 9 Negros Clandestinely introduced from Campeachy, and that a Law Suit was Like to Ensue thereupon, but you have been Silent ever since as to the Issue.

2. It appears from your Letters of Correspond'e between yourselves, and Mr. Thorowgood, which we have read, That a Sloop from Jamaica Josiah Nixon Comd'r came into your Port w'th 73 Negros bound as Pretended to Carolina and forced in for Water etc.: And that you advised with Mr. Thorowgood to buy them, and their Provisions, and some Wine And that he procured leave from the vice Roy for that purpose at 120 pieces of 8 per head.

If you had Studied our Interest you would have Made the proper Application to have got them seized and Condemned pursuant to the Assiento, and not have Consulted the Buying them, and thereby given an Encouragem't to carry on that Illicit Trade, to the Detriment of our Own: We have great reason to Beleive this Sloop, came in to sell her Negros, and Whatever Else she had on Board, And We Cannot but Resent it, That you have not thought fit to Acquaint us with any thing relating to this affair which together with the Familiarity, that seems to be between the Capt. and your Selves gives us

[2] The *Bedford* was one of the two ships, carrying merchandize, allowed to the company by the king's cedula of 1714.

[89] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 14-15. "To Messrs. Thomas Bedell, Will'a Clark, John Newton, John Strode, and David Patton, Factors at Vera Cruz."

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no little Suspicion, that it was Concerted at Jamaica: We Expect from you a True Account of the Costs Expences and Produce of these Negros, And as you sell our Negros, or any other Goods for our Acco't tho you have not Time to Compleat the Acco't of Sales, Give us particular Items of all your proceedings from Time to Time in your Letters.

You will do well to let us Know if any Negros have been Clandestinely Introduced Since our Assiento.

90. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1716, May 16.

Resolved, That this Court agree with the King of Spains proposition for one hundred Negroes to be delivered at St. Domingo, and that the Comittee of Correspondence write to Barbadoes to procure the said Negroes.[2] . . .

The Court took into consideration Mr. Woodbridge's Proposition relating to a Sloop and some Negroes sent to Havanah mentioned in his Letter of the 14th Febr'y last.[3] . . .

June 6, 1716.[4]

Mr. Chester having several Correspondents at Barbadoes Ordered That he or any other Gentn. of the Court write to their Correspondents there to send Proposals for supplying the Windward Coast with negroes according to the Assiento.[5] . . .

[90] [1] Add. MSS. 25496, p. 237.

[2] The king had asked that 100 negroes, all men between the ages of 25 and 35, be supplied at Santo Domingo, the price to be 250 pieces of eight per head. Jan. 31, 1715/6, Add. MSS. 25550, p. 43v. In 1717 the company wrote to Mr. Bowles that of the negroes sent to Santo Domingo the governor had refused 40, who later were sold in Havana for 300 pieces of eight per head (letters to Bowles, Apr. 8, June 6, 1717, Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 59-60, 75). The contract was eventually carried out: "Ordered That it be referr'd to the Comittee of Correspondence to send Mr. Bowles the Certificates transmitted from St. Domingo of the delivery there of the 100 Negroes p's of India pursuant to the King of Spain's cedula in Order that the amount may be made good to the company out of the duties which shall next become payable to his Catho. Majesty." Minutes, July 10, 1717, Add. MSS. 25497, p. 98.

[3] "Ordered That a Mulct of One hundred P's of ⅘ be put on Mr. Woodbridge for every Negroe which shall be delivered alive from on board the *Prince* Sloop at the Havana and Ten per cent on the first Cost of the Flower and Provisions carried in her thither and that the said Sloop and Cargoe be on Mr. Woodbridge's account" (Minutes, May 25, Add. MSS. 25496, p. 241). On May 24 the committee of correspondence had considered Mr. Woodbridge's adventure. He had purchased and sent to Havana 14 negroes with provisions, without the company's orders. This was considered to be in violation of the assiento. In August the committee apparently learned that in this venture the *Royal Prince* had carried 50 negroes, and that he had also sent the *Philip 5th* with 60. It was the opinion of the committee that these must all be upon his own account and that he must pay 100 p's of ⅘ for each negro delivered, with 10 per cent. on the first cost of provisions (Minutes of the Com. of Correspondence, May 24 and Aug. 30, Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 51, 62). Despite the fact that the ventures were to be Woodbridge's the company placed £4500 insurance on the two sloops. Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 299, 302.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

[5] Thompson, Morris, and Pratter, the Jamaica agents, were instructed to send someone to Havana to recover duties on negroes unlawfully introduced.

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Report of Vessels already taken up for negroes.

The *Royal Africa* Captn. Foot, for the Gold Coast and Jamaica or the Spanish West Indies for	240 Negros	
The *John* Galley Captn. Dunckley for the same Places	260	
	500 negroes	
The *Sarah* Galley Captn. Bloom for Madagascar and Buenos Ayres for	400	
The *Catherine* Captn. Heartsease for Whidah or Jaquin and Jamaica or the Spanish West Indies for	500	
The *George* Captn. Malthus for Angola and Buenos Ayres for . .	540	
		1940

Those Proposed to be taken up are as follows

	negroes	
1 Ship more for Whidah for	500	
3 Ships more for the Gold Coast	900	
1 for Angola	400	
1 for Gambia and Parts adjacent	300	
1 for the Windward Coast	300	
		2400
		4340

Ordered That the said Comittee[6] do forthwith treat and agree for ships accordingly.

91. Mr. Baillie to the Royal African Company.[1]

Whidah, June 25, 1716.

The Great Number of Ships has rais'd the price of Slaves. At his first Coming he could have bot the best Men for 100 ls of Cowries, 12 Fuzees,[2] One Anchor of French Brandy or Rum, Five Rolls of Tobacco and 25 Sletias, Whereas now they give Seven Rolls of Tobacco, 36 Sletias, 136 ls of Cowries, 2 Anchors of Brandy and 15 or 16 Fuzees. His predecessors Sunk the Co's Stock and Reputation. Desires Mr. Welch may be recall'd. Gives an Instance of his Imprudence by his Endeavours to Incence the King the Dutch and French ag'st Mr. Baillie. Has reced. of Messrs. Welch and Branston what they had overcharg'd in Sallaries amo. to NK 2 : 5 : 5 : 4½ and of Mr. Branston Oz 4 : 2 : 10 due from Mr. Errington, which was said to be NK 1 : 1 : 6 : 10. has also reced. the Ballance of Mr. Green's and Robt. King's Estates, amo. to NK 1 : 1 : 5 : 1 as for the Money said to be Delivered by Mr. Green as the balance of his accts to Messrs. Mason, Welch and Branston, it Never was De-

[6] The committee on shipping. The vessels engaged in the next few months were the *Prince*, 350 negroes; the *Clapham*, 230 negroes; the *African*, 230; the *Indian Queen*, 390; and the *St. Quintin*, the *William and James*, and the *Woosley*. Minutes, Aug. 2, 22, Sept. 26, Dec. 12, Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 288, 300, 320, 358.

[91] [1] T 70: 6, p. 40.

[2] Flint-lock muskets.

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livered, but given to the King as per Capt'n Simpson's declaration: tho' Messrs. Welch and Branston say Mr. Green was willing to Deliver it. Has reced. the Stores per Capt'n Sanders, except a Cask of Nails: Most of the people there have been Sick, he presented Capt'n Sanders with a Man Slave for his passage and Care of the Compa's Stores. Capt'n Coward gave his Tongue a great deal of Liberty in reflecting on the Co. saying they were broken, and that he came from the great Compa. of England. Observes an over Charge of powder in Messrs. Welch and Branston's Accounts.[8]

92. Jamaica and the Assiento.[1]

The Island of Jamaica flourished till the Year 1716, and a considerable Trade was carried on, to near as great a Value as ever was before; and they employed from twelve to fifteen hundred Men in that Trade, which was a great Defence upon Occasion, as well as a Benefit accruing to them from so many Men spending their Money there. And indeed no small Number of these were properly Inhabitants, as being either married, or born there. But in the Year 1716, when the Assiento Factors settled in the West-Indies, that Trade, which was of such prodigious Advantage to that Island, and by which they could gain from twenty-five to thirty per Cent. Monthly, and which was generally allowed to bring in from three to four hundred thousand Pistoles a Year, was, tho' not quite destroyed, yet so affected thereby, as to be rendered very inconsiderable and more precarious: So that it is thought at present, that by the Assiento Company, and private Traders together, there are not near one half of the People now employed that used to be. The ill Effects of this upon the Island of Jamaica are visible and palpable. Whether this Assiento Company have made a better hand on't since they have been concerned, deserves the Enquiry of those who regard the Publick Good. They hitherto have not enjoyed one half of their Time free in Trade, and yet are obliged to pay the whole Duties to the King of Spain, conformable to their Contract, with all other their excessive Charges so constantly increasing. In short, if the Company can make it appear that they have got any thing by the Contract,

[8] On Nov. 20 Baillie wrote: "The prices of Slaves at his arrival were, For men 100 ls. of Cowries and Pow[d]er, 12 Fuzces, 25 Sletias, 5 Rolls of Tobacco, and an Anchor of French brandy. And for Women 40 Iron bars, 80 ls Brass and 4 Rolls of Tobacco. The prices at present are for Men 130 ls. Cowries, 150 ls powder, 12 Guns, 36 Sletias 1½ anchor of French brandy, And 7 Rolls of Tobacco. The price of Women is much the Same as before. But such Slaves as are fitt for Portugueze (which must be without beard and almost as fine as wax work) are not to be bot under 20 per Ct advance on those prices. at Jacquine, Slaves are plenty but dear being in Cowries at 140 ls. and in Fuzees at 15. but the goodness makes amends." T 70: 6, p. 50.

[92] [1] From *The Importance of the British Plantations in America to this Kingdom: with the State of their Trade, and Methods of Improving it: as also a Description of the Several Colonies there* (London, 1731), pp. 43-44.

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they ought to go on and be encouraged; but if it should appear that the Nation has lost by the Bargain, and that one of the most valuable Trades and Islands which we have abroad is well nigh ruined, or in Danger thereby; in stead of sueing to the Spaniards for their Favour in granting us a Trade, which some apprehend to be so much to our Advantage, it is high time to get off from the Contract, and make sure of that which we know hath been, and may again be beneficial. . . .

93. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO THE FACTORS AT PANAMA.[1]

SOUTH SEA HOUSE

LONDON 15th Janry, 1717.

Gent'n, Whereas We have appointed Dudley Woodbridge Esqr. to be Our Agent and Director General at the Island of Barbadoes and for the Windward Coast, the Island of Cuba, St. Augustine and the Coast between the River Nicorago and the City of Campeachy, both River and city inclusive for the managing our affairs relating to the Assiento and such other Matters as We shall think fit to commit to his Trust, Care and Management, And have delivered to him Blank Licences or Passes under the Common Seal of the Company signed by Daniel Wescomb Our Secretary all dated in London the 18th December last (and to be countersigned by the said Mr. Woodbridge and sealed with the Company's arms without Supporters) For Introducing from the Island of Barbadoes into such Port or Ports in the North Seas of the Spanish West Indies of America such and so many Negroe Slaves *vizt.* men Women, Boys and Girles as the respective Licences or Passes shall specify which Licences or Passes are of Two kinds, One giving Liberty to the Persons taking out the same to transport the Fruits of the Spanish West Indies from one part thereof to another, and the other without such Liberty, And whereas We have also Delivered unto the said Mr. Woodbridge A Power under the Company's Seal dated also the said 18th December for Filling up and Issuing out the said Licences or Passes, upon the Parties taking out the same paying a Certain Indulto, and entring into Articles and Bond with Sureties for the Performance thereof, copies of both sorts of which Licences, And of the Company's Power for filling up and Issuing out the same, And also of the Respective Articles adapted to each sort of Licence as the same are Printed in Blank and Delivered to Mr. Woodbridge you have herewith And Whereas We have also Delivered unto the said Dudley Woodbridge a Power under the Company's Seal dated the 18th Dec'r

[93] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 222-224. "To Gilbert Grimes Esqr. and the rest of the Factors of the Royal Assiento Company of Great Britain at Panama."

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authorizing him or his Substitutes in the name and to the use of the company to Seize and Confiscate or lay an Indulto on all negroes unduly Imported, or which shall be unduly imported, as well before as since the Present Assiento, into all or any the Ports or Places of the Windward Coast from the Rio Oronoco to the Rio Grande Magdalena, both Rivers Inclusive, Including also therein the Islands of Hispaniola, St. Juan de Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Margaritas and all other Islands and Places within those Limits And Likewise St. Augustine on the Shore of Florida and the Spanish Coast between the River Nicorago and the City of Campeachy both River and City Inclusive with power to Mark all Negroes so Seized confiscated or Indulted and to give the necessary Certificates and Dispatches concerning the same, copy of which last mentioned Power also you have herewith: And for the better enabling the said Mr. Woodbridge to transact our affairs with success, We have delivered to him several cedulas and circular Letters from the King of Spain to his Governours in the Indies which he is accordingly to present. And whereas We have put the Factories at the Havana and St. Iago de Cuba under the care and management of the said Mr. Woodbridge, He is to Supply the same as also all the Island of Cuba, with such Negroes, Stores and Provisions as the said Factories shall from time to time write for, or as he in his discretion shall think may be there sold to advantage or used.

You are to take notice, that in case any Person taking out a Licence with Liberty of Transporting the Fruits of the Country as aforesaid cannot sell his Negroes at the Particular Port or Ports Limitted by his Licence, In such Case the Licenced Persons may carry the Negroes, or so many as he cannot sell at such Port or Ports, to any other Ports of the Spanish West Indies where the Company have Factors residing, and sell them to the said Factors for account of the Company at the Price of 125 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of India according as the same shall be regulated by the Spanish Royal Officers there, which Negroes you are to take and pay for accordingly giving such a Person a Certificate thereof in order to Mr. Woodbridge's paying him back the Indulto money he paid for the Negroes so sold.

94. Account of Negroes from Jamaica to the Spanish West Indies.[1]

[October 8, 1716-August 3, 1717.]

Account of Negroes sent to the Spanish West Indies on Account of the Assiento from the Island of Jamaica Since the 8th October 1716 the Time when the act took Place as the same was extracted

[1] Add. MSS. 25559, ff. 69v-70, pp. 136-137.

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out of the Companys Letter and Accounts for which duties have been demanded.

Ship's Name	Places sent to in the Spanish West Indies	No. of Negs bot in the Island	No. of Negs brot to Jamaica in the Cos Ships and sent forward thence in the same Ships without Landing or in Sloops of Jamaica	Total No. of Negs in each Ship or Sloop	Day when each Ship sailed	
George Augustus Brig'ne	Carthagena	20		20	5th Dec.	1716
Ditto	La Vera Cruz	83				
Do. taken out of the *John* Galley from Africa on the Co's Accot			47	130	10th Febry	1716
Roy'l Africa Capt. Foott from Africa on the Co's Accot	Carthagena		186	186	12th Febry	1716
Dragoon Sloop	Portobelo	58				
Do. taken out of the *Jno* Galley from Africa on the Co's Accot			154	212	Do.	
Endeavour Sloop	St. Jago de Cuba	75		75	20th Do.	
James Brigantine taken out of the *Kath.* from Africa on the Co's Account	Portobelo		250	250	3d March	
Spee[d]well Sloop	Carthagena	4				
Do. taken out of the aforesaid Ship *Kath.* from Africa on the Companys Account			6	10	22 March	1716
London	La Vera Cruz	25				
Do. taken out of the *Kath.* afores'd			125	150	4th May	1717
Herbert	Carthagena					
Do. taken out of the *Clapham* Capt. Hallum and the *Kath.* from Africa			160	160	24th Do.	
Gree[n]bay Sloop	Portobelo					
Do. taken out of the *Prince* Capt. Snelgrave from Africa			186	186		
Neptune Sloop	St. Iago de Cuba	4				
Do. taken out of the *Kath:* and *Clapham* aforesaid			82	86	5th June	1717
Eagle	Havana	80				
Do. taken out of the *Prince* and *Royal Africa*			52	132	3d Aug'st	1717
		349	1248	1597		
			349			
			1597			

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[October 2, 1717.]

95. On Board the *Dorothy*.[1]

At Sea in the Latitude of 20M South Ab'd the *Dorothy*, Mr. Gunsley, John Ayerst writes that there being 184 Slaves put ab'd the *Dorothy* on Capt'n Alwright's accot. pursuant to Charter party dated 19th September 1717, and 36 Slaves on accot of Wm. Johnson Esqr. at £4 per head freight, it was the Gen'l's opinion that some person should be put aboard to see that Justice be done the Compa., he accordingly by Instructions dated 24th Sept. 1717 appointed Mr. Ayerst, for that purpose, and also gave him Sealed Instructions, which were not to be opened, but in case of the Capt'ns Death.

On the 2d of October he opened those Instructions (Capt'n Barry being Dead) and has taken Charge of the Ship accordingly; promises to take care of the Compa's affairs and to follow Instructions. Sends Copies of his Instructions from Wm. Johnson Esqr.

Mr. Johnson's Instructions to Mr. Ayerst are dated the 24th Sept. 1717, and recommend to him the care of the Negroes, and the speedy return of the Ship: To take care that nothing be put ab'd but what belongs to the Compa., and what shall be put ab'd on Mr. Johnson's particular Acco't. To pay Mr. Gohier £4 per head for the 36 Slaves of Mr. Johnson's, And in Case Mr. Gohier be dead or gone for Europe, to buy for the Compa. Seventy barrels of beef, Forty ½ barrels of pork, Sixty barrels of Flower and One thousand Gallons of Rum, And to Remitt the Money that shall remain, out of the freight of the Negroes, to the Compa. in bills payable at sight.

Mr. Johnson by his Sealed Instructions dated 24th Sept. 1717, Constitutes Mr. Ayerst Commander of the *Dorothy* in Case of the Death of Capt'n Barry.

96. Journal of Fort William, Whydah.[1]

Journal of Occurrences, Trade and Changes commencing The 1st October, 1717.

W'me Fort, Whedah.

Oct. 10, 1717 . . . Sent Bank and Fettera to Dedoon to open a correspondence with that King for Trade, that I may have all his Slaves Such as are Good for my Self and the rest to sell for him to Shipp. But withall they are to stipulate it so as that he may not demand more for his Slaves than the common price nor ask better Goods than the Capt'ns at Town give. What Advantages I propose to him is that if I have any Goods better than another which none else shall happen to have, he may take them all unto his hands and by that

[95] [1]T 70: 6, p. 54.
[96] [1]T 70: 1464.

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means be able to command them at what price he pleases. As also when there is any certain Sort of Goods which he may want and I have not I can secure them to him either from my Windward factorys or the Shipping So soon as they come into the road. I sent him a wickerd Bottle Sperits with a flask for his head Cabb'r [2] and another for Sabezouga who lives in the way and [has] some Influence with him. . . .

Oct'r 15. Returned Bank and Fettera from Dedoom they acquaint me that the King there Seems mighty well pleased with my proposals and promises to send all his Slaves hither. He sent along with him Two of his Boys and 2 Slaves for Boogus [3] and Sletiaes which being so ill as that I cou'd not purchase sent them to Moses to sell for him to the Eng: Capts. . . .

Nov. 5th . . . Sold a man Slave for 4 : 15 Gold by Peter in Jones's crooms

Lent Moun Bauhus' Son 12 cwt. Cow[ries?] for a Man Slave to Bury his father who died This day . . .

1718 Feb. 2. Sold by Simine Sundry Slaves, *vizt.*

3 Men for	81	Sletias
¼ Do for	15	Gunns
2 Women	16	W Botles
8 Boys	36	Chints
	24	culgees
	6	Romaules
	6	Taff:[4]
	40	I. Barrs
1 Girle for	10	Furees [5]

pd all But 27 Sletiaes.

3rd. Pany'd on Tabogahs head—2 men and rec'd 1 woman in full of his Debt . . .

4th. Sold Capt. Blincko 1 man 1 Boy and 6 Women Slaves for 1 M 1 B . . . 14 Searsimors,[6] Man 8, Boy 6. Sld . . . 108 Blue Perpetts 18 Eac. Sold by Sinome to Capt. Tublay 2 Boys for 240 l. Cowries pd me. . . .

5th. Sold the new portuguese Capt. 8 men Slaves for Gold 43 oz. . . .

March 1st . . . Resolve to buy up all the Slaves I can for any Goods except cowries and sell them again to advantage to Capt. Huntington.

Nota. Daniel Vanchesterfleet haveing some time ago lost some Slaves, which were supposd Stolen by Blanco his Boy haveing assisted

[2] Caboceer.
[3] Bowgies or cowries.
[4] Probably taffetas. Culgees were thin, figured silks.
[5] Probably these are fuzees.
[6] Seersuckers?

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the Robbers to Ship him on the way after Takeing his Slaves, I sent a woman on Board Capt. Blinco to Change one that was sold to him, But Baily who was the only man that knew her not being on board I did not get her. However am certainly informed that Capt. Casur sold the Woman as one of his Wives and as such she was markd at his Countrey house and carryd to the Land in the Night. This gives me occasion to reflect on our precarious footting who stay here when he who is the only man Europeans have to depend upon for any pallavor proves himself one of the greatest Rogues. . . .

March 6. Bot: a Boy Slave for 20 I. Barrs—Clois' Received from Daniel Vanchesterfleet 1 man of mine and also a Boy to sell for Tobacco.[7] . . .

97. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

October 10, 1717.

An Assortment of 400 Negroes to be deliver'd for the Service of the Royal Assiento Compa. of Great Britain *vizt.*

240	Men from 20 to 25 Years Old
80	Women from 16 to 20 Years
40	Boys from 10 to 15 Years
40	Girls from 12 to 15 Years
400	

Qry. At what time to deliver them at Curaseau or on the Coast of Guinea. And the distinct prices of the Men, the Women, and the Children delivered at each respective place and where to be paid.

Qry. The Prices also of the Angola Negroes NB The Women as Near as possible to be all Virgins.

400 is a Supposed Quantity the Company are willing to Engage for more. . . .

98. Dudley Woodbridge to the South Sea Company.[1]

London Octo. 16, 1717.

Gent'n, In Obedience to your Commands relating to my Laying a

[7] The journal continues till June with similar items.

[97] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 84v. The Dutch West India Company, through Lewis Renard, had offered on Oct. 3 to supply the South Sea Company with negroes, delivered at such time and place as the company desired. In reply, the committee of correspondence asked for prices on the list here given. On Nov. 5, Renard submitted an estimate for 800 negroes, which was refused (*ibid.,* pp. 83r, 95v). On Sept. 13, 1717, the committee of correspondence had considered a proposal for a supply of negroes from the Danish island of St. Thomas, where they were to be purchased for 104 pieces of eight per head and sold for 250 in Porto Rico. *Ibid.,* p. 83v.

[98] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 84-87. "Mr. Woodbridge pursuant to the desire of this Comm'er the 3d Inst. laid before them an Abstract or Short State of the Companys Affairs

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Short abstract of the Companys Acco'ts that have been under my Management A Scheme for the better carrying on the Negro Trade And what Offers in relation to Farming the Windward Coast Mine and the Several Factors Acco'ts, being under Examination I shall only Just mention that the Neat proceeds of the Sales of Negroes and provisions that came into my hands Amounted to the Sum of £19,150 : 9 *s.* 3 *d.* Barbados money[2] That what has been paid and Remitted on the Companys Acco't (including the 30,000 p's 8's payable by the King of Spain) Amo'ts to £29,183 : 1 : 8¼ so that there has been more return'd already than I had in my hands to the Value of £10,032 : 12 : 5¼ Barbados money.

In which Abstract it must be Observed there's neither an Acco't of what Duty has been paid to the King of Spain, Of the outstanding Debts belonging to the Company in New Spain nor of the produce of 29 Negroes left by Mr. Ramsay at St. Domingo, 7 of which were sold there and 22 at Maracaybo by Mr. Jonathan Sisson but no Acco't of Sales nor proceeds thereof come to hand.

The Duty to the King of Spain I take to be about £6552 : 18 : Barbados money, The Debts outstanding to be £2029 : 16 and the Produce of the Negroes left by Mr. Ramsay may yeild £1740: So that deducting the two latter Sums from the former there remains £2783 : 2 which taken from the £10,032 : 12 : 5¼ Barbados money after Deduction of Duty and all Charges it will appear there has been actually cleared by the Barbados Account, as to my Transactions of the same, the Sum of 7249 *ll.* 10 *s.* 5¼ *d.*

I can Gentlemen make no further Remarks on the gain or loss of the whole, not having had the first Cost of the Voyages to Africa, the Subsequent Charges thereon; or the Neat proceeds of the Invoices I have forwarded.

In order to have the fullest Views for carrying on the Windward Trade, I shall beg leave in the 1st place to refer to some passages in my Letters and Papers that have been allready transmitted to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. 2dly To lay before you what Negroes have been Introduced by the Company and how many of them have been sold there. 3dly The present State and Circumstances of the Islands and provinces that are generally esteemed to be in the Barlovento or Windward Coasts of New Spain, and then 4thly Will follow the Methods of the Companys carrying on the Same with

under his Managem't. Also how the Negro Trade may be carried on to the best Advantage, And also what had Offer'd relating to the Farming out the Windward Trade and referring therein to the Several paragraphs in his Letters and the said Abstract, with the paragraphs of Letters referr'd to were read, which Abstract or State is as follows *vizt.*" Committee of Correspondence, Oct. 17, 1717, Add. MSS. 25550, p. 84.

[2] The rate between sterling and Barbados silver was about 133 to 100; the paper issued early in the century had fallen about forty per cent. below the island's silver. For Barbados, as well as Jamaica, the silver was a miscellaneous collection of Spanish coins.

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the helps and Impediments that may happen therein with some Remarks as to former Assientists.[3] . . .

But I shall proceed in the 2d place to Lay before you what Negroes have been imported and Sold by the Company on the Windward Coast.

Though there has been at Times sent thither 521 Negroes yet the Factors could not get Sale there for but 166 in the space of about 19 Months which were Sold at Low prices and in the following places:

At Caracas	103
At Margarita	3
At St. Domingo	38
Transported from St. Domingo and Sold at Maracaybo	22
Negroes	166

And about 6 or 7 piezas des India, at the Island of Trinidad in very small Negroes (Introduced by Messrs. Denneys by way of Indulto) none of the Inhabitants there being able to come up to the price of a Grown Negro.[4] . . .

This being the present State of those provinces let us consider as to the Companys carrying on the Trade which as I conceive if they keep Intire to themselves can be effected but one of these two ways.

1st By settling Factories, Trusting the Inhabitants, taking their produce and Shipping it for Vera Cruz, the Havana and Old Spain. In such case it would be needfull to have 3 Factories one on the Island of Hispaniola, one at Caracas and one at Maracaybo, what the Charges thereof will amo't to may be computed from those already Settled, only these will require more Servants and Carriers for the Countries are Large and the Debtors will often want dunning. The Compa. may Sell greater or Lesser quantitys of Negroes According to the Length of the Credit they give the Planters. The purchasers depending on the Product they get from the Earth by the Labour of those Negroes for payment, I have been inform'd by Letters from those places that the provinces remain Indebted to the Portugueze Assiento above one Hundred Thousand peices of $\frac{8}{8}$ and to the French

[3] Woodbridge had been an indefatigable correspondent. He here designates some nine letters, some of them containing sixteen sections, in which he had set forth the poverty of the Windward Coast, the character of the Dutch trade and methods for preventing it, a proposition for farming the trade of the Windward Coast, methods for dealing with Spanish officials, the desirability of sending an inspector through the Spanish settlements, and a projected sale of negroes in Santo Domingo.

[4] According to Woodbridge, Trinidad could pay for no more than 5 or 6 *piezas de Indias* a year; the Margaritas took but three negroes from the company's vessels; Hispaniola took but 38 of 85 sent there; Porto Rico was not able to purchase any negroes; the settlements on the Windward Coast of South America could take none; Carácas, the centre of the Venezuelan province, could scarcely pay for more than 50 or 60 slaves a year; 40 would supply Maracaibo; from Rio de la Hacha to Santa Martha there was no sale for negroes. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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nigh that Sum which they are under very small Expectations of ever getting.

The other Method is, by Sending Sloops down calling at each port and what Negroes they can't sell and receive some payments for in a few days, to proceed with to the more Leeward parts, and what are not Sold there to be Deliver'd to the Companys Factorys at Carthagena Puerto Bello, Havana, or Vera Cruz, as shall be Order'd. . . .

By 4 Sloops being Imploy'd in this Trade one may go out every Month in the Year from Barbados allowing them three Months each in a Voyage which may be more than Sufficient for it has been made by Several Sloops Stopping at St. Domingo to the Havana, and return'd thro the Gulph in two Months, and some few days. . . .

The best Method of Renting esteemed by former Assientists has been by the pieza de India, fixing a certain Number to be Introduced, per Annum at Some Large Indulto and a Less rate on what Exceeded the Number agreed on. And this has been preferr'd to Letting by any Gross Sum (without regard to the Pieza de India) which in many Cases did not so Equitably Answer.

So that there remains to be consider'd, in Case the Company should rent out the Windward Coast together w't quantity of Piezas de India and what rate for each may be thought reasonable.

But if the Company should rather chuse to let them in Seperate parcels, Or to let persons Introduce by Indulto for particular Limited Voyages, Perhaps in either of those Cases more Mony might be had but greater Inconveniencys might arise by Letting in so many Persons, at such a Distance for such small Affaires. Damages mought be considerable e're prevented, and the Dependences or Expectance the Company might have, very precarious, And in such Case the Bargains and Accomptings could often be much more Advantageously made by some person impower'd from the Company in those parts, than possibly by always resorting to the Company at Such a Distance.

And if rented together I question whether any person can advantageously propose to be tied up to Introduce more than 100 piezas de India per annu. and pay 80 ps ℔ for each pieza de India, with a smaller Duty for what he exceeds that Number.

The Renter to be Intitled to the Priviledges of the Assiento Contract, and to bear and Save harmless the Company from all Expence and Charges.

And this for the whole Windward Coast, *vizt.* from the River Oronoque to Rio Magdalena on the Continent Including the Islands of Trinidad, Hispaniola, Margaritas and Puerto Rico, but in such

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Case it would be proper for the Company to Limit the Renter not to Introduce above 20 piezas de India into S'ta Martha or any place to Leeward of Rio de la Hacha, for fear of Damaging the Trade of S'ta Fee as formerly hinted.

99. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday, 22d Octo'r, 1717.

Present: S'r W'm Chapman, Mr. Chester, Mr. Blunt. [Mr. Woodbridge read as follows:]

A Method for carrying on the Assiento to the Windward Coasts to the Havanah, and the other parts of the Island of Cuba without Hazard or Charge, And with a certain Profit to the Company.[2]

1st That the Company impower their Agent at Barbados to give out passes or grant Licenses to any person or persons to carry any Number of Negroes to any of the said ports for such Indulto as the Company shall think fitt to Limit.

2dly That the Indulto be allways paid down or good Security taken for the same in behalf of the Company before the License and Dispatches are delivered.

3dly That each License be for one Limited Voyage only and that on the Conclusion thereof the Licens'd Persons return Directly to the Island of Barbados.

4th That the Indulto to be paid to the Company in Consideration of such pass be either so much upon every pieza de India as they shall be regulated at by the Spanish Royal Officers or else by the Heads that shall be Ship'd off (by Virtue of the pass granted) In which last Case it will be necessary to make a difference between grown persons and Children something like what is done by the Royal Officers *vizt.* Children under 6 Years Old to be allow'd two or 3 for one, Boys between 6 and 16 Years Old, and Girls from 6 to 12 or 13 be allowed 3 for 2 and Males from 16 Years upwards and Females from 12 or 13 Years upwards every head to be a pieza.

5th If the Indulto for the Windward Coasts was 80, And to the Havanah 100 p's ⅞ per head for Grown persons and pro rato as above for Children it is very probable a great many Licenses would be Annually taken.

6th But the Indulto to be paid may be either Settled by the Company, and so their Agents at Barbados will have no Trust in that re-

[99] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 88-90.

[2] Resolutions 2, 3, and 4 correspond to nos. 4, 9, and 10 of Woodbridge's suggestions.

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spect reposed in them but only to grant Licenses to all such as shall desire them, or Else it may be left to the Agents at Barbados to Agree for the prices of the Indulto from time to time with every person on the best Terms that can be got for the Company.

7th If the Indulto should be paid on the Numbers Ship'd off, If any dye before Landing, or the Ship be lost with the Negros therein it Seems reasonable to grant a License, for the like Number and to the same place Gratis, In Lieu of those dead or Lost.

8th The persons taking the License to be Obliged to have all the Negroes regulated by the Spanish Royal Officers and to deliver such Regulations together with their Licenses and Dispatches to the Companys Agents at Barbados on their return thither, Since such Regulations (by the Royal Officers) are not only Necessary for the Company in Order to the making up their Accounts of the Dutys with the King of Spain, but are also of Use to Check the Licensed, in respect to the Numbers of Negros they carry.

9th That the Companys Agent Mark every Negroe, with the Companys Mark before the Shipping thereof.

10th If any Negro not Mark'd be found on board any Vessel having such License with any Appearance of Intention to be Ship'd off, The person taking the License to forfeit £100 for every such Negro.

11th Children generally sell best on the Windward Coast, where the people are very poor, and few can reach the price of a grown Negro. So that if the Company should think fit to Order any of their Ships from Africa, when they have too many Children to Touch at Barbados and deliver some of them to the Company's Agents there, They would probably yeild a better price there than Else where and farther enable persons by the purchase thereof, to Carry on the Licensed Trade to the Windward Coasts.

12th Cocoa being almost the only produce of the Windward Coast, If the Licensed persons can have the Liberty to carry the same from thence to any more Leeward Places of the Spanish West Indies, or to Old Spain, As the Company have by the Assiento Contract, they mought afford to give 100 p's ⅞ for those Windward Licenses as well as to the Havana and in such Case they may be put under all imaginable Restrictions and Severe penaltys to carry nothing but Cocoa to any of the said Leeward Spanish ports in the West Indies.

Resolutions of the Committee. Resolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this Comm'ee that it Appears to them the most likely way for the Company to reap any Benefit from the Windward Coast is to Impower their Agent at Barbados either to Grant Licenses or Passes from time to time to any person or persons to carry any Number

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of Negroes as they shall desire from Barbadoes to the Windward Coast at 80 p's for every Grown Person and proportionably for Children as herein after is mentioned or Else to farm the Sole Trade to the Windward Coast as farr as Rio de la Hatch Inclusive to any Person or Persons for a certain Term not exceeding 3 Years and for any Number of Negroes not less than 100 at 80 p's per head for Grown Persons and proportionably for Children as after is also Mentioned. . . .

5. If any dye before Landing or the Ship be lost with the Negros therein upon proof thereof a like Number may be Imported Gratis in Lieu of those Dead or lost, The Persons importing the Negros to be Obliged at their Charge to have all the Negros Regulated by the Spanish Royal Officers and to deliver such Regulations together with their Licenses or other Dispatches to the Companys Agent at Barbados on their return thither since such Regulations by the Royal Officers are not only Necessary for the Company in Order to the making up their Accounts of the Duties with the King of Spain But are also of Use to Check the Licensed Persons or Farmers in respect to the Number of Negros they Carry.

6. That if it be by way of License the Indulto be always paid down to the Companys Agent in Barbados or good Security taken for the same in behalf of the Company before the License or other Dispatches are delivered.

7. If by way of License every such License to be for one Limited Voyage only and that on the Conclusion thereof the Licensed Persons return directly to the Island of Barbadoes. . . .

100. The Directors of the South Sea Company to John Cumberlege and Peter Walsh.[1]

South Sea House,
London, 31st Octob. 1717.

. . . We have received from Our Carthagena Factory Acco't of Sales of the 40 Negroes you carried from thence and are pleased with the good Markets you find and approve yo'r remitting to that Factory the Accounts of your Proceedings which also do to us as often as opportunity offers.

We note the 3 Prizes bro't in by the Guarda Coast Sloop, One with 6 negroes reg'd at 3 p's India 1/6. Another with 44 reg'd at 36 Do. after Regist'd in the Kings Books 25 ps. Another with 3 reg'd at ½ and 1/3 p's India which negroes you had bo't of the

[100] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 165-166. Cumberlege and Walsh were South Sea Company factors at Santiago, Cuba.

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Captors at 110 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's India pursuant to Cedula granted to the French Ass'o Company and afterwards sold, which we approve and would have you continue so to do upon all occasions. And herewith you have a Like Cedula granted by the King of Spain to this Company, whereby the Captors are obliged to sell you all Prize Negroes at pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 110 per p's India.

We note the Supplies of Negroes you have received, 16 per Mr. Cumberlege from Jamaica 30 from Catha. and 75 per the Sloop *Endeavour*. But of these Negroes you don't say that you have sold any except 2 Negroe Women to the Governour at 150 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ each and 1 Negroe man to the Royal Officers at the same Price on account of their low Regulations. But you are to observe that We can have no Manner of Benefit from low Regulations unless We import above 4800 Negroes ps of India per annum which hitherto We have fallen very short of and therefore cannot be worth while to buy that favour.[2] . . .

We have received from Carthagena the Process relating to the Negroes Stranded on the north side of yo'r Island, and sold by your Gov'r and Royal Officers, and observe you got it determined in our favour upon entring into obligations to be accountable for the Produce should his Cath: Maj'ty revoke the Sentence. We have transmitted these autos with the Account sent of the net proceed of these Negroes to Madrid with the necessary directions to Our Agents for getting the Sentence ratify'd, and when finished shall advise the Carthagena Factory and you.

We understand the Duties for the said Negroes amo. to 1157 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, 4½ for 34¾ p's India have been made good to the King's Chest at Carthagena, so We have writ to Madrid to Our Agents to take care We be not charged there with the said Duties.

We approve Your bringing Garvey the French Factor to Account for the Negroes he introduced since May 1713, being 25 negroes making 9 p's India and your compounding it with him for 1000 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ he to pay the King's duties being 300 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ more which was all you could get. Will it not be necessary that you send us Certificates that the said Duties are paid in order to Our accounting with the King of Spain? We approve the reasons you give for deferring to publish the Indulto, and observe that yo'r Gov. is expecting the King of Spain's Comm. for Indulting Negroes Illicitly Introduced in the French's time which may be of Disadvantage to us, unless We procure a General Cedula of Indulto as you recomend,

[2] That is, in the payment of the customs no advantage could be gained by the English until 4800 *piezas de Indias* had been introduced. Low regulation, which called for more negroes to a *pieza*, only postponed the achievement of that goal.

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which we are endeavouring at and in a little time You'l know the Result.

You complain of the Prize Negroes being Congos and apt to run away. You'l caution against any being sent you of that sort. . . .

We note yo'r having Imployed a Doctor at 80 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per ann'm and he to find Medicines and a Serv't to look after the Negroes at 100 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ which we approve of. And that the Carthagena Factory had not named Mr. Walsh's salary but refer it to us. You should have given us some hint what he expects from our Government, for want of which We give Our opinion you may allow him from 5 to 600 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per ann'm if you find he deserves it.

We note the Vent of Negroes in yo'r Place 150 to 200 per Ann'm and that you could sell much more in Barter for Sugars and Tobacco and have considered what you propose as to giving Orders to Our Agents at Jamaica on yo'r advice to send you a ship of about 150 tuns to be Loaded with Sugars for Our Account and sent to Cadiz, and being desireous from the encouragement you give Us to make such an adventure, do now give directions to Our Agents at Jamaica, That on your advice they hire such a ship on the best Terms they can and send you with such a Quantity of Negroes as you shall write for and on her arrival having cleared the Negroes, load her with Sugars which you will provide against her coming consigning them to Messrs. Braddyl and Horn at Cadiz with orders to sell them for Our account.

You are to give the Ship all Possible dispatch to prevent demorage and take care to give the M'r such an Authentick Certificate That the Effects put on board are the Produce of the Negroes and also such Authentick Reg'r of the Goods put on board as are required by the 17th and 26 Arts. of the Assiento.[3]

You are also to take particular Care that nothing be put on board, but what is the Produce of our Negroes, nor any Spanish Passengers, it being contrary to the 26th Art.

We would not have you baulk the Sales of Our Negroes for want of them but always give timely notices to Our Agents at Jamaica who have Our Orders constantly to supply you against such times as you write for 'em. Our Agents at Jamaica advise us of the return of the Sloop *Neptune* from your Place having delivered you the 86 Negroes put on board in good order.

[3] Art. XVII. gives to the assientists liberty to load those goods which are the produce of the negroes, and if desired to send them under convoy of the flotas. Art. XXVI. provides that if such goods are sent to ports of Spain the captain shall give to the Spanish minister an authentic register of his lading; if to ports of Great Britain, such an account is to be sent to Spain.

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101. Vessels for Guinea, Jamaica, and the Spanish West Indies.[1]

Oct. 31, 1717.

		negrs.
7 June	*John* Galley Captn. Coward	350
1 July	*Hannover* Galley Captn Robt. Sikes	240
30 Do	*Melcomb* Galley Captn Wall	260
27 August	*George Augustus* Captn. Huntington	440
5 Sept.	*Crown* Galley Captn. Cunningham	300
		1590

102. Daniel Wescomb to William Popple.[1]

South Sea House,
15th Novem'r 1717.

Wm. Popple Esqr.

S'r. Your letter of the 6th Inst. to Mr. Ury has been laid before the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company, and as to that part where You Signify the desire of the Rt. Hon'ble the Lords Com'rs for Trade and Plantations to be informed what Proof the Company have that the Duty has been demanded and paid for the Negroes who are only put into Jamaica for Refreshment, I am commanded to acquaint you for the Information of their Lordships that they have annexed hereto Extracts of Letters on that Subject which they have receed. from their Agents on the said Island. And an account of Negroes sent from Jamaica to the Spanish West Indies on account of the Assiento, since the Act for laying the Duty took place: As well as those which were bought in the said Island as those which were Imported by the Company in their own Ships, tho' only so many were Landed in order to recover them as were sick And the others carryed off in the same Ships as well as those landed and Refreshed and carried off in the Sloops of the Country.

And as to their Lordships desire to know what objections the Company have to the paying the Duties upon the Exportation of their

[101] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 173. This statement is contained in a letter from the directors of the company to the agents at Cartagena. They go on to say that in future they may send cargoes directly from Africa to the factory, since the charges for exchanging the refuse for the fit in Jamaica are heavy and since they wish to avoid the Jamaica duty of 20 per cent., levied by an act of November, 1716. If this is done the factory at Cartagena must be provided with provisions, and places to care for the sick negroes. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

[102] [1] Add. MSS. 25559, f. 67. Wescomb was secretary of the South Sea Company, William Popple of the Board of Trade. On Feb. 3, 1717, the company sent to Popple a statement of the reasons why it objected to paying the Jamaica export duty, along with extracts from letters from the Jamaica factors, testifying that the duty had been demanded from them (Add. MSS. 25555, pp. 149-153). On Oct. 23 a committee of the company prepared a petition against the duty act, which was referred to the Board of Trade on Oct. 31, 1717. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 727-729.

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Negroes bought in that Island as the Inhabitants there do, The Directors refer their Ldships to the reasons set forth in their Petition and in the Representation of their Agents Annexed thereto by which may be seen the many advantages arising to the Island from the Companys Ships touching there and Refreshing the Negroes and sending them to the Spanish Ports in their own Ships or the Sloops of the Island.

Besides which the Company conceive it to be contrary to the Practice of all Nations where Goods are imported duty free to Burthen them upon their Re-exportation and they cannot but deem this Duty to be an Infringement upon the Assiento Contract, In which his Maj'ty and the King of Spain are parties. That after a Contract has been entered into for 30 Years that Trade should be burthened with new Dutys and may occasion a misunderstanding with the King of Spain, and be of ill consequence: Where fore the Company humbly hope their Ldships will be pleased duly to Consider the same and make such report to his Majesty as may Incline him to grant what the Company have desired in their Petition.

Extracts of Letters from Messrs. Thompson, Pratter and Haselwood, Agents to the South Sea Compa. at Jamaica to the Court of Directors.

7th Febry 1716/7. We have twice applyed to our Gov'r and desired that the Com'rs for receiving the Duty of Negroes exported might have directions to Permit Us to Bond the Negroes exported to be paid on the first Notice of the Acts passing at home: Or that His Excell'y would receive the said Duties himselfe, and keep it in Possession to pay it back to Us in Case the Act don't pass at home, he at first denyed it; but on our pressing him a 2d Time, Answer'd he would advise with some Friends, and if he found it in his power would do it to Serve Your Hon'rs which when known shall acquaint you with it.

On the 3d Inst. arrived the *Royal Africa* Capt. Foott at the Cays with 251 Slaves. On Application our Gov'r has given us leave to Wood and Water.

On the 29 Ulto. arrived the *John* Galley Capt. Dunckley with 242 Negroes, has buried 2 since in Harbour. We have carefully looked over His Negroes and find shall be obliged to take out 32. This ship was by the Pylot brought to at the Cays in order to save the Duty laid on Negroes Exported, but as it has happened it could not be done, Capt. Dunckley off of Hispaniola in the night Time met a hard Squale of Wind that did a great deal of Damage to his Rudder and Starnpost, so that his Ship not capable to proceed without careening w'ch obliged her to Come into Port and Since that the Master has hired a good Sloop to carry his Negroes to Portebelo, so that We shall be obliged to pay Duty for these Negroes.

5th March 1716/7. Our Governor has given Us for Answer in relation to our Bonding the Duties, That he will not meddle with it, As yet we have only paid for the 20 Negroes sent to Carthagena per the *George Augustus.*

On the 18th arrived Capt. Samuel Heartsease in the *Kath:* Galley with 464 Negroes. The Pilot went on board with our Letter to desire him to bring his

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Ship to at Cays, but as he broke his Windliss at Jaquine came into the Harbour, and told it was impossible to secure his Ship at the Cays and that his Men were very Refractory so that he did not care to go down in the Ship, but would rather hire Vessels to carry his Slaves.

7th April 1717. We observe Your Hon'rs will do what you can to prevent the Act passing, And as We have told You the Misfortune of your own Ships that obliged them to come into Port, makes your Duty amount to a large Sum which at present is unpaid save only £20 and till we hear further from Your Hon'rs have resolved to stand their Duns and even Arrests, if the Government shall think they ought to use such means to make Us comply rather than part with the Money, We believe the Com'rs will not Permit us to Ship any more Negroes before the Duty is paid down. . . .

20th July 1717. Since Our last the Government have order'd a Bill in Chancery to be filed against us for the recovery of the Duty of the Negroes Capt. Foott carried for Carthagena. We presume it is already adjudged Yo'r Hon'rs must pay for them as well as those that come into Port, tho' for those per Capt Foott the Gov'r [2] would hardly permit us to put on board what was absolutely Necessary for the use of the Slaves, nor was the Ship within Gunshot of the Harbour, We have fee'd Council to defend it, in hopes your next will bring an account of the Acts being rejected and an order for the Dutys being paid back.

20th Aug'st 1717. The Com'rs for receiving the Duty on Negroes exported would not Permit the Sloop *Eagle* to pass the Fort before had paid down the Money. And We have since reced. a Summon by order of the Government for the payment of the Duties of the other Negroes exported, and unless a Vessel arrives in a few Days and brings an account of that Acts being rejected, and an Order to have the Dutys paid back, We shall have Judgement passd against Us for it, unless we can find some Flaw in that Declaration, and by that means put the Clause by for 3 Months w'ch shall endeavour to do.

Our Assembly is now sitting and We fear will lay the same or a greater Duty on the exportation of Negroes than last Year being told by some of our Friends, the Major part are very warm on that Subject. We believe they think it an easy way of raising Money to pay the debts of the Country. We were the other day told by one of the Gentlemen of the Council that tho' your Hon'rs might have Int'st enough to prevent any Act of this Island passing at Home; Yet as soon as one was rejected they could make another, which would remain good till the Arrival of advice that the same was rejected. We cannot think of any other ways to prevent those people Imposing what Duty they please on Your Hon'rs than an Act of Parliament or an Instruction from his Majesty to the Gov'r that no Act wherein your Interest is Concerned shall be in force till his Royal Pleasure be known.[3]

[2] Sir Nicholas Lawes.

[3] The Board of Trade reported unfavorably on the bill and on Jan. 9, 1718, the Privy Council annulled it, with a general order forbidding the passage of any similar act (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 728-729). For the action of the board see *B. T. Jour.*, 1714-1718, p. 319.

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103. Dudley Woodbridge to the South Sea Company.[1]

London, November 18th 1717.

Gent'n, . . .[2]

7. Messrs. Andrew Thomson and John Riddock who Went down to Carthagena with 300 of the Comp's Negros, and were to have had 3 per Cent for Commission on Sales and 3 on Returns, but Mr. Thomas Wood being there before them they could not be Admitted, without they would part with the Moiety of their Commission to said Wood, which at length they Submitted to, as they Allege purely for the Interest of the Company. They therefore think it Equitable that the Company Should in Some Measure releive them, and reallow them that Sum which Amounted to 1600 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ and was so Extorted from them, especially Since they were at Great Expences after Mr. Pyms Arrival to get back to Barbados via Jamaica etc.: inso much that the Commissions they recd. did not bear their Charges till their return.

8. Mr. Nathaniel White who went to Carracas with 140 of the Comp's Negros, and not Selling but few [of] those the Remainder were deliverd to Mr. Wm. Cleland, and Carried to the Havana. When he engaged in that Voyage, he proposed that the Negros would have Sold at least for 250 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head per which his Commission would have come to 1050 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ And that Voyage to be Compleated in 8 or 9 Weeks at farthest, But instead of that he was out 8 or 9 Months and returned by the Way of Curaçao, Martinique etc.: and was out of Pocket he says above 300 *ll.* He Complains heavily to me on this Head and hopes the Company will have Some Consideration for him.

9. Mr. Wm. Ramsay, who was the Companys Factor, and who toucht at Several Ports, and after staid at St. Domingo, Likewise was much disappoint'd in his Expectations of Commission (by the Negros not Vending) and was long out at Great Expences loosing the Business he had been in before at Barbados, and hopes the Company will have Some regard to Such his Disappointm't.

[103] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 97-99. At a meeting of the committee of correspondence on Nov. 19 two papers from Mr. Woodbridge were read. The first presented to the committee a series of questions, the most important of which were: (1) What indulto should be demanded for negroes illicitly imported? (2) Ought not St. Augustine, which might take from 10 to 15 *piezas de Indias* a year, to be included in the territory for which licenses could be granted? (3) Ought not a second factor to be appointed at Havana, since one had resigned? The second paper presented is here printed.

[2] No. 1 suggests the desirability of having copies of all cedulas granted to former assientists in the hands of the factors; no. 2 urges a general order forbidding Spanish officials to appoint themselves judges conservators; nos. 5 and 6 complain of the activities of the Spanish *guarda costa* ships, which have seized a number of English vessels that were carrying no contraband.

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10. Mr. Jonathan Sisson who recd. the Negros left by Mr. Ramsay at St. Domingo and Sold them at Maracaybo has not Sent up Account of Sales or any Returns nor the Regulation of those he Carried by way of Indulto, nor any Account of what Debts he recd. of the Companys at Carracas, but remains there or Passes backwards and forwards from Curaçoa to Carracas altho he gave Security to leave the Spanish Coast before the first of October 1716 and to return and Account at Barbados: The Reasons he gives for his Stay there is, (as he says) on the Account of Some Law Suits that he has Engaged in by the Seizing of Several Contraband Negros for the Company, and that he is preventing the Dutch Trade from Curaçoa in Flower etc.

He informs me Likewise that he has Introduced more Negros which he Bought at Curaçoa besides the 25 he Carried with him from Barbados, So that if your Hon'rs please, I think it may be necessary that I be directed how to behave in this Affair That if Mr. Sisson should return to Barbados whether on his Accompting for the Comp's Negros Sold, Debts recd. and paying Indulto for those (tho more than Included in the Pass) that were Introduced, whether I should accept of the Same and acquit his Bonds, or what other Method to take with his Securitys in Barbados either on his Returning or how to Act Should he not Return All which is humbly Submitted to your Hon'rs Comands by etc.

104. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

November 19, 1717.

And the Committee having Considerd the Several Clauses Contained in the said Papers and Discoursed Mr. Woodbridge thereupon, came to the following Resolutions *vizt.*

Res'd, That as to the first Clause in Paper No. 1 relating to the Indulto on Negros Illicitly imported on the Windward Coast It is the Opinion of this Committee that the Said Indulto be Settled on each P's of India So Introduced at 100 p's § One third whereof after Deducting the King of Spains Duty to be allowed to the Person who shall be Employ'd in recovering the Said Indulto for his Pains and Trouble and Charges therein, and in recovering, and paying the Money and towards the Rewards which may be given to the Gov'rs Royal Officers or others who may be Assisting therein, or 40 p's § clear to the Compa. and 26 2/3 to the Person for all his Charges and expence as above.

[104] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 99-101.

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As to the 2d Article. The Committee are of Opinion, That St. Augustine lyeing on the Continent upon the Florida Shore near the Mouth of the Gulph be Included in the Licences. . . .

As to the Paper No. 2.

First Clause. The Committee are of Opinion That Mr. Woodbridge endeavour to Obtain Abstracts of all the Cedulas Granted to the French in the Several Places under his Managem't in Order to the Comp's enjoying the Same Priviledges and Advantages which they had and where he finds it Material Copies. . . .

As to the 3d. That the King of Spains Cedula be Obtained to remove the French Agents at Carracas or elsewhere.

As to the 4th relating to the 8 Negros Seized by the Presid't of St. Domingo. The Committee are of Opinion that it be Left to Mr. Woodbridge to Determin that Matter either by Confiscation or Indulto in the best Manner he can for the Companys Advantage And that he have Power out of the Produce to gratify the Government. . . .

As to the 10th relating to Mr. Sisson. The Comittee are of Opinion that if he returns soon to Barbados to render a Just and true Acco't to Mr. Woodbridge of all the Comp's Negros under his Managem't and also an Acco't of what Debts he has rec'd of the Comp's at Carracas, and Pays the Produce to Mr. Woodbridge Also Pays to him Such Indulto as Mr. Woodbridge shall think Proper [2] for the Negros he has Introduc'd more than those he Carried with him from Barbados, in Such Case that his Bond may be Cancell'd otherwise that the Same be Sued, and that he also use Proper Measures to Compel him to return.

Ord'd, That the Secretary Prepare Drafts of Articles and Instruc's to be given to Mr. Woodbridge upon the foregoing Matters and other Matters agreed on by the Committee. . . .

105. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

Nov. 20, 1717.

Resolved That it is the opinion of this Court That the Company is not chargeable with Freight for the Twenty Eight negroes taken out of the *Royal Africa* Captn. Foott by the Pyrates nor for any Comission thereupon, But that in case any of the Negroes shall be recovered, in such Case that the Company will make good freight and comission for those recovered. . . .

[2] This was reaffirmed at a meeting of the court of directors Nov. 20, 1717, with the additional phrase, "not under One hundred p's of India". *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

[105] [1] Add. MSS. 25497, pp. 160-164. The resolutions passed by the directors, reaffirming those of the committee of correspondence of Nov. 19, are here omitted.

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Resolved That Mr. Woodbridge be allowed 4 per cent for issuing the Licences when the money for the same shall be received and Four per cent for remitting the returns thereof, and Four per cent on the net proceed of the Indulto and the same on the net proceeds of all Prize Negroes.

Resolved That a Commission of Ten Shillings per head be allowed on all negroes he shall take out of the Company's ships and Reship on any other vessel or sloops and that for all negroes, which he shall buy or sell for the Company's Account Four per Cent Commission.

Resolved That it be an Instruction to Mr. Woodbridge that he endeavour all he can to avoid paying the King of Spain's duties in the Spanish West Indies for Negroes Indulted.

106. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Jamaica.[1]

15th January, 1717/8.

. . . We direct that you endeavour to Procure as many Good Merchantable negroes as you can, not exceeding 200 to be reserved out of any that shall arrive for Our Accounts and for want of such to Purchase them on the best Terms you can with the necessary Provisions that they may be ready to be put on board on her [the *London*] arrival so as not to detain the said ship in your Port. . . . Dispatch her directly to Portobelo.[2] . . .

107. The Case of the *Anne* Galley.[1]

15 Feb'ry 1717/8(?).

Derick Hanson et Socii nuper Nautae Navis cujusdem nuper vocatae the *Anne* Galley (cujus Benjaminus Clarke defunctus nuper et postea Nicolaus Kidgell fuerunt Magistri) contra Sherman Godfrey armigerum Gulielmum Coleman et Socios proprietarios seu in parte proprietarios dictae Navis ejusque apparatuus et accessiones in quadam Causa substraccionis Salarii ac Civili et Maritima.

Garrett. Sayer

Quo die Sayer nomine procurationis ac ut procurator ultimus dictorum Sherman Godfrey armigeri et Gulielmi Coleman nuper proprietorum 3/9 partium dictae Navis the *Anne* Galley omnibus melioribus et efficacioribus via modo et juris forma necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur vizt.

[106] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 212. This letter encloses the Order in Council repealing the export duty on negroes and forbidding the passage of any act in future laying a duty on negroes landed for refreshment only.

[2] On Feb. 26 the destination of the *London* was shifted to Cartagena. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[107] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 132, no. 32, pt. 4.

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1. Imprimis. That Derick Hanson, Richard Page John Griffee and John Hornby the marriners mentioned in the Summary Petition given in and admitted in this Cause were all hired in or about the begining of Dec'r 1716 by the said Benjamin Clarke deceased late Master of the said Ship the *Anne* Galley to serve as marriners on board her in her then intended Voyage from this Port of London to Gamboa and other places on the Coast of Guinea in Affrica and from thence to the Island of St. Christophers in America and back again to the Port of London under the Command of the said Master and were to receive no Wages for their service on board her til her Arrival and delivery at the Island of St. Christophers afores'd And this was and is true publiq and notorious and soe much the said Mariners or sev'l of them have confessed and declared to be true Ponit tamen de quolibet alio tempore etc. Et ponit conj'n div'm et de quolibet.

2. Item That the said Ship the *Anne* Galley together with her Tackle Apparell and Furniture and the fitting her out to Sea for the said Voyage and the Cargoe of Goods then carryed in her on her Owners Accompt from this Port of London to Gamboa and other places on the Coast of Guinea with incident Charges cost the said Sherman Godfrey Esqr. William Coleman and the rest of her then Owners at this Port of London ab't the Summe of 1800 *l.* sterling and all such part of her said Cargoe as she deliver'd at Gillifree, Tower [Joar?] or elsewhere on the Coast of Guinea were sold and barter'd away on board her for 82 Negroes ab't 10 l. w't of Elephants Teeth and 10 oz. of Barr Gold and no other Goods on the joynt Accompt of her then Owners and consign'd to be deliver'd to Drewry Ottley and Thomas Ottley who were then Owners of 2/9 parts of the said ship at the island of St. Christophers afores'd ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis valore bonis etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item That all the aforesaid Negroes, Elephants Teeth and Barr Gold were brought on board the said ship at sea by persons inhabiteing upon the said Coast of Guinea, and the Goods which they had in barter for the same were carryed by them from on board her on shore as is usually done by the said Inhabitants upon their tradeing with English ships there. And this was and is true publick and notorious and well known to the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Company aforesaid ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis valore et bonis etc. Et ut supra.

4. Item That none of the aforesaid places where the sd *Anne* Galley traded at and deliver'd the said Goods upon the afores'd Coast of Guinea are ports of delivery or soe accompted reputed or taken and this was and is true publick and notorious and well known to

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the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Company afores'd Et ponit ut supra.

5. Item. That the place where the said Ship the *Anne* Galley was forced on shore staved in peices and lost which was at or near Mountserat on or ab't the nineteenth of Aug't last past was and is about Ten Leagues from the Island of St. Christophers and the sixteene or seventeene Negroes which were then saved out of her swam all on shore and saved themselves without any aid or assistance from the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Compa. afores'd or any of them and all the rest of the aforesaid Negroes which were on board her when she soe ran on shoar were drowned and lost and soe much the said marriners or several of them have confessed and declared Ponit tamen etc. Et ut supra. . . .

7. Item. That all the afores'd Negroes Barrs of Iron Masts Yards and other Materialls and things which were saved from and out of the said ship as aforesaid [2] were delivered to the said Drewry Ottley and Thomas Ottley at the Island of Mountserat or St. Christophers afores'd who there sold all the said negroes (except an old Man and an old Woman of little worth and another old Woman which was much bruised and dyed there for ab't the summe of 470 *l.* 12 *s.* 9 *d.* of that Country money and not more, the charges of such Sale and provisions for the s'd negroes and cash given the sailors for cloths deducted and all the afores'd masts yards Materialls and other things (Except the said Iron) were and are of little worth at the s'd Islands of Montserat and St. Christophers to wit of the value of ab't 70 *l.* and not more out of which upwards of 40 *l.* to be deducted for salvage etc. And soe much was and is well knowne to the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Company afores'd Ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis bonis etc. Et ponit ut supra.

8. Item. The party proponent for supply of proof of the Three next precedent articles doth here exhibit two Letters bearing date the Twenty Eighth of Aug't [3] and the thirtieth of October last past and

[2] One hundred and twenty bars of iron, and masts and rigging, all amounting to £70, were saved from the vessel.

[3] Aug. 28, 1717, Drewry Ottley to William Coleman: ". . . I am now to give you the Melancholy Acc't of that unfortunate shipp, *Ann* Galley, sometime in June Dyed poor Clarke in Gambo River, and in the beginning of July, the negroes Rose upon them, by which means, six of them jumpt over Board, and Two was kill'd, on the 17th they sayl'd out of the River, and on the 19th Instant were cast ashore in a storm on the Island of Montserat and all the slaves (except sixteen) were drown'd . . . all the Slaves they purchas'd was not upwards of 80, Instead of 160, and I hear of no more of the Cargo that was Return'd Except some small Armes. . . . Notwithstanding so few of the slaves were saved there is no Ready pay to be had for any, unless att a verry low Rate, and provision of all sorts so verry scarce and Dear, occasion'd by the storm, that feeding them would be verry Expencive, and Four of them are so very much Cutt and Bruised comeing ashore in so great a Sea, that they will not be fitt to Expose to sayle in less than 2 or 3 Weeks. Shall make the most I can possibly of them. A Shipp of Mr. Cabibells arriveing the next day with 90 negroes is some small hindrance; I have

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the Accompt of the Sales of the aforesaid Negroes which the said William Coleman received from the said Drewry Ottley from the Island of St. Christophers afores'd and are now remaining within the Registry of this Court and alleageth that the same were and are all wrote subscribed and superscribed or at least subscribed by and with the proper hand of the said Drewry Ottley and soe knowne to be by severall persons who were and are well acquainted with his handwriting and that the contents of the afores'd Exhibits were and are true and soe had and done as is therein contained. And that the said Ship *Anne* Galley and Nicholas Kidgell her late Master therein mencioned and the Ship *Anne* Galley and Nicholas Kidgell mentioned in the said Summary Petition were and are the same Ship and person and not several and soe accompted reputed and taken. Et ponit ut supra.

9. Item. That neither the said Sherman Godfrey Esqr. or William Coleman nor Richard Rawlins or George Letton of London Merchants two other of the late Owners of the said Ship have as yet received any part of the produce of the said Negroes. . . .

10. Item. That the aforesaid late Owners of the said Ship and Cargoe have by reason of her being lost as aforesaid sustained Damage to about the summe of Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterling Ponit tamen de quolibet alia Summa etc. Et ut supra.

11. Item That the said William Coleman neither is nor ever was the Husband or Mannager of the affaires of the said ship *Ann* Galley nor had the mannagement thereof dureing the Voyage in question nor was any wayes concerned in the Repaireing or fitting her out for such Voyage or for any former Voyage or Voyages and he neither has received nor is to receive Freight for any Goods or Merchandizes which were laden in her nor ever had in his hands any such Freight and in reallity and truth the said ship never made any freight after the said Messrs Godfrey, Coleman, Rawlins, Letton and the Ottleys became Owners of her which was in or ab't the month of Oct'r 1716 and this was and is true publick and notorious and well knowne to sev'l persons who were well acquainted with the affaires relateing to the said ship for all the time aforesaid. Et ponit ut supra.

12. Item. That the aforesaid pretended Summary Petition at the time that the same was given in and admitted by this Court (which

been plauged with the Saylors, for Cloths and Subsistance. I could not gett Clear of them by any Means, so that I was under a Necessity of giveing them provisions, and money to gett Each of them something to putt about them, the whole amounts to £8. They pretended though their Wages was lost something was due for Salvage: I hope you have made Insurance. . . . P. S. *Augt. 30th.* I have sold since the above Ten of the Negroes to be paid in the Beginning of the Cropp at £37 per head." Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 132, no. 32, pt. 2.

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was on the 5th day of this Instant February) consisted but of the first three or four Articles but sometime after the same was soe admitted Mr. John Cook Clerk to Mr. Garrett came to Mr. Sayer at his Office and told him that his Master desired that he might add to the Copy of such Summary Petition which he had delivered to the said Sayer, an Article to the effect following *vizt.* That William Coleman one of the Owners of the said Ship *Ann* Galley was and is the Husband or mannager of the affaires of the said Ship and had the sole management thereof dureing the Voyage in question. Whereupon the said Sayer in his own Office immediately deliver'd to and left with him the said Cooke the aforesaid Copy to make such additional Article, and went abroad and did not returne to his Office til the next morning during which time the said Cooke without the consent or privity of the said Sayer added to and wrote upon the said Copy the sixth pretended Article, and the said Sayer the next morning as soon as he saw the same cross'd such Article out and shortly afterwards acquainted both the said Garrett and Cooke with the aforesaid imposition And that he would not consent to the admission of the said sixth Article and would oppose the same and in reallity and truth the said Sayer never consented to the addition or admission thereof and therefore prays the same may be suppressed. Et ponit ut supra. Car. Pinfold.[4]

108. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Jamaica.[1]

26th Febry 1717/8.

. . . We observe you gave 29 per head for the 136 Negroes You sent to the Havanah and the like price for the 200 for Portobelo which we take to be very extravagant prices.

We note the arrival of the *Indian Queen* Captn Mabbot with 306 Negroes and your Observation which were not qualified according to Charter Party which we Desire you to Continue So that we may have timely Notice before the Comandr passes his Accounts. . . .

We are glad to find so brisk Sales for our Negroes at Panama and approve your Supplying them as they write for 'em where you Can do it out of such of our own Ships as arrive with you. But not to buy on the Island, Unless they write pressingly for them for a particular Occassion by reason we have many ships sent to Guinea which you may Expect will be dropping in every week.[2] . . .

[4] Endorsed, "Hanson et Socii con Godfrey et Coleman nuper proprietarii 3/9 Navis the *Ann* Galley. Allegatio".

[108] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 250.

[2] This order was reiterated in a letter of July 30. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

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109. The South Sea Company to the Directors of the French Assiento Company.[1]

Gent'n, We have recd. the Letter you were pleased to Write us the 6 Dec'r last upon the Subject of the prosecution against Mr. Touchee Your Agent at the Havanah on Account of his Introducing Negros into that Place after the 1 May 1713, And should have Answerd you Sooner, but that We could not properly proceed in Negotiating this Matter, with Mr. Robt. Shea till Such Time as he had recd. from you the Necessary Powers and Instructions; he has since produced to us his Power, and the same has been Admitted And in pursuance thereof he has represented to us That he is ready to Agree to the Payment of Such an Indulto, as shall be thought reasonable on all Negros Introduced by or for Account of your Company into the Several Ports of the Spanish America from or after the Peace of Utrecht was proclaimed in those Respective Ports. To the End Mr. Touchee may be Dischargd from his Confinement And the Effects Imbarg'd in the Several Ports be released: To which We Now Answer.

That We Cannot think that the proceedings of our Factor at the Havana against Mr. Touchee were any ways Irregular Seeing what he did was by the Authority of the Govern'r of the place who was Our Judge Conservat'r,[2] and to whom the Assiento has reserved the Cognizance (Exclusive of all Others) of all Causes Affairs and Suits with full Power and Jurisdiction from whose Sentences an Appeal in Such Cases as the Law allows shall lye to the Supreme Council of the Indies.

Besides We Conceive there was a Just and Sufficient Cause for Such Prosecution And a Necessity for it. Our Factor upon his first Arrival at the Havanah finding that Your Said Agent Went on in Introducing Negros and Selling them at Low prices to the Great Prejudice of our Market, Resolved to put a Stop to it, and to make Enquiry what Negros had been Introduced there on your Companys Account Since the 1 May 1713, And Accordingly took out of the Royal Contaduria An Authentick Account, whereby it appears that the Number So Introduced was 586 Negros. This Introduct'n (as well as Others of the like Nature) has been adjudged unlawfull and the produce of these Negros Confiscated and forfeited in favour of the present Assientists.

[109] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 304-305.

[2] In the ports of America in which the company traded it had the right to nominate a Spanish judge conservator, who should have cognizance of all suits relating to the assiento. The directions issued to the company's factors were that in choosing this officer they were to select one of "great authority in the service of the King of Spain but well inclined to the interests of the company", specifications it must sometimes have been difficult to meet.

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As to the 3 Years Liberty, which you are Pleased to Say, you have by Treaty to Introduce Negros after your 10 Years expired Our Assiento takes no manner of Notice of it But on the Contrary has particularly forbid the French Company by Name the Introducing any after the 1 May 1713, And though Our Assiento Could not be put in Execution till Peace was Proclaimed Yet it Subsisted from the Time of its being Signed, And when Once the Peace was Proclaimed must necessarily take Effect from the 1 May 1713 And as to the Intermediate time between its Signing and taking Effect Perticular Provision is made Against your Companys or any others Introducing Negros It being Stipulated by the 18 Article of Our Assiento "That from the 1 May 1713 till We should take Possession of this Assiento Nor After Our taking such possession it should not be Lawfull for the French Guinea Company or any other Person w't soever to Introduce any Negro Slave into India, And if they do his Cath Maj'ty will declare as he does thereby Declare them to be Confiscated and forfeited in favour, and for the Benefit of the Present Assientists."

Moreover it is further Stipulated in the same Art. "that So Soon as the present Assiento Should be Signed Circular Orders in the most Ample Form should be Dispatched to America, that there be not any Negros for Account of the French Compa. Admitted into any of the ports" And those Orders were Dispatched Accordingly, And if due Notice was not Given to your Agents of such prohibition We are not Accountable for that Omission.

The Peace not being proclaimed and signified to your Agents did not give you power to Introduce Negros after your Time Expired. Neither can it be Supposed That his Cath: Maj: would So Solemnly Ent'r into this Treaty with the Crown of Great Britain, and make it a part of the Articles of Peace And at the Same Time give your Company a Liberty of 3 Years to Commence and be Concurrent with Our Assiento which gives us the Sole Liberty of Introducing Negros into the Spanish West Indies.

Upon the whole we are sorry our sentiments do not Agree And that there should be any Occasion of Difference And for our Parts We Should be very ready to Contribute all in Our power to bring these Affairs to an Issue in the most Amicable Manner, But as the Same is Gone out of our Hands and the Autos relating to this Law Suit have been a Considerable time transmitted to Madrid to be determind by the King of Spain in his Council of Indies We hope the Issue will be Agreeable to Justice and Equity.

Lond'n 9 April 1718.

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110. William Johnson to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 15th Aprill, 1718.

The Dispatch of the two Ships hindred by the badness of the Weather. Has been disappointed in his Expectation of receiving a greater Quantity of Teeth. Cannot serve Effectually for two Reasons. The first is Want of Qualified Factors and other Persons. Gives his thoughts how Factors should be Qualified. How those are Qualified that are there. Wants half a Score Discreet Sober and industrious Men, whereof Six as Coast Factors the rest Writers. The other is from the Interlopers Method of Trading. Has traded with sev'rl Interlopers on the Compa's Accot. By which a Considerable Profit has been made. Wants India Goods and abt a thousand Blanketts. There will be a Necessity of Exporting Seven or eight hundred Slaves to the West Indies. Thinks it best to send them to Barbadoes to sell them for ready money for good bills of Exchange and save the Charge of Agency. The *Experiment* Sailed the 5th June last for Serraleon. Could not get Water Casks on B'rd or to Slave her as intended. Sent a Valuable Cargo by her. Refers to the Copies of his Letters and Instructions to Messrs. Plunkett and Callow and Capt'n Wheeller. Has made Mr. Walter Charles Accountant and Chief Merch't at £150 per and till the Compa's pleasure is known. Mr. Charles acceptance was on Mr. Johnson's intreaty and Expectation of being Established at the usuall Salary of a Chief Merch't. Mr. Edward Richardson Complaints against them. The Ship[s] *Dorothy* and *Broughton* are not arrived but dayly expected. Whidah sends Letters from thence. Intends to send one of the Compa's Shipps with Slaves to the West Indies. The Annamaboors Insolent. Complaints against Mr. Peter Holt.[2] Desires a ship with what he writes for by the last of September. And then could send by the Compa's Ships 5 or 600 Slaves to the West Indies and Trade with Interlopers with as many more. It would be for the Companys Interest to advise him of Interlopers bound there and the Sortment of their Cargoes. Thomas Highfield Soldier Discharged. Sends Mr. Alex. Archbold Factor to Sherbrow per the *Experiment*. He has done but little Service at Cape Coast, not being Qualified. Desires a further Supply of People. Has made an agreement to Supply an Irish People with 40 Slaves. 400 Dutch Gunns sent to Sherbrow. Provisions by the *Dispatch* short of Weight, the *Dorothy* and *John-*

[110] [1] T 70: 6, pp. 64-65. On Mar. 20 William Johnson wrote: "Interlopers and South Sea Compa's Ships give from £28 to £32 per head for Slaves and sell their goods much cheaper than we do. . . . The Bristol and Leverpoole Men give great prices. Most of the Ships have not carry'd off ⅔ and some not ½ their Complements." *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[2] Peter Holt was the company's agent who had been suspended from Cape Coast Castle for private trading and later re-established at Anamabo.

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son not arriving in time was a great Disappointment. As was the bad Success of the *Litchfield* and *St. George* in their Windward Voyages. Notwithstanding the Disappointments the Stock is not Diminished, but the Compa's affairs are on a better foot than they were on his Arrivall. The *Johnson* and *Experiment* may be Expected in a Month after these Shipps. Charles Butler Writer has Deserted the Service and is indebted for some Slaves who Escaped thro his Neglect. Wishes the Endeavours for a Parliamentary Establishment may meet with success.

In a Postscript of the 17th Aprill 1718 he writes that Mr. Blean died the 16th. Gives him a good Character. Gives an Accot of Interlopers Slaved by him who had a much better Dispatch than those who stood off, of which he gives particulars.

111. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Jamaica.[1]

South Sea House, London, 30th April 1718.

. . . We note the arrival of the *John* Galley Captn. Coward the 20th Janry with 267 Slaves from Whidah in a bad Condition after burying 92 in the voyage and that you were obliged to take out and sell 102 notwithstanding which the remaining 165 were an ill assortment and not proper for Carthagena, for which reason you detained the said ship on demorage (rather than let her go so much dead Freighted) in expectation of Our ship the *Evelin* which you advise us arrived the 10th February with 159 Slaves out of which you took 122 and put them on board the *John* Galley for Portobelo with the remainder of the *Evelyn's* Provisions, as also your Intention to sell the remainder of that ships negroes.

That you had entred and paid the Duties for the aforsd. 105 negroes, which you must receive back as well as all the money you have paid for duties and especially since the date of the Order of Repeal, which you are Imediately to endeavour at and Proceed in the manner We directed you in Our last.

112. Ships for Guinea and Barbados.[1]

May 8, 1718.

14 Nov. 1717	*John* Galley	Thos. Dunckley	Gold Coast	300
27 Do.	*Sarah,* Galley	Robt. Potter	Do	230
3 Janry	*Clapham*	Edwd Hallum	Do	240
17 Do	*Katherine*	Sam: Heartsease	Whidah	500
15 Do	*Ormond*	Henry Baker	Do	420
12 Feby	*Jane*	Edwd. Tizard	Gold Coast	300

[111] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 315.

[112] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 331, enclosed in a letter from the South Sea Company to Dudley Woodbridge.

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There are also on their departure the fall Ships *vizt.*

Rebecca	Thos Abbis	Gold Coast	260
Anne	Thos Gadsden	Whidah	450

And 2 others will depart in a Short time *vizt.*

Assiento Frigat	Saml. Foott	Gold Coast	350
James	Richd Wadding	Gambia	230

113. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO THE FACTORS AT HAVANA.[1]

SOUTH SEA HOUSE, LONDON, 12 June, 1718.

. . . The Writer is to Supervise the Negroes, Duplicate the Books, Copy Letters, take the Minutes and Do every Thing as Directed by the Factory. . . .

You are to take Speciall Care of what Negros Come to your hands for the Companyes Account in regard to their Health and to releive them all you can in time of Sickness.

You are to sell for ready money as much as possible, But where you are under an absolute Necessity of Trusting You are to make strict Enquiry after the Ability and honesty of the Partyes taking such Security as you think will be punctually performed and to be very Cautious and Circumspect that the Company may not Sustain any Losses thereby.

At the Entry or Coming in of any of our Ships or Sloops with Negros the Dutyes being very high You are to gett as large Measurement as you can, but by no means to be at any extraordinary Expences on that account, it being not worth our while, unless wee Imported more than the 4800 p's India per ann which at present wee have no Prospect of Doing.

You are to procure and send us the proper Instrument of Regulacion of each Ships Negros by themselves advising us in your Letter what Regulacions you do send.

You are also to send us a Certificate of what Dye within the 15 Dayes after Landing, And if they have been Regulated Send a Certificate that they may be Deducted out of the p's of India regulated, Wee not being obliged to pay Dutyes for such as Dye within the 15 Dayes after Landing.

As to what Negros are Landed sick you are to avoid as much as possible their being regulated till after the 15 Dayes to avoid the trouble and Charge of a Certificate on that account.

You are to keep a Regular and exact account of what Negros come by each Ship, how many Men Women Boys and Girls and their

[113] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 374-375. "Instructions to Richard Farril, Wargent Nicholson, Factors, and John Garrard, Writer, at the Havana." The "Writer" was an official attached to all the factories of the African and the South Sea companies.

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ages, and how they are Disposed of to whom and at what prices, and what for Time, and how long, and what for ready Money, and to Ballance the acco't of Negros by each Ship.

A Weekly or Monthly Account of the said Negros is to be laid before the Councill from time to time in order to be Enter'd in the general Books of the Factory. . . .

114. The South Sea Company to Dudley Woodbridge.[1]

South Sea House, 25th Sept. 1718.

Mr. Woodbridge, Inclosed is copy of our last of the 30th July[2] since which Our Fleet has destroyed greatest part of the Spanish Fleet as you will see by the inclosed Printed Accounts. And the Court of Madrid have thereupon seized on all the English Effects in Spain, and *avisos* are immediately ordered to the Spanish West Indies to do the like there.[3] Therefore you are not (till further Order) to send any more Negroes to any part of the Spanish Dominions. But if it should so happen that there should be any opportunity We desire you will advise Our Several Factories thereof, And if any of Our Ships come into yo'r Port with Negroes from Africa you are to dispose of them there to the best advantage for our account, and make us the Speediest returns in Bills of Exchange or such effects as you think will turn to best Account here. But if you don't find a reasonable Market for the Negroes at Barbadoes you may forward some of them to Jamaica with directions to Messrs. Pratter and Haselwood our agents to dispose of them there.

115. James Phipps and John Stevenson to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Aprill the 17th, 1719.

Sends Copy of Capt'n Petts Account of Trade which Shows the Difference in the price of Slaves at Annamaboe and other parts of the Coast[2] and the Illconveniency of parting with the best of their

[114] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 424.

[2] July 30, 1718. "We Direct that you refrain from Sending any more Negroes to the Several Factorys, until Such Time as they write for them But Sell Such as Our Negro Ships Shall Deliver at your Island for the most you can Get And in Case the Spanish Market Shall happen for sometime not to be so fully Supplyed by us as it requires, We hope it will be attended with this Advantage of being a Means to Encourage People to take out the More Licences of which We find by your Letters you have Issued but 4 for 93 Negroes Regulated at 81⅓ Ps of India." *Ibid.,* p. 401.

[3] The outbreak of war, which caused the seizure of English goods, may be dated from the spring of 1718, though there was no official declaration of war until December. The company estimated that the property seized by virtue of this order amounted to £225,000. Adam Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), pp. 305-306, 490.

[115] [1] T 70: 6, p. 93. Of James Phipps, Atkins said that as general at Cape Coast he was "so nettled at failing to receive from a visiting vessel a salute equal to the one fired from the fort that it took his Stomach off Victuals two or three Days" (Atkins, *Voyage to Guinea,* p. 78). He was removed to Gambia not long after the writing of this letter.

[2] By way of Barbados, the company had received word in March that ships were paying £28 and even £32 for slaves at Anamabo. T 70: 6, p. 90.

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goods, which hath unsorted the Warehouse. And pray a New Supply of the Perticulars formerly mentioned to you by Mr. Deane, The want of which will be a detrim't to our Trade being in Expectation of a Few English Interlopers on the Coast to Vie with There being but four Ships to the Leeward who will depart in a fortnight and only two Vessells to Windward. . . .

116. Richard Harris to the Secretary of the Board of Trade (?).[1]

London the 21st Septemb'r 1719.

Sir, In answer to yours of the 17th inst. touching the information their Ldps have received, of a considerable trade for Negros being carryed on by the Dutch, from Eustatia to the Leewards Islands, and Barbados etc: And that by reason of the cheapness of Goods in Holland proper for the purchase of Negros in Affrica, they can afford them cheaper than we can: I must beg leave to acquaint you, that I believe there is, and allways was, a Clandestine Trade carryed on, between our Islands and the Dutch, as well as the French Islands, for linnens, spice, brandy, wine and many other Commoditys, and in former times for great Numbers of Negros also, but for some years past, and particularly the two or three last, Barbados hath been so over supplyed, and the price so low, that very great Numbers of Negros have been carryed from thence, both to Martinico, Virginia and all the Leeward Islands; so as 'tis impossible that can be the case there now. indeed the Island of Antegua, by reason of their unfair dealing, our Negro Ships have not so much frequented as other Islands, because when they have purchased Negros in Exchange for Sugar, agreed to be paid the following Cropp, at twelve Shillings the hundred, they would not pay for them unless at twenty five, or keep the Sellers out of their money seven years, and their Cropp haveing fail'd the year before last, they were forced to Sell divers of their Negros, from their Plantations for necessarys, so that 'tis plain this could not be the case of that Island; and as to Nevis and St. Kitts, I certainly know they have been rather over stocked, because I myself orderd a Ship of mine about two years agoe, with four hundred good Negros thither, and then they were so over stocked, by English Ships then in the Road who came before mine, that I was forced to go to Jamaica.

As to Dutch goods, 'tis true that some African goods are usually cheaper in Holland than here, as Powder, French-brandy, Dutch-

[116] [1] C. O. 152: 13. Miss Mary Clarke states that William Popple was succeeded by his son William, who would therefore be the secretary of the board at this time. According to the *Journal of the Board of Trade,* 1718-1722, index, the office was held at this time by Henry Popple, who is there described as the father of Alured, the next secretary. Mary P. Clarke, "The Board of Trade at Work", *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XVII. 26.

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pipes and most Sorts of East-Ind'a Goods, proper for that trade, (all which cannot be imported here, but we are now at liberty to go thither to take them in, as severall of my Ships and many others have lately done) by reason that our East india Compa. have not, for severall years past, imported one fifth part of those goods wanted for that Trade, and none of some sorts till lately, so that I expected the whole trade must at last have been driven on from thence.

I presume what is said before may convince their Ldps. that there cannot be any great weight in that information, touching the Dutch carrying Negros from Eustatia, or that the Leew: Islands can want if they can pay for them, to which I shall only add, that all this last year, Negros have been sold from sixteen to eighteen Pound (West india mony) at B'bados in an avarage, which is not twelve pound Sterling, and near two years Credit is given for the same, and more of them have been bought to carry to other Islands, than B'bados could take off, so that two Ships of mine which were ordered thither this year, by reason of that markett being over glutted, were forced to go down to Jamaica for a markett, and there is one certain rule, that whenever B'bados is over Supplyed, the Leeward Islands can never want, there being a great Trade allways carryd on from thence to Leeward, for Negros, Provisions, and many other Goods by many Sloops dayly employed therein, all which is humbly offer'd to their Ldps Consideration.

117. Warrants drawn by the South Sea Company.[1]

1719, Sept. 30.

To Mary Ex' of Geo: Huntington	Comm. on Negroes	£242. 6
Capt. Thomas Gadsden	Do.	233. 1
Capt. Henry Baker	Do.	176. 18
Owners of the *Ormond* galley	Freight	915. 6. 10
Owners of the *Anne* Galley	Do	557. 19. 8

118. James Phipps and John Stevenson to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, Jan. 12th 1719/20.

Have received a Letter from the Secretary of 11th August, by Capt. Green. Write about the *Craven* Gally. Capt. Murray in the *Mary* Gally of Barbadoes refused to trade but for 4000 Gall'ns of Rum. Charge him with £10 per Cent for his protection. Receive from him £80 value in Rum.

[117] [1] Add. MSS. 25498, p. 18 (2d numbering).
[118] [1] T 70: 7. "Abstracts of Letters received by the Royal African Company of England from the Coast of Africa, no. 3, from Jan. 12, 1719, to Aug. 26, 1723", p. 2.

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Arrive the *Farlton* and *Filsly* both from Liverpool, and the *Reynolds,* Captain Christian from London. Trade with him for his Cargo am'ting to the Value of 155 Slaves. Contracted with Capt. Green for his Cargo, consisting of 7000 Gall'ns of Rum and Some dry Goods to deliver him Men Slaves at £26 and Women at £18 each. Trade disturbed by quarrels in the Up-Countrys.

Proposal for delivering Slaves to the Compa's Creditors at £14 per head, and with the advancement of £10,000 in Sortable Goods they would in two Years time clear the incumbrances occasiond by the Subscription at Mr. Johnson's coming over. A Meeting with the King of Cuiffdroe,[2] hope to establish Officers in the County of Fetue.

Mr. Baille arrives from Whydah, complains of the decay of Trade on that Coast by reason of Pyrates.[3] He is ready to deliver up that Charge agreeable to his Contract with Mr. Johnson, which they shall postpone for some time.

Mr. Branston dyed at Whydah; only 4 White men living there, *vizt* the Gunner, Serjeant, Surveyor, and Bom boy.

Pyrates design to range on the Coast to Windward till end of Febry, then for the Coast of Brazil, and thence to Madagascar. Pyrates take 2 large French Ships.

Mr. Booth appointed Chief at Winnebah, and Mr. Young at Dixcove in the room of Mr. Franklin, whom they design to employ in the Accompting house. . . . Received into the Warehouse Some Goods from Capt. Green on acc't of Mr. Morna till called for.

A Portuguese Vessell arrives at Dixcove.

119. The Royal African Company: Minutes of Committee.[1]

July 8th 1720.

Capt. Lyel came and acq'ted the Committee that Mr. Buck had been here with him, but business obliged him to go away, and that he came to discourse and treat with the Comm'ee for the purchase of Slaves, and gave in an acc't of the Ages of each.

[2] This may be Guiforo, north of Cape Three Points.

[3] "London . . . There is an Account that the Pirates have done a great deal of Mischief on the Coast of Guiney, and have taken and plundered ships to the Value of 2000*l.* upon one of which ships and Cargoe, it is said six Thousand Pounds were insured here" (*Boston News-Letter,* June 9, 1720). "London, April 11. We hear that the African Company have received an account from the Coast, that since their Letters from thence, the *Peterborough* Gally of Bristol, Capt. Owen, and the *Victory* of London Capt. Rideout, were fallen into the Hands of the Pyrates, who had plunder'd the latter and let her go, but had taken the former and fitted her up for a Pyrate" (*ibid.,* July 4, 1720). "London, April 30. Our Merchants have an Account, that the ship *Europe,* Capt. Bound, has been taken by the Pirates on the Coast of Guiney, loaden with slaves for the River Plata in the Spanish West Indies. The Pirates have done great damage and infest that Coast, and ruin Commerce, to the great Detriment of our Merchants." *Ibid.,* July 18, 1720.

[119] [1] T 70: 123, "Minute Book", pp. 2-3. "At a Committee appointed to treat with Mr. Buck and Capt. Lyel for purchasing Slaves of the Company held Fryday July 8th, 1720, present, Mr. Neal, Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Wachter, Capt. Pannwell, Mr. Grosvenor."

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Upon this the Comm'ee told him, the Ages he had putt down did not agree with those which the Compa. usually contract for, and therefore gave him a Copy of theirs, as follows, *vizt.*

Men	**from 16 to 40 Years**
Women	**from 15 to 35**
Boys	**from 10 to 15**
Girls	**from 10 to 14**

This he said he would consult the rest of the Gent. upon whom he was concerned with.

At a Comm'ee appointed to treat with Mr. Buck etc. held Wednesday July 13th 1720. . . .[2]

Capt. Lyel, Mr. Buck and Mr. Hyde gave in their proposal of the Ages of the 300 Slaves they desire to purchase of the Compa. *Vizt.*

Men	**from 16 to 30**
Women	**from 19 to 30**
Boys	**from 10 to 15**
Girls	**from 10 to 14**

Upon which a Debate arising, the Comm'ee so farr conceded in the first Article as to offer the Men from 16 to 39 Years old: But Capt. Lyel, and the other Gent'l insisting upon the Ages they gave in as above.

120. Accounts of the *King Solomon*.[1]

London, 27th July 1720.

Invoyce of Sundry Goods laden on board the "King Solomon" Joseph Traharne Comd'r for Acct. of the Royal African Company of England and consigned to James Phipps Esq'r Captain General and to the chief merchants at Cape Coast Castle:

K. S. Being marked and Numbered as pr. Margent.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
2 Cuttanees—3 Trunks			
No 1. a Trunk 55			
2. " 55			
3. " 60			
170 Pieces Cuttanees at 20 *s.* /6 pr. Ps.	174	5	0
Brawles—4 Trunks.			
4–7. [details given similar to those for the Cuttanees]			
320 Pieces Brawles at 5/6 pr. Ps.	88	0	0
Carridarys and Chellows' 1 Trunk.			
8. a Trunk 45 Check'd Carridarys at 13/—pr. Ps.	29	5	0
31 Pieces Chellows at 11/—pr. Ps.	17	1	0
Carridarys 1 Trunk.			
9. a Trunk 70 check'd. Carridarys at 13 shillings pr. Ps.	45	10	0

[2] Present: Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Grosvenor, Mr. Wachter, Capt. Pannwell.

[120] [1] T 70: 921, "Invoice Books Outwards of the Royal African Company of England, No. 19".

[2] Chillows were coarse calicoes; derries were also cottons of brown or blue color.

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[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	s.	d.
Carridarys and Romauls[3] 1 Trunk				
10. a Trunk 25 check'd Carridarys at 13 *s.* pr. Ps.		16	5	
30 cotton Romals at 11 *s.* pr. Ps.		16	10	
Cotton Romals 4 Trunks.				
11–14. [details]				
309 Pieces cotton Romals at 11 *s.* pr. Ps.	£169—19—0.			
Photaes—9 cases.				
15–23. [details]				
402 Pieces Photaes at 18 *s.*	£361—16—0.	918	11	0
		[531	15]	
Brass Kettles. 4 Casks				
24–27. [details]				
cwt. qrs. lbs.				
99 wt. 8 — 0 — 5 at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* per lb.		60	1	4
Guinea Brass Pans. 3 casks				
28–30. [details]				
cwt. qrs. lbs.				
500 wt. 6 — 2 —11 at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* per lb.		49	5	4
Pewter Basons. 9 casks.				
31–39. [details].				
c. q. lb.				
1000 wt. 17—3—11				
is 1999 lbs. at 10 *d.* per lb.		83	5	10
Guinea Juggs w'th Corks 1 cask				
40. a Caske 22 Guinea Juggs at 9 *s.* 6 *d.*		10	9	0
Guinea Juggs and Tankards 1 cask.				
41. a Caske 3 Guinea Juggs at 9 *s.* 6 *d.*		1	8	6
40 three pint Tankards at 2 *s.* 9		5	10	0
Tankards 1 caske				
42. a caske 60 Quart Tankards at 1 *s.* 11 *d.*		5	15	0
40 Pint " at 1 *s.* 5		2	16	8
Old Sheets 60 chests ea. 65 is 3900 at 1 *s.* 11 *d.* ea.		373	15	0
Tn. Cwt. qr.				
Voyage Iron 440 Barrs 5 — 2 — 3 at £18—15 *s.* pr. Ton		96	6	6
cwt. qr. lb.				
Tallows 130 Caggs 18 — 1 — 17 nett at £2—10 pr. cwt.		46	0	1
Slezeys 2 Boxes.				
43, 44. [details] 176 ps. Slezeys at 7 *s.* pr. Ps.			12	0
Scimiters 2 boxes.				
45. a Box 3 doz. dou. shell'd Scimiters at £2. 10 *s.* pr. doz.		7	10	0
46. " 3 " single shell'd " at £2—4 pr. doz.		6	12	0
Cruell—2 boxes.				
47, 48. R2 boxes 60 lb. Cruel at 2 *s.* 7 *d.* pr. lb.		7	15	0
Coral and Arangoes 1 Trunk.				
49. a Trunk 157 oz. Coral at 4 *s.* 7 *d.* pr. oz.		35	19	27
5600 Arangoes at 11 *s.* pr. [hundred]		30	16	0
Salampores and Beades 1 Trunk				
50. a Trunk 17 half Ps. Salampores at 18 *s.* pr. Ps.		15	6	0
130 lb. beades at 2 *s.* 1 *d.* pr. lb.		13	10	10

[3] Romalls or romauls were sea handkerchiefs.

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[*Invoice*—continued:]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Cowries 10 Casks.			
51–60. [details]			
cwt. qr. lbs.			
Nett Cowries 15 3 9 at £8 pr. Cwt.	126	12	10
Fine gunns. 1 chest.			
61. a chest 12 guns walnut Tree Stocks £2—2—6 ea.	25	10	0
Tradeing Gunns—25 chests.			
62–96. [details]			
25 chests—625 gunns at 10 *s.* 6 *d.* each	328	2	6
. . . [97—111?]			
Buckaneer Gunns—2 chests.			
112–113. 2 chests ea. 25 makes 50 at 16 *s.* ea.	40	0	0
Gunpowder			
[details]			
345 Caggs—8280 lbs. at £3—10 pr. Cwt.	289	16	
114–181. Blew Ranters 68 bales			
[details]			
68 bales—1716 ps. Blew Ranters	989	11	3
182–186. Blew Sayes. 5 bales.			
5 ditto ea. 10 makes 50 ps. at 35 *s.* each	87	10	0
187–188. Welch plaines 2 bales			
2 bales 20 ps. 411½ yds at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* p. yd.	27	8	8
189. Knives and Fine Steals 1 barrel			
a barrel 3 gros. large horn knives at 2 *s.* 7 *d.* pr. doz.	4	13	0
18 doz. Fine Steales 8—6 pr. ps.		12	9
1 gros. large ditto 10 *s.* 6 *d.*		10	6
Spirits 60 wicker'd Bottles and 80 Cases			
gs. qts.			
60 wickered bottles 199 3 malt spirits at 10 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.	31	10	
40 whole cases Spirits 7 *s.* 6 *d.*	15	0	0
40 half cases ditto 3 *s.* 9 *d.*	7	10	0
gs. qts.			
Brandy. 7 casks 237 3 at 3 *s.* 3 *d.* per gal.	32	12	8
Flints 1 caske			
190. a Caske 10,000 French flints at 7 *s.* 6 *d.* p. M	3	15	0
Carridarys, Cuttanees and Romalls—1 Trunk			
[details].	52	11	0
Phoetaes, Chellows and Romals 1 Trunk			
[details]	37	13	0
Carridarys 1 Trunk 30 at 13 *s.*	19	10	0
Slezeys—1 chest—176 ps. at 7 *s.* ea.	61	12	0
Trading guns 8 chests—200 at 10 *s.* 6 *d.*	105	0	0
Buckaneer Guns 1 chest—25—at 16 *s.* ea.	20	0	0
Fine Guns " 6 42 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.	12	15	0
Gunpowder 60 caggs. 1620 lb. at £3—10 *s.*	56	14	0
	£4215	5	10
To custome Entries, Shipping Charges, Cartage, etc.[4]	36	14	7
	4252	0	5

[4] Here follows a list of "Negro Provision", vinegar, tobacco, beans, and "stationary wares", for the use of the forts. In many of these accounts it seems impossible to arrive at the totals given in the manuscript.

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LONDON 28th July 1721.[5]

ST. CHRISTOPHERS 21st March 1721.

Sale of two hundred ninety six Negroes Imported in the Ship "King Solomon" Joseph Traherne Comd'r from Cabo Corso Castle on the account of the Royal African Company of England.

Francis Carlile Esq.			1	1	60	0	0
Edward Chester Esqr. Sr.	3	1			144		
Capt. Thos. Watts	1		1		64		
Walter Hammilton Esq. Gen'l	10	2			460		
. . .							
Captain Joseph Traherne	8	2	1	—			
	206	49	30	11	£9228	2	0

To the Doctor for head Mony	14	16	0
To Wine and provisions sent on board at Sale	12	0	0
To be Nett Proceeds which I carry to acct. curt.	9201	6	0
Errors excepted this 1 June 1721 for John Helden	9228	2	—

121. MESSRS. PHIPPS, DODSON, AND STEVENSON TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

CABO CORSO CASTLE, 2d Aug't, 1720.

This comes by a Dutch Ship being the 13th L're to which they have had no Answer yet. Enumerate the Severall L'res and Ways of Conveyance.

Agreemt with Capt. Bull of the *Elizabeth*. Propose to send him to Maryland with Slaves. Arrived the *Greyhound* Capt. Evans of London and *Robert* Gally Richard Arding of Bristol to whom they put off 13 Maugre Slaves at 6 ozs. 8 ac's Men, and 4 ozs. 8 ac's Women.

A Sloop from Barbados Capt. Henry and the *Victory* Capt. John Bull and the *Levant* Capt. Finly from London, and Severall Mississippi Ships.[2] *Adventure* Gally Capt. Hudson of London, Contract with him for 200 Slaves at 13 A per head.

Difficultys of providing a Number of Slaves to be ready for any Vessell. From Scarcity of Corn. Fear a Famine. Desire any Ship Sent out may take in Rice at the Grain Coast and Mallaguetta for the Slaves use but

To Caution the Command'rs how they Send a Shore to Windward of Sestos,[3] Capt. Edw'd Riders behaviour having incensed

[5] T 70: 957, "Invoice Book Homewards of the Royal African Company of England", H 28, Jan. 26, 1715-Jan. 11, 1721. Many of the items are omitted.

[121] [1] T 70: 7, pp. 9-10.

[2] For an account of the Mississippi trade see this work, vol. III., Louisiana.

[3] Atkins in 1724 speaks of the fact that most of the English vessels buy rice at Sestos. See *post*, no. 128, n. 3.

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the Natives to do a great deal of mischief in those parts. Instances thereof. . . .

122. Journal of the Board of Trade.[1]

August 18, 1720.

. . . . Mr. Humphrey Morrice, Mr. Richard Harris, Mr. Travers, Mr. John Merryweather, Mr. Marmaduke Pain and others, attending, as desired, in relation to the seizures and incroachments made by the French on the trade and effects of His Majesty's subjects on the Coast of Africa, Mr. Travers presented a memorial to the Board, with copies of two petitions delivered sometime since to their Excellencies the Lords Justices, from himself and brother, relating to three of their ships seized by the French on the said Coast, which memorial was read; and their Lordships enquiring what other losses His Majesty's subjects may have sustained from the French since the late Edict of the French King,[2] referred to in Mr. Pulteney's letter of the 10th inst., N.S., which was read the 15th of this month O.S. (and is the same as that received with Mr. Delafaye's letter of the 11th inst., now read). Mr. John Merriweather acquainted their Lordships that he was concerned in the ship *Amazon,* which he hears is lately taken, and is in expectation of the particulars, which when received, be promised to lay before their Lordships; and Mr. Marmaduke Pain, who said he was taken in the *Betty* Gally, between Portadally and Gambia, promised to bring their Lordships a memorial thereof. Mr. Richard Harris then observed to their Lordships that the English had originally all the trade on the Coast of Africa before the French had any commerce there; but that in King James the 2nd's time there was a private stipulation or agreement made between the English Royal African Company and the French Senegal Company, though without the intervention or authority of the Government of either nation, by which agreement the English consented not to go with their ships into the River Senegal, as the French on their part agreed, not to come into the River Gambia.[3] That by the said agreement all the Coast of Africa was left free to both nations. And these gentlemen being desired to give the Board their thoughts in writing on the subject of the late French Edicts concerning the trade to Africa, they promised to do it, if their Lordships would

[122] [1] *B. T. Jour.*, 1718-1722, pp. 199-200.

[2] Daniel Pulteney, a member of the Board of Trade at this time in Paris, had written to Secretary Craggs that the French king had recently granted to the Company of the Indies exclusive trade to Africa (*B. T. Jour.*, 1718-1722. p. 196). This company was John Law's creation, into which he was merging the powers and privileges of all the French trading companies. See *ante,* introduction, p. xxiii.

[3] This may refer to the agreement made at the beginning of the century. The editor has not come upon such an arrangement in the time of James II.

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please to let them have copies or extracts of the said Edicts, which were thereupon ordered them. . . .

August 19.

Some members of the Royal African Company attending, as desired, they acquainted the Board, that they have as yet no accounts of any of their ships being lately taken by the French on the Coast of Africa; and as to the Edicts lately passed in France concerning the Senegal and India Companies in that kingdom, they desired copies or extracts of such Edicts, upon which they promised to give their Lordships their sentiments in writing in a short time; whereupon ordered that a copy of the French letters patents published at Paris in 1696, relating to the Senegal Company, and also a copy of the 5th Art. of the Edict, published likewise there in July last, for granting all the privileges of the Senegal Company to the India Company, be sent to the gentlemen above mentioned. . . .

Ordered that a letter be writ to desire of the Royal African Company that this Board may have a copy of the Agreement or Stipulation, which their Lordships are informed was made between the said Company and the French Senegal Company in the reign of King James the 2nd, relating to their commerce in Africa.

123. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Trade Friday Febry 16th 1721.

Present: D. Chandos, Mr. Acton S. G.,[2] Mr. Gore, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Drummond.

S'r Robert Davers[3] came to the Committee, and being discours'd with touching his being furnish'd by the Company with Negroes at Barbadoes, He agreed to the following Contract *Vizt.*

1. That He should be furnished with 60 Adult Negroes from 14 to 30 years of Age half Men and half Women; as also 30 Boys

[123] [1] T 70: 123.

[2] Subgovernor. Sir Bibye Lake was deputy governor at this time. The Duke of Chandos, who had recently become a director of the company, was responsible in large measure for its increased activity for the few years after 1720. James Houston (*Memoirs of James Houston,* pp. 126-127) explained his efforts in the African trade as the result, in part at least, of his losses in the South Sea Bubble: "His Grace the Duke of Chandos then patronized the Royal African Company of England, and he was deeply engaged in their Stock, and, as all Stocks fell in Proportion to the grand Bubble, his Grace lost an immense Sum of Money here. However, he stuck by it at all Hazards, and was willing to retrieve their Misfortunes, if possible, by putting their Trade on a better footing and surer Foundation than they had been on, since that Company had been under the Direction of the Duke of York, the late King James II. Accordingly he united the old with the new Company, and made Proposals for the Improvement of their Trade, which made some Noise in the World, and their Stock rose considerably, when all the rest were sunk. He declined being chose Governor, under his Majesty, who is always Governor; but enlisted himself as one of the Court of Assistants."

[3] Sir Robert Davers, sr., was agent for Barbados and a separate trader to Africa.

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and Girls, or as many more as his Agent shall desire to have from 10 to 14 years of Age and this to be done between December and July.

2. That they be Negroes of Cape Coast, Whydah or Jaquin.

3. That they be deliver'd to S'r Robert Davers's Agent at Berbadoes out of the 3 first Ships of the Companys which shall arrive there within the time limited in the first Article in manner following. That is to say, 20 Adult and 10 young Ones out of each Ship, all Merchantable Negroes to be approv'd of by his Agent.

4. That the Sums to be paid for each Negroe be in Sterling Money as follows, *Vizt.* For each Man £23, For each Woman £22, For each Boy and Girl £21.

5. That the said Sums be paid by S'r Robert Davers to the Company here sixty days after the Arrival of his Agents Receipt for the Negroes.

Lastly That this Contract hold good, and Continue for three years from the date hereof.

124. The Royal African Company: Committee Report on the State of the Trade.[1]

Febr. 23, 1720/1.

The Committee appointed to propose and lay before the Court a State of the Trade of this Company, having accordingly considered thereof, do report as follows *Vizt.*

As it is evident the Trade to Africa remaining open depreciates Our European Commoditys, and advances the prices on Slaves to Such a degree That the Compa. by carrying on that Trade to the West Indies, upon the present foot may be loosers, Therefore the following Observations are Offer'd to consideration, in order to the better regulation of the Trade, and the Supplying the plantations with Negroes at more easy and reasonable rates. . . .

2. In regard the opening a Trade with the Portuguese would be of advantage to the Company and Kingdome, by making a vent for such Slaves as are not fit for Our own plantations, That Your Agents promote the disposing of Slaves on the Coast to the Portuguese for Gold. Teeth and Redwood, or any other Commoditys proper to make returns of to England at reasonable rates. And that the Plantations may be the better Supply'd That Your Agents have Liberty to dispose of Slaves on the Coast, to any other Europeans, for the before mentioned Commoditys, at Such prices as they Shall think will produce a reasonable profit to the Company upon the first Cost.

[124] [1] T 70: 123, pp. 9-14. This report is one of the fruits of the new energy infused into the company by the Duke of Chandos.

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3. That if Your Agents should have a Companys Ship with them to Slave, and at the Same time Should have an Opportunity of disposing of Slaves for Gold, teeth or Wood at advanced prices, It would be the Companys Interest they should do it, and send the Said Ship off the Coast Short of the Number of Slaves she was intended for, unless they have a prospect of compleating their Number in a Short time. But that they take no European Goods for Slaves, unless they should want any particular commoditys to assort their Warehouse.

4. That Your Agents constantly keep Coasting Vessells to Windward and Leeward, to collect all the Gold, Teeth etc. they can, and to give the Masters and Super Cargos of the said Vessells Instructions to Sell what Slaves they may purchase (if they have opportunity in their Voyage) to the Portugueze, or other, for Gold Teeth etc. at such advanced prices as they shall direct them.

5. [That 30 Sloops of about 70 tun each remain at Cape Coast and be always employed in the coasting trade: that 3 pacquets of 100 tun each be constantly going to and from England to Africa; that 3 sloops of 30 tun each already in Africa remain there in the service of the factory and river trade.] [2]

6. That in some of those Coasters there be Factors sent out to try if an allyance cannot be made with the princes of the Country in the Bight, and to learn what Sort of Trade may be carryed on there, and make their report thereon to the Chiefs at Cape Coast, who if they find it feasible, may Settle a Factory there for the Enlarging of the Trade.

7. That those trading Vessells which are sent to the Bight, the River Gabon and Cape Lopez have orders to call at the Islands of St. Thomas and Princes on their return to Cape Coast, and there Sell what goods or Slaves they may have to the Portugueze for Gold etc.

8. [The trade to the islands of St. Thomas and Princess to cater especially to the needs of the Portugueze.]

9. [The agents are to put on each trading vessel an experienced factor who is to keep regular books which are to be turned over to the company.] [3]

14. That till the Manufacture of Rum can be brought to perfection the Chiefs consider what Rum they shall have occasion for Six Months before hand, and Send timely notice thereof, to the

[2] The bracketed paragraphs are summaries of the originals. One attempt to revive the African trade had been tried the summer before, when the court of assistants directed the committee of goods to send to Africa samples of goods new to the inhabitants, as an encouragement to trade. T 70: 131, p. 21.

[3] Sections 10, 11, 12, and 13 deal with the collecting and sending home of gold, teeth, and wood, the raising of cotton, indigo, and pepper, the making of rum, and the commissions to be allowed to agents for these products.

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Agents at the Plantations, that they may be enabled to Supply them accordingly. And that the Agents at Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Nevis and Antigua have directions to comply with such Orders from the Chiefs by sending Vessells from the said Islands with the quantitys of Rum they shall from time to time have notice to send: provided they hire Vessells to carry the said Rum to the Coast Freight free, and bring back Slaves upon the best terms for the Companys advantage, not exceeding £6 : 10 *sh* per head, West India money.

15. That the Chiefs on the Coast have liberty as occasion may require to send a Small Vessell of the Compa's with Slaves to such Island as they judge most for the Compa's advantage, to return to the Coast laden with Rumm, when they esteem it most for the Compa's Interest, and that the Compa. Supply the Factorys on the Coast with Staves and Iron hoops to make proper Casks to export the Rum from one Factory to another.

16. That your Chiefs or Agents be advised, It will be a Standing rule with the Compa. to Send them Shipping every three months constantly, with full Supplys of Sortable goods, and that therefore they take care to be provided for their dispatch, particularly with Corn for your Slave Ships going to Whydah, so as to have a Store in Granarys at Cape Coast, Dixcove, Accra, Tantumquerry and Winnebah of 200 Chests in each place. In case at any time Corn should be Scarse and You have advise of Ships coming that they take care by the Coasting Vessells to gett a quantity of Rice from the Grain Coast to supply that want.

17. That Your Agents always lett the Natives have what goods they want for Gold, Teeth, Wood, etc. And when they have no Ships with them for Slaves, then to endeavour to putt off Such Goods as are least in demand for Slaves.

18. [That your agents be directed to put all the settlements into the best repair possible, sending to England by the first opportunity for the materials needed and the expense involved in putting the factories in perfect condition.]

19. [A strict enquiry is to be made into the capacities and behaviour of all the company's servants. In case of complaints their answers to the accusations to be made in writing; if the answers appear unsatisfactory to the council the said servants are to be sent home, together with the accusations and answers and the council's remarks thereupon.]

20. [Every six months copies of their journals and ledgers with all their account books and papers, a list of the living and dead, with samples of any sort of goods the natives like which are brought them by any other European nation, are to be sent home, also the

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minutes of the council meetings which are to be held at least twice a week.]

21. [Gold and teeth from Whydah to be sent to Cape Coast or by slaving vessels to the plantations and England.] . . .

24. That the Factory at Cape Coast have Orders to Supply the Settlement at Whydah with such quantitys of Rum, Arrack and other Spirits, as they shall be advised from time to time they can dispose of to advantage there, to be sent by such trading Vessells as they send to the Leeward parts of the Coast, in small Cask proper for that place.

25. That Dr. Stewart at Jamaica be wrote to, That in Case he finds it practicable he sends some Negros to the Spanish West Indies, to be disposed of there for the Company's Account, and the produce to be returned home in the Same Commoditys for which they are sold there.

26. The Compa. of late have entred into a Method of allowing their Captains of Ships from £100 to £200 Each, by way of an Equivalent for their being debar'd the liberty of Trading on the Coast for their own Acc't. Least this should not prevent their so doing, It is proposed, as more the Compa's Interest to Save that Expence, and permit the Captains to carry out a Small adventure, to be invested in Such Goods as the Court of Assistants shall from time to time allow. But that this Liberty be proportioned to Your Capt's according to the Tunage of their Ships, after the Rate of 30 *sh* per Tun, *vizt.* 20 *sh* to the Captain and 10 *sh* to his officers; And that the Captains do always lay a List or Inventory before the Court of what Goods they desire to carry, for the Courts approbation; and the Clerks of the Comm'ees of goods and Shipping to be ordered to inspect these Goods before Shippd and to make their Report to the Court, if agreable to the List the Court allowed; The said List or Inventory when allowed by the Court to be signed by the Secretary.

27. It is further proposed, That the Returns the said Capt's make upon such their privat Trade, be in Gold only, at Such places where Gold is to be had, and where it is not, in the Goods or Commoditys of that Country, but Consign'd to the Company to be disposed of with the Company's Goods at their Sales, and to be payd them in an Average as the Sales arise; And that the Capts. of Ships which go on a Slaving Voyage, have liberty to invest the produce of their privat trade in Slaves, provided they buy them of the Companys Agents at such prices as shall be agreed on between them; who are to give the Capts. a Certificate of the number, and quality of said Slaves to be carryed to the Agents at the West Indies, and Send a Duplicate thereof home to the Company for their Information.

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28. The Captains for himself and officers obliged to give Bond with a penalty attached for not giving a true Inventory. The goods to be seized and the Captain dismissed if his Inventory be proven false.[4]

29. That for the future the Capts receive £4 per Cent upon the Gross Sales instead of 4 Negros by lot in 104, as has hitherto been usual, and that notice be given thereof to the Agents at the plantations, and a Clause to that purpose inserted in the Charter partys and Captains Instructions.

30. And in regard a Thorough knowledge of the Inland parts of Africa may prove of very great advantage to the Company, In Order to be the more likely to come at it, That Your Agents have Orders, as often as any parcells of Negros are brought down to be sold, to make as Strict an Enquiry as possible to find out what Sort of Country they came from; and if no Linguister can be had who knows their Language, it may not be amiss to choose out 2 or 3 of the most likely ones, to make house Slaves of, by which means either some of your own Slaves will in all probability in a years time, learn enough of their Language, or they will of yours, to be able to understand each other, and then by asking proper questions, usefull discoverys may in time be made.

The Questions most pertinent on these occasions to ask seem to be such as these *vizt.*

How many days they have employd in their March down from their own Country, whereby its distance from the Forts may be pretty near guessd at?

Whether they have any large or Navigable Rivers in it?

What form of Government they have? and in what manner Justice is exercised? Whether they are guided by any Written Laws, or Customs, or Absolutely by the Will of their Prince?

Of what Extent their Country is? What manner of Citys they have? How large and of what Materials they are built? and of what distance, and how many days journey they are Situated from the Neighbouring Nations? as also what sort of people those Neighbouring Nations are?

[4] Section 22 directs the sending home of samples of indigo; section 23, the purchasing of "country cloaths" at Whydah, to be sent to Cape Coast Castle. Sections 25, 26, 27, and 28 are inscribed in the margin, "referred to further consideration". James Houstoun (*Observations*, pp. 10-11, see no. 135, note 1) relates one attempt to carry out this policy of developing native industries, which illustrates the company's basic ignorance of African conditions. Governor Plunkett, at Sierra Leone, had set some negro women to making mats for chair bottoms and backs, which he "design'd for a Present, to shew the Ingenuity of the Natives to a truly Noble Peer [the Duke of Chandos], who honours your Society by being a member of it; on which your Honours made a demand on him for Fifty Thousand such for the Use of the Company; whereas to my certain Knowledge, it was with the greatest Difficulty he cou'd get so much Rattane, and as many Hands to manage those few he sent for a Sample".

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How populous they are? or how many fighting Men their Armys generally Speaking Consist of?

Their manner of making Slaves? Whether they become so by any other misfortune than that of being taken Prisoners in War time? And whether they have any other method of Trading for them than this of bringing them down to the Coast of Africa to Sell to the Europeans?

How large are the Revenues and Riches of their Princes? and in what do they Consist, and how Collected?

What sort of meat Drink and Cloathing have they? whether any manufactures and if they have in what manner, and of what Materials they are workt, and to what uses applyd?

How are their people generally employd? Whether they drive any Trade with their Neighbours, and if they do, what sort of Merchandise it is carryd on with?

What Commoditys their Country Yields, and the better to find this out 'twill be proper to Shew them Samples of Solid Gold, Gold Dust, Silver, Elephants Teeth, Gemms or any other valuable Commoditys; And if it appears by their Answers they have any of the first originaly in their Country, to be particular in finding out the manner of their Coming by it, whether They get it by washing the Earth after floods, as at Annamaboe, or by digging it out of Mines?

It will be also proper to Shew them Several Sorts of Colours, to know whether they dye any such in the parts from whence they come, and if they do, in what manner and of what materials they prepare them?[5] . . .

If any of the Negros are brought from Countrys bordering on the Sea, 'twill be proper to Shew them Specimens of Pearl, Amber or Amber greice in order to know whether they ever find any such in their own Country?

These Examinations to be very Carefully made and Sent over constantly with their Journals, for the Perusal and Information of the Royal African Compa. And if from these enquirys there may appear at any time a probable prospect of advancing the Service by opening a New Trade with any of their Countrys, That it be proposed to the Negros, by whose means the knowledge of it is come at; And in order to engage them the more firmly to Your Interest, especially where any of them shall be discoverd to be of a Superior Rank or better understanding than the Generality of them, that Your Agents be allowd to restore them their Liberty and permit them to return back to their own Country, with Samples and little Cargos of such goods as they shall declare will be most pleasing to their own Countrymen, taking Care to send a Factor and Writer, with

[5] Then follow questions concerning birds and animals.

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Some Soldiers along with them, to bring back the returns of this Trade, or to Settle, if it should be found convenient a Factory in Some part of the Kingdome They belong to.

That all Endeavours be used to teach the Negros to read and write.

125. Daniel Wescomb to Francis Lynn.[1]

Feb. 23, 1721.

The Committee of this Company having again Consider'd the Subject Matter of their last Discourse with the Committee of your Company, are enclined to have the Proportions of the sorts of Negroes as follows *vizt.*

2000 Whydah and Jacquin and 1000 Angola

That 2/3 of these be Men and Women, and 1/3 Boys and Girls not under 10 years old, part of which may be of the Gold Coast or Cormantine sort.

That in consideration the South Sea Company are willing to take so much a larger proportion of Boys and Girls, and none of the Gold Coast Negroes, which are much the Dearest to your Company and sell best in the Plantations; This Committee expects the age of the Men and Women to be from 16 to 25. They wou'd add to the Explanation of the 4th Article of your Companys Proposals the following words *vizt.* "or any Lameness or Material Defect." And instead of 10 days, They wou'd have it 14 for Delivery of the Negroes. This I am order'd to signify to you, and that the Gentlemen of our Committee desire your Committee to meet them here on Tuesday morning next at 10 of the Clock precisely in order to the perfecting the Agreement.

126. The Royal African Company: Minutes and Further Report of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Tuesday Mar. 14th 1720[/1.]

The Comm'ee read over and approved the draught of a Second Report of their proceedings Since 23d Febr. last, and

Order'd, That it be layd before the Court for their consideration *Vizt.* The Comm'ee appointed to prepare and lay before the Court a State of the Trade of this Company having further Considered thereof, do Report as follows *Vizt.*

1. That the Company be regular in their Exports, That they Observe every Six Months to send out a Supply of Provisions,

[125] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 20v, p. 50, "Home Letters and Memorials". Francis Lynn was secretary to the Royal African Company.

[126] [1] T 70: 123, pp. 15-20. Those present were Mr. Acton, the Duke of Chandos, the Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hayes, and Captain Pannwell.

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Madera Wines etc. for the Use of the Servants on the Coast, with Stores of all Sorts for the Coasting Vessells, as also Factors, Writers, Artificers, and Soldiers by all oppertunitys.

2. That the Company be Carefull in the choice of their Factors and Writers they Send abroad, whose Characters and qualifications ought to be Strictly enquired into here.

3. Upon due Applycation to some persons of note at Lisbon a Correspondence might be settled with the Portuguese from thence and to the Brazils, to deliver them on the Coast of Affrica or any more convenient place Such a number of Slaves as they shall require; And the Compa. to encourage that Trade might let them have Slaves much cheaper than they could buy themselves, or any other Supply them.[2]

4. This leads the Comm'ee to lay before the Court Some proposals which have been made to them by Mr. Playter Onely for a Contract to be made with some Lisbon Merchants for Slaves *vizt*:

For 500 Annualy, Small Slaves Male and Female from 6 to 10 Years old, to be delivered

at St. Iago at	£10 per head
in the River Gambia at	£ 9
at Lisbon at	£15

to be paid for at Lisbon one Month after delivery, at the rate of 5 *sh* : 6 *d.* per mill rec [rei], which will be 540 : 545 Bus[3] per head delivered at Lisbon. In Case the Slaves are delivered in the River Gambia, or at St. Iago,[4] the Payments are to be made in England by the Agents or Corespond'ts of the Contractors in two Months after the Certificates of such delivery shall be by the Company presented to the said Contractors Agents in London.

For 1000 Adult Slaves annually from 12 to 40 Years of Age half Men and half Women, to be delivered at St. Iago according to the time which may be Stipulated at £18 per head to be paid for as above.

If the Company think it their Interest to be concerned in Slaves to be delivered at St. Iago, in order to be transported to the Brazills for their own Account, the Contractors are willing to cover such Slaves under Portuguese Names, as they do their own, allowing about a Moider[5] per head for letting the Said Slaves go to the Brazils in their Names, and allowing Freight to the Ships that carry them of about £5 : 10 to £6 per head, with a Commiss'n to those that sell them at the Brazils of abt 5 per Cent, and the Gold for which they are sold, to be consigned to the Contractors at Lisbon.

[2] For an earlier discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this trade see *ante*, no. 69.

[3] The editor suggests the possibility that "Bus" may be a misreading for bits, or Spanish reals, which passed for 7½ *d.*

[4] One of the Cape Verde islands.

[5] Moider, 46 *s.*

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It is proposed Mr. Onely may have liberty to treat with Some English Gentlemen at Lisbon of Credit and reputation for any Number of Negros to be delivered annually in such manner as may be agreed on at the Island of St. Thomas at £20 per head half Men, half Women, from 12 Years of Age to 40, to be paid for in Lond'n 2 Months after the Certificates are presented to their Agents here: as also Boys and Girls from 7 to 10 Years of Age at £14 per head.

Mr. Onely proposes in regard to himself, that in case he meets with Success, a Gratuity be made him in proportion to the Service he may do the Company. That an Allowance of about £200 per Anno be granted for his Expences, to Commence from the time of his Setting out, and Submitts to the Consideration of the Court his having already lost an opportunity of going in the Company's Service on this very account.

5. That the Company observe it as a Standing Rule, That all Shipps and Vessells Sent to the Coast of Africa be Sheathed. . . .

The Comm'ee do find that Since the New Ingraftment[6] the Compa. have sent out Sundry Ships and Vessells with proper Cargos to their Several Settlements on the Coast of Africa; And they are of Opinion it will be necessary to provide several others, the Cargos to be bought, and the Ships to be ready to take in Goods by Such a day or days as hereafter mentioned: All which they Submitt to further Consideration.

They do find the Compa. have already sent out the following Ships and Vessells *vizt.*

Gambia

	Burthen	Sail'd		Cargos
Otter	170 t.	Dec'r 25th	From Ireland Capt. Tho. Forster Went to Cork to take in provisions from thence to Maderas for Wine, so to Gambia, thence with 240 Negros for Virginia	407: 19: 10
Martha	250	Febry 4th	Capt. John Levett to proceed from thence with 400 Negros for Maryland	6965: 2: 9¾
Gambia Castle	280	Feb. 4th	Capt. Chas. Russell rem'n as a Guard Ship	3010: 12: 5½
Gambia Sloop	30	Feb. 4th	Capt. Ira Edwards for the Service of the Factory	550: 2: 10
James Island Sl.	24	Feb. 4th	Capt. Nath'n Fincomb, ditto	70: 17: 1

It is further proposed by the Comm'ee, That a Packett of about 80 Tun be bought or built to be ready to Sayl by the 1st of May

[6] This probably refers to the subscription to the capital stock of which Atkins speaks (*post*, p. 267).

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next, to carry a Cargo of £2000 And to come home again directly with what Wood teeth etc. They may have Collected there, and to bring advice what progress they have made in their Settlement.

In regard it may be difficult to procure 640 Slaves in the River of Gambia for the *Otter* and *Martha* in any reasonable time, that it be left to the Chiefs there, in case they find they cannot do it, to Send the *Otter* to Cape Coast, there to take in 240 Slaves, and from thence proceed to the West Indies.

That directions be given to try what trade can be made on the Gumm Coast, or Coast of Arguin: And if a Vessell be Sent, that She may Call at Cape de Verde Islands to purchase Cloaths made there, proper for Gambia, or any other part of the Coast of Africa.[7]

Sierraleone

	burthen	Sailed		Cargo
Providence Sneau [Snow]	90	Oct. 26th	Capt. James Gaine, to return directly back with what trade they have there	2388: 6: 7½
Sierraleone Sloop	32	Oct. 26th	Capt. Mich. Grimmington rem'n there for the Service of the Factory	586: 18: 9

Further proposed, That the *Sherbro* Galley proceed to Sierraleone and there remain for the Use of the Settlement so long as may be necessary, according to the directions in the Lt [Letter] wrote to Mr. Plunkett of the 9th Febry last; And if in the time She Stays a Cargo of Wood Teeth etc. can be provided, then to dispatch her home, Otherwise to Send her to Virginia with 240 Slaves and dispatch her by the middle of June, That She may arrive at Virginia in a proper Season. But should they find it necessary to keep her till the Season is over for Sending her to Virginia, Then to dispatch her with Slaves to [*blank*].

That a Packett of about 100 Tun be bought or built to be ready by the 1st of May, to take in £2000 in Goods Stores and provisions and to come home directly with a loading of Wood and Teeth.

Cape Coast Castle

	Tun	Sayld		Cargos
King Solomon	200	Aug. 19	Capt. Jos. Trahern to slave there and thence Consignd to Mr. Helden at St. Christophers	4503: 17: 1
Dispatch	80	Aug. 19	Capt. James Willis. If the Chiefs can put a valuable Cargo on board to return home directly, otherwise to take what Slaves She can carry consignd to Antigua	2576: 3: 0

[7] The exploitation of the Gum Coast, that is, the coast north of the Senegal River, had heretofore been left almost entirely to the French.

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	Tun	Sayld		Cargos		
Hanibal	90	Octr. 2	Capt. Christ'r Onsley went to holland for a Cargo and so to Cape Coast, to return direct to England. But if the *Mary* Brig. be out on a Trading Voyage, She is to carry 60 Slaves to Gambia.	1504:	4:	6
Sarah	120	Octr. 2	Capt. John Bulcock to Spend Six Weeks in her way trading for Gold etc. and after delivering her Cargo at Cape Coast to be freighted with Negros for Virginia. But if timely notice arrives by the *Cape Coast* Fregat She is to go to Berbados instead of Virginia.	2646:	13:	4½
Cape Coast Fregat	120	Feby 4th	Capt. Thos. Canning, to proceed with Slaves to Berbados	3562:	0:	3
Cape Coast Sloop	30	Feby 4th	Capt. Robt. Willson proceeds to Gambia to take in Wines for Cape Coast and rem'ns for the Service of the Settlement	156:	16:	3
Guinea Sloop	30	Octr. 9th	Capt. Saml. Pett Calls at Sierraleone to deliver lres [letters] then remains at Cape Coast for the Service there	1088:	18:	7½
Whydah Sloop	30	Feb. 4th	Capt. Robt. Potter for the Service of this Settlement	190:	15:	8
Greyhound Sl.	75	Feb. 4th	Capt. Will'm Powis, went to holland to take in two Cargos one for Cape Coast and one for Whydah, after delivering which he is to be sent home with what Trade they have ready at Cape Coast, or out on a Trading Voyage	1350:	15:	7

Further proposed, That the *Guinea* packet burthen 134 Tun Cargoe £9952 . 9 . 5¼ now ready to Sail do go directly to Cape Coast and home again.

That a Ship of about 150 Tun be hired to be ready to take in Goods by the 1st of May to the Value of about £4000, and to Call in Ireland to take in provisions, and Such a Quantity of Tallow, as may be thought proper for Six Months Trade, from thence to proceed directly to Cape Coast and to be dispatched with 250 Slaves for the West Indies.

That this Article be referr'd to the Comm'ee of Shipping to Consider what provisions are proper to Order in Ireland, and to the Comm'ee of Goods for the Quantity of Tallow.

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That a packett of about 100 Tun be bought or built, to be ready to sail by the 1st of May, with a Cargo of abt. £1000, part whereof to be proper for the Windward Trade, and the Ship to Spend a Month or more in trading from Cape Mount to Cape Coast for Gold, Teeth, Slaves and Malaguetta all which with his Acc'ts he is to deliver at Cape Coast and then to be under the Orders of the General and Chiefs there.

Mem'dum A Factor to be joyned with the Capt. of this Packet to keep an Acc't with him of his Windward Trade.

That a Proper Cargo be provided for the Bight, to proceed by One of the Cape Coast Ships, and there to be lodged for that Service, and the Trade carryed on by the Coasting Vessells.

Whydah

	Tun	Sayld		Cargos
Whydah **Fregat**	300	Febry. 4th	Captain Sam'll Barlow. After the Settlem't is fixd to be freighted with Slaves for Jamaica. Has liberty to call for refreshm't at Berbadoes, and if the Agents there can Sell his Slaves for £28 per head sound they must do it, otherwise he proceeds for Jamaica.	11945: 9: 0
Greyhound **Sl.**			carryes a Cargo from Holland to Whydah then returns to C. Coast	1866: 2: 3

Further proposed, That a Ship of 300 Tun be hired to carry a Cargo of £10,000 and also what Stores and necessarys may be thought proper to be sent to Cape Coast Castle and Whydah for repairing the Fortifications. The Ship to be ready to take in Goods by the first of May; to stop at Cape Coast to deliver her Gold Coast Goods and Stores, and to take in her Negro provisions then proceed to Whidah, and take in a Cargo of Slaves for the W. Indies.

Cabenda

	Tun	Sayld		Cargo
Royal Africa	330	Feb. 4th	Capt. Nurse Hereford Proceeds to make new Settlement there, After which to be freighted with Slaves for the W. Indies	7205: 16: 9
Accra **Sloop**	30	Feb. 4th	Capt. Arthur Mathews for the Service at Cabenda	320: 16: 10
Congo **Sloop**	24	Feb. 4th	Capt. Rich'd Collins proceeds to Gambia to take in provisions for this Settlement and then to remain for the Service thereof	125: 5: 8

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Further proposed, The *Prince George* Capt. John Mitchell 210 Tun already taken up to depart Gravesend by 20th March by Charter Party, to take in a Cargo of about £3000, And to carry 350 Slaves to Virginia.

That there be Sent by this Ship for Cabenda: 3 Factors, 5 Writers, 6 Soldiers, A Chaplain, 2 Surgeon Mates.

That a Packett of 120 Tun be bought or built to be ready to take in Goods by the 1st of May, with a Cargo of £3000 to proceed near as far as the Cape of Good Hope, And to trade all down that Coast to Cabenda making what discoverys may be for the Improvement of the trade, and from thence to be sent home directly with what Gold, Wood, and Teeth, Copper, Pepper or any other Commodity they have proper for England. An Experienced Captain and Super Cargo or Factor to be put on board this Vessell from hence with Instructions to make discoverys and purchase any Sort of Commoditys proper to bring home.

That the *Royal African* Packett Capt. Cornwal Commander be app't for this Service and got ready to Sayl with all Expedition.[8]

127. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Trade held Tuesday May 2d 1721.

The Committee went through the consideration of the Orders and Instructions to be sent abroad by the Sloop now going to Gambia. As also read and considered A Mem'll referr'd to them by the Court of two African Princes Brothers of the King of Delagoa,[2] who desire to be sent home by the Compa. And Resolvd upon the following Report to be made next Court day *vizt.*

The Memorial of the two African Princes referred to this Committee by the Court of Assistants being read, wherein they desire the Company will give Orders for their being sent home to their Brother the King of Delagoa, on the South East Coast of Africa, And, Colonell Twogood who has hitherto taken care of these Princes declaring, That the Expences he has been at on their account has been from no private view nor other motive but in pure compassion to their unhappy Circumstances, till he could find some means of getting them sent home to their own Country, which if the Company agrees to do, he expects no reimbursement from them of the charges he has hitherto been at.

[8] "Read and approvd by the Court March 21st 1721. F. L."

[127] [1] T 70: 123, pp. 22, 24, 25. Present: Mr. Lockwood, ch., Mr. Acton D.G., Earl of Clarendon, Duke of Chandos, Mr. Gore, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Neal, Mr. Walcot S.G., Mr. Hayes.

[2] De Lagoa was on the southeastern coast of Africa.

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Resolved thereupon to represent to the Court as the Opinion of this Committee, That they do esteem it to be for the Service of the Royall African Company of England to take care of these two African Princes, and Provide in the best manner they can for Conveying them to their own Country.

And in order to render that more effectual for the Service of the Company: That a Settlement be made to the Southward of Cape Negro,[3] which by the account the Committee have received, as well in regard to the nearness of Situation to the Portuguese, as to the Inland Trade driven by the Negroes with them, may tend to the opening a new Trade for the Company in all respects as advantageous, as any branch which they all ready Enjoy. And the Committee are of Opinion, that the Sending these Princes along with the Ship that is to make that Settlement will very much contribute to the Success thereof, the Negros in those parts bordering so near the Emperor of Monomatapa[4] Brother-in-Law to these Princes, that in all probability they cannot but be known to some or other of them; tho' if they should not, the apperance of these Princes amongst them, and the relation of their Case and treatment they have mett with from the Royal African Company cannot fail so to conciliate the Affections of the Natives to the Company's Interest as in all probability may facilitate the Establishing the Settlement and produce very happy consequences from it.[5]

After which Settlement is made, It is likewise the Opinion of this Committee that a proper Conveyance should be thought of for Sending these Princes home into their own Country; and two or three proper persons chosen to go along with them, who should [be] Commissioned by the Royall African Company to proceed to the Capital of Monomatapa (w[h]ich these Princes represent to be a Moon from their own Capitall) with full power to treat and agree

[3] Cape Negro is on the west coast, south of the equator.

[4] Monomatapa, on the eastern coast, west of Madagascar. All the evidence of intercourse with the southeastern section of Africa is of especial interest because of the meagreness of the material on this subject. We know that the South Sea Company was despatching Madagascar negroes to Buenos Aires in considerable numbers (Add. MSS. 25563, p. 204), but we know very little of traffic with the mainland of East Africa.

[5] These elaborate plans were never carried out. On Aug. 31, 1721, the princes were consigned to the *Northampton,* Captain Sharrow, who was to carry them home. On Sept. 19 and Oct. 3 Captain Sharrow presented bills for their maintenance amounting to £15. 14. 11½. On the 5th the East India Company granted permission to the Royal African Company to carry them home. Bills for maintenance, amounting to about £5. 10 *s.* per week, came in until March, 1722. In February the S. P. C. K. appointed two persons to accompany the princes to their home. On Feb. 20, Captain Sharrow was granted £100, to lay out for provisions for his passengers. Then on May 9 came word that one of the two princes had hanged himself before the voyage was begun (T 70: 91, pp. 15, 31, 33, 36, 41, 99, 106, 138). In December, 1723, two chests of books and clothing, belonging to the African princes, were delivered up by Captain Sharrow, and consigned by the court to the committee of trade and correspondence. This seems to indicate the death of the second prince also. T 70: 139.

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with that Emperor for opening a Trade between him and his Subjects, and the new Settlement Proposed to the Southward of Cape Negro; and that it be stipulated with those Princes that One or both of them should accompany those Persons to Monomatapa, in order to introduce them to the Emperor their Brother-in-Law, and the better to engage him to come into Such Treaty and Trade.[6]

128. Voyage of John Atkins to Guinea.[1]

Remark 1. The Trade for our African Company here [Sierra Leone], is carried on from Bense or Brent Island, about 5 Leagues distance from our Anchorage, by Factors, of whom Mr. Plunket is chief.[2] The private Traders are about 30 in number, settled on the Starboard side of the River; loose privateering Blades, that if they cannot trade fairly with the Natives, will rob; but then don't do it so much in pursuance of that trading Advice, (Amass Riches, my Son) as to put themselves in a Capacity of living well, and treating their Friends, being always well pleased if they can keep their Stock at Par, and with their Profits purchase from time to time, Strong-beer, Wine, Cyder, and such Necessaries, of Bristol Ships, that more frequently than others put in there; of these, John Leadstine, commonly called old Cracker, is reckoned the most thriving.

They all keep Gromettas (Negro Servants) which they hire from Sherbro River, at two Accys or Bars a Month. . . .

[6] "Read and approved by the Court, May 4th, 1721. F. L."

[128] [1] *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies; in His Majesty's Ships, the Swallow and Weymouth. Describing the several Islands and Settlements, viz. Maderia, the Canaries, Cape de Verd, Sierraleon, Sesthos, Cape Apollonia, Cabo Corso, and others on the Guinea Coast; Barbadoes, Jamaica, etc., in the West-Indies. The Colour, Diet, Languages, Habits, Manners, Customs, and Religions of the respective Natives, and Inhabitants. With Remarks on the Gold, Ivory, and Slave-Trade; and on the Winds, Tides and Currents of the several Coasts,* by John Atkins, Surgeon in the Royal Navy (London, 1735). A second edition, little changed, was brought out two years later, in which Atkins was described as a "Gentleman of Plaistow". The narrative is here placed at the date of the events described, but it must be borne in mind that the author is writing some years later, and frequently illustrates his remarks by references to later happenings.

The purpose of the expedition, which sailed Feb. 5, 1721, was to disperse the pirates who, by their depredations on the West Coast of Africa, were destroying the trade of the company. Atkins implies that this expedition, as well as other undertakings already referred to, was one evidence of the new life infused into the company by the Duke of Chandos. The records of the company for 1722 contain many accounts of the depredations of pirates on the West Coast. The boldest of these was Roberts, of whom Charles Johnson, in his *General History of the Pyrates* (ed. 1724, pp. 208-329), gives a long account. One report from the coast stated that this marauder had captured ten vessels. The *Swallow* and the *Weymouth*, after a long chase, overtook his vessel and defeated him. See J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period* (1923), pp. 313-318.

[2] The presence of the *Swallow* and the *Weymouth* on the coast was, in part at least, due to the capture of Plunkett's fort the year before by Roberts. For an account of this see William Smith, *Voyage to Guinea*, p. 41. Governor Plunkett was soon after this transferred to Gambia, where he lost his life in 1725. Smith, p. 33.

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The Men-servants work in the Boats and Periagoes, which go a trading in turns with Coral, Brass, Pewter Pans, Pots, Arms, English Spirits, etc. and bring back from the Rio Nunes, Slaves, and Teeth; and from Sherbro, Camwood for Dyers; a Sloop or two is the most that is loaded from the latter Place in a Year, and that with difficulty; being obliged to go far up the River, narrow and beset with Mangroves, which makes it sickly (pp. 39-40). . . .

The Slaves when brought here, have Chains put on, three or four linked together, under the Care of their Gromettas, till opportunity of Sale; and then go at about 15 Pounds a good Slave, allowing the Buyer 40 or 50 per Ct. Advance on his Goods.

As these Slaves are placed under Lodges near the Owner's House, for Air, Cleanliness and Customers better viewing them, I had every day the Curiosity of observing their Behaviour, which with most of them was very dejected. Once, on looking over some of old Cracker's Slaves, I could not help taking notice of one Fellow among the rest, of a tall, strong Make, and bold, stern aspect. As he imagined we were viewing them with a design to buy, he seemed to disdain his Fellow-Slaves for their Readiness to be examined, and as it were scorned looking at us, refusing to rise or stretch out his Limbs, as the Master commanded; which got him an unmerciful Whipping from Cracker's own Hand, with a cutting Manatea Strap, and had certainly killed him but for the loss he himself must sustain by it; all which the Negro bore with Magnanimity, shrinking very little, and shedding a Tear or two, which he endeavoured to hide as tho' ashamed of. All the Company grew curious at his Courage, and wanted to know of Cracker, how he came by him; who told us, that this same Fellow, called Captain Tomba, was a Leader in some Country Villages that opposed them, and their Trade, at the River Nunes; killing our Friends there, and firing their Cottages. The Sufferers this way, by the Help of my Men, (says Cracker) surprized, and bound him in the Night, about a Month ago, he having killed two in his Defence, before they could secure him, and from thence he was brought hither, and made my Property (pp. 41-42).[3] . . .

[3] The *Weymouth* had left the *Swallow* and gone to Gambia, where she left the new governor and delivered presents to the King of Barra, who gave to the company permission to build a fort at Gillifree, fifteen miles up the river, and at this time commanded by a woman. The two vessels joined each other again May 1. In the pages which follow, here omitted, Atkins, after describing the country of Sierra Leone and its people, resumes his account of the voyage along the coast. Leaving Sierra Leone May 1, the vessels reached Cape Mount on May 4 and Mesurado the next day. Here they found the natives fearful of panyaring, as they had "often suffered by the Treachery of Ships". On May 10 they anchored at Sestos, "a Place where most of our windward Slave ships stop to buy Rice, exchanged at about 2 *s.* per Quintal". In the Sestos market they found "brass Pans, pewter Basins, Powder Shot, and old Chests" to be exchanged for "Rice, Goats, Fowls". Before they left Sestos they attended a court reception given by King Pedro to the officers of the two vessels. From Sestos they sailed to Cape Palmas, Jaque a Jaques, Bassam, and Assinee, and reached Cape Apollonia June 6.

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To return to Jaque a Jaques; we met there the *Robert* of Bristol, Captain Harding, who sailed from Sierraleon before us, having purchased thirty Slaves, whereof Captain Tomba mentioned there was one; he gave us the following melancholly Story. That this Tomba, about a Week before, had combined with three or four of the stoutest of his Country-men to kill the Ship's Company, and attempt their Escapes, while they had a Shore to fly to, and had near effected it by means of a Woman-Slave, who being more at large, was to watch the proper Opportunity. She brought him word one night that there were no more than five white Men upon the Deck, and they asleep, bringing him a Hammer at the same time (all the Weapons that she could find) to execute the Treachery. He encouraged the Accomplices what he could, with the Prospect of Liberty, but could now at the Push, engage only one more and the Woman to follow him upon Deck. He found three Sailors sleeping on the Fore-castle, two of which he presently dispatched, with single Strokes upon the Temples; the other rouzing with the Noise, his Companions seized; Tomba coming soon to their Assistance, and murdering him in the same manner. Going after to finish the work, they found very luckily for the rest of the Company, that these other two of the Watch were with the Confusion already made awake, and upon their Guard, and their Defence soon awaked the Master underneath them, who running up and finding his Men contending for their Lives, took a Hand-spike, the first thing he met with in the Surprize, and redoubling his Strokes home upon Tomba, laid him at length flat upon the Deck, securing them all in Irons.

The Reader may be curious to know their Punishment: Why, Captain Harding weighing the Stoutness and Worth of the two Slaves, did, as in other Countries they do by Rogues of Dignity, whip and scarify them only; while three other, Abettors, but not Actors, nor of Strength for it, he sentenced to cruel Deaths; making them first eat the Heart and Liver of one of them killed. The Woman he hoisted up by the Thumbs, whipp'd, and slashed her with Knives, before the other Slaves till she died.[4]

From this Ship we learned also, that the inland Country who had suffered by the Panyarrs of the Cobelohou[5] and Drewin People, have lately been down, and destroyed the Towns, and the Trade is now at a stand; and perhaps the Consciousness of this Guilt increases their Fears of us. The Ceremony of contracting Friendship and Trade, is dropping a little salt-water into the Eye, or taking it into their Mouth, and spurting out again; which must be answer'd, or no Trade will follow.

[4] Compare with Mary Johnston's *Slave Ship* (1924), pp. 211-216.
[5] Cape Lahou on the Quaqua Coast, at the mouth of the Rio de Lagos.

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At Cape Apollonia, the Natives are of a jet black, very lively and bold, accustomed to Trade, and better fetished than their Neighbours; have cleaner and larger Tomys,[6] wear Amber Beads, Copper Rings, Cowrys, and their Wooll twisted in numberless little Rings and Tufts, with bits of Shell, Straw, or Gold twisted in them. They have all a Dagger cut in their Cheek, and often in other Parts of their Body; A Custom preserved among a few, down to the Gold Coast. . . . All we learn is, its being a very ancient Custom, and distinguishes them from the Country, who they Panyarr and sell for Slaves, naked at 4 oz. per Head; allowing 100 per Cent. on Goods, they cost at a medium 8 *l.* Sterling. The Cabiceers, out of this, demand a due of 20 *s.* and the Palaaver-Man 10 *s.* whence I conjecture they are more regularly trained to Panyarring or thieving, than the Towns we have past (pp. 71-74). . . .[7]

Cabo Corso. . . . The Company about this time of our Voyage had raised by Subscription 392,400 *l.* and, in December 1722, made a Call of 5 per Cent. allowing the Proprietors, as had been accustomed, a Dividend of 3 per Cent. In December 1723, they exposed to Sale 200,000 *l.* Stock at 30 per Cent. which shewed their Affairs had an ill Aspect, notwithstanding their late Flourishes; confirmed next Winter, when they petitioned the Government (I find in a Pamphlet printed a few Years since)[8] that they were undone, and the African Trade lost, unless they were impower'd to scheme it over again: The Projectors for the Company righteously proposed, that if the Legislature would give a Sanction, they would engage to raise the Stock-jobbing Humour, and raise a Million, whereof they would be liberal.

The Factory consists of Merchants, Factors, Writers, Miners, Artificers and Soldiers; and excepting the first Rank, who are the Council for managing Affairs, are all of them together a Company of white Negroes, who are entirely resigned to the Governour's Commands, according to the strictest Rules of Discipline and Subjection; are punished (Garison fashion) on several Defaults, with Mulcts, Confinement, the Dungeon, Drubbing, or the Wooden Horse; and for enduring this, they have each of them a Salary sufficient to buy Canky,[9] Palm-Oil, and a little Fish to keep them from starving: for tho' the Salaries sound tolerably in Leadenhall-Street (50 to 90 *l.*

[6] A garment worn by both the men and women.

[7] The omitted passages deal with the sojourn at Three Points, the government of the native chief John Conny, and the customs of the natives of this part of the coast.

[8] It is probably bootless to conjecture what this pamphlet was, since we do not know when it was actually published, and can only guess at the date at which Atkins wrote this sentence. *The Case of the Royal African Company,* published in 1730, may have been the publication to which the author refers.

[9] Conky. At a later point Atkins says that this was boiled by the negroes to the bigness of half-penny rolls. The English baked it. He adds, "an Accy purchases nine a day of them for a Month".

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per Ann. a Factor; 50 an Artificer)[10] yet in the Country here, the General (for the Company's good) pays them in Crackra, a false Money which is only current upon the spot, and disables them from taking any advantage of buying Necessaries from Ships coasting down. If the Subjects should have other, it's against the Interest of the Company to suffer its being laid out any where from themselves, because their Stock would by that means lie dead. So that for the Support of Nature, or perhaps indulging youthful Follies, these thin Creatures are obliged to take up of the Company, and in effect by it sign over their Liberty; none being admitted to depart, 'till he has adjusted all Accounts. When the Man is too sober to run in Debt, there are Arts of Mismanagement, or loss of Goods under his Care, to be charged or wanting. Thus they are all liable to be mulcted for Drunkenness, Swearing, Neglects, and lying out of the Castle, even for not going to Church, (such is their Piety:) and thus by various arbitrary Methods their Service is secured *durante bene placito.*

The same Method he takes with The Town Negroes, who, inconsiderate Wretches, are continually scoring up for Goods or Drams, and thus become Pawns to the Company, *i.e.* liable to be sold when the General thinks fit.

The Director-General is Supreme, or first Person in the Factory, at 2000 *l.* per Ann. Two other Merchants at 300 *l.* and a Secretary at 200 *l.* are what compose the Council for the Company's Affairs; send Factors to their outer Forts, and Supercargoes on board Vessels to collect the Trade, who are to transmit and make up their Accounts here. The General supports a Table for them; a Chaplain and Surgeon,[11] who have orderly Meals, without any idle Bottles.

Tho' the General has but one Vote in Business, yet it's tacitly consented, from his better Allowance and Power as Governour, that he shall lead the others, who sign only for their Salaries: He therefore disposes solely of Preferments to the Factors and Writers, who, as they please or displease, may be continued at, or removed to their advantage. For, as on Service from the Fort they are allowed a Commission in Trade, additional to their Pay; so, in some of the outer Forts (such as Accra, or in a Ship) they make considerable Increase; while at others again, Anamaboo, or Dixcove, they find a great deal of Trouble, wet Lodging, Scarcity of Provision, and no Profit; and as these last outnumber the good, I observed most of our Factors to have dwindled much from the genteel Air they brought; wear no Cane nor Snuff-box, idle in Men of Business, have lank

[10] This seems, by a comparison with Francis Moore's salary, to be a more generous remuneration than the Gambia establishment paid ten years later.

[11] A note gives their salaries at "80 *l.* per Ann".

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Bodies, a pale Visage, their Pockets sown up, or of no use, and their Tongues tied. One Cause of their Slenderness indeed, is a Scarcity of Provision; little besides Plantain, small Fish, Indian Corn, and a great deal of Canky, to be bought at Market (pp. 89-92). . . .

In the Area of this Quadrangle [of Cape Coast Castle] are large Vaults, with an iron Grate at the Surface to let in Light and Air on those poor Wretches, the Slaves, who are chained and confined there till a Demand comes. They are all marked with a burning Iron upon the right Breast, D. Y. Duke of York. . . .

Within the Castle is a Smith's Shop, a Cooperage, Store-houses, a Chappel, and Houses for the Officers and Servants. The General's Lodging communicates with the Chappel; a capacious Hall, which serves to preach and dine in, pray or drink, serve God or debate on Trade; hence they can over-look what the Company's Servants are doing, and how comply with their respective Duties. A Bastion runs out from it that has a pleasant Prospect to the Sea, discerning with a Glass the Ships coming down the Coast, and very distinctly all those in the Road at Des Minas.

Having done with the Factory and Castle at present, I come now to the Natives, who from a long Acquaintance with Europeans, are much the best Negroes of the whole Continent (pp. 98-99).[12] . . .

At Anamaboe our private Ships finish their Slaving, few or none being got downward, till you reach Whydah.

At Montford, Shallo,[13] and thereabouts, they make up the Deficiency of Rice and Corn for the Voyage, the Country appearing fruitful, and with better Aspect than any of those we have passed to Windward, intermixed with Hills and Vales; at every League almost, a Town; many Corn-fields, Salt pans and other Marks of Industry, particularly about Accra, which shews they are extricated out of those Difficulties with their Neighbours behind them, that the manner of persuing the Slave-Trade exposes others too.

At Accra, we, the French, and Dutch, have each a Factory and Fort, and make there great quantities of Salt, supplied to Windward, and to the inland Provinces, where it is always a precious Commodity (p. 107). . . .

Whydah. . . . White People are seldom or never admitted to Presence [of the king], but at the times they pay their Customs; very considerable from Europeans, who drive here the greatest Slave-Trade of any on the whole Continent: Besides these Dues, the King augments his Revenue by a Duty on every thing bought or sold by his People. . . .

[12] The account of the natives which follows is chiefly concerned with fetish.

[13] Montford, or Mumford, is on the Gold Coast west of Winnebah; Shallo is probably Sheddo, east of Winnebah.

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The King of Ardra is his potent and warlike Neighbour; a populous Country, full of large Crooms or Towns, and all of them obsequious Slaves, who dare not sell or buy any thing without Licence, and both ways he exacts a Custom. It is by means of this Country that so great a number of Slaves are brought down to Whydah and sold to the Europeans naked (p. 111). . . .[14]

It was lucky for Mr. Rowry, Master of a Bristol Vessel, that the Man of War came in;[15] his Men had made him Prisoner, and were disposing of the Slaves at a very easy Rate with the Governor, who rejects no Schemes of Profit. Rowry, who had been discountenanced by him upon his Men's Complaints, was now heard indeed; but not knowing rightly the Method of getting Men to bring away his Brigantine in our Company, he was obliged to take what Price the Governor would set on her and her Cargo, and took Passage with us for Cape Corso (p. 140). . . .

1.[16] In the windward Coast, Gambia, Sierraleon, and Sherbro Rivers may be reckoned chief; the African Company having Factors and Settlements there. Less noted, but more frequented by private Ships in this part of Guinea, are Cape Mont, and Montzerado, Sesthos River, Capes Palmas, Apollonia, and Tres Puntas. A number of others intervene, of more or less Trade; which it is their Custom to signify at the sight of any Ship by a Smoke, and is always looked on as an Invitation to Trade; but as each is alterable among them from the Chance of War, the Omission shews they decline it, or are out of Stock.

This Change of Circumstance found on different Voyages, proceeds from weak and bad Governments among themselves, every Town having their own Cabiceers or ruling Men, (or it may be three or four in Confederacy) all so jealous of the others Panyarring, that they never care to walk even a mile or two from home without Fire-Arms; each knows it is their Villanies and Robberies upon one another that enables them to carry on a Slave-trade with Europeans; and as Strength fluctuates, it is not unfrequent for him who sells you Slaves to-day, to be a few days hence sold himself at some neighbouring Town; this I have known.

The same way of reasoning answers for the Panyarrs and Murders so frequently between them and us, and never that I heard with the French or Portuguese. For if any of our Ships from Bristol or Liverpool play tricks, and under pretence of Traffick seize and

[14] At this point Atkins inserts a long account of events at Whydah in 1727, taken in part from Snelgrave's *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea*, pp. 1-18. See *post*, no. 167.

[15] The *Swallow* had touched at St. Thomas, "the chief of these Portuguese Islands", for fresh provisions.

[16] Atkins, having concluded a consideration of the winds, turns here to a discussion of the slave trade, which occupies pages 150 to 180.

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carry away such of them as come on board, and trust themselves on that Confidence, the Friends and Relations never fail with the first Opportunity to revenge it; they never consider the Innocence of who comes next, but as Relations in Colour, Panyarr the Boat's Crews who trust themselves foolishly on shore, and now and then by dissembling a Friendship, have come on board, surprized and murdered a whole Ship's Company. Captain Piercy's Lieutenant was killed on shore on some such Pretence, or because he had a good Suit of Cloaths, or both. Captain Canning of the *Dove* Brigantine 1732, was cut off by the Natives of Grand Bassau from an Inadvertency; first, of tempting the Negroes with the sight of a fine Cargo, and then by trusting the Mate Mr. Tho. Coote on shore; the one prompted them to rob, and the other was an Hostage for their Security, they ventured off in their Canoos and murdered all the Company under the Conduct of a Fellow they called Thomas Grey, who run the Vessel in short; the Mate remained with them unhurt, about sixteen days, and was then redeemed by Captain Wheeler for 17 Pounds worth of Goods, which as an Encouragement to the Service, he was suffered to repay at London (pp. 150-152). . . .

In it's [the African Company's] first flourishing Condition, it was allowed by authentick Accounts to have gained annually to England 900,000 *l.* whereof in Teeth, Camwood, Wax and Gold, was only 100,000 *l.* and the rest in Slaves; which in the Infancy of their Trade were in very great demand over all the American Plantations to supply their own wants, and carry on a clandestine Commerce with the Spanish West-Indies. On Computation, Barbadoes wanted annually 4000 Negroes, Jamaica 10,000, Leeward Islands 6000; and because the Company ('twas complained by such as wished them ill Success) could not supply this Number, having only imported 46,396 Slaves between the years 1680 and 1688;[17] Interlopers crept in, and contended for a Share; which the Company represented as contrary to the Privileges of their Patent, and withal, that the Accusation was groundless and unjust, because they did supply enough for demand, and maintained Forts and Garisons at a great Charge, for awing and subjecting the Natives to trade, and maintaining an Industry equal to the Dutch, without which it was plain to all impartial Considerers, it would be but very difficultly carried on. However, their Adversaries, after some years of grumbling, obtained an Act of Parliament 1697, whereby private Traders for making good this deficiency of Slaves, should have Liberty of Trade, allowing the Company 10 per Cent. towards defraying their extraordinary Expence.

[17] See G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System* (1912), pt. I., vol. I., p. 344 n.

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From this time the Company more visibly decayed, insomuch that in eight following years they only imported to the West-Indies 17,760 Slaves; and the separate Traders in that time 71,268.[18]

Their 10 per Cent. in the first ten years amounted to 87,465 *l.* and therefore finding their trade under great disadvantages with these new Inmates, they resolved to make the best shares they could in this Money, by lessening their Expence about the Forts. They accordingly withdrew all Supplies from their Garisons, leaving them to subsist by their own Management or starve. Gambia Fort having only twelve men, was taken by a Privateer of eight Guns in 1709,[19] Sierraleon thirteen men, Sherbro four, and these not of any Charge to the Company, but were possessed by such, who having a long time resided in their Service, by help of those Fortifications were capable to do something for themselves, and so the private Traders by degrees got entirely quit of their Impost; the reason in a manner ceasing for which it was at first allowed.

About 1719, their Affairs seemed to revive again, under the Auspices of the Duke of Chandois, who became a very considerable Proprietor in their Stock, and promised from his Figure and Interest a Renewal of those Privileges that had depressed them; their Objections ceasing, (the number demanded being now very short of what it was formerly.) More Ships were imployed than for many years past, but whether it were their too large Expence, or Corruption of their chief Officers, who too often in Companys think they are sent abroad purely for their own Service, or both; they soon felt that without a separate Act they were uncapable of contending with private Traders, and every year more and more explaining their Inability they applied to Parliament, and now support their Forts by an annual Allowance from the Government, of 10,000 *l.*[20]

Those who are the Favourers of Companies suggest, that if the Trade must be allowed, and the Christian Scheme of enlarging the Flock cannot well be carried on without it, that then it seems necessary and better for the Publick that some rich and powerful Set of Men should have such exclusive Powers to encourage and enable the subsisting of Forts and Garisons, to awe the Natives and preserve the Trade from being engrossed by our dangerous Rivals here, the Dutch; which, as we relinquish, falls an acquisition to them, and

[18] See figures presented in the report of the Board of Trade, Jan. 27, 1709, *ante*, pp. 62, 75.

[19] Fort James, at Gambia, was attacked twice in 1709, once by the French under M. Parent, who carried away a load of slaves, and once by a pirate whose booty was £2000 in gold bars. After that the African Company obtained from the government a company of soldiers to protect it. H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia, its History Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern*, p. 63.

[20] The annual allowance from Parliament for the support of the company began in 1730. Atkins's account was written sometime after 1732.

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renders all precarious; they could also bring (as an exclusive Company) foreign Markets to their own Price.

The Company's Trade wanting that Encouragement, every year grows worse; buying dearer than in times past on the Coast, and selling cheaper in the West-Indies; the reason at Guinea, is a greater Scarcity of Slaves, and an improved Knowledge in the trading Negroes who dispose of them; and at the West-Indies it is the Demand failing, more disadvantageously still for them, because separate Traders are not under the delays they are subject to: They take the whole Coast in their way, while the other is consigned to the Governour, and can afford to undersel their Goods (necessary Requisites for Dispatch and Success) because they stand exempt from all Coast-Charges. On the other side, our Colonies are now pretty well glutted with Slaves, and their Call consequently not nigh so large; 2000 in a year perhaps furnishes all our Plantations, and tho' more are imported, it is in order to transport them again to the Spanish West-Indies, where tho' the Assiento Ships are of late years only indulged by Treaty, all others being liable to Confiscation, and the People to Slavery if taken by the Spanish Guard le Costa; yet the Prospect of Gain inciting, they still find means to continue on, and maintain a forcible Traffick for them, under the Protection of their Guns. This clandestine Method, by the way, hurts the South-Sea Company, beating down the Price of their Slaves, who cannot so well afford it, because bought, and brought there at a greater Charge (pp. 153-157).[21] . . .

I now proceed to our Method of Trade, and shall sum the Rules of it up, under the head of Interlopers. Private trading Ships bring two or three Boats with them upon this Coast for Dispatch, and while the Mates go away in them with a proper Parcel of Goods, and Instructions into the Rivers and By-places, the Ship is making good her Trade at others near hand.

The Success of a Voyage depends first, on the well sorting, and on the well timing of a Cargo. Secondly, in a Knowledge of the places of Trade, what, and how much may be expected every where. Thirdly, in dramming well with English Spirits, and conforming to the Humours of the Negroes. Fourthly, in timely furnishing proper Food for the Slaves. Fifthly, in Dispatch; and Lastly, the good Order and Management of Slaves when on board; of each, a Word or two.

First, on the Timing of a Cargo: This depends at several places much on Chance, from the fanciful and various Humours of the Negroes, who make great demands one Voyage for a Commodity,

[21] Atkins here turns to a description of Whydah, from which he says 20,000 slaves have been exported in a single year.

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that perhaps they reject next, and is in part to be remedied either by making the things they itch after, to pass off those they have not so much mind to, or by such a continual Traffick and Correspondence on the Coast as may furnish the Owner from time to time with quick Intelligence, to be done only by great Merchants, who can keep imployed a number of Ships, that like a Thread unites them in a Knowledge of their Demands, and a readier Supply for them, as well as dispatch for their Master's Interest, by putting the Purchases of two or three Ships into one. The late Mr. Humphry Morrice [22] was the greatest private Trader this way, and unless Providence had fixed a Curse upon it, he must have gained exceedingly.

Secondly, Of the Sorting, this may be observed in general; That the Windward and Leeward Parts of the Coast are as opposite in their Demands, as is their distance. Iron Bars, which are not asked for to Leeward, are a substantial Part of Windward Cargoes. Crystals, Orangos, Corals, and Brass-mounted Cutlasses are almost peculiar to the Windward Coast; as are brass Pans from Rio Sesthos to Apollonia; Cowreys (or Bouges) at Whydah. Copper and Iron Bars at Callabar; but Arms, Gun-powder, Tallow, old Sheets, Cottons of all the various Denominations, and English Spirits are every where called for. Sealing-wax, and Pipes, are necessary in small Quantities, they serve for Dashees (Presents) and a ready Purchase for Fish, a Goat, Kid, or a Fowl.

To be more particular, here follows an Invoyce bought at London about the year 1721.

A Guinea Cargo.[23]

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
10 Cotton Ramalls	at	0	11	0	5	10	0
10 Silk Do.		1	00	0	10	00	0
20 Herba-longees		0	10	0	10	00	0
20 Photees		0	17	6	17	10	0
30 Tapseils		0	12	0	18	00	0
20 Blue swaft Bafts		1	02	0	22	00	0
20 Chintz		0	12	6	12	10	0
50 Nichanees		0	13	0	32	10	0

[22] Humphrey Morice frequently appeared before the Board of Trade on behalf of the separate traders. Of him William Smith wrote: "I have heard that all the Dutch Chiefs, at the Out-Ports, were ordered to supply no English Ship whatsoever with either Wood or Water, except the Ships belonging to a certain worthy and eminent Merchant of London" (*Voyage to Guinea*, p. 118). For further references to him see Snelgrave's account, esp. pp. 193-194, 288. The *Judith*, a part of the log of which is later printed (*post*, no. 168), belonged to Morice.

[23] Some of these articles have already been identified, others can only be guessed at. Photees, or photaes, were piece goods of East India manufacture; herba longees, tapseils, and nicconees were also East India cottons; bafts, coarse cottons, made first in India, then in England, especially for the African trade; sletias were thin silks or linens; rangoes, or arrangoes, and ranters were English woollens. A few years before this the factors at Cape Coast Castle had written that they had on hand too many woollen goods, that the company's perpets were too small, and trading guns a "Meer Drug" (Oct. 11, 1718, T 70: 6, p. 83). The proper choice of a cargo apparently called for a fine discrimination in estimating native taste.

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	Ct.	q.	l.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
176 Blue Paper Sletias				0	7	6	66	00	0
650 Crystal Beads No. 221 *per Mill.*				2	00	0	13	00	0
2500 Do.—No. 30				2	12	0	6	10	
4500 Do. No. 36				2	18	0	13	01	0
2000 Rangos *per Cwt.*				0	11	0	11	00	00
4 Cases and Chests							1	15	0
Charges and Entry at Custom-house							3	12	6
20 Brass Kettles qt.	2	0	02						
28 Do.	2	0	04						
25 Do.	2	0	06						
251 Guinea Pans	3	0	18						
	9	1	02						
per Cwt. 7 £ 7 *s.* 0 *d.*							68	02	5
4 Casks							1	03	00
20 Chests of Old Sheets each qt. 65, at				0	1	10½	121	17	06
130 2 lb. Guinea Basins									
73 3 Do.									
13 4 Do.									
In all 4 *Cwt.* 1 *q.* 11 *l.*							18	04	09
Box of Scales, Weights and blue Pans								19	00
Cartage, Wharfage, Portage, etc.							4	10	00
84 Quart Tankards at 2 *s.* 2 *d.*							9	02	00
96 Pint Do. at 1 8							8	00	00
A Cask								14	09
11 Groce of slope-pointed Knives at 1£. 6 *s.*							14	06	00
200 Blue Ranters at				0	08	00	80	00	00
50 Narrow green Do.				0	08	00	20	00	00
50 Broad blue Do.				0	11	06	28	15	00
25 Says at				1	15	06	44	09	06
8 Cases with Carriage							2	10	06
150 Trading Guns at				0	08	03	61	17	06
50 Do. dock Locks				0	08	06	21	05	00
150 Cags				0	00	07	02	10	06
21 Cwt. Tallow				2	01	00	43	01	00
For melting and putting up per Cwt.					00	02	2	03	00
Cartage, and 10 large Cags					00	11	00	16	08
35 Small Cags at				0	00	08	1	03	04
10 Barrels of Powder				3	05	00	32	10	00
Wateridge and shifting the Powder							00	08	06
50 Wickered Bottles				0	03	02	9	03	04
172 Gall. malt Spirits				0	02	00	17	04	00
40 Cases of Spirits				0	07	00	14	00	00
Freight of a Vessel to Portsmouth							5	10	00
Expences and Postage of Letters							0	11	00
Commission at 2½ per Cent.							22	03	03
							900	00	00
10 Cwt. of Cowrys at 5 £							50	00	00
Total							950	00	00

I was but a young Trader, and could not find out till I came upon the Coast, that this Cargo was ill sorted. At the first place we touched (Sierraleon) where commonly may be got twenty or thirty as good Slaves as any upon the Coast, I found I had neither Cutlasses, iron Bars, a better sort of Fire-Arms, Malt, and other strong Liquors, the delight of those Traders. At none of the others, quite down to the Gold Coast, were many considerable Articles of my

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Invoyce ever asked for; so that I was forced to make friends with the Factorys, and exchange at such a loss, that had it not been for the small Wages our Ship was at, and some lucky hits, the Owners must have suffered much; but to give an Insight.

The Sale of Goods. At Sierraleon.

	Gold Bars.
1 Piece of Planes	10
7 77 lb. Kettles	26
3 Pieces of Chintz	12
1 Piece of Handkerchief Stuff	2
The Price of a Woman Slave	50
7 50 lb. Kettles	20
5 Pieces of Brawls	10
1 Piece of Ramal	4
1 Bar of Iron	1
The Price of a Boy Slave	35

At Apollonia

	Accys.
2 Photees	14
2 Cotton Ramals	8
1 Piece Longee	4
2 Sletias	5
7 Sheets	7
32 Brass Pans	32
A Man Slave	70
3 Photees	21
41 Sheets	41
2 Longees	8
A Man Slave	70

At Gambia

	Gold Bars.
9 Gallons of Brandy	9
6 Bars of Iron	6
2 Small Guns	10
1 Cag of Powder	10
2 Strings of Pacato Beads	2
1 Paper Sletia	3
A Woman Slave	40

At Assinee

8 Trading Guns	32
1 Wicker Bottle	4
2 Cases of Spirits	6
28 Sheets	28
A Man Slave	70

At Anamaboo and Cape Palmas

	Accys.
A Cag of Tallow	2½
A quart Pewter Tankard	1
A Pint Do.	½
4 lb. Pewter Basin	1

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	Accys.
2 lb. Pewter Basin	½
Sealing-Wax	3
A qr. Barrel of Powder	8
A gallon Cag of Musket-Shot	6
A gallon Cag of small Shot	8

At Whydah, Cowrys sell per Cwt.—12 £. 10 *s.* or in their way of reckoning, 10 *grand Quibesses.*[24]
At Angola, the Duties are about 100 £ Sterl. every Ship; and Goods sell, *viz.*

	Pieces
A Gun	1
A Cag of Powder	1
A deep blue Baft	3
A Culgee	3
A Tapseil	2
A Nicanee	2
A Cutchalee	1½
A red Chintz	1½
A Bundle of Anabasses qt. 10 lb.	1
10 Brass Pans small and large	1
4 2 lb. Pewter Basins	1
1½ Case of Spirits	1
A whole Case Do.	1½
4 Cutlasses	1
A Guinea Stuff	½
2 Bunches of Beads	1
4 King's Cloths	1
4 Looking-Glasses	1
10 Pint Mugs	1
A Brawl	½
9 Foot of black Bays	1
16 Inches of Scarlet Cloth	1
16 do. of blue Cloth	1
1 Photee	2
1 Pair Cotton Ramal	1½

As I propos'd only a general View of the Trade, I have pointed out here the best I could, what Goods are asked for, the Price, and at some places, the Proportions; the Slaves selling at a Medium of 15 £. a Man, and 12 £. a Woman; a Gun and Barrel of Powder being always parts of the Truck (at Cabenda) for a Slave. They have Canoos there, will carry 200 Men; matted Sails to them, and Cordage twisted from a wild Vine that grows in plenty about the Country; with these they pass frequently from Congo to Loango. A Slave-Ship in the former River would intercept much of the Trade to Cabenda, and Angola. The Duties are easy with the King of Soni,[25] and the Harmony they live in with a few defenceless Portuguese Missionaries, shews they are a peaceable People.

A Second Requisite for Success in this Trade, is an acquaintance with the Places, what may be expected at them, either as to the

[24] A grand cabess, or quibesses, was one pound sterling.
[25] Soni adjoins Angola.

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Manner of Trading, bold or fearful of one another, and the Number of Slaves they are able to bring.

Where the Company's Factors are settled, as at Gambia, and along the greatest part of the Gold Coast, they influence the Trade something against private Ships; so also at Sierraleon some separate Traders live, who voyage it with Boats into the adjacent Rivers, and most of what a Ship can purchase, is thro' their hands; but those from London seldom strike higher upon the Coast than Cape Mount, Montzerado, and Junk, falling from thence down to Leeward; many of the places in their Course being rendered dangerous, from the Tricks and Panyarrs the Traders have first practised upon the Negroes; a mutual Jealousy now keeping each side very watchful against Violence. We trade on board the Ship, often keeping our Sailors in close quarters abaft, because few: while the Slaves are viewing and contracting for at the fore part; at night also keeping a good Watch, some of these Negroes attempting now and then to steal with their Canoos athwart our Hawse, and cut the Cable. Captain Cummin at Whydah, they stranded 1734.

They again, are as often diffident of coming nigh us, and will play for hours together in their Canoos about the Ship, before they dare venture (pp. 158-167). . . .

If hardy enough to come on board, they appear all the time shy and frightened, and from the least appearance of a Panyarr, jump all over board. Downwards to Bassam, Assinee, Jaquelahou, Cape le Hou [Lahou], Jaque a Jaques, Cape Apollonia, and Three Points, or where they have possibly gained a Knowledge of the English Factorys, there is a better Understanding and Security: These are places that sell off a number of Slaves, managed however wholly on board the Ships, who anchor before the Town, hoist their Ensign, and fire a Gun: Or when the Natives seem timorous, do it by their Boats coasting along the Beach, and pay at some of them a small Duty to the Chief Cabiceers.

Thirdly, To give dispatch, cajole the Traders with Dashees of Brandy, and tell them, you cannot possibly stay above a day or two, and that on their account. To a Country-Man, if he joins where there is prospect of Goodee Trade, you are to form some Story that may carry him farther to Leeward if possible, two or three Leagues will hinder his doing you any Damage for that Voyage. The Lye did me most Service, and for which I had the Merchant's Dispensation, was informing my good Friend that at Cobelahou they had taken a great number of Captives, and that Captain——had got his Freight there in ten days: this I did with an air of Diffidence, to make the greater Impression, and at the same time dashee'd his Negro Friends to go on board and back it. If on better Intelligence

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such like Story should not take, and he resolves to stay and share, your Reputation is secured by the diffidence of your Report, and you must resolve with him now upon a Price in your Slaves, not to outbid one another; but at the same time make as strong a Resolution not to observe it. And here the Master has room to display his talent, the frequency of the Trick having made all very cautious and diffident.

When a Ship has gathered up all this Trade, she makes up the deficiency of her Freight at Anamaboo, three Leagues below Cape Corso, where they constantly stop, and are sometimes two or three Months in finishing. It is a place of very considerable Trade in itself; and besides, the Company have a House and Factor, keeping always a number of Slaves against those demands of the Interlopers, who, they are sensible, want dispatch, and therefore make them pay a higher Price for it than any where on the whole Coast; selling at six Ounces and a half a Slave (in exchange for Goods) tho' the poor Creatures look as meagre and thin as their Writers.

If the Company should want rather to buy than sell, as is sometimes the case, and fits both; then such a difference is paid by the General, as shall make it worth the Ship's time to go to Windward again.

Hence I make this deduction, that if the Adventurers Stock be small, only sufficient to employ one Vessel, to have her a Sloop; because less hazard is run in lengthning out time, which subjects to Sickness and Mortality among the Slaves; saves the aggregate Charge of supporting them and a Ship's Company, and likewise such a Vessel will have less remains of Cargo, after her Slaving is compleated; what is left, usually going off to the trading Cabiceers and Factories at a low Price, or what is worse, kept on board and spoiled.

Contrarily, great Traders who can imploy many Ships, obviate in a great measure such Inconveniencies: They put the Trade of two or three Ships into one at Anamaboo, (the largest and most chargeable) and with the conjunction of their remains, go to Windward, and begin anew.

Fourthly, giving way to the ridiculous Humours and Gestures of the trading Negroes, is no small article for Success. If you look strange and are niggardly of your Drams, you frighten him; Sambo is gone, he never cares to treat with dry Lips, and as the Expence is in English Spirits of two Shillings a Gallon, brought partly for that purpose; the good Humour it brings them into, is found discounted in the Sale of Goods.

A fifth Article, is the wholesome Victualling, and Management of Slaves on board.

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The common, cheapest, and most commodious Diet, is with Vegetables, Horse-Beans, Rice, Indian Corn, and Farine, the former, Ships bring with them out of England; Rice, they meet to Windward, about Sesthos; Indian Corn, at Momford, Anamaboo, etc. and further Supplies of them, or Farine, at the Islands of St. Thomas, and Prince's; Masters governing themselves in purchasing, according to the Course they design to steer.

This Food is accounted more salutary to Slaves, and nearer to their accustomed way of Feeding than salt Flesh. One or other is boiled on board at constant times, twice a day, into a Dab-a-Dab [26] (sometimes with Meat in it) and have an Overseer with a Cat-of-nine tails, to force it upon those that are sullen and refuse.

The further Management and Caution to be taken with Slaves on board, till their delivery in the West-Indies, I shall intermix with what I know of the method of Trade at Whydah, and Angola, because Cautions where a Cargo is of one Language, is so much the more requisite.

Whydah is the greatest trading Place on the Coast of Guinea, selling off as many Slaves, I believe, as all the rest together; 40 or 50 Sail (French, English, Portuguese, and Dutch) freighting there every year. The King is absolute as a Boar; making sometimes fair Agreements with his Country Neighbours, it being often the Interest of Traders to be honest (perhaps the only reason that makes them so) but if he cannot obtain a sufficient number of Slaves that way, he marches an Army, and depopulates. He, and the King of Ardra adjoining, commit great Depredations inland.

On the Ships he lays these Impositions, and to prove his Folly, does it mostly for the benefit of those that rule him; First, of having the refusal of all Goods; Secondly, the Value of twenty Slaves from every Ship, small or great, as a Duty; and thirdly, forces his own upon them at an advanced Price.

The French, Dutch, and English, have each a House, or mud Fort about three Miles from the Sea, keeping Tents on the Beach for the convenient receiving and securing their Cargoes as it comes from the Ship, and transmitting the Returns; which, by a dangerous double Barr upon the Coast, is rendred impassable sometimes (by the alteration of the Winds) for a fortnight together; the Negroes only know how to paddle thro' it, and when they think it safe, a Signal is made to the Ships, from those Tents, by hoisting their Flags.

The chief of either Factory that gets first on board any Ship coming into the Road, has a right to serve her with Boats and Servants, and has a Due of seven Slaves for it.

[26] Note: "A Word used by our Sailors, for the Grout is made of it."

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The Commanders, with their Surgeons, (as skilled in the Choice of Slaves) attend the whole time on shore, where they purchase, in what they call a fair open Market.

The Mates reside on board, receiving from time to time their Master's Directions as to the Goods wanted, and to prepare the Ship for the Reception and Security of the Slaves sent him; where this is a Rule always observed, to keep the Males apart from the Women and Children, to handcuff the former; Bristol Ships triple such as are sturdy, with Chains round their Necks; and to keep their own Men sober, and on a barricado'd Quarter-deck: tho' the natural Cowardice of these Creatures, and no other Prospect upon rising, but falling into the hands of the same Rogues that sold them, very much lessens the Danger: Nevertheless, it is adviseable at all times, to have a diligent Watch on their Actions, yet (abating their Fetters) to treat them with all Gentleness and Civility (pp. 168-173). . . .

Here [Angola] they force about twenty Servants, which the Ship is obliged to pay, after the rate of six Fathom of Guinea Cloth per month, and every Sunday morning, two Knives to each of them. Their Business is to attend every Morning, and carry up your Goods safe to the Factory, where others take the Charge, and are accountable for all Losses.

The Bum-boy again supervises the Slaves, to do justice between Buyer and Seller, and by the Custom or Law of the Country, the Ship is to stand charged with neither them or other Effects, till delivered into the Boat. However, considering what are their Courts of Justice, it will behove all Masters to have a diligent Inspection upon the Slaves themselves, and to keep the good Locks and Bolts upon their Goods: for it is here, as at Whydah, the commonest People, who cannot arrive at, or forbid Trade, are all Thieves and Beggars, the King and Courtiers chief, but openly more honest, because they get more by it.

Your Gold-takers are, Peter Griffin, (the King's Brother-in-law) Thomas Boon, and John Brown. Sometimes Ships settle an Agency at Mumbalar, or other neighbouring Place, and get considerable Trade; I have known 70 Slaves purchased there in a Month, with the additional Duty of six Pieces, and giving to the Servants who fetched up the Goods, each a single Annabass, a bundle of Beads, three Knives, and a Dram: with all, let your Agreements be as positive as possible, for they are very difficultly kept to their Words.

When we are slaved and out at Sea, it is commonly imagined, the Negroes Ignorance of Navigation, will always be a Safeguard; yet, as many of them think themselves bought to eat, and more, that Death will send them into their own Country, there has not been

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wanting Examples of rising and killing a Ship's Company, distant from Land, tho' not so often as on the Coast; but once or twice is enough to shew, a Master's Care and Diligence should never be over till the Delivery of them. Some Negroes know well enough, that the preserving one white Man may answer their Purpose in an Exchange; however, generally speaking, we allow greater Liberty in our Passage, as conducive to their Health; we let them go at large on the Ship's Deck, from Sun-rise to Sun-set, give such as like it, Pipes and Tobacco, and clean and air their Dormitories every day.

Having given my Sentiments of the way and method of Trade at different parts of the Guinea Coast, I have still some remaining Observations to make under the chief Articles of it, *viz.* Slaves, Ivory, and Gold (pp. 174-176).

Slaves . . . Slaves differ in their Goodness; those from the Gold Coast are accounted best, being cleanest limbed, and more docible by our Settlements than others; but then they are, for that very reason, more prompt to Revenge, and murder the Instruments of their Slavery, and also apter in the means to compass it.

To Windward they approach in Goodness as is the distance from the Gold Coast; so, as at Gambia, or Sierraleon, to be much better, than at any of the interjacent places.

To Leeward from thence, they alter gradually for the worse; an Angolan Negro is a Proverb for worthlessness; and they mend (if we may call it so) in that way, till you come to the Hottentots, that is, to the Southermost Extremity of Africa.

I have observed how our Trading is managed for Slaves, when obliged to be carried on aboard the Ship. Where there are Factories, (Gambia, Sierraleon, the Gold Coast, Whydah, Calabar, Cabenda, and Angola,) we are more at large; they are sold in open Market on shore, and examined by us in like manner, as our Brother Trade do Beasts in Smithfield; the Countenance, and Stature, a good Set of Teeth, Pliancy in their Limbs, and Joints, and being free of Venereal Taint, are the things inspected, and governs our choice in buying.

The bulk of them are country People, stupid as is their distance from the Converse of the Coast-Negroes, eat all day if Victuals is before them; or if not, let it alone without Complaint; part without Tears with their Wives, Children, and Country, and are more affected with Pain than Death; . . .

Whydah Slaves are more subject to Small-Pox and sore Eyes; other parts to a sleepy Distemper, and to Windward, Exomphalos's. There are few Instances of Deformity any where; even their Nobles know nothing of chronical Distempers, nor their Ladies, of the Vapours. Their flattish Noses are owing to a continued grubbing in their In-

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fancy against their Mother's Backs, being tied within the Tomee, whether upon Travel or Business, for a year or two, the time of their sucking (pp. 179-180).[27] . . .

129. GLYNN AND RAMSEY TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

GAMBIA, 1721, June 24.

A Snow from Bristol and a Sloop from the West Indies carryed off all the Slaves at 55 Barrs per head. We bought Slaves of the Merchants for 30 Barrs. Since have paid the Customary price of 40 Barrs per head of the Portuguese and lend 'em goods to trade with the Merchants.

130. DEPOSITION OF JOHN TURNER AND NICHOLAS BILLET.[1]

1721, July 13.

John Turner and Nicholas Billet, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, That they were Sailors, belonging to the *Westbury* Galley of Bristol, Jabis Beglow Master; that on the 21st of March last, in their Passage from Guinea to Jamaica, having 177 Negroes on board, they were taken in the said Ship off of Cape Mavilla, on the Coast of Hispaniola, by a Sloop called the *Santa Cruz Depadro,* one Rodrigo Commander, and carried into Baraco, on the Island of Cuba; that Nicholas Browne and Christopher Winter, two Englishmen, were on board the said Sloop, and that the said Browne and Winter forged Orders under the Owners Names in England, directed to Mr. Loyd in Jamaica, to send the said Ship with her Negroes, and £1200 worth of dry Goods, to the South Keys, and brought them to these Deponents, and threatened to hang them if they would not swear these Orders were true. These Deponents further say, that the said Ship was bound with her Negroes to this Island and designed to no other Place.

Sworn before me July 13, 1721, PETER VALLET.

131. THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY: MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF SHIPPING.[1]

At a Com'ee of Shipping, 3d August 1721.

Agreed with Capt. Thos. Allwright to Freight the Ship *King George* Burthen 280 Tunns to be ready to take in Goods by the 15th

[27] In the following pages Atkins discusses the ivory and gold trade, the capture of the pirate Roberts, from whom 60 or 70 slaves were taken, and his voyage to the West India Islands (pp. 181-254). Pages 254 to 265 give an excellent summary of the voyage but add nothing new. Atkins reached England, and was paid and dismissed on May 11, 1723.

[129] [1] T 70: 7, p. 27.

[130] [1] *State of the Island of Jamaica,* pp. 62-63. This is one of many depositions taken to show the character and extent of Spanish depredations on English commerce.

[131] [1] T 70: 131, p. 75, "Minute-Book of the Committee of Shipping". Signed by William Dilke. This volume also contains occasional minutes from the court of assistants, and brief orders.

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day of this Instant and depart Gravesend by the 15th day of Sept'r Next to Whidah in Africa there to take in four hundred and fifty Negroes certain not Exceeding five hundred And to deliver them at Jamaica or Barbados in the West Indies.

132. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.[1]

At a Court of Assistants, Tuesday Aug. 22th 1721.

The Minutes of the Com'ee of Trade of the 15th Inst. being read and Approved by the Court,[2] It was thereupon ordered,

That the *King Solomon* Capt. Jos. Trahearn take in a windward Cargo And another for Cape Coast and proceed to the Maderas, there take in 25 Tun of Wine for the men of warr and from thence proceed with Capt. Heartsease to Sierraleone and alọng the Coast for making Trade and Settlements till they arrive at Cape Coast where Capt. Heartsease is to be left, and the Ship to be Freig'd with Slaves for Jamaica.

That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to purchase the Ship of 240 Tun building at Mr. Kerbys yard at Deptford, on the Best terms they can, And that she take in a double Cargo for Jaquin and call at Cape Coast Castle to take in Capt. Heartsease and carry him thither, and then be slaved for Jamaica.

That Capt. Minzeis have the Command of this Ship.

That Capt. Allwrights ship the *Carlton* take on board the 60 Tun of provisions for the men of warr, and deliver the same at Cape Coast, and after that proceed with her Whydah Cargo for Whydah, and Slave there for Jamaica.

At a Court of Assistants, Thursday Aug'st 24th 1721.

The Minutes of the Com'ee of Trade of Yesterday being read and approv'd by the Court, It was ordered thereupon as follows *Vizt.*

1. That the Ship of 120 Tun building at Mr. Graves's yard which was designed for Capt. Minzeis be appointed to take in a small windward Cargo, and then proceed to Ireland to take in provisions for Cape Coast Castle and the Settlements under that District for 6 Months.

2. That the other ship of 120 Tunn building at Mr. Swallows yard of which Capt. Buchannan is Command'r be appointed to take in a Cape Coast Cargo, then proceed for the Maderas to take in Wine

[132] [1] T 70: 131, pp. 77, 79. Signed by Francis Lynn.

[2] The committee of trade had on the 15th decided on a scale of commissions to be paid the factors for each slave laden, ranging from 7 *s.* 6 *d.*, to the chief merchants at Cape Coast Castle, to 1 *s.*, to the factors at Jaquin, a factory subordinate to the governor of Whydah. T 70: 123, pp. 37-38.

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for Cape Coast as also the rest of the King's Wine, which the *King Solomon* cannot take in.

3. That the ship of 100 Tun building at Mr. Taylors dock of which Capt. Hill is Command'r be apointed to proceed to Golfo des Voltas with the African princes.[8]

4. That the Brigantine of 80 Tun building at Mr. Swallows, of which Capt. Levingston is Command'r be appointed to goe to Sierraleone, and if there be a Cargo there fitt to send Directley home, that She Return therewith if not that she be full slaved there and proceed as shall be directed, but if She cannot be fully Slaved, that she take what Slaves, Wood and Teeth etc. they can put on board her, carry the same to Cape Coast and afterwards proceed as she shall be Consigned.

That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to provide a ship or two for the Bight, as also one for Cabenda and another which will Carry 200 or 250 Negroes to goe to Gambia.

133. Robert Plunkett to the Royal African Company.[1]

Bence Island, Sept. 18th 1721.

Incloses Copy of the *Providences* Invoice and Bill of Lading per the *Sherbro* Capt. Hardy. 231 Slaves. . . . Consigned to Jamaica.

Is sorry the ships should lye so long undispatched—have many Enemys few hands and their Arrival unseasonable. Desires, Ships may arrive Earlier, and more Factors.

Mr. Knox in the *Sherbro* purchased but 13 Slaves in 3 Months time, and two of them died of the Lethargy Soon after.

Finding so many Traders to the Northward. Sent the Ship as far as C. Lahau to the Southward, and in two Months time bought but Nine Slaves.

Provisions allmost exhausted. 19 Slaves dead since their being put on board. Mr. Trashall the Doctor Negligent. Can't prevent putting the Slaves so long on board, for want of conveniency a Shore.

Has given a full acco't of Affairs by the *Providence* has not time to send a Duplicate.

134. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.[1]

At a Court of Assistants, Thursday Oct. 26th 1721.

Allowance of Priviledge given to the Commanders and Officers of the Royall African Companys ships.

[8] See *ante*, no. 127. The Golfo des Voltas is on the southwestern coast of Africa.

[133] [1] T 70: 7, p. 28.

[134] [1] T 70: 131, pp. 89, 91, 93, "Read and Approved by the Court Oct. 12, 1721. Signed Fra. Lynn".

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That every Commander that Carrys from 400 to 500 Negroes shall have, £300; that every ditto from 2 to 300, £200; that every packett of 100 Tuns and Upwards shall have, £150; that every small Vessell, £100.

That all Captains be oblidged to carry at Least 1/3d of their allowance in Provisions Wearing Apparell such as Shoes, Stockings, Hatts and other Necessarys and as much more as they please and that the other 2/3d or the remainder be invested in Staple Goods to be viewed and packed at the African House, The Goods to be viewed by the Com'ee of Goods and the Stores and Necessarys by the Com'ee of Shipping and the Captain to make Affidavit that he carry no more directly or indirectly than what is allowed him by the Company.

That all the Commanders have Liberty to Invest their own adventure upon the Coast in the Best manner they can.

That al[l] Captains have the Liberty of 2 Slaves freight free in every hundred Slaves he carrys for the Company, and if he carrys 150 to have 3 Negroes free, if 250 to have 5 free and so on, the Capt. marking his own slaves, in the presence of all his Officers and what more slaves he shall carry to pay freight in proportion as the freight is Agreed on.

That the first mate have the priviledge of one Negro freight free.

That the second mate and Surgeon have one between them, if a third mate the third mate and Gunner one and Boatswain and Carpenter one. But if two mates then the Carpenter, Boatswain and Gunner to have one between them freight free, to be bought with their own goods and mark'd immediately when bought with a Brand mark in presence of the Captain.

That all Returns they Bring home in teeth and wood be sold at the Comp's sale.

Allowance for the Officers of ship that goes for 500 Negroes: The First Mate, £40, the Second, 25, the Third, 25, the Carpenter, £10, the Boatswain, 10, the Gunner, 10, the Surgeon, 30.

Allowance for the Officers of Ships that go for 400 Negroes: Every first mate, £30, the Second, 20, the Third, 20, the Carpenter, 10, the Boatswain, 10, the Gunner, 10, the Surgeon, 30.

Allowance for the Officers of Ships that go for 300 Slaves: the first mate, £20, the Second mate, 15, the carpenter, 5, the gunner, 5, the Boatswain, 5, the Surgeon, 20.

The Officers of such Ships as go for 200 Slaves to have liberty to carry out the same vallue as those that go for 300 Slaves.

Allowance for the Officers of Ships that go for 100 Slaves: the first mate, £10, the second mate, 5, the Boatswain, 5, the Gunner, 5, the Carpenter, 5, the surgeon, 10.

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Thursday, April 5th, 1722.[2]

The Court observing that Capt. James Castle is reported by the Com'ee of Shipping as Comma[n]der of the *Sarah* Gally now to go out in the Service, And having receiv'd some acco't of his Character and behavior on the Coast of Africa particularly his having panyard some Free Blacks and carryed them to Berbadoes and Sold them there the Court thought fitt to discharge him from the Comand of the Ship.

135. James Houstoun's Account of Guinea.[1]

I hope your Honours will pardon me, if I tell you, that I have talk'd with the most sensible of these separate Traders in this Place,[2] whom your Honours look upon as a Nuisance to the Company, and have heard the Proposals your Honours made to unite them as Servants to the Company: But give me Leave to say, there's no Occasion of Articles with them, provided you give them a better Price for what Slaves they make, than Interlopers, which you propose in your Articles; and take off their Hands whatever Number they are able to make, which will naturally lead them to be voluntary Agents for the Company only. And indeed, it's my Opinion and I think it demonstrable, that it wou'd be infinitely for the Advantage of the Company, that your own Servants were under such Regulations; which I shall humbly propose in the Sequel of this Narration, when it shall more naturally fall in with Proposals for Regulations, for the better Preservation of your Servants Health abroad (pp. 13-14). . . .[3]

[2] T 70: 91, "Minute Book of the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of England, No. 18, Aug. 1, 1721 to Oct. 17, 1723".

[135] [1] *Some New and Accurate Observations, Geographical, Natural and Historical, containing a true and impartial Account of the Situation, Product, and Natural History of the Coast of Guinea, so far as relates to the Improvement of that Trade, for the Advantage of Great Britain in general, and the Royal African Company in particular.* By James Houstoun, M.D., Humbly Addres'd to the Honourable the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of Great Britain (1725). Dr. James Houstoun, at one time in high favor with the court party of his day, accepted the position of chief surgeon at Cape Coast Castle and physician to the company's settlements on the coast, because of heavy debts, he being one of the losers in the South Sea Bubble. His duties as a physician involved the care of the company's employees, and the examination of slaves offered for sale to the company. His account, however, betrays great interest in the products of the country, which the Duke of Chandos was then investigating, though he says, "I always looked upon my principal Business and Care, to see if I could contribute anything to the Preservation of your Servants Health Abroad, and that the Company was not imposed on by their Agents, purchasing sickly and disabled Slaves" (p. 5). He wrote with the avowed purpose of "disclosing the villanies" of an agent of the company, in other words, to present his side of a quarrel with Governor Baldwin of Whydah. Before publication, his manuscript was submitted to the Duke of Chandos, whose appointee he was, and to Francis Lynn, secretary of the company. For a full account of the chequered life of this truculent physician see his *Memoirs* (1747).

[2] Sierra Leone, where Houstoun had been received by Governor Plunkett in July, 1722.

[3] Having supplied Sierra Leone with medicine and done what he could for the sick, the author proceeded to the Gold Coast.

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There are a great many little Towns all along this Coast, built on the Sands by the numerous Negroes flocking from the Inland Countries, and building their little Hutts by the Sea-side, for the Conveniency of trading with the Coasting Ships; such as Jaque Lahoe, Jaque a Jaque, Assine, Great and Little Bassam, with many others; so that I assure your Honours, if we had had a Power to Slave our Ship, we cou'd have put more Slaves on board, besides Teeth and Gold, in one Month's Time, in that Coasting Voyage, than your Governor and Merchants were able to do in Five Months at Cape Coast. I remember we put in at Cape Three Points, the only Watering-Place on that Coast; there stands Fredericksburg Fort, which formerly belonged to the present King of Prussia, now in Possession of one John Conny,[4] a very great Caboceer of that Country; for he has almost all that Country at his Command: Hearing from his Domesticks that came on board, on Embassy from him, with his Gold-headed Cane, as a Badge of their invested Power, to demand of us some little trifling Affair for watering there; that he was a great Lover of the English, but a mortal Enemy to the Dutch.[5] My Curiosity led me ashore to visit King Conny in his Castle, who receiv'd me very kindly, with the usual Ceremonies, of their Country Musick, Drums and Horns, . . . If we had been empower'd to trade with him on Account of the Company, I cou'd have purchased from him a considerable Number of Slaves, with what Quantity I pleased of Rice, the only Product of this Country, for the Soil seems agreeable for nothing else (pp. 15-17). . . .[6]

This Country [Whydah] produces nothing fit for Exportation but Slaves, from whence there are incredible Numbers carried off Yearly; the contiguous Countries producing only a few Teeth, so that all along the Coast, where your Honours have any Concern, from Gambay to this Place, I compute there are carried off by different Hands, above 30,000 Slaves yearly, and of that Number more than one Half are carried from hence. How many of that

[4] Whether or not the Brandenburgers had ceded Great Friedrichsburg to the Dutch in 1717, it was held for some years after that by natives under John Conny (Lannoy, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale,* II. 137, and *ante,* introduction, p. xivn.). "John Conny, who is the principal Cabiceer, exacts a Duty from all Ships, of an Ounce of Gold, for this Privilege [watering]; and sends off a Servant with his Commission, a large Gold-headed cane, engraved John Conny, to demand it. Our Neglect herein, with some opprobrious Treatment of the Agent, occasioned John Conny next day to come down with a Posse and seize our Water-casks ashore, carrying away ten or a dozen of our Men Prisoners to his Town." Six oz. of gold and an anchor of brandy soothed John's spirit and released the prisoners. Atkins, *Voyage to Guinea,* pp. 75-76.

[5] Atkins describes the attempts of the Dutch to dislodge John Conny from the Brandenburg (or Danish) fort to which he had fallen heir. *Voyage to Guinea,* pp. 76-77.

[6] In the section omitted Houstoun writes of this inspection of the English settlements on the Gold Coast. At Dixcove he talked with a native chief who traded with the Dutch: "But I'm perswaded, that if we cou'd have furnish'd this Man with Goods, free of the Tyrannical Power of the Governor [Dutch], he was able to have furnish'd us a considerable Number of Slaves to a good advantage for the Company" (pp. 19-20).

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Number are purchased by your Honours Agent here, for the Benefit of the Company, you are competent Judges; but I must beg leave to acquaint your Honours of the Manner, which I take to be my indispensible Duty, in discharging the Trust of a faithful Servant to the Company, by laying open to the World the Villanies committed by one of your Chief Agents, to the Disgrace of the Directors his Masters, and intire Ruin of the Company.

Mr. B-ldw-n having about Two Hundred and Eighty Slaves, which were the Refuse of a much greater Number sold to the Portuguese, and having your Honours Ship the *Whydah,* Capt. Levett Commander, waiting to be slav'd by him; he sent the Ship, and put Mr. Mabyn, your chief Merchant, on board of her, to be slaved to the Windward, and must needs put those Two Hundred and Eighty Slaves on board to take the Air; for indeed they wanted it much, for they were so meagre, and old, and lame, they cou'd scarcely stand upright. I told him my Opinion was, he had better keep them Slaves in the Trunk till Capt. Levett's Return, which was ordered in three Months Time; for they were more fit for an Hospital than a Voyage, meerly to take the Air, for so it appeared; for the Inconveniencies of stowing Negroes on board was the cause of a much greater Mortality than otherwise wou'd have happen'd, to the great Loss and Detriment of the Company. I exerted my self on this, as on other Occasions, for the Honour and Interest of the Company, and suffer'd the utmost Misery by tyrannical Villany on that Account; which I now lay open to your Honours, and can attest every Fact; and only appeal for your Judgment, whether or not it was my Business to look into Slaves that I was to attest were merchantable, when at the same Time I was convinced they were not worth One Shilling per Head, tho' undoubtedly they were stated at a good Rate, as merchantable Slaves to your Honours Account; and Mr. B-ldw-n only wanted to have them die out of his Custody that there might be no farther Enquiry made about them; for a dead Slave was better in his Pocket than a living one. . . . he ordered me on Board the *Chandos* Galley, which was to carry 500 Slaves to Jamaica.[7] I was entered as Surgeon to the Ship; and I exerted my self honestly, as I ought to do, even in that Station, by reviewing the Slaves, and rejecting those that were not merchantable, and entered a Protest against Fifty Four old, lame, decrepid Invalids, not worth a Farthing, and several Children which he stated in the Company's Books for Women, that were not Ten Years of Age. But that prevailed nothing, for he obliged the Commander, as he did others, to sign a Bill of Loading for the whole Number, as merchantable Slaves; and

[7] Governor Baldwin had confined Houstoun in a dungeon for 33 days, before sending him off on the *Chandos.*

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gave an Order to the Commander of the *Cleveland,* an interloping Ship, to pick out what Slaves they had agreed for from the whole Cargo; which the Interlopers in general brag of in the West Indies, and with very good Reason, to the Dishonour and great Detriment of the Company. . . . I can't omit telling you, that he has not only ruined the Trade here at present, but left it irretrievable for the future, to serve his own mercenary Ends, by buying a large Quantity of Cowries for his own Use from Interlopers, and selling the Company's Cowries to the Portuguese: which put the Slave-Trade intirely into the Hands of the Portuguese, and lowered the Price of Cowries, which were always formerly current Money at Five Ackes of Gold for a grand Cubesse in Booges, but are now reduc'd to Three Ackes. The Mystery is plain! every grand Cubesse [8] in Cowries put Two Ackes in his Pocket, and the Accompts ballanced in the Company's Books, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of Trade in general, and the Company's Interest in particular (pp. 27-33). . . . This [9] with the Product of 30,000 Slaves, besides those that are carried from Angola, which I have not as yet brought under Computation, reckoning those sold to the Spaniards and Portugueze, as well as those to the English, French and Dutch Plantations, your Honours will find them, one with another, even Children included, some out at 30 *l.* Sterling per Head, which amounts to 900,000 *l.* Sterling; which, with the 70,000 Ounces of Gold, come to 1,110,000 *l.* Sterling. This is besides Wax, Teeth, Majombo, Palm Oil, etc. which I have not brought under Computation. Now, I say, let us reckon 6000 Slaves more carried from Angola and the Bite, which I can't exactly compute, being an entire Stranger to those Places, but I take the Computation to be modest enough and within Bounds, which, at the former Rate amounts to 180,000 *l.* and the whole Product of the Trade of this Coast amounts to 1,290,000 *l.* Sterling per Annum, besides Wax, Teeth, Majombo, Palm Oil etc. which indeed I cannot bring under Computation, which are carried off the Coast by the English, French, and Dutch, and are imported into Europe.

[8] Atkins (p. 113) states that a grand cabess (quibess) was equal to twenty-five shillings; William Smith (p. 178), that it was the equivalent of one pound.

[9] The gold exported from Africa, which Houstoun has reckoned to be 70,000 oz. per annum. Houstoun is here demonstrating the value of the African trade to England. "'Tis a known Maxim in Policy, that the Richness or Poverty of a Trading Nation depends intirely upon its being more or less populous, so that the Number of Hands in that Nation are so much standing Riches in it; and consequently, that Trade which least depopulates the Country, and is carried on by its own Manufactures and Products, must indisputably be the most advantageous to the Nation, especially when most, if not all the Returns are made in ready Specie. How far this will answer with the African Trade, your Honours, who are a Society of the politest Gentlemen and finest Merchants, perhaps, in the known World, are the best Judges. I only humbly beg leave to submit to your Judgment some Matters of Fact, which by travelling the Coast, are consistent with my proper Knowledge, are perhaps unknown to your Honours" (p. 41).

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Indeed, we must allow a considerable Draw-Back on the Slave Trade; for the Number of Slaves carried off the Coast by the Portugueze, which they purchase directly from the Negroes with their Tobacco and Stinckabus Rum, and our Cowries, to the great Detriment of our European Trade in general, and your Honours Interest in particular; which has been intirely owing to the Mismanagement of your Honours late Chief Agent, Mr. B-ldw-n, to satiate his own mercenary and avaricious Ends, by selling them your Honours Cowries at a low Rate, for ready Gold, as I hinted pag. 32.[10]. . . the Dutch are the only formidable Antagonists we have to deal with.[11] This Dutch Guinea Company is an united Branch of their India Company, of which the States General bear the greatest Share, exclusive of all Interloping Traders of their own Nation, besides a Tax of 10 per Cent. on all the Portugueze Ships trading to this Coast, which they had granted them as an Article, in exchanging Brazil with the Portugueze, in lieu of this Trade; which they strictly demand, and keep a Man of War a cruising always on the Coast, to put their Orders in Execution, as well against the Portugueze, as the Interloping Ships of their own Nation. So it plainly appears to your Honours, what great Advantages that Company have over ours; and, indeed, as I has only the Interest of Britain at Heart, I cou'd and do wish from my very Heart, that his most gracious Majesty, who Honours your Society by being your Governor, wou'd take into his Consideration in Council; and, by Consent of Parliament, grant your Company a Conditional, exclusive Charter: For it is unreasonable to expect or demand such a one as your Company had formerly, whilst under the Direction of the Duke of York, in King Charles the Second's Reign; the sad Effects of which plainly appear'd by the numerous Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects of his Plantations beyond Seas; which, if carried any higher, must have tended to their utter Ruin and Extirpation.[12] Nor is it to be supposed, that even now, if the Company had an unlimited, exclusive Charter, that their Agents wou'd furnish his Majesty's Plantations with Slaves at 30 or 40 *l.* per Head of that Country Money; whereas, in a few Days they can waft them over to the Spanish American Coast, where they fetch 300 Pieces of Eight per Head, including the King of Spain's Taxes, and other Duties, which makes them come out at above 60 *l.* Sterling;

[10] A rhetorical outburst over the importance of the African trade to Great Britain and the mischief-making of the interloping trade follows.

[11] In Houstoun's *Memoirs* he adds at this point: "Now the French are more dangerous to us than the Dutch" (p. 149 n.).

[12] In the *Memoirs*, after reviewing the entire story of his African experience, Houstoun remarks that the history of the African company demonstrates the truth that trade cannot be confined to any single nation or company within a nation (p. 145).

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a Price that won't answer with our American Plantations: But if his Majesty's Subjects were to compute their Yearly Demand of Negroes that are absolutely necessary for their Service, which might be easily done; and at the same time his Majesty wou'd be pleased to grant the Royal African Company, either singly, or united with the South Sea Company, a Charter conditionally, to be obliged to furnish his Majesty's Plantations with their Quota of Slaves, demanded at 30 *l.* of the Country Money per Head, including Children above Eight or Ten Years of Age; which might answer both the Ends of the Planters of our American Plantations, and enable the Company to carry on a Trade, not only exclusive of all English Interlopers, but to enhance their Trade solely to themselves, exclusive of all other Nations, and to fetch into England, from the Manufactures and Commodities of our own Country, above a Million of Money Sterling Yearly in ready Specie; which is entirely stifled at present, through the Inability of the Company's struggling with such Difficulties, as the great Charge of the Company's maintaining their Settlements Abroad, whilst Interlopers come to take the Bread out of their Mouth; and even assisted in so doing by their own Agents, to serve their own mercenary Ends; whilst thus weakening one another, the Dutch, never forgetful of their own Interest, assisted by other Nations, come in to carry off the Profit from both. Such a limited Charter as this, where there is not one Objection left against it, put in the Hands of any Society, empowering them to raise a sufficient Sum of Money to carry on that Trade, wou'd not only enable us to furnish our Quota of Slaves, *viz.* 4800 per Ann. to the Spaniards, as stipulated by the Assiento Contract, and to make good former Deficiencies; but naturally bring the Slave Trade entirely into our Hands, exclusive of all other Nations; so consequently reap the Fruits of the American Mines, which they only give themselves the Trouble to dig, but in Hopes of such a glorious and advantageous Trade to England (pp. 42-48). . . .[18]

[18] Here Houstoun expounds a plan for the management of trade on the coast, which would deprive the governors of despotic power and create a more efficient service. The volume continues with an account of the diseases of the coast, further details of the villainies practised by Governor Baldwin, and some sensible suggestions for the care of the company's African employees. At one point Houstoun apologizes for the advice which he has offered on the development of native resources, since the health of the factories was his mission. His great interest in the company's desire to extend its trade, clear throughout the narrative, doubtless resulted from his admiration for the Duke of Chandos. In his *Memoirs* he states that the duke, upon hearing his account of African conditions, sold his stock in the company, apparently regarding the revival of its trade and the reformation of its administration as hopeless tasks (p. 144). Further evidence of the interest of the Duke of Chandos in the slave trade may be found in an inquiry of his as to whether there would be encouragement for the African Company to trade to "these plantations", by which he probably referred to Connecticut. *Cadwallader Colden Papers* (New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 1918), II. 23.

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136. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.

1722, Apr. 9.[1]

Ord'd, That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to endeavor to agree with the owners of the *Holden* Fregate, that she may make a double voyage by returning to Cabenda for another Cargo of Slaves, after her having delivered her first at Jamaica. Also that they do the Same in regard to the *Prince George* Capt. Mitchell.

1722, Apr. 26.[2]

In case the South Sea Company's Ship arrives in the time Cornwall is there he is to assist in Slaving that Ship, that She may have the first and quickest dispatch possible, and after that Endeavour to Slave himself.

1722, May 10.[3]

The Com'ee of Shipping reported to the Court their having agreed with the Owners of the *Prince George* for a double Voyage from Cabenda to Jamaica for 350 Negroes each voyage at £6. 10 per head Subject to the Same Covenant as the last Voyage. To which the Court agreed,

And recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to oblige the Capt. to take out a greater number of seamen in consideration of his double voyage.

137. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Shipping.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Shipping, The 19th July, 1722.

Agreed with Capt. Thomas Young Commander of the *Squirrel* to Freight his Ship burthen 270 Tons 14 Guns men Answerable for a Voyage to Cape Coast and Whydah for 450 Negroes Certain (and Fifty more in Case she can Conveniently carry them) at Six pounds fifteen Shillings per head freight for all he Delivers alive at Jamaica and to be ready to take in Goods by the 1st of August next.

[136] [1] T 70: 91, p. 131. The *Holden* arrived at Cabenda on Aug. 10, and by October had received 450 slaves. T 70: 7, p. 49 (2).

[2] T 70: 123.

[3] T 70: 91, p. 139. On May 31 Captain Mitchell wrote to the company that he could not make the voyage to Cabenda, as some of the *Prince George's* owners declined fitting out the ship (*ibid.*, p. 142). On June 10 it was agreed that the *Clarendon* should perform the "double voyage" between Jamaica and the coast. T 70: 123.

[137] [1] T 70: 131, p. 115, "Sign'd, Wm. Dilke".

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138. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.[1]

July 25, 1722.

The Court being acquainted that Capt. Bulcock has shipped on board the *Sherbro* Galley his adventure for private trade, without being viewed as the Court directed, and having been guilty of several other misdemeanors Upon the question being put it was unanimously agreed that he has not done his Duty. Ord'd, That he be dismissed from the Command of the *Sherbro* Galley and that Capt. John Lake have Comm'd of her. . . .

139. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence and Trade.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Corresp'dce and Trade, Wednesday, Sep'r 26, 1722.

The Committee read over Sev'll Letters which have been received from Mr. Kerby[2] of Antigua from the 14th Aprill last, and having duely considered the Same, are of Opinion to Report to the Court

That They are not Convinced by any arguments Mr. Kerby hath therein offered that the Company have been so well used by him as they ought to Expect, on the contrary the Sales of the last Negroes by the *Margarett* as well as the former by the *Dispatch* and *Lady Rachell* came out at so low rates that the Committee do not think the Company have any Encouragem't to Send more Slaves thither, unless it can be put upon some better foot by a Contract for a certain Price.

And, therefore the Committee do propose that the Accomptant make out a State of the produce of the Negroes which have been sent to Antigua Since the Ingraftment, One Copy thereof to be Sent to Mr. Kerby to let him See how little reason the Company have to Continue the trade with him, Another to be Sent to Govr. Hart, that he may be judge how unsuccessfully that Trade has hitherto been carryed on, and to desire his opinion, whether Contracts might not be made with Some of the principal Merchants there to Supply the Island with a certain number at a certain price as is done with Mr. Wragg at Carolina and Sr Robert Davers at Berbadoes.[3]

[138] [1] T 70: 91, p. 154. The *Sherbro* was to carry 350 slaves from Cabenda (T 70: 91, p. 147, 2). It arrived there on Nov. 14, and sailed for Jamaica on Jan. 23, 1723, with 350 slaves (T 70: 7, p. 50, 2). The bill of lading for these slaves, specifying 249 men, 48 women, 6 men boys, 33 boys, and 14 girls, was received by the company Aug. 20, 1723. T 70: 139, "Minutes and Copies of Orders of Court, 1720-1727".

[139] [1] T 70: 123. "Present, Mr. Acton, S. G. S'r B. Lake D. G., D. Chandos, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Walcot, Mr. Gore, Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Hayes."

[2] Probably Thomas Kerby, who was the company's factor in Antigua at this time; in 1744 he was nominated as agent of Antigua, but did not attain to that office.

[3] See this work, vol. III., South Carolina. The company had completed a contract with Sir Robert Davers, Feb. 27, 1722 (T 70: 91, p. 109). It had also an agreement to

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140. Daniel Wescomb to Francis Lynn.[1]

9 Jany. 1723.

I have received back the Draft of the Contract between the 2 Companys.

As to the Alteration Your Company propose of Lengthening the Time for the 2d Ships Departure to the 15th of next Month I am orderd to acquaint You, that our Company have already given as long Time as they possibly can *vizt.* to the 31s Inst., Which is longer than was intended at the Meeting of the 2 Committees, it being then mentioned that Your Company had already in that Country a great Quantity of Goods, And that they did Intend to advise their Agents, of this Contract, by a Ship that was then about to Sail. And as the Rains set in, our Company, may suffer great Damage in the Mortality of the Negroes, And Consequently the Owners in their Freight, if any further Delay be put to the Ships Departure.

As to any Damage which may happen to Yo'r Companys Goods a Clause will be inserted in the Charter party for making it good, so that our Compa. consent, that what shall be recovered on that Account shall be paid to Yo'r Company.

And as to the Matter of the Port Charges, as it is a Duty every Ship pays to the King of the Country, our Company think it reasonable that a Proportion thereof, as in the Draft, should be paid by Yo'r Compa. as well as the Canoe hire.

This You'l Please to Communicate to the Gent'n of Your Company who have the Management of this Affair, and let me know their Answer as soon as possible.

141. Daniel Wescomb to Captain Smith.[1]

South Sea House, 20 Feb'ry, 1723.

The Company having Received a Letter from Capt. Opie dated 3d Sept. last at Cabenda on the Coast of Angola whither You are

furnish the South Sea Company with 3000 slaves, Mar. 21, 1722 (T 70: 91, p. 117). Sir Robert Davers died before his negroes reached him and, since his son declined to accept those which were carried out by the *Dilligence,* Harper and Lascelles, the agents of the company, were instructed to sell them in the island (Jan. 4, 1723, T 70: 123).

[140] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 47v, p. 92. The treaty of Madrid was signed on June 13, 1721, and the South Sea Company prepared to continue its trade. It received bids for its supply of negroes from separate traders and the African Company. Among the separate traders interested in supplying the company was John Becher, mayor of Bristol (Add. MSS. 25500, p. 38). The negotiations with the Guinea Company had been going on since March, 1722 (*ibid.*, pp. 77, 83, 86-97). The factories were re-established, with the following agents: Cartagena, James Pym, John Thompson, Thomas Butcher, James Black, Gibson Datrell, John Burmest; Vera Cruz, John Pitt, Wadham Windham, Glover Jesson, Shadrach Bastie, Harry Spenser, William Patton; Panama and Porto Bello, Gilbert Grimes, Batho Swartz, Julius Buller, James Hutchinson, Henry Johnson, Thomas Blenchenden, Thomas Bacon; Havana, —— Nicholson, James Calden, John Gerrald. *Boston News-Letter,* Mar. 5, 1722.

[141] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 50, p. 97.

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bound giving an Account of the Destruction of the Royal African Companys Settlement there by a Portugueze Man of War assisted by the Natives there,[2] but that the Trade is open, And that he could have procured Slaves enough had he been at Liberty to have procured them himself; and not been Restrain'd to take them from that Companys Agents; The Court thought proper I should give You Notice for Your Government in providing Your Slaves, and furnishing Your Self with what further Provisions You may Want, none being to be had on the Coast of Angola. As soon as the Company had Received this News I wrote You a Letter the same with the foregoing and sent it to Mr. Knight of Deal to be Sent on board You in the Downs, but You being Sail'd before his Receipt of it, he Returnd it me, And Mr. Pentyre of Plimo. advising Your being put in there by Contrary Winds I thought proper to send this under Covert to him, which I hope will Reach You before you Sail. I wish You a Good Voyage.[3]

142. Daniel Wescomb to Captain White.[1]

South Sea House, 20 Febr. 1723.

. . . A Conference hath thereupon been had between the two Companys here, and the African Company have Agreed, That if You Should upon this Emergency Employ the Cargo which they put on board Your Ship, in purchasing the 325 Negroes, which by Contract their Agents were to Deliver You, and also in purchasing a further Number towards Compleating what may be wanting in the *Carteret,* the said Company will approve thereof, provided Your Conduct therein shall be Satisfactory to the Court of Directors of this Company who recommend it to You to exert Your self upon this unfortunate Occasion That so the Disappointm't and Damage to this Company may be as little as possible Which I am directed to Signify to You for Your Government and send You this by Capt. Smith of the *Essex* to be delivered You in Case he shall meet with You on the Coast.

143. The South Sea Company to Lord Carteret.[1]

A Memorial of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company to Lord Carteret, His Maj'ties Principal Sec'ry of State.

The South Sea Company being Obliged by the Assiento Treaty to Furnish 4800 Negroes in the Spanish West Indies for which they

[2] A brief account of the destruction of the company's settlement is to be found in the *Boston News-Letter,* Apr. 30, 1724; the *News Letter* of July 16, 1624, prints the statement that the King of Portugal has agreed to make restitution for this loss.

[3] Enclosed in this was the letter to Captain White which follows.

[142] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 50, pp. 97-98. The first paragraph duplicates that in the letter to Captain Smith. After the words, "take them from the Companys Agents", the extract here printed occurs.

[143] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 51, p. 99.

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pay an Annual Duty to the Crown of Spain Amounting to 133,333 p's of $\frac{8}{8}$ and 1/3 and upon the performance of which Supply the Priviledge of an Annual Ship with Merchandize to those parts depends. The said Company the better to Enable themselves to put the same in Execution have Enterd into Several Contracts with the African Company now depending for furnishing Negroes on the Coast of Africa, and particularly at Cabenda and have sent Out Shiping to Transport the same from thence to the Spanish West Indies. But are Concernd to find that from an Accident which has befell that Company on the African Coast by the Insult of a Portugueze Man of War, which We Suppose they have Represented to Your Lordship, the Execution of the said Contracts is not Complyed with whereby the South Sea Company are Greatly disappointed.

The Obligation the South Sea Company lyes under as is above mentioned to furnish so Great a Number of Negroes Leads them humbly to represent to Your Lordship, That as it is of Great Importance to the Plantation Trade in General, so it is particularly to the South Sea Company that the Right of British Subjects Trading to and Settling upon any of the Coasts of Africa should be protected.

And We beg leave further to Acquaint Your Lordship that the Portugueze Man of War did in a Hostile Manner Attack and Endeavour to take or Destroy the Ship *Carteret* Capt. Opie Entertain'd in the Service of the South Sea Company to Transport some Slaves from Cabenda to Buenos Ayres, in which Unjust and Unreasonable Action the said Ship Received Considerable Damages, for which the Owners of the said Ship will Expect Satisfaction from this Company at her Return.

We therefore humbly pray Your Lord'p earnestly to Represent this Matter to his Majesty, For his Majestys Directions and Interpositions in such Manner as his Maj'ty in his Great Wisdom and Concern for the Trade and Property of his Subjects Shall See Just and Reasonable.[2]

SOUTH SEA HOUSE
20 Feb'ry, 1723

144. CAPTAIN JAPHET BIRD TO ————.[1]

MOUNSERATT, Feb. the 24th, 1722/3.

Sir, I made bold per this oppertunity for to aquaint you of my helth and wellfair, beleving that a good friend would be desireouse to here of. I arriv'd at mounseratt the 22d of January with 239 slaves which Now all sold better then Expectation; so that am in

[2] Signed, "By Order of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company, D. Wescomb."

[144] [1] Bristol Public Library, Jefferies MSS., p. 23.

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hopes to make a Tolerable good voyage Notwithstanding I've had the misfortune of beuring seventy odd slaves, as good as any Now sold. I am somew't Dissatisfied that it shou'd happen to a young begginar, but thank god it Can't be said that its owing to Neglect for sr I Can asure you that it have been the Constent care and Indeavor of me for the Interest of those Gentlemen that have Imploy'd me; which I hope will answ. the end and expectation of my Good friends that Recommended me; I have been Very Unhapy with the Doct'r the best part of the voyage (which I Little thought when I left bristoll) the subject of which I'le ommit (untill I see you).

[P. S.] Capt. Holland gives his Humble servis to you and to mr. John Jones Including myselfe. I belive he is bound for bristoll; that is the Last proposition the owner mr. gold have made but he is mighty fickele, four or five voyages she have been goeing since I ariv'd.

145. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday, March 6th 1722/3.

That the £8186 Remainder of the Cabenda Cargoe be provided to go out One half by the Expedition which in all probability will be ready to Sail in all May, or June. That She take in at Cabenda as many Slaves as She can Ship, and proceed with them to St. Thomé, where if She cannot dispose of them all, She is to Carry the rest either to Jamaica or to Cape Coast, as Shall hereafter upon Intelligence from thence be thought proper, if the latter shall be judg'd not adviseable, after delivering the residue of the Slaves to the Capt. General, She is to take in what goods Shall be ready for her, and proceed to Whydah, where having perform'd the like Service She is to make the best of her way home, and that the residue of the Cabendo Cargoe be got ready to go by a new Ship propos'd to be built for 450 Negroes to Sail in all July.

And in regard the number of Slaves to be purchased is greater, than it is to be apprehended can be Sold on the Coast, it is proposed, that Such Slave Ships as the Company are at present possessed off, and are not appointed for any other particular Service, (*Vizt.* the *Sarah, Cape Coast* Frigatt, *King Solomon, Hamilton, Whydah* and *Chandos*) shall as Opportunity offers be Ordered to the proper Settlement to take them on board, and Carry them to Jamaica, but as the Company have Suffered very much by the length of such Voyages, it is further proposed that their Stay at the respective Settlements be limited to a certain number of Days as it is practised with hired

[145] [1] T 70: 124, "Committee of Trade, 1722-1725." Present: Sir Bibye Lake, S. G., Mr. Neale, D. G., the Duke of Chandos, Mr. Acton, Mr. Gore, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hayes.

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Ships, and at the Expiration thereof to proceed to the West Indies with as many Slaves as there Shall be ready to take on board, tho' they want by this means of their full Number, and a like limitation for their Stay at the Plantations unless there be very good reason for their Exceeding it from a certainty of a good Freight home, and no danger of their being detain'd so long, as to render it hazardous whether they can return in such a time as to be fitted out again in the proper Season for the next Year's Service. And for the better Enforcing the observance of this regulation, it is propos'd, That the Captains Shall not be entitled to their Gratuity if they fail in compliance herewith. And in regard the *King Solomon* is almost worn out, and by no means a proper Ship for the Slave Service, by reason of the great Charge She Stands the Company in, compar'd with the number of Slaves She is able to Carry, it is propos'd, that at her return She be fitted out for the Wood Trade of Sierraleone, and join'd to the *Mary* Brigantine for the Service of that Settlement, and that a new One be forthwith provided of the Size and Burthen, which the Committee of Shipping Shall judge most proper for the Carrying of 500 Negroes to be ready to proceed in all July with the residue of the Cabenda Cargoe as above proposed.

1723, April 11.[2]

That it be recommended to the Comm'ee of Shipping to take up a good sailing Ship which will carry 160 Tuns of Goods, to go to Holland and take in a Cargo there for Cape Coast from thence proceed to Cabenda to take in Slaves for Jamaica. . . .

146. Captain Edward Hollden to the Owners of the *Grayhound*.[1]

Barbados, Aprill the 30th, 1723.

Sir, This With My Humble Servis to you and the Rest of the Gentlemen Owners of the Ship *Grayhound* Galley and is to certifie you of my Arivall hear haveing seven Weeks Passage from Bony but very Dismall and Mortall for outt of 339 Slaves I brought in hear butt 214 for the Like Mortalaty I think Never was known for Jolly Likely Men Slaves to Eatt thair Diett over Night and the Nex Morning Dead 2 and 3 in a Night for severall Days after Wee Came from Bony as for Managementt I think itt Could Nott be Better I allways had their Victtualls in good order and Took that Care to keep them and the Ship Sweet and Cleane allthoyt I Did itt my Self and Nott to Sufer any of them to Wett Their Foott on No Acctt: att my Arivall hear I aplyd my self to Mr. Crump and

[2] T 70: 91, p. 217 (2).
[146] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 52.

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Heasell as Orderd I haveing on bord aboutt 20 or 25 Slaves outt of flesh and do think itt for your Intrust to Leave them With Mr. Crump and Mr. Heasell for I think there Will be More Gain then Loss for to Run the Risk in Carrying them to Virginia and besids Discomodeing them as is in health. Provicions I have an Nought as Bread, beefe, Rice, beanes, yames so I Desire to Take in hear Sum Plantains a barrell of Flower a few Limes and sum Rum for a Recrute and so Make the best of My Way to Virgina as Directted by your orders hear Capt. Coster is hear butt is under sum Troble his Vesell was seise on the Acctt of his being a foriner as I under stand itt is Nott over itt [yet] Nor No one knows when itt Will. Gentellmen I Purchase att Bony 339 Slaves 189 Men and 128 Women 16 boys and 6 Girles I buried 17 before Came over the bar and 113 after Wards and have bought 28 Teeth Weighing between 15 and 16 hundred pound and Sum Red Wood. Dockter Smith is Dead and the Copper [cooper] and four Sailors and one boy besides.

147. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday May 29th 1723.

The Committee having made the following Proposal to Capt. Stibbs as the terms on which he is to go to Gambia,[2] *Vizt.*

That he be paid as Capt. of the Ship till the time of his Setting out from the Settlement at Gambia up the River, and from that time at the rate of £10 per Month till his return to Gambia Settlement again.

That he keep a Table proper for the Station he goes in, and the number of persons that go with him, with as much frugallity as may Consist with the honour of the Company, An Account of the Expence thereof to be kept, and deliver'd to the Councill at Gambia on his return thither.

That he have the following Commissions *Vizt.*

2 *sh* a head on Slaves

£2 per Cent on all other Trade he makes

£5 per Cent upon all new discoverys in trade for 7 Years

£3 per Cent On all Gold got by Mines, Washing or Buddling.

That he give the following Security, *Vizt.* His own Bond of £1000, and 2 other Substantiall persons in £500 Each. To which

[147] [1] T 70: 124. Present: the Duke of Chandos, Sir Bibye Lake, Mr. Neale, Mr. Acton, Colonel Bladen, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Gore, Mr. Brown, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Hayes.

[2] On May 23 the committee had agreed to represent to the court that in their opinion Capt. Bartholomew Stibbs was the proper person to send on an expedition up the Gambia in the *Dispatch*. He was to have with him a surgeon, artisans, a still, and a supply of enumerated drugs. T 70: 124.

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Proposal Capt. Stibbs agreeing, It is the Opinion of this Committee, That the same be laid before the Court for their approbation, and in regard it is of the utmost consequence, that an affair of this nature Should be carry'd on with the greatest privacy, That the Court be moved to Empower the Committee of Trade to name a private Committee for drawing up such Instructions, giving directions, and holding such Correspondence in relation thereto as may be necessary.

It is the further Opinion of this Committee, That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods to provide a Cargoe of about £2000 Value to go by this Ship *Dispatch* to Gambia.

The Committee are also of Opinion, That some Acknowledgement Should be made by the Company to S'r Chaloner Ogle and Capt. Herdman for the Service they did upon the Coast in regard to the Pirates.[3]

That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods to provide a Cargoe for Cabenda to be put on board the South Sea Ship *Sea horse* which is going thither to receive 325 Slaves, And That Anabasses may be borrowed of the South Sea Company to be repaid in the same Species of Anabasses. . . .

Then the Committee Enter'd upon the Consideration of a Representation proper to be laid before the General Court Soon to be Called.

And in Order thereto, Do direct, That Mr. Beaumont the Accompt. and Mr. Cleeve the Cashier Do make out an exact State of what Accounts of the Borrowers have been made up and Settled, and what remain unsettled, as also a State of the payments on the last Call of £5 per Cent, and the Deficiency thereon, to be laid before and Examined by the Committee of the Treasury, who it is desired may be Summoned for that purpose on this Day Sevnight.

That it be recommended to the Committee of Law Suits to lay before the Court a State of what has been done in regard to the foreclosing the Stock of those who have not paid the Calls upon the Ingraftment, and the prosecuting those Borrowers who have not come in to Settle their Accounts according to the Directions of the General Court.

That the Opinions of the Councill touching the method for bringing in the Deficiency upon the last Call of £5 per Cent be laid before the Court, That a By-Law may be drawn up pursuant thereto to be laid before the General Court, and that the General Court be acq'ted That the Committee of Law Suits have directions to prosecute to a foreclosure those who have not paid the Calls upon the Ingraftment.[4]

[3] For John Atkins's brief account of the capture of the pirates by the *Swallow* and the *Weymouth* see his *Voyage*, pp. 191-193, and *ante*, no. 128, notes.

[4] "Read and Agreed to by the Court, May the 31st 1723, F. L."

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At a Committee of Trade, Friday June 14th 1723.[5]

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That as the *Royal Africa* appears by the last Letters from Cabenda to be in a good Condition, and fitt to go off the Coast with Slaves, That the *King Solomon* may be fitted out to Carry the Materialls desired by the Governor and Council there to finish the Fortifications, and relieve the *Royal Africa*, And that Capt. Hereford be Indulged in his request to Carry off the *Royal Africa* with Slaves at the Expiration of his time, and being relieved by another Governor. . . .

The Receipt for the 300 Slaves put on board the *St. Quintin* at Cabenda with the bill of Lading given to Mr. Cleeve to attend the South Sea Company, and gett an order passed for the payment of the money due thereon according to Contract.

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Money payable by the South Sea Company upon the bill lately received for the Negroes by the *Royal African* Packett and the *Sherbro* Galley, and the money payable for the 300 putt on board the *St. Quintin* amounting both to £7197 : 10 be appropriated towards paying the Dividend, and that it be recommended to the Committee of Treasury to take care it be not otherwise disposed off.

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday Sep'r 25th 1723.[6]

The Committee read over and Considered Gov'r Hart's Letter of 9th Aprill last from Antigua, And are of Opinion, That the thanks of the Court be return'd to Gov'r Hart for the regard he Shew'd to the Company's Interest in the purchase he made of fifty Slaves, tho' at that time he had no immediate occasion for them, when the Planters had Combined together to buy none in order to lower the prices, and that he be acquainted That as he writes there is a demand of Slaves in the Leeward Islands. If the Planters will Consign their Sugars to the Company to be dispos'd of by them at the publick Sale, and out of the produce thereof, the Company to pay themselves for the Slaves, and be accomptable for the remainder, in which case the Company would advance the money to pay the Customs without Charging Interest for the Same, and likewise Save them the usuall Commission, Care Shall be taken to Supply them with what Slaves they want; And as to his Proposal for farming the Company's Estate at Antigua at the Annual Rent of £500 Stl. in London, making good at the Expiration of the term, not Exceeding 14 years all Buildings, Works, Slaves and Cattle.

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That the said Proposal be

[5] Of those in attendance on May 29, Lake, Tryon, Gore, and Bladen were absent from this meeting.

[6] Those present were, Chandos, Lake, Acton, Brown, and Captain Collet.

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accepted on these Conditions *Vizt.* That the Dead Stock be valued and agreed to be left at the Expiration of his time, as he finds it upon Entrance, that the Negroes be apprais'd and bought outright from the Company, and that he Shall be Supply'd from time to time with what Negroes he shall want during his term in the Estate, to be paid for in Bills of Exchange at such Sight as Shall be agreed on, And if he approves of this, That he be desir'd to appoint some person to come and Settle with the Company accordingly in his behalf.[7]

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That Mrs. Lamb, Wife of Capt. Bulfinch Lamb, who is abroad in the Company's Service at Jaquin or Whydah have £25 on account of her Husband's pay for her Support.[8] . . .

148. Voyage up the Gambia, by Bartholomew Stibbs.[1]

. . . On the 26th, [Oct.] late at Night, came down the *Gambia* Sloop, Capt. Uring, from Joar,[2] with 49 Slaves. . . . On the 11th, [Nov.] the *James Island* Sloop, Capt. Trevisa, came down from Joar with 24 Slaves, sent Thither in a Canoa by Mr. Drummond at Cuttejarr.[3]

On the 15th the *Hamilton* sail'd for Cape Coast with 30 Slaves, and the *Gambia* Sloop to Genock[4] for Rice and Corn for the *Advice,*

[7] On Oct. 9 the committee again took up the matter of the Antigua estate, agreeing to rent it to the governor for £600 annually, or to sell it to him for £6000 cash. They also agreed to furnish any Antigua planters who would contract for negroes with those from the Gold Coast and Whydah at £23 per head, and those from Gambia and Cabenda at £20, to be paid for by bills of exchange, sugar to be sent over to answer the bills, "at least 3 Hhd for Each Negroe, Consigned to their Factors here, and hypothecated to the Company, and that they take a whole Ships Cargoe round on these terms, that is to Say, All that are Merchantable and able to go over the Ships side without any visible defect." All this was approved by the court on Oct. 10. T 70: 124.

[8] For the story of Bulfinch Lambe see no. 161.

[148] [1] "Journal of a Voyage up the Gambia, being an Attempt for making Discoveries, and improving the Trade of that River, by Mess. Bartholomew Stibbs, Edward Drummond, and Richard Hull, in the Year 1723", included in Francis Moore's *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa,* with notes by Francis Moore (London, 1738). Reference to the preparations for this voyage has been made in the committee minutes already printed (no. 147). The Duke of Chandos, as part of his effort to revive the company and create an income for it, sent Stibbs to explore the Gambia and make what suggestions he could for developing trade. The company was especially anxious to increase the number of commodities obtainable from the natives along the river. Stibbs, arriving at James Fort on Oct. 7, 1723, was delayed there for some time because of the death of the governor, Joseph Wiley. He had with him a journal of Vermuyden, written in 1661, but there is no evidence that he knew Jobson's account of his exploration of the river in 1621. The major portion of his narrative deals with the conduct of the expedition, and is but indirectly related to the slave trade. The selections here begin with his observations while waiting at James Fort. Hull was secretary and chief factor at the fort.

[2] Joar was, at a later period, the principal factory of the company on the Gambia, but just at this time, because of a disagreement with the natives, Governor Wiley had broken up the establishment there. He had been taken ill while endeavoring to settle the trouble and had died on the journey back to James Fort.

[3] Cuttejarr, a factory on the north side of the river in Lower Niani.

[4] The *James Island* and the *Gambia* were company sloops used for trafficking up and down the river. Janock was on the north shore, near the mouth of the Gambia. James Island was perhaps thirty miles up the river.

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Capt. Rodwell, for whom 150 Slaves are ready to be carried for Jamaica (pp. 236, 241). . . .

On the 30th arrived a French sloop from Goree,[5] which same Sloop sail'd the 16th of October last from this Place for Goree with 46 Slaves and Goods. . . .

This Day [Dec. 1] came in the *Ruby* Brigantine, Capt. Kidgel, an Interloper from London, belonging to Mr. Godding a French Merchant.

On the 3d came up the *Gambia* Sloop from Jenock, with 190 Barrels of Rice and Corn on Board. In the Evening the Slaves were sent on Board the Brigantine, and the next Morning the necessary Corn; so that now she lies ready for sailing (p. 242). . . .

Came up the *Ruby,* Capt. Craigue, an Interloper, belonging to Mr. Wragg[6] in London, who designs for Slaves to Carolina.

In the evening the *Gambia* Sloop and the *Barrah* Shallop went to Vintain[7] to careen.

On the 14th, in the Morning, came down the *James Island* Sloop from Cuttejar, with Mr. Edward Drummond, and 40 Slaves, and 9 C. Weight of Elephants Teeth.

On the 17th, the *Ruby,* Capt. Craigue, sail'd up the River for Joar. The *Gambia* Sloop came down from Vintain.

On the 21st early, the *Advice* Brigantine, Capt. Rodwell, sail'd for Jamaica with 150 Slaves; with her went the *Gambia* Sloop to see her safe out of the River. . . .

On the 25th the French Sloop sail'd from Albreda[8] for Goree, with 100 Slaves on Board, and other Goods (pp. 244-245). . . .

CUTTEJAR, Jan. 20, 1737 [1724].

To Mess. Orfeur and Rogers.[9]

Gentlemen, On Tuesday last, at Night, being the 14th Instant, we arriv'd at the Company's Factory here, all in good Health, excepting Captain Trevisa, who had a short Relapse of his late Indisposition, and two of our Miners, but are now on the mending hand. we reach'd Joar the 4th Instant, where we met with the *Ruby,* Captain Craigue, who had then purchas'd but eleven Slaves.

[5] Goree was now one of the chief trading centres of the French.

[6] Samuel Wragg, whose brother Joseph was a prominent South Carolina merchant. See Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution", *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXIII. 806, 811.

[7] Vintain, Vintang, or Bintam, a southern tributary of the Gambia, not far from James Island. The company had a factory here.

[8] The French fort established by Brue at Albreda was for a time abandoned by the French, but had recently been reoccupied.

[9] Orfeur was acting as governor since the death of Wiley. He was later despatched to Portudal to settle a factory there. The expedition had started up the river on Dec. 28, with Stibbs in charge, Edward Drummond as first factor, and Richard Hull, later a governor of the fort, as second factor. There were in the party 19 white men and 32 negroes, for whom they carried three months' provisions. On Jan. 4 they anchored at Joar, and Stibbs sent by Captain Craigue a letter to Francis Lynn of the African Company, reporting what had been done. Moore, *Travels in Africa,* pp. 245-249, 252.

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The Captain had sent his Long-Boat higher up with Mr. Baldwyn to make Trade. He went up as high as Brucoe,[10] and bought six Mundingoe Slaves, at the extravagant Price of 30 Barrs per Head.[11] He pass'd us on his Return about Twelve at Night on the 8th Instant, when we lay at anchor between the Sappo Isles, and was so civil as not to call on Board us. . . . We are inform'd of Slattee[12] Sane Conta Madebaugh being now on the Road with a Coffle of 500 Slaves. He has not been here since the Company's last settling in this River; and 'tis said, that he undertakes this Journey to make Tryal of what Encouragement he may expect to trade here for the future. There is another Coffle or two on the Road; which we mention, that you may timely supply this Factory with what Goods may be wanted, and that your Instructions as to the Price of Slaves may be suitable to the danger of their falling into the French or Interlopers Hands. We cannot forbear acquainting you, that the want of due Supplies of Goods to this Factory has been no small Hindrance to the Trade thereof; but as that was not your Fault, we don't question but it will be better minded for the future. Mr. Franks will give you an account of what Trade he has made, and what Goods are wanted for the carrying it on here (pp. 260-262). . . .[13]

On the 5th [Feb., 1724] in the Afternoon, the Merchants came down,[14] and after a long Dispute we found ourselves under a Necessity of contracting with them for ten Slaves, at 23 Barrs per Head, or else they would not sell us their Gold and Teeth, which 'twas our Design only to buy, till our Return, by reason we had not Conveniences for Slaves till then. But what was a further Inducement, on our buying these Slaves, one of the Merchants, named Gaye, had promis'd to go up the River with us as far as Tinda, (where he lives) by which means we should have the Opportunity of knowing the Country on both Sides the River, which otherwise is impossible, there being no such thing as a Pilot to be got. In the Afternoon in Council we drew up a Letter, and sent it to James Fort by a Land-Messenger by way of Cuttejarr.

On the 6th, understanding there was a Town opposite to us on the Cantore Side,[15] not above four Miles distance, we the Day before sent to compliment the Alcade of it with a Bottle of Rum, in return of which he sent us a Cow, for which we afterwards presented him with a Barr of Iron. Of the ten Slaves we the Day before contracted for, we were able to purchase but three, chiefly owing to the badness of our Goods: And by our not purchasing them ten Slaves,

[10] Brucoe is on the south bank of the Gambia, in the country of Jemarrow, about 130 miles from the mouth of the river.

[11] About £9 sterling. On this Moore comments: "The Price of Slaves augments daily, and what was then call'd an extravagant Price is now very low, for they are now generally sold for 50 or 60 Barrs per Head". For Moore's exposition of the value of the bar, see p. 396.

[12] A slattee was a negro slave merchant.

[13] Signed: "Barth. Stibbs, E. Drummond, Rich. Hull."

[14] The party had now reached Barracunda and before they went further wished to establish trade here. The place, once a famous trading town, was at this time abandoned, the people of the former town living about nine miles away at Jah. It was from Jah that these merchants had come.

[15] The "Cantore side" was the south side of the river.

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we lost the Opportunity of having Gaye the Merchant with us; at which I was very much concern'd, as having no Body that ever was above that Place (pp. 272-273). . . .

JAMES FORT, Feb. 10, 1724.

To Capt. Barth. Stibbs, Messieurs Edw. Drummond and Rich. Hull.[16]

. . . If the Sloop has any Number of Slaves, we desire they may forthwith be sent down, being daily in Expectation of a Ship's Arrival, which by Contract is to sail this Month for Carolina.[17] . . .

BARRACUNDA, Feb. 24, 1724.

To Robert Plunkett, Esq., and Mr. Anth. Rogers.

. . . Captain Trevisa hath to this Date purchased but four Slaves; his Goods are very bad, and ill sorted for Trade; which could not be helped, there being no proper Cargoes for these Parts at the Fort when we came up.[18] . . .

On the 4th [Mar., 1724] arriv'd the *James Island* Sloop with every Body well on Board.[19] The next Day we sent down three Canoas with 31 Slaves for James Fort, under the Care of Mr. Thomas Harrison; the Reason of our sending them before was on account of Governor Plunkett's advising us of a Charter'd Ship for Carolina being expected daily at the Fort. . . .

On the 13th, about Noon, came to anchor at Joar, where were two Interlopers, *viz.* the *Ruby,* Capt. Craigue, and the *Hope,* Capt. Perry; the former we left here as we pass'd up the River; it seems his Slaves rose upon him last Week, by which he lost 17 out of 65 (pp. 291-296). . . .

149. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO JAMES PYM.[1]

SOUTH SEA HOUSE, 12 Decr., 1723.

. . . We note your Receipt and Sales of the Negroes and approve the Method You Seem to have fallen into of Selling in Parcells which You'l Continue to do, And as there are So few Illicit Introductions in Your parts, We hope You will be able to get better prices than You now Generally Sell for, without keeping the Negroes in hand, which must be avoided as much as possible. . . .

You'l see We are like to get over the Difficulty Started, or rather Received, as if We would not Import our Negroes unless Directly

[16] About sixty miles above Barracunda Stibbs turned back, the river becoming too shallow for further progress. Reaching Barracunda Feb. 25, he found there letters from the new governor, Mr. Plunkett, with word that Drummond had been made second chief merchant of the company, Rogers, the third, and Hull a member of the council. Captain Trevisa, who had been left at Barracunda to trade, had purchased but five slaves during their absence.

[17] Signed, "Robt. Plunkett, Anth. Rogers".

[18] Signed, "Edw. Drummond".

[19] Stibbs was now at Cuttejarr, where the vessel had been left during the journey up the river in canoes.

[149] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, pp. 10-14, "Letters and Instructions, Nov. 28, 1723, to June 25, 1725". James Pym was now president at Cartagena.

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from Africa. This is so essential to the Carrying on Our Negro Trade that tis Impracticable without it, and is what We Shall Insist on, it being very plain by the Convention. However if You should in Earnest be opposed before redress Comes and You cannot overcome it with the Assistance of Your Judge Conservator You must appeal, giving bond if required to abide by the King of Spain's Determination, but in Case they Should be So rigorous as not to Suffer the Negroes to Enter You must make the Necessary protests and Send Us, Consigning the Ship and Negroes to Our Factory at Porto Belo, advising them the Reason. And write Our Agents at Jamaica to desist from Sending You any more till this Matter be got over, putting a Stop to the Sallarys of all the Spanish Officers, Especially those who Committ the Abuse, and of those in whose Province it was to remedy it and did not. . . .

Notwithstanding We procur'd and Sent You at the pressing Instances of Your Factory before the late Rupture[2] a general Cedula of Indulto extending to all Negroes Illicitly Introduced, as well before as Since Our Assiento Commenc'd, from which We are assur'd of very good Consequences, by its obviating the pretences usually made that the Negroes were Introduced before Our Time. Yet we dont find it has answered Expectation.

Your Letter of 11 April 1722 mentions that this Cedula was not Executed till after the Rupture, which must be a mistake, the Factory in theirs of 3d Novr. 1718 having advised that it was publishd at Carthagena the 1st Oct. preceeding, upon which Some few had been Manifested, but at so low a Price as 60 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per Peice de India: and that the same had been published in all the Towns and Villages of that Province and [*illegible*] but had not Received any Account of the Success. . . .

We Observe Your Complaints in former Letters of not being duly Supplyed with Negroes. This in all probability proceeds from Your over Nicety in them, which is a Case We have experienced at Portobelo. And has been the Great if not the only Cause of that Factorys not being So well Supplyd as they might otherwise have been, and has been a very Great Encouragement to the private Traders, who find no Difficulty of Furnishing themselves at Jamaica out of what we leave, and at more Easy Rates. If this Extreem Nicety were avoided You need not doubt of Constant Supplys, and tho all of them might not be so very Fine as You could wish, Yet as it would be a means to Defeat the Private Traders of their Supplys, We should Soon find Our Account in it. For in a little Time with the help of Your Seizures they would beat out of that

[2] After the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and Great Britain in 1718 all assiento trade came to an end for the period of the war.

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Trade. And as We Should then be the Sole Importers in Deed as well as in Name, You'd Soon be able to Advance the Prices, and at the same Time never want a Quick Vent for the Negroes, which you'l Govern Your Selves by accordingly.

The Method you Seem to have fallen into in allowing a Term of 15 Days to the Towns People to Supply themselves with Single Negroes or Small parcells before You Sell in Large Ones Seems to Us to be attended with Some Inconveniencys as the Dissorting the Cargoes or at least bringing a Disparagement upon them as if the best had been pickd out and by the Mortality and Changes of keeping. And We think 15 Days is a long Time for *Such a* purpose But this we leave to You to do as You find most for Our Interest.

Whereas We have Impowerd Our Agents at Jamaica to Issue Our Licensses for Supply of the Windward Coast where We have no Factorys, Some with Liberty of Carrying the Fruits of the Country from One Port to another And Some without upon paying an Indulto: You are to take Note that in Case any Person taking out a Lycense with Liberty as aforesaid Cannot Sell his Negroes at the particular Port or Portes, limitted by his License, In such a Case the Licensed Person may carry the Negroes or So many as he cannot Sell in any other Port or Ports of the Spanish West Indies where the Company have Factors Residing And Sell them to Such Factors for the Companys Account at the Price of 125 Pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per Ps of India as the Same Shall be Regulated by Spanish Royal Officers which Negroes You are to take and pay for According giving such Person a Certificate thereof in Order to Our Agents at Jamaica paying him back the Indulto money he paid for the Negroes So Sold to You this being the Method We thought most prudent for Supplying those ports which will not bear the Charges attending Factorys. . . .

150. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Fryday, Jan. 10th, 1723/4.

Then the Committee proceeded to Consider of the Scheme of Trade for the Ensuing Year, and Came to the following Resolutions *Vizt.*

Gambia. That the Sum of £8000 be Vested in Goods, and Sent out this present year 1724 (including the Cargoe Shipt on board the *Dilligence*) for Carrying on the Trade up the River Gambia and at the Settlements thereunto belonging.

Sierraleone. That the Sum of £10000 (including the Cargoes Sent

[150] [1] T 70: 124. Present: "His Grace the D. of Chandos, S'r B. Lake, Mr. Acton, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Blake, Mr. Neal, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Brown, Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Hayes."

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out by the *Sherbro* Galley) be for Carrying on the Trade at Sierraleone.

Windw'd Coast. That the Sum of £7000 (including the Cargoes Sent out by the *Dilligence, Guinea* Packett, *Sherbro* Galley and *Royal African* Packett) be for Carrying on the Trade of the Windward Coast.

Cape Coast. That the Sum of £36,000 (including the Cargoes Sent out by the *Dilligence, Guinea* Packett and *Royal African* Packett) be for Carrying on the Trade at Cape Coast and its Districts.

Whydah. That the Sum of £20,000 (including the Cargoes sent out by the *Guinea* Packett and *Sherbro* Galley) be for Carrying on the Trade at Whydah.[2]

Bight, Gabon, Calabars, Benin. That the Sum of £3000 be vested in Goods and Sent out this present year 1724 for Carrying on the Trade of the Bight, River Gabon, Calabars and Bay of Benin.

Cabenda. That the Sum of £14,000 (including the Cargoes sent out by the *Royal African* Packett) be for Carrying on the trade at Cabenda.

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods, That due care be taken, that at least two thirds of the above Cargoes be provided so as to be Sent out between this and the end of May.

Then the Committee considered of the Ships necessary to be immediately dispatched out, and are of Opinion, That the *Cape Coast* Frigatt be fitted out with all possible Dispatch for Gambia to take in what Negroes She can receive upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg for South Carolina.

That the *Northampton* be fitted out for Sierraleone, to take in a Cargoe to the amount of about £2000, to Stay 30 days if necessary and take in what Slaves they can put on board her, and Carry them to Cape Coast, and to be left to the Capt. General to Employ her as he shall see necessary.

That the *Clarendon* be fitted out to proceed to Whydah, to take in what Goods lye in Holland and to Call at Cape Coast, thence to Whydah and so home. And, That Mr. Tinker at Cape Coast have liberty to take out of her what Cowries he Shall want, *not Exceeding 5 Tuns,* which he must take care not to dispose of to the Lisbon Portuguese nor to any others, but at such advanced price as Shall by that means prevent their raising the rates of Slaves at Whydah.

That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods to Ship such Goods as they Shall think proper for Cape Coast on board the South Sea Company's Ship *Russell* pursuant to the Contract. . . .

[2] The agents at Whydah complained of the dearness of slaves here, where it took 45 sletias or 300 lbs. cowries to procure a slave. T 70: 7, pp. 80, 93.

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At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday Feb'ry 5th 1723/4.

Upon reading a Letter from Capt. Pariss of the *Providence* Sneau from Bassam of Octr. 24th wherein he Setts forth, That the Private Traders that come there Outbid him, and run away with the greatest part of the Trade,

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That Capt. Pariss have directions, when any other Ships are Trading there not to let them Outbid him, but to bid up as they do, and Endeavour to buy up a Canoe there, if he can't gett one from Cape Coast.[3]

Feb. 19th, 1723/4.

The Committee reconsidered their Minute of the 5th Inst. referr'd back by the Court touching the Orders to be Sent to Capt. Pariss in the *Providence* Sneau off Bassam,

And are of Opinion to Report to the Court, that the Order be as follows, *Vizt.,* In case of any Separate Traders Coming in, You are immediately to go on board him, and Endeavour to bring him to Such an Understanding with you, that you may not hurt One another in the Trade, which you may do by Offering to furnish him with such Slaves as you have, or can procure at the best advanc'd prices you can gett of him, But in case you find he will not be brought to be upon good terms with you, We leave it to your discretion to Dispose of your Goods at such prices as may if possible Secure the Trade to your Self, at the same time having a reguard that you do not raise the prices to Such a height as to put it out of your power to fall 'em again to the Cape Coast prices. . . .

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday March 18th 1723/4.[4]

That it be recommended to the Committee of Shipping to Consider and report their opinion to the Court whether Capt. Hogg be a proper person to be Sent on a Voyage to the Bight in the *Bonetta* and to Exchange Ships with Capt. Levingston. And thereupon that another Bight Cargoe be put on board her to the amount of £1000 or £1200, That She be then ordered over to Holland to take in such

[3] The committee of trade directed that the Jamaica agents be told in future to sell what negroes they sold to the South Sea Company for bills of exchange drawn on the company (T 70: 124, Feb. 19, 1723/4). The committee of accounts considered complaints referred to them from the court of assistants. De Bruyn and Cloots had written that their contracts concerning negroes sold to the *Concordia* and the *Triumpho* at Cape Coast and Whydah were not being adhered to. The usual order of these contractors who purchased for the Portuguese market provided that the price was to be not more than £14 per head, that there were to be none under ten nor over thirty. They were to be paid for two months after arrival (T 70: 116, p. 27, and 124, May 13, 1724). The committee decided that the contractors had no cause for complaint. The contract with these Lisbon merchants, which was made in 1723, was finally concluded in 1726. T 70: 103, pp. 90, 98.

[4] Taylor, Blake, Lockwood, and Hopegood were absent from this meeting, Captain Collet was present.

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Goods as are left behind by the *Clarendon* and to fill up with Spiritts, Powder and Sailcloth, then proceed to deliver her Cargoes Consign'd to Sierraleone, Bassam and Cape Coast, from thence with the Cargoe put on board for that purpose proceed to trade round the Bight, after She has so done, to touch at St. Thomas, and there Endeavour to Sell what Slaves She may have purchased, and what remain undisposed of, if not above 20, that She call at Some of the Western Islands and try to putt them off there at the best advantage, If more than 20 remain, to Carry them to C. Coast and deliver them to the Capt. General and there taking in what home Trade they have return to England.[5]

151. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO RIGBY AND PRATTER.[1]

[1724?]

. . . We are taking and will continue to take the best Care We can to keep You Sufficiently furnished [with negroes], that as Demands arise from the Several Factorys You may not be at a Loss to give them immediate Supplys and of proper Assortments, and to that end, as a Stock in hand will be always necessary, We are willing for the better reducing the Charge of their Maintenance to a Certainty to allow You 6 *d.* per head per diem from the Time they shall be first receivd into Yo'r possession to the Day of their being ship'd off for any of the Factorys. And as to any other incidental Charges we recomend it to You to be as good Husbands as possibly You can, And if what we have already wrote You in regard to the Allowance of Conveniencys for this purpose, be not Sufficiently explicit, We leave it to You, who best know the Conveniencys You may want, to Supply Your Selves, at the most reasonable Expence You can.

For the more regularly Supplying our Selves with Negroes in a continued Course We have Settled a Scheme of what Ships to send out each Month (of w'ch inclosed is Copy) w'ch if we can effectually Execute (as we have reason to believe we can as well as others) may make an ample Provision, and especially as we have put a Stop to the extreme Nicety of our Factors: This Scheme is drawn up as near as we can form it, agreable to the Advices we have recd. from Your Selves and the Several Factorys,[2] But, as You observe, tho Scarcity of Some particular Sorts of Negroes renders it impracticable to pro-

[5] Endorsed: "March 19th 1723/4, Read in Ct. and App'd with some alterations as in minutes of that day."

[151] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 68v, p. 136. Rigby and Pratter were the South Sea Company's factors at Panama.

[2] On Mar. 31, 1724, the company wrote to these factors that it had contracted for 640 Gold Coast slaves, to come out in the *Francis,* Capt. Bryant, and the *Russel,* Capt. Eyres. This letter was apparently earlier than the undated one here printed. The cargo of the *Francis* was to be insured for £3000. T 70: 124, Feb. 26, 1723/4.

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cure So many of those Sorts, as we would, and that, of what have been furnished these two last Years, there have been a major part of the Casts [coasts ?] which have been forbid and yet in the whole there has been a deficiency of above 1/3 to answer the Assiento. We are of your Opinion it will be difficult, if not impossible to Supply it fully any other Way, than by Selling Merchantable Negroes of all Countrys for the most that can be got, provided they answer in profit. You will therefore, if any Alteration Occurrs to You, convenient to be made in the Scheme advise us as soon as You can. . . .

We have Considerd of the two Articles charged in Your Acco't Curr't as Commission on Negroes Indulted, and Seized in the Factorys, w'ch altho You give plausible Reasons for our allowing as we apprehend may hereafter be drawn into Consequences which at present can't be foreseen, and therefore as Commission we dont allow it, altho as partly by the Carelessness and Remissness of our Factors, but more by the deficiency of the African Compa. in performing the Several Contracts made, with them, You have not hitherto been Supplied as You ought with Negroes, Whereby unusual Quantitys have been Sold by the private Traders on the Coast, whilst You, as well to Yo'r own as the Company's Detriment, have been little more than lookers on, We are willing to make You an Allowance of £1000 in Compensation for that disappointment and hope in future You will have no reason to Complain. . . .

We likewise approve Yo'r laying hold of Such Opportunitys as offer by Sending Negroes to the Havana in Northern Vessels, especially when our own Sloops can be otherwise more advantageously imployd or when the Returns You shall have been advised of are but Small, Seeing in their passage home they will as You advise drop Small Quantitys of Negroes at so moderate a rate as 4 or 6 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head or thereabouts, and think it Sufficient, when they advise You they want a good parcel of Negroes and that they have a considerable Remittance to make to send one of our own Sloops man'd accordingly.[3] . . .

As [4] to the Matter of Liberty of delivering Such Licensed Negroes as shall happen to be left unsold on the Windward Coast to any of the Factorys at 125 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of India, That was a Convenience or Indulgence given only to such as had Liberty by their

[3] In the letter of Mar. 31, the company wrote: "We Note Your hiring the Snow *Sea Nymph*, On which You Shipd 60 Negroes for Havana, For which You Agreed the Freight at 240 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ to be paid at that place, And Our Factory to pay the port charges, which You Recomend as a much Cheaper Method for so Small a Number of Negroes. . . . We are Concernd to hear of the Illicit Trade You Advise, is Carryed on to the Havana from the South Kays of Cuba, And have too Great Reasons to Complain of the Remissness of Our Factorys both at Havana and St. Iago on this Head: Notwithstanding they have so Little to do: this may well be a cause of their Vending so few Negroes."

[4] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 71v, pp. 142-144.

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License to carry fruits to other Ports and for w'ch they paid a higher Indult, and which the Lycensees without such a Liberty are not intitled to, and therefore Capt. Collet cannot of right demand any Allowance for the Negro which he could not sell, but brought back to Jamaica, altho, as his was the first License issued, before the Spaniards on that Coast had Expectation of any Assiento Vessel from Jamaica he may have made but little Advantage of his Voyage and as he has done us good Services with regard to the Execution of the Instructions You gave him concerning our Effects in those parts and the illicit trade carried on there and particularly by Sisson and others and their pretended Substitutes or Agents and the proper Methods for Suppressing the same to w'ch end he has already So much Contributed by giving the necessary Cautions to the Spanish Gov'rs and in other respects has acquitted himself with Zeal and Attention for the Honour and Interest of the Company We leave it to You to Settle with him any Dependance of that Voyage, in Such Manner as You judge reasonable, being unwilling to insist upon any thing that should be a real Discouragement to him. But Licensees are not to expect in future that we shall easily come into after reckonings, for thus, there would be no end, nor Certainty in this Business.

We Note Capt. Collet's bringing back a Certificate of his having paid the K. of Spain's Duty for the Negro he brought back and conclude he has done it likewise for the others he sold, we dont apprehend what he means by it; For as by the Treatys our Dutys are payable at Madrid and not in the Indies, and Negroes introduced this Way are and always have been deemd as if introduced immediately by the Compa. and are considered as part of the Negroes we are obliged annually to furnish, So the Dutys for the Licensed Negroes are to be paid by us at Madrid in like Manner as for the rest and without Distinction and as we pay the Dutys for the whole Number Stipulated, tho' we do not import So many, So in Case any Dutys have been paid in the Indies, It is an Injury to the Compa. it being a double payment, and if in this Case it has been done You will take Care to send us the Certificates or Receipts for the Dutys So paid that we may deduct the same out of the next Dutys we are to pay at Madrid, and the like You will do with respect to the rest of Capt. Collets Neg's In Case he has paid the Dutys: And as we dont find how these Dutys came to be demanded of him, or why he should pay them, or whether he apprehend he himself was to bear that Charge, over and above his Indulto Money, we desire You will inform us.

In the mean Time we admit that the same Indulto for all places alike Seems inequitable, if it be so that in different places Negroes sell generally at different prices. And as You apprehend a Necessity of lowering the Terms at some places You will consider whether they

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might not be advanced at others: As for Instance at St. Domingo and Porto Rico You propose the Indult to be reduced to 50 pieces of ⅞ per p's of Ind'a. Might it not be advanced to 100 p's ⅞. We mean without Liberty of carrying Fruits, at Caraccas or other parts not so far to Windward, and where better prices may be expected, let this be well considerd and give us Y'r best Judgement; For till we find reason to do otherwise, we place a Confidence, that You Study the Companys Advantage all You can in this Branch to make it as Considerable as possible. If therefore You really think no License for St. Domingo or Porto Rico will be taken out at above 50 pieces of ⅞ p's of Ind'a We yeild to it for the present And shall expect from You a Scheme whereby You would adjust it at other places, for we cannot well otherwise determine it here.

As to what You mention of these Licensees going to Curassao, we do not perceive but that the Compa. may thereby receive Advantage, as well as that under the protection of our Licenses British Subjects may increase their Trade by the Allowance of their going to Curassao from the Coast or from St. Domingo, Selling the produce of their Negroes there, and returning again to the same Ports with Negroes and from thence finishing their Voyage at Jamaica and accounting to the Company in the same Manner as if such Curassao Negroes had been Shipd from Jamaica, more Negroes may thereby be Sold, and consequently more Indulto Money rais'd, as well as, that thereby, the Trade of the Dutch to the Coast, if they permit what is proposd will be lessend. The Difficulty to us Seems to be in what Manner to adjust this with the Licensee So as to secure a fair accounting to You on his Return: Be certain of this, and that there shall be no abuse, or think of Some Effectual Method for Securing the Company, and we Consent to this Your proposal. . . .

We[5] take due Notice of what Capt. Collet informs You concerning an Indulto on the Caraccas Coast, and that there would be about 3000 Neg's Indulted if the Compa. would be content with 30 pieces of ⅞ per p's of Ind'a, and that if this were done and the present Possessors quieted, there would be a willing Submission to Seizures for the future, w'ch now would be in Vain to attempt: To w'ch we answer, That as the Compa. have no Factorys in those parts and consequently no Ability of exerting the Powers and Facultys they are entitled to by the Treatys and Cedulas: We must be Content with what we can get on this Occasion by an Indult, and we would not lose the Opportunity of raising a Sum by that Means Since we cannot be Supposed to make any Seizures for the time past, But we recomend it to You to instruct whomsoever You depute for that Purpose to obtain better Terms, if it be possible. You are to Con-

[5] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 73v, p. 146.

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sider that it has hitherto been the practice when Indultos have been opend to pay for the Neg's Indulted the K. of Spains Dutys of 33 1/3 p's of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p'c of Ind'a in the Indies at the time and place of opening the Indulto, and it is probable the like may now be insisted on, Indulted Negroes not having been deem'd by the Spanish Officers to be Comprehend'd in the Number for w'ch we pay the Dutys at Madrid; We cannot therefore pretend to get an Allowance at Madrid for what is paid in the Indies on this Acco't at least till we can procure a Cedula for explaining it; It must therefore be understood that the Compa. are to pay no Duty for what shall be so Indulted, but receive the Sum propos'd or what further can be obtained clear of any Such pretence; And to that End we send You herewith a proper Power for You or Your Dep'ty to open an Indult on this Coast. . . .

We [6] have considerd the Abatement propos'd to be made to the Licensees in the Regulation of the Negroes and think that Seing they are to take our Leavings And if our Factorys become less nice the Negroes will still be more defective You may make the Allowance for Men and Women according to what You propose in Yo'rs of the 10th April last; And for such Boys and Girls as by reason of their Meagreness You shall be obliged to leave out of Yo'r own Choice; We leave it to You to make such Allowance as seems to You to be just and reasonable and as You would have done were it Yo'r own Case, as it is the Company's, all w'ch Abatements are to be on this express Condition that in Case the Spanish Regulations shall exceed Yours In such Cases So often as the same shall happen the Licensees shall be obliged to make good the Indulto Money according to such Spanish Regulations.

152. Messrs. Plunkett, Drummond, and Rogers to the Royal African Company.[1]

Gambia, July 2d, 1724.

This by the *Cape Coast* Fregate which arrived April 13th.

Observe 300 Slaves are to be provided for Carolina. Could not comply for want of sortable Goods particularly Brass Pans.

Send the *Gambia* Sloop with a Cargo to trade at Portodally with Mr. Orfeur and Rose on board, and Mr. Rose to settle a Factory there, demanded of the Gen'll of Senegall the reasons of the insult upon Mr. Glynn in the *Clarendon,* but instead of an answer the Sloop was seized by order of the Gov'r of Goree, and Mr. Orfeur and his Wife made Prisoners and carryed to Goree, and kept Prisoners from

[6] *Ibid.*, f. 74, p. 147.
[152] [1] T 70: 7, pp. 83-84.

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25th March to 29th April, then released by order of the Generall of Senegal.[2]

The loss accruing to the Company by this proceeding of the French. Message to Mr. Orfeur from Gov. Plunkett.

Lett'r wrote to Gen'll of Senegal to withdraw the Factory in Gambia River, and time given them till 1st June to do it.

No answer returned, but message sent to their Gov. at Albida that he might expect a Vessell with Goods etc. to establish their Factory, this Vessell Mr. Plunkett watched for, designing to seize it for the Royal African Company, but no such Vessell came, and the time being expired sent Mr. Rose with Soldiers etc. to Albida to bring the French and their Effects to James Island, but found the place deserted by the French, and filled with Negroes, who fired but were soon beat away, brought away the Effects.

June 21st sent and took their Factory at Vinton.

The *Dispatch* being returned from the Expedition sent a trading to Rio Nunez, to touch at Cassamansa, Cutcheo and Bishee, had she been at the Island instead of up the River when Mr. Plunkett arrived 'twould have been more for the Companys service.

Cape Coast Fregate's Cargo very unsortable. *Cape Coast* Fregate sent to Joar to intercept the trade of Capt. Craigie an Interloper; Mr. Rogers sent on board her, to make up Palaver with the King of Bursally. Mr. Hull ordered to take care of the Books and Acc'ts till his return.

Have dispatched the *Cape Coast* Fregate to Carolina, but fear they will not come to a good market by that Contract. Trade with Capt. Craige for Slaves, which they hope will be approved of. Ten Passengers sent home by the *Cape Coast* Fregate, Mutineers. . . .

153. The South Sea Company to Mr. Stratford.[1]

. . . We Observe with Surprize what You write as to the Cedula for Introducing the Negroes from the Plantations and cannot Conceive from what way of thinking You Suppose 'twill Answer Our Ends; It Seems we are to have a Liberty of refreshing the Negroes 20 or 30 days And that none are to be Admitted but what are Newly come from Africa: Is it not too plain from hence we shall meet with great Imbarrassments from the Scrupulous Spaniards for which this Cedula, Contrary to Your Opinion, is directly Calculated and what Testimonys we are to Send with the Negroes to Obviate them we know not, neither do you Inform us, tho as the Cedula runs, there's no Introducing the Negroes without them. We

[2] Julien du Bellay.

[153] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 56v and 57, pp. 112-113. Stratford was the representative of the South Sea Company at Madrid.

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shall be also under a Difficulty with regard to such Negroes as we are under a Necessity oft times of Buying at Jamaica being restrain'd to such only as are newly Arrived; had You taken this Matter in the View we Shew it You, You would have Judged better and told the Ministers we desired no such explanation and that we desired no Cedula of so dangerous a Consequence but have Adher'd to Our Assiento and the Convention which are Clear in Our favour and have Stipulated no such Limitations, moreover the practice of former Assientists was as we have hitherto done, and we are intitled to all their Priviledges, and this is so Material to insist on, that we cannot acquiesce in the Explanation, You will therefore upon Receipt hereof advise with his Excell'cy Mr. Stanhope in what manner to apply again to have this Cedula set aside, for it will not only more Materially Imbarrass Us at Carthagena, the only Place where any difficulty here in has been Started but be the means of Raising new difficultys in all Our other Ports where they would perhaps have never been thought of.

LONDON, 9 July 1724.

154. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO THE KING.[1]

To the Kings most Excell't Maj'ty in Council. The Humble Petition of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company.

Sheweth, That your Majesty was Graciously Pleased, upon the said Companys former humble Petition in the Year 1717 to grant Relief to the Traders in Negroes at Jamaica by repealing an Act of the Assembly of the said Island which Laid a Duty of Twenty Shill'gs per Head on all Negroes Exported by the South Sea Company, and by other Orders and Instructions given in that behalf to the late and present Governors of Jamaica, Copies whereof they humbly Crave leave to Annex hereto.

That notwithstanding this your Majesty's Pleasure, Dutys have been Since laid from Year to Year of 10 *s.* per Head on Importation and 20 *s.* per Head on the Exportation of all Negroes into and from the Island of Jamaica (such only Excepted as are brought into the Island only for Refreshment and afterwards reexported, and where the Property thereof is not alterd after Arrival) Which Dutys greatly Affect the Company in Carrying on the Assiento Trade, inasmuch as they have found it Expedient to buy Negroes at Jamaica, and to Supply themselves with others on that Island of Contracting with the Royal African Company, w'ch Negroes so bought and Supplyd have been Subjected to these Dutys, and the Company have actually paid between the 20th January 1721 (being the time when

[154] [1] Add. MSS. 25560, ff. 32v-33, pp. 62-63, "Memorials"; also in 25556, ff. 54v-55, pp. 106-107.

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they provided the first Parcell of Negroes to be sent to the Spanish West Indies after renewing the Trade upon the late Peace with Spain) and the 20th Jan'y 1723 the Sum of Four thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Seven pounds for Dutys of Exportation only; And the Aforesaid Dutys the Company apprehend will be Continued, and even greater laid in future Years unless prevented by your Majestys Seasonable Interposition, And thereby the Company put under a Necessity of proceeding with their Negroes directly from Africa to the Spanish West Indies without having an Opportunity of Landing and refreshing them and Supplying others in the Room of such, as may have dyed in the Voyage or Contracted Sickness which must render them unfit to be Carryed to the Spaniards which will probably be a great Detriment to the Company as well as a Certain one to the Island of Jamaica, that now Enjoys great Advantages by the Assiento Trade being Carried on from thence.

The Court of Directors further Crave leave to represent to Yo'r Majesty that the Assembly of Jamaica have also laid a Considerable Duty on Flower Imported into and Exported from that Island, which must likewise very much Affect the Assiento Trade, inasmuch as the Company are under a Necessity of Sending with every Ship of Negroes to the Spanish West Indies, a Considerable quantity of Flower for their Subsistence, and as these Dutys on Importation and Exportation are a great discouragement to the Importation of Flower into Jamaica, the Island it selfe may one time or other feel the bad Consequence thereof.[2]

The Court of Directors therefore most Humbly beseech yo'r Majesty to take the Premisses into yo'r Royal Consideration and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to disapprove the aforesaid Acts or Bills of the Assembly of Jamaica so far as they Affect the South Sea Company and to Restrain them from passing any Act or Acts for the future for laying Dutys on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes and Flower into and from the said Island for Account of the Assiento; And that the Sum of £4737 paid as aforesaid for Export Dutys on Negroes Sent by the Company to the Spanish West Indies, and any further Sums of Money which may

[2] The Jamaica duty had at no time ceased to be a grievance to the company. On Mar. 2, 1721, Wescomb wrote to William Popple that he had learned that new import and export duties had been laid in Jamaica. For an account of the duty see Frank Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies,* pp. 80-81.

There can be little doubt that the prevailing Jamaica opinion toward the assiento was a hostile one. Charles King, author of the *British Merchant* (1721), commented on it thus: "In 1721, it was said there could not have been a better contrivance to so weaken Jamaica that it would fall into the hands of the French" (cited by Pitman, *British West Indies,* p. 83 n.). Nevertheless, on Sept. 18, 1724, Wescomb wrote to Francis Lynn that the contract which the African Company was offering to the South Sea Company placed higher prices on the negroes than the company was then paying in Jamaica. Add. MSS. 25556, p. 109.

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have been paid on that Account, may be Ordered to be repaid to the Compa. inasmuch as the Negroes for w'ch the s'd Money was paid were Exported for Acco't of the Assiento only.[3]

By Order of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company.

JOHN EYLES Sub Gov'r[4]
JNO. RUDGE Dep Gov'r

SOUTH SEA HOUSE,
3 August, 1724.

155. DANIEL WESCOMB TO RIGBY AND PRATTER.[1]

Gent'n, Mr. Richd. Harris Merch't in this City having obtained the K. of Spains Cedula for recovering a Debt due to him for Several Years at Porto Rico, applied to the Compa. a little before they had settled the Lycenses from Your Island, for a Liberty of importing a few Negroes into that Place from Barbadoes, that he might have an Opportunity of sending thither his Agent or Attorney for putting the s'd Ceda: in Execution And the Court of Directors having considered the Justice of the Case, and perused the Ceda. w'ch is very ample and full, they thought fit to grant his Request, and lest the Gov'r might chicane with him, or the Correspondence on that Acco't be protracted before the Ced. should be complied with, they allowd him three Lycenses for not exceeding 10 Neg's each, the Sloops to proceed at Such Distances of Time one after another as he should see most expedient to answer the aforesaid Purpose: For w'ch Negroes he agreed to pay the Compa. the usual Indulto of 80 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of India (the Lycenses running without the Liberty of carrying fruits) And are under the Comp's Seal, Dated in London 3 Oct'r 1723 the Negroes to be markd at Barbadoes with the Asso

[3] From 1721 to 1725 the South Sea Company paid on the slaves which it re-exported in 67 ships, £9086; it still owed, in 1725, £1090 on 13 ships (C. O. 137: 14, f. 225, cited by Pitman, p. 81 n.). The petition here printed was on Dec. 10, 1724, referred to the Board of Trade; in February, 1725, the board conferred with the company and with the separate traders upon the subject (*B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, pp. 149-154), assuring them that the act laying duties on negroes had already expired and that the duty on flour, of which they also complained, had not gone into effect. On Mar. 12 it was agreed that Newcastle be asked to instruct the Duke of Portland, then governor of Jamaica, to give his consent to no act which laid a duty on negroes landed for refreshment only. By a representation of the company of Oct. 6, 1726, the matter was again brought to the attention of the board. This time the company charged that it was deprived of all benefit from the exemption of negroes landed for refreshment only, since no negroes were considered as so landed if any part of the ship's cargo was sold in the island (Add. MSS. 25556, ff. 93, 94, pp. 183-184). This representation the board took up on May 18, 1728, and after a conference with the company again directed that the governor, now Robert Hunter, be instructed to accept no act laying a duty on negroes landed for refreshment. *B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, p. 332.

[4] Sir John Eyles, subgovernor of the company, was one of the owners of the illicit cargo carried to Spanish America by the *Royal George* in 1724. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* III. 129.

[155] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, ff. 86v-87, pp. 172-173.

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Mark Sent to the Comp's Attorneys there for that Purpose, being like that as is used by the Factors abroad: This I thought proper to inform You of, that the Revocations w'ch the Compa. have lately sent You may not prejudice these Lycenses; And that in Case it be taken Notice of by the Spaniards, as interfering with the other Lycenses from Your Island, You may Satisfy them therein.

Mr. Harris having also, as he alledges, another Sum due to him at the Caraccas is desirous of taking out a Lycense for that place, concerning w'ch I presume he'll write You, And if You can assist him w'th regard to the recovering his Money I dare venture to say it will be acceptable to S'r John Eyles by whose Leave I write this.

SOUTH SEA HOUSE, LONDO., 6 Dec'r 1724.

156. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO MR. STRATFORD.[1]

17 Dec. 1724.

The French have a great Trade to this Coast and bring Dutch Cargoes with them, I was at a Loss to know where they disposed of the Angola Slaves, being Sensible they are of no Value in Martinico therefore I ordered my Surgeon (when he went to Molimba) to make Enquiry whither they carried them, and there he luckily met the 2d Mate of the French Ship then at Cabenda, who told him they sold them all to the Spaniards at St. Domingo, and that they have Guarda la Costas cruizing there to protect their Trade, and I may hence reasonably infer that they are conscious their Trade is unlawfull: Their Slaves he said generally sell at Three Hundred and Fifty ps $\frac{8}{8}$ per head, I take this to be an Infringment on the Priviledges of the Royal Assiento Company, therefore thought it my Duty to acquaint your Hon'rs therewith.

157. DANIEL WESCOMB TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.[1]

To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

The Court of Directors of the South Sea Compa. Humbly Represent to Your Grace, That by Advices they have received from their Factory at Carthagena, dated in April last, they are assured that a Cedula Issued by the present King of Spain dated the 20th October last, had been Sent to that place directed to all his Ministers in the Indies, ordering them not to admitt the Importation of any more Negroes from the British Collonys, but restraining them to come directly from the Coast of Africa; This the Company Conceive to

[156] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, ff. 85v-86, pp. 170-171. "The following is Copy of a paragraph of a Letter to the Company from Capt. Williams of the *Syrria* one of their hired Ships dated Loango Aug. 3d 1724." The general court had directed that it be sent to Mr. Stratford.

[157] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, ff. 69v-70, pp. 136-137.

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be not only contrary to the 12th Article of the Assiento, which has laid them under no such Restraint, and to the Convention of the Year 1716,[2] but it is impossible to carry on the Assiento Trade in this way, and it is Equal to, if not worse, than an abolition of the Treaty, which is very clear in that point; This Cedula the Company are inform'd is grounded on a pretence, that the Negroes by being brought into British Colonys, are tainted with Heresy, which renders it more difficult for the Priests to Convert them to the Roman Catholick Religion; But how Ridiculous that Notion will Appear, we Submit to your Grace, and only beg leave to say, That we believe the Spaniards themselves do not think there is any solidity in that Argument; For that removing the Natives of Africa from One Vessel to another, or giving them a few Days Refreshment, they cannot be so Stupid as to Conceive it would Instill Heretical Principles into them, and were it so, the Argument would be much Stronger, where the Negroes are Clandestinely Introduced (which will be the Case if the Company did not Import them) Such Negroes being generaly a Mixture picked up wherever they can be met with, or such as have been born, and lived in the British Colonys: But for as much as it is Essential to the Companys carrying on the Negro Trade, as well as an advantage to the Spaniards themselves to Land and Refresh the Negroes in some of the British Colonys after so long a Voyage as from the Coast of Africa, before they are Sent to the Spanish West Indies, and to send none, but what are sound, and Healthy, and of proper sorts,

And inasmuch as the Company have now on the Coast of Africa, Several Ships, with others just going, whose Orders are to proceed with the Slaves they purchase, to Jamaica, which Orders, with regard to those now on that Coast, are Impossible to be Revoked, and as their Agents at Jamaica allways keep by them a Considerable Number of Negroes, which if not permitted to be sent to the Indies, will Occasion a very great Loss, and Damage to the Company: We humbly intreat, that the Revocation of the Cedula may be pressd with the Utmost Expedition.

We hope My Lord the Company are not thus to be treated, and their Priviledges Violated in this manner, without that just Resentment w'ch these Indignitys deserve. The Company have done Every thing on their parts for the Satisfaction of the King of Spain, especialy by paying his Northern Ministers their Appointments as was desired, and other assignments of the King of Spain on the Comp'y tho they were no ways oblig'd to do it, and are much Surprized to find this, and other so unjust Returns, of which we have been Oblig'd

[2] On May 26, 1716, a new convention was signed with England, which promised to adjust the difficulties between the South Sea Company and Spain, a promise which was not fulfilled. See vol. III. of Miss Davenport's *Treaties*.

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to Complain to your Grace, to the redressing which, that Court shew nothing but affected Delays: and we hope in this Situation, your Grace will be of opinion with us, that it is not advisable for us to go on in any further Payments, till we See that by the Revocation of the Cedula now Complained of, and that of the 11th Mar 1724 the Company are Reinstated in their just Rights and Priviledges; This we are desirous should be intimated to the Court of Spain, in such manner as your Grace shall see proper: nor will it be of use or service to the Comp'y that any further Steps be taken, in procuring of the Court of Spain the Reservations of the 10 and 5 per Ct. granted by King George to the Company, till we see that we are more regarded, and better secured, so as to answer the Charge we proposed to be at on that Account in our Trade, and indeed tis fitt and necessary we should know plainly, whether tis their Intention that the Assiento Treaty shall still subsist, as of right it ought, rather than to go on Trading in Vertue of it, and thereby further Subjecting the Companys Estate to their Mercy, on which, by what appears, we can have but a slender dependence.[8]

LONDON, 17 June 1725.

158. ACCOUNTS OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

Fryday, Augt. 27th, 1725.

The Comm'ee examined and adjusted the severall Acc'ts following,

Capt. General John Tinker at Cape Coast

For Commissions on Slaves from his arrival there to the 30th June 1724	£	842.	19.	0		
Ditto on Returns sent home to feb'y and. 1724/5		780.	18.	0		
					£1623.	17. 8
Of which has been paid him					508.	7. 0
Balance due					£1115.	10. 8

Nathaniel Rice Cheif Merchant

On Slaves from his arrival to the 30th June 1724	£	371.	15.	0		
On Returns to 2d Feb'ry 1724/5		390.	9.	3		
					£ 762.	4. 3
Of which has been paid him					254.	3. 6
Ballance due					£ 508.	0. 9

[8] "By Order of the Court of Directors of the S. S. Comp'y, D. Wescomb Sec'ry"; "deliverd 18th June 1725 to his Grace by the Secretary."

One effort of the South Sea Company to extend its trade, made about this time, ought not to go unnoticed. On Feb. 27, 1726, a petition from the court of directors to the House of Commons asked that the petitioners be allowed to obtain negroes for Buenos Aires, from Madagascar, which lay within the territory of the East India Company. *C. J.*, XX. 777.

[158] [1] T 70: 103, "Court of Assistants: Committee of Seven, 1725-1727," pp. 45-46.

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John Wingfield Chief Merchant

On Slaves from commencing Chief Merchant to 30th June 1724	£	347.	7.	6		
On Returns to 2nd Feb. 1724/5		85.	17.	2		
					£ 433.	4. 8
Third Part of Salary till he commenced Cheif Merchant					84.	9. 11
					£ 517.	14. 7

Jeremiah Tinker Gov'r of Whydah

Commission on Slaves from his arrival to Feb'ry 23d 1724/5	£	386.	1.	5		
For ⅔d of Salary by Lett'r of Attorney to John Gore Esqe. from 12th Feb'ry 1723 to 12th Feb'ry 1724 which would be £200, but having received £50 at going out there remains—		150.	0.	0		
					£ 536.	1. 5

It is the opinion of the committee, That these ballances be paid part in bonds payable in 12 months at £4 per cent and the rest in money *Vizt.*

John Tinker in	Bonds	£1100.	0. 0
	Money	15.	10. 8
Nathaniel Rice	Bonds	500.	0. 0
	Money	8.	9. 0
John Wingfield	Bonds	500	— —
	Money	17.	14. 7
Jeremiah Tinker	Bonds	500.	0. 0
	Money	36.	1. 7

159. Manifest of the *Dispatch*.[1]

Bristol, Sept. 30th, 1725.

Invoice of sundry Merchandizes kept on board the *Dispatch* Briggtn. Willm. Barry M'r for the Coast of Africa for Acct. and riske of Isaac Hobhouse and Co. Owners of said Briggtn. and goes Consigned to said Barry at the Coast of Africa for sales and returns, *Vizt.*

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
DB No. 1-32	is 32 Boxes Copper rods @ 125 in Each Box is 4000 Barrs at 15 *d.* per barr.	250					
	Boxes at 12 *d.* Each	1	12		251	12	

DB No. 1.	60 small Niccanees	120 at 11/	66	
2.	Ditto			
3.	44 Bejuta pauls[2]	60 at 18/	54	
	16 ditto			

[159] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 1. John Latimer attributes the early success of the Bristol merchants in the slave trade to the fact that many of them had lived in the West Indies. *The Annals of Bristol: Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893), p. 472.

[2] Probably bejutapants, cotton cloth of East India origin; blue blasts (often bafts or baftas), coarse cotton, originally made in India, but later manufactured for the African market in Great Britain. Brawls were also India piece goods, usually blue and

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			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
4.	100 Guinea stuffs	at 3/	15	
5.	48 Blew basts 12 Ditto	60 at 20/	60	
6.	20 Chints	at 9/	9	
	50 Cotten Romalls red and Blew	at 15/ 6 *d.*	38 15	
	10 Photeas	at 13/6	6 15	
7.	14 papd. Brawles 186 Ditto	200 at 6/	60	
8.	50 Photeas	at 13/ 6 *d.*	33 15	
9.	50 Large Niccanees	100 at 15/ 6 *d.*	77 10	
10.	50 Ditto			
11.	19 Cushlaes	at 15/ 6 *d.*	14 14 6	
12.	a Cask Cowries 2C.	18 16 Tare		
		2 at 6.15	13 12 4½	
	1000 pace [piece?] Rangoes	at 13/	6 10	
	1000 Deep Ditto	at 11/	5 10	
13.	50 Blew papd. sletias	at 8/	20	
	10 Cases 2 boxes 1 Cask fees Entry at London and Land Carriage		10	491 1 10½
	914 Barrs Iron 206 C 1 q. 28 l.	at £ [19?] per Tonn		196 1 3½
	10 bbs. Gunpowder put into 54 small Caskes	at £3 15 per barrel	37 10	
	54 small Caskes	at 15 *d.*	3 7 6	40 17 6
14-19	is 6 Chests Musquets in each Chest 25 makes 150 Musquets	at 10/ 6 *d.*	78 15	
	6 Chests	at 7/	2 2	80 17
20, 21	72 tunns pints	at 22 *d.*	6 12	
	50 pint tankards	at 20 *d.*	4 3 4	
	8 Dozn Spoons	at 2/ 3 per doz.	18	
	12 4c Basons wt.	1. 17		
22, 23	60 3c Ditto	1. 1. 26		
		1. 3. 15 at 9 *d.* per lb.	7 18 3	
24-26	is 3 Caske Monelas[2] wt. 4. 3. 24.	at 10 *d.*	23 3 4	
	7 Caske	at 3/ each	1 1	43 15 11

white. On the subject of commodities desired on the coast the company's agents at Cape Coast Castle wrote on Jan. 15, 1726: "Long Ells much in demand, the Separate Traders scarcely know what they are, therefore desire a supply of them. Cowries become a commanding Commodity—desire a quantity of them and some pewter Basons." T 70: 7, p. 114.

[2] Monelas or manillos, the metal rings frequently referred to in African trade. The "Nepts." of no. 27 are neptunes or shallow brass pans.

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				£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DB No. 27.	a Bundle of 40 Nepts.	2 C. 1. 1.			
28.	1 Caske 50 sm pans	2.			
29.	1 Caske 150 Ditto	1. 3. 6			
		4. 2. 7	at £8. 5 per C	37 12 9¾	
	2 Caske and Matts for the Nepts.			8	38 0 9¾
30.	More 1 Caske Monelas	1 C. 3 q. 2 l. 14 Tare			
		1 3 16	at 16 *d.* per l.	7 13 4	
	Cost the Caske			2 6	7 15 10
DB 1.	33 galls.				
2.	34				
3.	34				
4.	36.1				
5.	36.1				
6.	34-4				
		is 207 galls. 6 pts. brandy at 2/ 6 *d.*		25 19 4½	
		½ hhd at 7 pack.		2 2	
	50½ Cases Cordiall waters 37 galls. 4 pts.		at 2/ 9 *d.*	5 3 1½	
	50 Dozn. of ½ pint square Bottles		at 15 *d.*	3 2 6	
	50½ Cases		at 18 *d.*	3 15	40 2
DB 1.	4 C. 7 l. 58 Tare				
2.	4 6 59				
3.	2 q. 16 14				
4.	4 65				
5.	1 1 21 16				
	14 22 212				
	1 3 16 Tare				
	12 1 6 wt. Bugles is 1378 l.		at 13 *d.* per l.	74 12 10	
	Charges debenture Cask, etc.			1 10	76 2 10
DB 31, 32					
	5 dozn. felts edged with Copper		at 20/ per doz.	5	
	3 dozn. Ditto		at 22/ per Dozn.	3 6	
	18 fine Hatts edged with Gold and silver		at 14/	12 12	
	2 Boxes			6	21 4
DB 1.	a bbl. Rice	3 C. 2 q. 19 l. 46 Tare			
2.	Ditto	3 2 23 46			
3.	Ditto	3 1 6 46			
4.	Ditto	3 2 11 43			
5.	Ditto	4 1 4 55			
6.	Ditto	3 3 25 47			
7.	Ditto	4 17 55			
		26 2 21 338			
		3 2 Tare			
		23 2 19	wt. at 16/ per C.		18 18 8

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		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DB No. 33. More on Chests			
30 Musquets	at 10/ 6 *d* per pce.	15 15	
Cost the Chest		7	16 2
a bbl. pipes, 14 Groce and ½	at 1/ per grose	14 6	
Cost the Barrel		2	16 6
hawlidge, porteridge, Lighteridge, fees of entry, etc			7.
			£1330. 8. 2¾

I acknowledge the foregoing Invoice to be a true Coppy dd. me from Messrs. Isaac Hobhouse and Co., Owners the *Dispatch* which I promise to lay out to thier best advantage as witness my hand this 7th Oct. 1725.

WILLIAM BARRY.[4]

Provisions, *Vizt.*

3 KKs [hhds?] grutts[5] each 2 Bush. is in all 6 bushells
4 Ditto with Pease Cont. 10 bushells
2 firkins Butter
10 bbls. 3 hhds. bread
1 Do. White bread } 39 C. 3 Q. 2
3 bbls. Flower 6 C.
12 tierces and 4 hhds ship Beer
1 bb. Cont. 11 dozen syder
1 Ditto 11½ bottled Beer

No. 1 is a hhd Beefe cont. pieces	103		
3 Ditto	90		
4 Ditto	98	22 C.	12 lb
5 Ditto	98		
2 Ditto Necks Shanks etc			
9 Tierces Beef		27	
1 tierce pork cont. pieces	75		
2	68		
3	73	17	2 q. 2
4	72		
5, 6, 7, heads, feets etc	108		
	110	66	2 14

1 cwt. Cheese, 1 Cask Vinegar, 13 gallons
180 Bushells Beans
6 lbs. New Corrinths[6]
6 lbs. Raisons
1 fine Cinnamon
¼ Large Cloves
1 lb. Black Pepper
¼ Nutts
28 lbs. Jamaica sugar
2 Loafs single refind sugar

[4] The portlidge bill for the *Dispatch* follows, giving names and wages. Under "Privilidge at Africa" it mentions two slaves for the commander, two for the chief mate, and, under "Privelidge at America", 20 C. (cwt.) for the former and 10 for the latter.

[5] Grutts or grout, coarse meal. These are the provisions for twenty persons; much of the supply for the negro cargo was taken on in Africa, though the beans which appear here may have been intended for the slaves.

[6] Currants.

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2 Ditto double refind
1 Cask hoggs Lard
1 Ditto dubbing[7]

I acknowledge the above and w'ts on the other side[8] to be a true Coppy of my provisions etc of which due Care shall be taken and expended according to my instructions.

WILL BARRY.

160. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM BARRY.[1]

BRISTOL, Oct. 7th, 1725.

Capt. Wm. Barry, As the wind is inclineing to be fair you are ordered with yr Men (which we allow to be 20 in Number yr self included) to repair on board the *Dispatch* Briggtn. of which you are Contd. Com'dr and to loose no time but sail directly takeing the pilott with you so far as the Holmes and at his return let us be advised whether all the hands are on board and what else may be Material.

You must make the best of yr Way to the Coast of Africa that is to that part of it calld Andony[2] (without toutching or tarrying at any other place) w[h]ere you are to slave intirely, but as our Briggtn. draws deep water, wee are not Inclinable you should proceed over the Barr, but rather that you Anchor as Usual in the bests and Convenients place for safety so well as slaveing.

The Cargo of goods are of your Own ordering, and as it's very good in kind and amts to thirteen hundred and thirty pounds eight shillings and 2¼ we hope twill purchase you 240 Choice slaves, besides a Quan'y of teeth the latter of which are always to embrace provided they are large, seeing in that Commodity there's no Mortality to be feard. As to the slaves let your endeavours be to buy none but what's healthy and strong and of a Convenient Age—none to exceed the years of 25 or under 10 if posible, among which so many men, and stout men boys as can be had seeing such are most Valuable at the Plantations.

Let your Care be in preserving so well as in purchaseing, in order to which let their provisions be well and Carefully look'd after and boild and that its given them in due season, to see the sailors dont abuse them which has often been done to the prejudice of the Voyage. So soon as you begin to slave let your knetting be fix'd breast high fore and aft and so keep 'em shackled and hand Bolted fearing their rising or leaping Overboard, to prevent which let always a Constant

[7] Either suet or some grease preparation.
[8] "What's on the other side", is a list of naval stores.

[160] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIV. 3.
[2] Andoni, on the Bight of Biafra, north of Fernando Po.

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and Carefull watch be appointed to which must give the strictest Charge for the preservation of their Own Lives, so well as yours and on which the Voyage depends, which per sleeping in their Watch has often been fatall and many a good Voyage (which otherwise might been made) entirely ruind. You have said that their large Cannoes will bring the slaves below the barr for a small Matter which Charge had rather be at then fatigue the Men to row so many Leagues, which frequently has hurried 'em into sickness and feavours.

If any redwood can be purchasd there and they'l bring it on board may take in w't can Conveniently stow.

Notwithstanding you are ordered directly to Andony and there to slave wholy yet if you find there many ships and believes can doe better at any Other pt. in the Bite that is at Old Calabarr or bandy you have Liberty to proceed.

When you are fully slaved make the best of your way to Princess w[h]ere you are to water and gett other Recruits that may want and there may dispose of all your returned goods for goold, as also so many or all of the slaves provided Can gett 10 moydores or upwards per head round, which if so make the best of your Way directly hither but in case you Cant then proceed to Antigua, w[h]ere expect our farther orders in the hands of Capt. John Turnell which if should not find then repair to Newis at Mr. John Woodleys where if should also miss thereof, or either of the Islands, then make the best of your Way to So. Carolina and d'd all the slaves to Mr. Jos. Wragg who shall have directions for the farther proceedings.

Your Coast Comm'n is 4 from every £104 of the Net proceeds of the slaves etc, your privelidge slaves 2 provided you purchase 'em with your Own Goods and mark 'em in the presence of boath Mates. Mr. Ross the Chief Mate has the same priviledge for his encouragemt but you must supply him with goods to doe it, which you are to take an Acct. of, as he must be debitted for it here at home after knows what 'tis, his slaves must also be marked in your presence and 2d Mate and as for teeth we Cant Allow to any. You must pay the half wages abroad accord'g to Act of Parliamt, and in all your Passages keep a good and Constant Look Out, and trust no sail you see fearing Pirates, see your Officers does their Duty in their severall stations and with them and the Men keep a good Harmony and decorum without to much familiarity or Austerity seeing the Voyage depends on good Conduct.

You have Coppy of the Invoice the Cargoe Portlidge Bill stores and provisions all which think is compleat and surely enough, of all which stores and provisions desires your utmost Care and Inspection to see how they are made use of, and to Observe there's no Waste or Want.

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In case of Your Mortality (which God forbid) then its our directions Mr. Jno Ross take up and follow these our Instructions and after him Mr. Willm Pine 2d Mate.

Wee cant break of without recommending to you dispatch which is the Life of the Voyage and as you know that Commerce is ready and bound the same Way therefore endeavour w't in you lies to gett there before her and to see you are not outdone in the slaving by other Commanders.

be carefull of fire and in fine of all committed to your Charge, and keeping us advised by all Opportunitys of all materiall Occurrences is what imediatly offers but recommending you to the Good God Almighty's protection and wishing you a good Voyage we Remain

Yr Aff Fds

ISAAC HOBHOUSE
NO. RUDDOCK
WM. BAKER

I acknowledge the above to be a true Coppy of my orders delivered me from Messrs. Isaac Hobhouse and Co., Owners of the *Dispatch*, which I promise to perform (God Willing) to the utmost of my power.

WILLIAM BARRY

161. WILLIAM SMITH'S VOYAGE TO GUINEA.[1]

AFRICAN-HOUSE, Aug. 11, 1726.

Mr. William Smith, The Royal African Company of England, having entertained You in their Service, as a Person fitly qualified, to take exact Plans, Draughts, and Prospects of all their Forts and Settlements; as also of all the principal Rivers, Harbours, and other Places of Trade, on the Coast of Africa, from Gambia to Whydah.[2] You are hereby required and directed to embark on board their own

[161] [1] William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (1744). "It is the Opinion of this Comm'ee That Mr. William Smith be employ'd by the Company to go out in the *Boneta* Briggantine and take exact Plans Draughts and Prospects of the Compa's Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa from Gambia to Whydah and all the Rivers and harbours between those Places, that He be dyeted at the Captains Table whilst on board, and at the Publick Table of the Factorys when on Shore, That he be allow'd Salary at the rate of £60 per Ann and have half a Years Salary advanced to carry out; And That at his return the Company agree to make him such farther gratuity as shall be judged he may deserve. That Mr. Lynn pay Mr. Smith the Thirty pounds and that £13 17 *s.* be paid Mr. Smith to provide Mathematical Instruments."

A later item provided for an allowance of £20 for fresh provisions for Capt. Livingstone during Mr. Smith's voyage. If the captain found it necessary to spend still more the company was to reimburse him. T 70: 103, pp. 128-129.

[2] This survey was to include Gambia, Sierra Leone River, Tasso Island, Bence Island, Cape Mount, the River Sherbro, if it could be visited without great loss of time, Cape Appolonia, Cape Mezurado, Junck, St. Johns, Sestos, Sanguinee, Setra-Crue, Drewin, St. Andrews, Cape Lahoe, Jack-Lahoe, Jack-Jack, Bassam, and Assinee. All along the coast Smith was to observe as closely as possible the forts and settlements of other countries.

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Ship *Bonetta,* Captain James Livingstone, Commander, and to proceed forthwith to Gambia (p. 2).[3] . . .

In the mean time, our Ship sail'd from thence[4] on the Eighteenth, [Dec.] and on the Twenty-fifth anchor'd at Gallinas,[5] where lay the *Queen Elizabeth,* Captain Creighton beforemention'd,[6] who invited Captain Livingstone to take a Christmas Dinner with him, and shew'd him a Letter from one Benjamin Cross, Third Mate of the *Expedition,* Captain Malltiffe, who was panyar'd by the Natives of Cape Monte, about three Weeks before, and detain'd there to make Reprisals for some of their Men that had been formerly panyar'd by some English Ship, as she traded down the Coast: A Custom too often used, especially by Bristol and Liverpool Men, which is very pernicious to the Slave Trade on the Windward Coast. Cross, hearing of the *Queen Elizabeth's* Arrival at Gallinas, and being left by his own Ship, wrote the said Letter to Captain Creighton, begging that he would redeem him, which Livingstone agreed to do, upon his Arrival at Cape Monte, he being bound down the Coast after the *Expedition,* for Creighton was bound for Sherbro.[7] . . .

I observed that the Natives[8] who came off to trade with us were mighty timorous of coming aboard, for fear of being panyar'd; and even those who were bold enough to venture, if they chanc'd to spy any Arms about the Ship, immediately they leap'd over the Side into their Canoes, and make the best of their Way ashore from us (pp. 101-104).[9] . . .

the People of St. Andrews, the next Town, having a Pallaver with those of Drewin, had lately made War upon them, and burnt Drewin to Ashes, taking all the Men, Women and Children, whom they sold very cheap to the Ships then lying at St. Andrews. We there-

[3] The signers of this letter were: Bibye Lake, deputy gov., Ralph Radcliffe, J. Floyer, Peter Meyer, William Corbet, Christian Cole, Francis Townley, George Barlow, Thomas Bodicoate, H. Vander Esch, Benjamin Wilcock, Thomas Cooke, Edward Barker, Charles Hayes, and Henry Parsons.

[4] Smith with Walter Charles, the governor of Sierra Leone, embarked Aug. 20, 1726, and arrived at Gambia Sept. 27. His work here he completed in October, and sailed for Sierra Leone, in company with the *Byam,* a slaver. On Nov. 14 he left Sierra Leone for Sherbro. As a result of exposure on this voyage he returned to Sierra Leone quite ill, and remained there a month. He is, on the 18th, leaving Bence Island.

[5] The Gallinas River, filled with small islands, was southeast of Sherbro. Later in the century many private slave traders were located here, each on his own island. The Rev. John Newton, when a slave trader, had a factory near the mouth of this river.

[6] The *Bonetta* had first encountered the friendly Captain Creighton north of Sierra Leone. *Ibid.,* p. 36.

[7] The *Bonetta* reached Cape Mount on Dec. 29, redeemed Cross at a cost of £50, and on Jan. 26 restored him to the *Expedition.*

[8] Smith was at St. Andrews, a two-days' sail south of Cape Palmas.

[9] The vessel left Cape Mount on Jan. 2, 1726/7, and reached Sestos on the 9th, having anchored at Cape Mezurado and the River Junck. There can be no question but that, with the opening of the trade in 1698, the kidnapping of natives greatly increased. The company was anxious to keep on good terms with the Africans, but the separate traders had little concern for the future, in comparison with their desire for immediate profit.

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fore pass'd by Drewin, and, on the twenty-sixth arriv'd at St. Andrews, where we found the *Expedition,* etc. This is an extraordinary good Road for Ships, and, of late, is become a Place of very good Trade, especially since the Demolition of Drewin (pp. 109-110). . . .

Nor are the Natives so civil as the former,[10] for we have very often lain by before a Town, and fir'd a Gun for the Natives to come off, and inform us what Town or Place it was, but were never the wiser, for no Soul came near us. But at length we learnt by some Ships that were trading down the Coast, that the Natives seldom ventur'd aboard an English Ship, for Fear of being panyar'd; but that they would readily come off to a French Vessel. This Knowledge was of no small Service to us, for afterwards we display'd nothing but French Colours, and traded with them in the French Language (p. 111). . . .

This [Quaqua Coast], as well as the Grain Coast is divided into many little Kingdoms and Countries, which having but few Pallavers, or Disputes among them, is the Reason why the Slave Trade is not so good here, as on the Gold and Slave Coasts. (p. 113).[11] . . .

This Place [Accra] seldom fails of an extraordinary good Trade from the Inland Countries, especially for Slaves; whereof several are supposed to come from very remote Parts, because it is not uncommon to find a Malayan, and sometimes two among a Parcel of other Slaves. The Malay People were originally Natives of Mallacca, a huge Promontory in Asia, which lies between the Islands of Sumatra and Borneo. . . . The Malayans being of a rambling Nature, have settled upon many other Places, particularly Sumatra, and many of the Spice Islands. All which are now in the Possession of those Monopolists the Dutch, who punish with Death whomsoever they can find trading with any other Nation but themselves; to avoid which Oppression, many of those People, who have tasted the sweets of Trade, go away from thence, and settle in remote Parts, especially about Cape Guardefuer on the African Shore, at the Mouth of the Red Sea, from whence they take such surprising long Journies over the vast Continent of Africa into Guinea, where they buy or rather exchange Slaves with the Caboceroes; by which means the Malayans are now and then exposed to Sale at the European Forts. They differ very much from the Guinea Negroes, being right East Indians, of a tawny Complexion, with long black Hair. They all go clad with

[10] Smith is comparing the Quaqua Coast with the Grain Coast, to the disadvantage of the former.

[11] On Feb. 4 the *Bonetta* anchored off Axim, on Feb. 6 at Dixcove, Feb. 12 at Sekundi, on the 15th at Commenda, on the 18th at Cape Coast. At each of these places Smith made drafts of the forts. On Mar. 27 he was at Winnebah, on the 30th at Accra. *Ibid.,* pp. 118-121.

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long Trowsers and Jackets, and can write and read, and speak the Malayan Language (pp. 135-137).[12] . . .

His [the king of Dahomey] first Conquest was that of Great Ardah, about fifty Miles to the North-West of Sabee, in the Year 1724. The King of Ardah having some Dealings about that Time, with Governor Baldwin of Whydah, and Accounts not being settled between them, his Majesty detain'd one Mr. Lamb, an English Factor at Ardah, in Hopes thereby to expedite their Accounts.[13] During which Time the City of Ardah happen'd to be besieg'd by the aforesaid King of Dahomey's Army. The People of Ardah, for some Time, made a stout Resistance, till their King was slain before his Palace-Gate, and then they submitted to the Conquerors, who took them all Prisoners, and among the rest the aforesaid unfortunate Mr. Lamb. The King of Dahomey's General, admiring so strange a Figure as a White Man, spar'd him, and carried him as a Rarity to the King his Master, who was then two Hundred Miles up in the Inland Country, where a White Man never was before. During his Stay there, he wrote a very long Letter to Governor Tinker, who succeeded Baldwin at Whydah, wherein he gives a Description of the Country, of the King, of the Taking of Ardah, and of his Sufferings. This being the very best Account that could be had of those remote Inland Countries, I have been favour'd by the Governor with a Copy of it,[14] which is as follows:

From the Great King Trudo Audati's Palace of Abomey, in the Kingdom of Dahomey.

Nov. 27, 1724.

Sir, About five Days ago, the King of this Country gave me Yours of the first Instant, and immediately requir'd me to answer it in his Presence, which I did, though in a very indifferent Manner; so that if I do not recall it, I hope you will excuse that as well as this.

As to the late Conference I had with His Majesty, on receiving your Letter, I think he does not want to make a Price to let me go; for when I press'd him much to tell me, on what Terms he would send me away; his Answer still was, that he did not want to sell me, I was not a Black Man: But, upon my again pressing him, he made a Sort of a jesting Demand to the Sum of, I think, seven Hundred Slaves, about ten Thousand Pound Sterling, or fourteen Pound a-head. Which strange ironical Way of Talking, as I told him, made my Blood run cold in my Veins; and upon recovering myself I ask'd him, if he thought me King of my Country, and that you and the Company would think both he and I had lost our Senses should I have writ any Thing like what he

[12] Here the author describes the Gold Coast at some length, frequently citing Bosman.

[13] Snelgrave, in telling this story, says that the king of Ardra maintained that the company owed him one hundred slaves. He also adds that Lambe had been a prisoner for about two years before his capture by the troops of the king of Dahomey. William Snelgrave, A *New Account of Guinea,* pp. 7-8.

[14] Governor Tinker was present at the hearing on Lambe's affairs before the Board of Trade, May 27, 1731. *B. T. Jour.,* 1728-1734, p. 201.

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had said. Upon which he laugh'd, and told me not to put any Thing of that in the Letter; for that he would order his Head Captain of Trade to treat with you upon that Subject, and that if you had not something very fine for him at Whydah, you must write to the Company. Upon which I told him, I found I must die in his Country, and that I would only send for a few Cloaths and Necessaries, which I desir'd he would let his People bring for me, and he agreed to it; so that I don't find there is any other Way of redeeming me, than by the Company's sending him a Present of a Crown and Sceptre, which must be paid for out of what remains due to the late King of Ardah. I know nothing else but what he will think mean, being stock'd with great Quantities of Plate, wrought Gold, and other rich Things; also all Sorts of fine Gowns, Cloaths, Hats, Caps, etc. He has likewise all Sorts of common Goods beyond Measure, and gives away Booges like Dirt, and Brandy like Water, for he is prodigious vain and proud, but he is withall, I believe, the richest King and greatest Warrior in this Part of the World; and you may depend upon it, in Time, will subdue most of the Countries round him. . . .

He talks much of settling a Correspondence with the Company, and of having White Men come here, which you must encourage him in, and tell him that the way to do it, will be to send me away; for he says he wants Ships to come to some Place only for his Slaves, and bring such Things as are only fit for such a King as he: To all which I give him the Hearing, and which if you humour may be a great Means to help me out of this wretched State. I hope my Royal Masters will take my Case into Consideration, and think of the long and many Sufferings I have had in their Service, and what a miserable Condition I am still in, as it were banish'd all the Pleasures of this Life, not only from my Wife and other Friends but all Conversation in general; so that I am like one buried alive from the World, and think nothing can come near my unhappy Fate, to lose my Time, and spend my Youth as it were for nothing in such a cursed Place as this, and not see a Likelihood of getting out of it, but that I must end my Days here. To prevent all which, I hope, that they and you, in their Behalf, will use your utmost Endeavours, by such Means as are requisite for my Deliverance, which I shall very impatiently pray to God to bring to pass.

Governor Baldwin promis'd me in his last, upon his Arrival in London, he would lay my Case before our Royal Masters. Therefore when you write, I beg you will remind him and them thereof, and not the Contents of what I now write. If any Letters come from England for me, I believe either them, or any Thing else, will come safe to my hands by this King's People. He is very willing I should have Letters come to me, or any Thing else, nor will he be guilty of any mean Action in keeping any Thing from me, if it were Twenty Slaves: Neither do I believe he would detain any White Man that should come here, but me whom he deems a Captive taken in his Wars. He sets a great Value upon me, he never having had a White Man here before, only an old Mullatto Portuguese, which he bought of the Popo People, at the Rate of about five Hundred Pound, as near as I could compute. And tho' this White Man is his Slave, yet the King keeps him a great Caboceroe, and has given him two Houses, and an Heap of Wives and Servants. It may be, that once in two or three Months he mends (he being a Taylor by Trade) some Trifle or other for his Majesty, but after the Devil of a Manner. So that if any Taylor, Carpenter, Smith, or any Sort of White Man that is free be willing to come here he will find very good Encouragement, and be much caress'd, and get Money, if he can be contented with this Life for a Time; his Majesty paying every Body extravagantly that works for him. And then it might be one Means

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of letting me go, with a Promise of returning to trade with him; but he now says, if I go, he does not know, whether he shall see any more White Men, thinking they add to his Grandeur; so that if any fellow whatsoever comes up and goes down again, it will possess him with a Notion that more White Men will come, and so let me go, in Order to encourage their Coming. Or, if my little Servant Henry Tench be at Whydah, and is willing to come to me, it may in Time be much for his Interest, as now being a Boy, the King will be entirely fond of him; for though I do nothing for him, he has put me into a House, and given me Half a Dozen Men and Women Servants; also a constant Supply to maintain myself and them. . . .

If you think well of my agreeing for any Slaves with the King, you must talk with his Servants thereon, and send me a Mark,[15] for while I am here, I am willing to do the Company some Service if possible, their Interest being always what I shall study to promote to the utmost of my Power; but then I must have a Specie of all Sorts of Goods, mark'd and number'd with the Rates, to prevent Mistakes (pp. 169-187).[16] . . .

Adjoining to the Kingdom of Whydah, or Fida, are several Royalties, *viz.* Coto, Little and Great Popo, Quahoe, and Adrah, all situate on the Slave Coast, which are govern'd by their respective Kings, and follow much the same Customs with those of Whydah, only that they chiefly live on Plunder, and the Slave-Trade. It is their common Practice to assure the Merchant, that they have a Number of Slaves in order to draw him on Shore; which done they fleece him, and detain him several Months. Some Years ago, they dealt fraudulently with an English Ship, and besides cheated the Captain of his Goods; but coming thither some Time after, he recover'd his Damages in the following Manner. As soon as he had dropt Anchor before Popo, some of the Great Men, amongst whom was the King's Son came on board him; all whom he clapp'd in the Bilboes, from which he would not discharge them till he was first re-imbursed, and had oblig'd them to pay him a Sum besides (p. 207). . . .[17]

162. Debts due to the Company of the Indies.[1]

Etat de ce qui est dû a la Compagnie des Indes dans les Colonies françoises de l'Amerique pour raison des Negres qu'elle y a introduits.

[15] Smith says, thirty-two pounds.

[16] Smith concludes the account thus: "Mr. Lamb continu'd here about two Years, and at last his Majesty upon a Promise of his returning again with more White Men, sent him away very well enrich'd, being worth a Hundred Slaves. He made but a short Stay at Whydah, before he embark'd for America. I saw him afterwards at Barbadoes" (p. 189). For another version see *post,* no. 167 and notes.

[17] Smith sailed from Whydah on Apr. 20, 1727, and on May 8 took in wood, water, and provisions at Princes Island. The *Bonetta* reached Barbados July 16, left there Aug. 18, and arrived at Plymouth Sept. 26, 1727.

[162] [1] Paris, MSS. des Colonies, C 2, 17, ff. 280-283. "Etat des sommes dues à la Compagnie des Indes pour les Negres introduits par elle dans les Colonies Françaises d'Amérique N. S." The Company of the Indies, created by John Law, had received monopoly privileges which included all French commerce, both that on the coast of Guinea and that to the West Indies. For the French companies see W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* I. 60; also *ante,* introduction, pp. xxii-xxv.

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A la Martinique	
En mains des S'rs Desportes et Dubois	1,264,700 *ll.*
Au Cap Francois Coste St. Domingue	
En mains des Sr's Perere et Menvieille	1,806,335.
A Leogane	
En mains du S'r Menage	803,388.
A la Caye St. Louis	
En mains des S'rs Ciron et Girard	1,758,391.
	5,632,814.
De l'autre part	5,632,814 *ll.*
Par Sept Vaisseaux à la mer qui doivent se rendre aux d. Colonies par Estimation	1,440,000.
	7,072,814.

Il est deû a la Martinique, douze cent soixante quatre mil sept cent livres. Il y a plus de deux ans que la Compagnie n'en a rien retiré: Elle y a quatre Navires et un Batteau qui attendent depuis neuf mois à Charger, sans qu'ils aient encore une Barrique de Sucre; dans un si long Sejour, les Equipages perissent et les Navires vont devenir innavigables.

Les correspondants de la Compagnie ont obtenu des condamnations contre les habitans M'rs les Commandants ont rendu des ordonnances, qui ont indiqué le tems des payemens, sous peine de voir saisir leurs Negres et leurs marchandises sur les habitations; au terme expiré, personne n'a paye; les agents de la Compagnie ont fait saisir les marchandises dont les habitants ont disposé malgré les saisies, ces agents ont demandé l'Execution des ordonnances pour faire saisir les Negres, M'rs les Commandants ont repondu qu'ils avoient des ordres de la Cour de ne pas le permettre.

A l'Exemple de la Martinique, Les habitans du Cap françois, et de Leogane, ne veulent pas payer, ne croyant pas qu' on les y force. Il y en a meme qui s'imaginent qu'ils ne payeront jamais.

Le Navire la *Junon* qui a porté au Cap un Chargement de 570 Negres, a esté obligé de revenir en france, sans avoir pû raporter une seule Barrique de Sucre. Il est dû cependant plus de Deux millions six Cent mille Livres dans ces deux quartiers.

Les habitans de St. Louis sont les seuls qui soient portés a s'acquitter, ils temoignent de la bonne volonté et de la Reconnoissance des secours que la Compagnie leur fournit, pour augmenter leurs cultures; La Compagnie souhaiteroit seulement a l'égard de ce Canton, que le Gouverneur particulier fut plus disposé à la favoriser, qu'il ne l'a temoigné en plusieurs occasions. Elle se contenteroit en general qu' on luy rendit dans les Isles, la même justice qu'on ne refuse pas au dernier des sujets du Roy.[2]

[2] Endorsed, "Comp'ie de L'Indes, F'be 1726, En parler a M. de Maurepas".

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163. GOVERNOR WILLIAM HART TO THE BOARD OF TRADE.[1]

ST. CHRISTOPHERS, February the 15th, 1726/7.

My Lords, I had the Honour to receive Your Lordship's of the 6th July last, which I answer'd the 30th of November and of which a Duplicate is inclos'd agreeable to Your Lords'ps Commands: But I have not been able, from the distance of these Islands, to obtain Duplicates of the papers mention'd therein.

I have wrote several letters to Mr. Dunbar, Surveyor General of His Majesties Customs, to Transmit me a List of all the Negroes imported into the Leeward Islands from the 20th of December 1721, either by the Affrican Company or by the Seperate Traders: But as yet I have receiv'd only the Lists from the Islands of Antegoa and St. Christophers which are inclosed. There remains those of Nevis and Montserrat which I expect every day to receive, and then shall Transmit them to Your Lordships.

Your Lordships may please to observe that the 5600 Negroes are a prodigious Number to be Imported into so small an Island as this of Saint Christophers in five years past: Yet from the Year 1721 to the Year 1723 there has been at least 1000 Negroes more imported from the Island of St. Eustatia, a Dutch Island Situate within two Leagues of this. But as the Negroes so imported from the Dutch pays no Custom here; And as the Purchasers used to bring them in at their pleasure, There can be no certain Computation made of the Number; it not being enter'd in the Collector of the Customs Books.

But there is now a full Stop put to that Trade from this Island with the Dutch at St. Eustatia. For St. Christophers has been fully supply'd with Negroes, by the British Traders, from Affrica for three Years past at a Cheaper rate than they can buy them from the Dutch; and indeed this small Island is now so well stockt with Negroes, that it will want very few more to Cultivate the Land.

What Negroes are now imported by the Dutch West India Company to St. Eustatia, are sold to the French at Martinique and Guarde Loupe, who send their Sloops to that Island Loaden with Sugar to purchase them, and which from thence is transported to Holland in the Companys Ships. But our British Traders to Affrica have found a way to Rival the Dutch in this Article of the Negroe Trade with the French Islands mention'd. For as the Island of St. Lucia (since the attempt of the Duke of Montague to settle it) is look'd upon as a Nuteral place; the British Ships go into a Harbour there called the Petit Carnage, where they sell their Slaves for money or Sugar: This place having the advantage of St. Eustatia, being within a few hours Sail of Martinique. If they sell for money they generally resort to these Islands to purchase Sugars for Great

[163] [1] C. O. 152: 15, pp. 322-326.

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Britain; But if they dispose for Sugars, then they carry them for Ireland directly. It is humbly submitted to Your Lordships Superior Judgment, whether this be not very detrimental to His Majesties Revenue; And whether it is not very prejudicial to the Fair Traders of Great Britain who Conform to the Acts of Trade, especially those of Bristoll and Liverpool, great part of their Sugar and Rum being sent to Ireland where they are outsold by those who Trade Clandestinely from St. Lucia. Being oblig'd to enter their Ships in Great Britain makes a great difference both in the hazard of the Voyage, and in the Charge of their Ships.

164. Representation by the Board of Trade.[1]

March the 17th, 1726/7.

To the King's Most Excell't Maj'ty

May it Please your Majesty, In Obedience to your Majesty's Commands signify'd to us by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's Letter of the 21st of Feb'ry last,[2] We have considered the Pet'n and Rep'n of the Royal African Company, thereby referr'd to us: We have likewise receiv'd several Papers, Memorials and Representations, as well from the African Company as from the Seperate Traders of London, Bristol and Liverpool, and having heard what they had to offer either themselves or by their Council respectively, as to the nature and condition of this Trade,[3] We humbly begg leave to Represent to Your Majesty;

That the two principal Points in Dispute between the Company and seperate Traders, were the Nature and Condition of the Trade, and the Utility of the Forts and Settlements upon the Coast of Africa, and to these heads chiefly related all the Evidence given on either side during the course of this Inquiry, For which reason We shall begg leave to confine our Representation likewise to the Nature and Condition of this Trade and to the Utility of Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa.

[164] [1] C. O. 389: 28, pp. 305-312.

[2] *B. T. Jour.*, 1722-1728, p. 219. For the account of the steps which led up to the drafting of this representation see C. O. 391: 35, pp. 34, 38, 40-43, 54-67; T 70: 103, p. 107.

[3] The hearings, beginning Apr. 14, 1726, continued until June 14, when the board ordered a representation to be prepared. This it considered on June 15 and 16, then, if the *Journal* is to be trusted, abruptly dropped it, until Mar. 16, 1727, when it was agreed to. The counsels for the African Company throughout the hearings were the Attorney General and a Mr. Wills; for the separate traders, Serjeant Darnell and Mr. Fazackerly. The chief witnesses for the company were Richard Beaumont and Francis Lynn, who were company officials, Captain Lovett, Mr. Cleave, Walter Charles, Mr. Snow, Mr. Ramsay, and Mr. Blackwood. For the London traders, Humphrey Morice and Richard Harris offered evidence; for Bristol, Mr. Becher. Mr. Fazackerly presented the case of the Bristol and Liverpool traders. A group of merchants trading to the colonies also offered evidence. *B. T. Jour.*, 1722-1728, pp. 232-244, 247-255, 257-263, 267-272.

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The African Company in their humble Petition to your Majesty, and Representation thereunto annex'd, set forth that the Competition between them, the Dutch, French and Portuguese, but chiefly between them and the seperate Traders of Great Britain, has raised the Price of Negroes on the Coast of Africa to Four times the value they were formerly sold at, from whence, and from the Badness of their own Circumstances, they infer that this trade is in the utmost Danger of being lost, and consequently the Plantations of being ruined for want of necessary Supplies of Negroes; That they are already come to a Resolution of trading no longer, and that unless some speedy releif be given them, they shall be no longer able to maintain their Forts and Settlements, but must be obliged to abandon them.

But notwithstanding the African Company apprehend this Trade to be in Danger of being lost, yet, it appears to Us that the Trade to Africa is greatly increased as well in the number of Ships imploy'd therein, as in the number of Negroes carried from thence to your Majesty's Plantations, since the Expiration of the Duty of 10 per Cent ad Valorem for all Goods and Merchandize exported to Africa from England, or from your Majesty's Plantations in America, by any seperate Trader, impos'd by an Act pass'd in the 9th and 10th of King William the 3rd Intituled, An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa, which expired in the year 1712, And tho' the Price of Negroes is much greater upon the Coast then formerly, which is a natural Consequence of a greater demand, yet it did appear that your Majesty's Subjects in the Plantations, have been much better supplyed, and very near as cheap as formerly.

As to the Forts and Settlements possessed by the Company upon the Coast of Africa; It does not appear to Us what particular Sums they paid to their Predecessors for them, or what they have expended in the Maintenance of them since they were in their Possession, Because although the Company did produce to Us an Account of £34,000 alledg'd to have been paid to their Predecessors, yet all the Effects in general of the old Proprietors, and several Debts being included in that Account; It is impossible for Us to distinguish what part thereof was paid or intended to be paid in Consideration of their Forts and Settlements only; And as to what relates to the Maintenance of them, that Account being likewise intermix'd with several other Charges and Expences of the Company, such part thereof as is applicable to the Maintenance of Forts, is not to be Distinguished from the rest.

As to the condition these Forts and Settlements are now in, It appeared to Us from the Evidence produced upon this occasion, that they are not capable of protecting the ships of your Majesty's sub-

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jects against Pirates or any Enemy at Sea, though they may be of some Defence against the Natives of the Country at Land, and do serve the Company as Warehouses for their Goods, And it likewise appear'd to us that the Seperate Traders have for many years, carried on this Trade to a far greater extent than the Company, without any Assistance from these Forts, and even to several Parts far remote from them, where it was affirmed that the Natives traded very freely with all Nations; and therefore We do not conceive that these Forts and Settlements are absolutely necessary for carrying on the Trade; But as they are Marks of your Majesty's possession, and may be of use to Evidence the Right of Your Majesty's Subjects to Trade upon that Coast, We think it might be a dangerous Experiment to abandon them, least they should fall into the Hands of some Foreign Nations, who have Settlements already in those parts, and who might from thence set up a pretence of excluding your Majesty's Subjects from Trading there, as the French now do upon the Coast of Senegal.

Upon the whole, since it is evident by the Experience of many years, that the Trade is greatly encreased since it has been laid entirely open to all your Majesty's Subjects, We are humbly of opinion it ought always to continue free and open.

And since the British Settlements upon the Coast of Africa are Marks of your Majesty's Possession there, and may evidence the Right your Majesty's Subjects have to that Trade, We are humbly of opinion, that care should be taken to prevent their falling into the hands of any Foreign Nation. And since the African Company do declare that without Assistance for that Purpose, they are no longer able in their present Circumstances to maintain them, We would humbly propose that a reasonable Compensation should be offer'd to them for their Title thereunto, But if the Company shall refuse to accept thereof, that the said Settlements should be resumed into your Majesty's hands, to prevent their being possessed by Foreigners; and the Charge thereof defray'd by the Publick: Or if that shall not be thought proper, We are then of opinion, that a Duty may be laid on all Ships trading to the Coast of Africa, in order to defray the Expence of maintaining such of the said Settlements, as it shall be thought necessary to keep up, and also for Paying such a Sum, as shall be allowed to the African Company.

All which is most humbly Submitted.[4]

WHITEHALL
March 17th 1726/7

[4] Signed, "Holles Newcastle, Townshend, Westmorland, J. Chetwynd, P. Docminique, T. Pelham, M. Bladen, Ed. Ashe, R. Plummer".

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165. THE GAMBIA FACTORS TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

JAMES FORT, May 19th 1727.

This by the *Ruby* Capt. Colvil *via* Carolina. Fifty Slaves shipd on board her upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg. The finest Cargo of Slaves that ever Went from the River.

The French design to ingross the Trade of the River to themselves. Are on their guard against them. Designs of Mr. Plummett the Chief to surprize the Fort. Hints of it received from the Capt. of the French Ship. She saild from the River the 15th. Reasons of the Disputes between them and the French. Acct. of the present posture of the French Compa's affairs there.

Their Seizures of Our Ships at Portally occasion'd their first misfortunes. Their revengfull temper, which putts the Natives upon dealing with them in the Same way. They are at Warrs with the King of Demett. Joally trade inconsiderable.

Bisseo the same. Cutcheo has the greatest Share of Trade.

Trade of Senegal attended with many difficultys. The Gum Coast Trade most considerable to the French—tho the Natives are averse to them. The French long for the Trade of the River Gambia.

The French Compa's are obliged to furnish Mississippi with a large Number of Negroes. Most of their dependence for them is in Gambia River. Desire the late Agreem't made with them may not be ratifyed.

Price of Slaves. Give an acct. of their present Low Circumstances and Want of Money, 300 Slaves up the River which will fall into other hands for want of Goods.

P. S. Serjeant James Rusk Murthered.

166. COMMISSIONS OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

Wednesday, May 31, 1727.

Commissions at Cape Coast Castle and other Factorys Depending thereon.

That a true and exact Account of Proffit and Loss made on all Negroes bought and sold within that district (extending from Cape Mount to Cape Lopez) be kept at Cape Coast Castle, and that a Commission amounting to one full 5th part, of the Net Proffits made by the said Negro Trade (mortality and charges of maintaining the Negroes being first allowed for in the said Acco'tt of proffit and Loss) be paid as follows, *Vizt.*

[165] [1]T 70: 7, pp. 134-135. Anthony Rogers, Richard Hull, and Thomas Harrison were the factors.

[166] [1]T 70: 103, pp. 193-194, 198-199.

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To the three Cheif Merchants at Cape Coast Castle for all such Negros as They shall purchase themselves and Sell again on the Coast, to be equally divided between them	£20 per Cent. on the Net Proffits
To the Said 3 Ch. Merchants for all such Negros as shall be bought and sold at Whydah	£10 per Cent on Do.
To the said three Cheif Merchants for all such Negros as shall be purchased at any of the Out Factorys, or by Trading Ships and Vessels	£10 per Cent on Do.
To the Chief at Whydah for all such Negros as He shall buy and sell at that place	£10 per Cent on Do.
To all other out Factors, Masters of Ships, and Supercargoes for all such Negros as They shall purchase and return to the Cheifs at Cape Coast Castle, or sell and dispose of by their order	£10 per Cent on Do.

That in case the Company shall make any Contract or Contracts in London or elsewhere, with any person or persons whatsoever, for delivering Negros at Cape Coast Castle, Whydah or elsewhere such Negros shall be valued as if sold at and after the rate of £15 Sterling Mony per head, and that the Commissions to be allowed on the clear proffits made on such Negroes after allowance for Mortality and their maintainance, be regulated and paid according to that price.

Commissions at Sierra Leone.

That a true and exact acco'tt of Proffit and Loss made on all Negros bought and sold at Sierra Leone and its Districts, be kept; And that a Commission out of Net Proffits made by the said Negro Trade (mortality and charges of maintaining the said Negros being first allowed for in the said Account of Proffit and Loss) be paid as follows, *Vizt.*

For all such Negros as shall be bought and Sold in the River Sierra Leone		£20 per Cent. on the Net Proffits
Whereof		
To the Chief Merchant	£15	
To the 2d or Warehousekeeper	5	
For all such Negros as shall be bought at any Factory or by Trading Ships and Vessels		£10 per Cent. on Do.
Whereof		
To the Cheif Merchant	£ 8	
To the 2nd or Warehousekeeper	2	
To all out Factors Masters of Ships and Super Cargoes for all such Negros as they shall purchase, and return to the Cheifs at Sierra Leone, or sell and dispose of by their Order		£10 per Cent. on Do.

That in case the Company shall make any Contract or Contracts, in London or elsewhere, with any person or persons whatever for delivering Negros at Sierra Leone or elsewhere; such Negros shall be valued as if sold at and after the rate of £8 Sterling Money per Head; And That the Commissions to be allowed on the clear proffits

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made on such Negros to be regulated and paid according to that price.

167. William Snelgrave's Account of Guinea.[1]

For the better understanding of the following Relation it is necessary to prefix some Account of the late State of the Country of Whidaw; before the terrible Destruction and Desolation therein in the Month of March 1726-7.

The Reader then is to observe, That the Sea-Coast this Kingdom lies in 6 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. Sabee, the chief Town of the Country, is situate about seven Miles from the Seaside. In this Town the King allowed the Europeans convenient Houses for their Factories and by him we were protected in our Persons and Goods, and when our Business was finished, were permitted to go away in Safety. The Road where Ships anchored was a free Port for all European Nations trading to those Parts for Negroes. And this Trade was so very considerable, that it is computed while it was in a flourishing State, there were about twenty thousand Negroes yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring Places by the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. As this was the principal Part of all the Guinea Coast for the Slave Trade, the frequent Intercourse that Nation had for many Years carried on with white People had rendered them so civilized, that it was a Pleasure to deal with them (pp. 1-3). . . .

It so happen'd, that in the Evening of the Day we came into the Camp, there were brought above eighteen hundred captives, from a

[167] [1] *A New Account of some Parts of Guinea, and the Slave Trade,* "containing, I. The History of the late Conquest of the Kingdom of Whidaw by the King of Dahomè; the Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp, where he saw several Captives sacrificed, etc.; II. the Manner how the Negroes become Slaves, the Numbers of them Yearly exported from Guinea to America, the Lawfulness of that Trade, the Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been; III. a Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent." By Captain William Snelgrave (London, 1734). Snelgrave wrote of being at Old Calabar in 1704. In 1713 he was there again, in the *Anne,* belonging to Messrs. Bradley, Virginia merchants; in 1718 he was captured by pirates on the coast; in 1727 and 1729 he was trading at Whydah. There are few records of as long-continued service in the hazardous occupation of slaving. His account he dedicates to the "merchants of London trading to the Coast of Guinea", to most of whom he had "been known for many years". To the cause of the separate traders Snelgrave gave assistance in 1726, when he testified before the Board of Trade to the defenceless condition of the company's forts (*B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, pp. 261-263; here the name is given as Snelgrove). His published narrative is almost entirely confined to events of 1719, 1726-1727, and 1729-1730. He arrived at Whydah in the *Katherine,* owned by Humphrey Morice, in March, 1727. At the English fort he was told of the capture of Whydah by the King of Dahomey, and the seizure of forty white men, English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, who had been released but a few days before his arrival. The excuse for the attack had been the refusal of the King of Whydah to grant to the Dahomians an open passage to the sea with slaves (pp. 5-6). Since Whydah, ravaged by the victorious army, offered no present opportunity for trade, Snelgrave sailed for Jaquin, which, having promptly submitted to the Dahomians, was undisturbed. Here he anchored Apr. 3, 1727, and almost immediately received a summons to present himself at the camp of the king, some forty miles inland. The selections which follow chiefly concern the events of his stay in this camp.

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Country called Tuffoe,[2] at the distance of six days Journey. . . .

The King, at the time we were present, ordered the Captives of Tuffoe to be brought into the Court: Which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them, to be sacrificed to his Fetiche or Guardian Angel; the others being kept for Slaves for his own use; or to be sold to the Europeans. There were proper Officers, who received the Captives from the Soldiers hands, and paid them the value of twenty Shillings Sterling for every Man, in Cowries, (which is a Shell brought from the East Indies, and carried in large quantities to Whidaw by the Europeans, being the current Money of all the neighbouring Countries far and near) and ten Shillings for a Woman, Boy, or Girl (pp. 36-38). . . .

About three a Clock that Afternoon, a Messenger came from the great Captain, to inform us, the King had appointed immediately to give us an Audience. . . .

On our coming into the Court, where we had seen the King at our former Audience, we were desired to stay a little, till the Presents were carried into the House, that his Majesty might view them. Soon after we were introduced into a small Court, at the further end of which the King was sitting cross-legg'd on a Carpet of Silk, spread on the Ground: He was himself richly dress'd, and had but few Attendants. When we approached him, his Majesty enquired in a very kind manner, How we did? ordering we should be placed near him; and accordingly fine Mats were spread on the Ground for us to sit on. Tho' sitting in that Posture was not very easy to us, yet we put a good Face on the matter, understanding by the Linguist, that it was their Custom.

As soon as we were placed, the King ordered the Interpreter to ask me, What I had to desire of him? To which I answered, "That as my Business was to trade, so I relied on his Majesty's Goodness, to give me a quick dispatch, and fill my Ship with Negroes; by which means I should return into my own Country in a short time; where I should make known how great and powerful a King I had seen." To this the King replied by the Linguist, "That my desire should be fulfilled: But the first Business to be settled was his Customs." Thereupon I desired his Majesty to let me know what he expected? There was a Person then present (I believe on purpose) whose name was Zunglar, a cunning Fellow, who had formerly been the King's Agent for several Years at Whidaw; where I had seen him in my former Voyages. To him I was referred to talk about the Affair. So Zunglar told me, "his Master being resolved to encourage Trade, tho' he was a Conqueror, yet he would not impose a greater

[2] Possibly Tufel, on the Prah River, north of Shama, though that seems scarcely six days' journey distant from the region of the camp.

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Custom than used to be paid to the King of Whidaw." I answered, "As his Majesty was a far greater Prince, so I hoped he would not take so much." This Zunglar not replying readily to, and the King observing it, (for the Linguist told him every word that pass'd between us) His Majesty himself replied, "That as he was the greater Prince, he might reasonably expect the more Custom; but as I was the first English Captain he had seen, he would treat me as a young Wife or Bride, who must be denied nothing at first." Being surprized at this turn of Expression, I told the Linguist, "I was afraid he imposed on me, and interpreted the King's words in too favourable a manner." His Majesty observing I spoke with some Sharpness, asked what I said? Which the Linguist having told him, his Majesty smiled, and expressed himself again to the same purpose: Adding, "I should find his Actions answerable to his Words." Being greatly encouraged by the King's gracious Expressions towards me, I took the Liberty to represent to his Majesty, "That the best way to make Trade flourish, was to impose easy Customs, and to protect us from the Thievery of the Natives, and the Impositions of great Men; which the King of Whidaw not doing, had greatly hurt the Trade. For the ill usage the Europeans had met with of late from him and his People, had caused them to send fewer Ships than formerly they did. And tho' a large Custom might seem at first for his Majesty's Advantage, yet it would soon be found, that a great number of Ships would thereby be hindred from coming to trade; so that in this respect he would lose far more in General, than he would gain by that Particular."

The King took what I said in good part, telling me, "I should name my own Custom", which I at first declined: But being prest to do it a second time, I told the Linguist to ask his Majesty, "Whether he would be pleased to take one half of what we used to pay at Whidaw?" To this the King readily agreed; adding, "He designed to make Trade flourish; and I might depend upon it, he would prevent all Impositions, and Thievery, and protect the Europeans that came to his Country, saying, that his God had made him the Instrument to punish the King of Whidaw, and his people, for the many Villanies they had been guilty of towards both Whites and Blacks: That the Embassadors now in his Camp from the said King, had informed him of me and my Character, and that by the account they had given him of my former dealings in their Country, he could put much Confidence in me." Then his Majesty having asked me divers Questions concerning our former ill usage in the Country of Whidaw, to which I answered as I thought proper. . . .

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After this his Majesty fell into a variety of Discourse, and amongst other things complained of Mr. Lambe, (who, as I have related in the beginning of this Book, had been taken Prisoner in the Ardra War),[3] saying, "That tho' he had given him, at his leaving the Court, three hundred and twenty ounces of Gold, with eight[y] Slaves, and made him promise with a solemn Oath to return again in a reasonable time, yet twelve Moons had now pass'd, and he had heard nothing from him: Adding, "He had sent a black Person with him, whose name was Tom, one who had been made a Prisoner at the same time, being a *Jaqueenman,* who spoke good English; and this Man he had ordered to return again with Mr. Lambe, that he might be informed, whether what that Gentleman had reported concerning our King, Customs, and manner of Living was true." To this I replied, "That I had no personal Knowledge of Mr. Lambe, but had been informed, before I left England, that he went from Whidaw to Barbadoes, which is a Plantation where the English employ their Slaves in making Sugar, and which is at a great distance from our own Country; But I hoped he would prove an honest Man, and return again to his Majesty, according to his Promise and Oath." To this the King replied, "Tho' he proved not as good as his Word, other white Men should not fare the worse on that account; for as to what he had given Lambe, he valued it not a Rush; but if he returned quickly, and came with never so large a Ship, she should be instantly filled with Slaves, with which he might do what he thought proper."

It may not be improper here to give a short account of the black Man the King mentioned to me, because he was in England last year, and that Affair was brought before the Lords of Trade, by whom I was examined about him.

Mr. Lambe carried this Person to Barbadoes, and several other Places, but at last left him with a Gentleman in Maryland. Afterwards Mr. Lambe trafficked for some Years, from one place to another in the Plantations; and coming to the Island of Antegoa, where I had been in the year 1728, and told the foregoing story to some Gentlemen, and how kindly the King of Dahomè had express'd himself with regard to the said Mr. Lambe, being by them informed of it, this induced him to return to Maryland; and the Gentleman who had Tom in his Custody was so good, as to deliver him again to Mr. Lambe, who came with him to London, the beginning of the year 1731.[4]

[3] The beginning of this story is told by Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea,* pp. 7-8. For William Smith's relation of the same events see *ante,* no. 161.

[4] Here one wonders whether Snelgrave has confused the history of this negro with that of Job ben Solomon (see *post,* nos. 176, 197). Some notion of the widespread interest in the adventures of Lambe and his negro companion may be gained from the

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Mr. Lambe, soon after his arrival, came to see me at my house, enquiring particularly about what I had related at Antegoa; which I confirmed to him. Then he desired my Advice about his going back to the King of Dahomè. To this I frankly answered, "It was my opinion, he had miss'd the opportunity, by not returning in a reasonable time, according to his promise; several years being now pass'd since he came from thence, and the State of Affairs much altered for the worse: Besides, he might justly fear the King's resentment, as Mr. Testehole had experienced lately to his cost, for abusing his Goodness; for tho' he was Governour for the African Company at Whidaw, yet he had been put to death in a cruel manner."

On this he left me; and the next news I heard, was, That Mr. Lambe had delivered a Letter to his Majesty King George as from the King of Dahomè, which being referred to the Lords of Trade, the Merchants trading to the Coast of Guinea were sent for; and I being ordered to attend, informed their Lordships of what I knew of the matter.

The report from the Lords of Trade was to this Purpose, "That the Letter in their opinion was not genuine, but that the black Man ought to be taken care of, and returned to his King:"[5] Accordingly

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following news items: "A Committee of the Governors of the African Company agreeable to an Order from the Treasury, made a Provision for the Maintenance of Adomo Tomo, who came over with Capt. Lamb from the Emperor of Pawpaw; and at the same time order'd Mr. Bartlet to instruct him in the English Language".

"LONDON, May 11, 1731. Last Week Capt. Bulfinch Lambe, late Factor for the Royal African Company at Jacquin on the Coast of Guinea, went to court with Adomo Oronooco Tomo, who was sent with him to see the King and Kingdom of Great Britain, by the Grand Trudo Audato [11 names omitted], King of Dawhomay, and Emperor of Pawpaw, who (as we have mentioned in our former) lately conquered the great Kingdoms of Ardah and Whidah; and delivered the said Emperor's Letter to his Majesty, which he graciously received. Capt. Lambe was taken a Captive at the Conquest of Ardah, and was carried several hundred Miles Inland to the before-mentioned Emperor, who never having seen a white Person before, used him very well, and during the time he was there (which was some Years) allowed him a House and above twenty Servants, and shew'd him very great Kindness; in so much that he would not suffer him to come Home but upon Condition of his returning to him again, which we hear Mr. Lamb is now preparing to do." *Boston News Letter,* Aug. 12, 1731; *Gentleman's Magazine,* I. 216.

Atkins writes that when Lambe returned to England he brought to the Commissioners of Trade a most interesting proposal from the King of Dahomey, that "the natives should sell themselves to us, on condition of not being carried off. That we might settle Plantations, a Foundation quite foreign to the former Slave-trade." Atkins's notion that the conquest by the King of Dahomey was for the purpose of destroying the slave trade finds no support in Snelgrave's account. Atkins, *Voyage,* pp. 119-122.

[5] For Lambe's appearance before the Board of Trade, and the consideration of the letter which he carried, see May 21, 27, and June 29, 1731 (*B. T. Jour.,* 1728-1734, pp. 199-203, 215-217). The letter to which reference is here made was said in later years to be among the papers of the first Duke of Chandos (*Parliamentary History,* XXVIII. 82-90). On Aug. 23, 1731, the Duke of Newcastle, in transmitting to the Treasury the report of the Board of Trade on Lambe's memorial, wrote: "[he] is come, as he says, in company with an Indian from the Emperor of Pawpaw in Africa, with a letter and a present of slaves to his Majesty. . . . though the Council of Trade do not allow the letter to be genuine, yet they think there is so much reality in the messuage as to look upon it as an opportunity not to be neglected of cultivating a good understanding with that Prince." Newcastle continued, that his Majesty thought that the subsistence of the "Indian" should

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he was put into the hands of the African Company, who took care of him for many Months; but he growing impatient, applied to their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montague,[6] who procured him a Passage on board his Majesty's Ship the *Tiger* Captain Berkeley, then bound to the Coast of Guinea.

Moreover, their Lordships having shewed him great Kindness most generously sent by him several rare Presents to his King, which, no doubt, will make a good impression on him in favour of our Nation; and I have lately heard, that on his being put on Shore at Whidaw, he was forthwith sent to the King, who was then in his own Country of Dahomè, and was received graciously by him: That his Majesty sent down handsome Presents for Captain Berkeley, but before the Messengers got to Whidaw, he was sailed, not having patience to wait so many days, as the return from so far inland a place required.

I had not made this Digression, but only to set this Affair in a true light; and undeceive those that may read this Book, and were so far imposed upon, as to suppose the Black Man to have been an Embassador from the King of Dahomè, to his Majesty King George. I met with several that believed so, till I satisfied them of the contrary; for the jest was carried on so far, that several Plays were acted on his Account, and it was advertised in the News-Papers, that they were for the Entertainment of Prince Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, etc. these jingling Names being invented to carry on the Fraud the better.[7]

This black Person was born at Jaqueen, and being from a Boy conversant with the English trading there, learned so well our

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be provided for until he could be sent home. The report of the Board of Trade directed that the produce from 40 of the 80 negroes whom Mr. Lambe had brought to Whydah should be expended on a present for the Emperor of Popo, with some additional sum from the Treasury (*Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1731-1734, p. 88). The frugal Lords of the Treasury suggested to the Royal African Company that the subsistence of Tomo and the addition to the present be taken from the £10,000 already granted by Parliament to the company. Some months later the Treasury received a petition from Lambe, asking that he be paid for what he had expended for Tomo. On receiving this the Lords called in directors of the company and explained that they saw no reason why the Treasury should assume these expenses (*ibid.*, pp. 89, 96, 98, 101, 140-143). Apparently neither company nor Treasury undertook the expenses of Tomo, for the next one hears of him, in the spring of 1732, he has been arrested for a debt of £13, expended for a suit of clothes. C. O. 267: 5.

[6] Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond. Lord Hervey says that he was "friendly, benevolent, generous, honourable, and thoroughly noble in his way of acting, talking, thinking" (John Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, 1848, I. 291). John, second Duke of Montagu, whose town house occupied the site of the present British Museum, and for many years housed the collections of the museum. These two gentlemen were patrons of Job; and it is possible that Snelgrave is still confusing the two negroes. On the other hand, there is nothing unlikely in their having a similar interest in two Africans in London.

[7] The name Oroonoko doubtless came from Mrs. Behn's novel *Oroonoko*, and the play which Southerne made from it.

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Language, that he was employed by them, when grown up, as an Interpreter.

He happen'd to be at Ardra on some business, at the time that Country was conquered, and so became Prisoner to the King of Dahomè. But 'tis time to have done with this Story, and go on where I left off.

After this Discourse concerning Mr. Lambe was over, I acquainted the King, that I daily expected another Ship belonging to my Owner,[8] (who had five large Ships that used the Whidaw Trade in particular) and I hoped his Majesty would not take more Custom from the Commanders of them, than he had been pleased to take of me. To which he answered with a Smile, "That it was a particular Grace to my self. However when any of them came, they should be used kindly in that matter, and the Captains might stay at Jaqueen and Whidaw as they thought fit, for that he now was Lord of both places." And then his Majesty asked me, "Whether I would chuse the Slaves that were now in the Camp, or have them first sent down to Jaqueen?" To which I answered, "I chose the latter; desiring the King would now please to fix the Price, with other matters." Accordingly Zunglar was called again, to inform his Majesty, what were the last Prices the Europeans had paid for Negroes at Whidaw, before the Conquest; But on my representing, That the Price had been raised there, much above what had been customary, on account of the War; the King moderated it himself, and I writ down with my Pencil, in his presence, every thing agreed on: Amongst which one was, That I should have three Males to one Female, and take none but what I liked. The reason of my mentioning this, is to explain more fully what happened to me afterwards, on account of these two Articles (pp. 59-73). . . .

The next day, being the 15th of April 1727, I paid the King of Dahomè's Officers the Custom agreed on; and in two days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, being sent by his Majesty for me to chuse such as I liked of them: Which having done, I offered to pay the Lord of Jaqueen his usual Duties, but he insisted on a larger Custom than my Surgeon had agreed with him for at our first coming: So I refused to pay it, and put him in mind of the Injunction the King of Dahomè had sent him by his Brother. This put him in a Passion, and he asked me sternly, Whether I designed to bring War on him, by informing the Conqueror of what he demanded? This being a tender Point, and hoping Time and Patience might bring him to do me Justice, I took my leave of him: For I had been told,

[8] Humphrey Morice. "In the Year 1726 in the late Company's time, at an examination before the Lords of Trade, it appeared that 250 sail of shipping were employed in the Trade to Africa . . . a great many of those ships belonged to Humphrey Morris Esqr. of London that went to Whydah for from 4 to 500 Slaves." Eg. MSS. 1167 B, f. 115.

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it was not possible, no more than prudent to engage any one to go with a Complaint to the King of Dahomè; for the Messenger would certainly be murdered on the Road by the Jaqueens (pp. 82-83).[9] . . .

A few days after the Lord of Jaqueen had refused to take his usual Customs, another difficulty arose; for the Porters refused to bring up my Goods from the Sea side, except I would pay them double the price I did at my first coming. Thereupon I sent my Complaint to their Lord, who acknowledged it was a great Imposition, but he sent me word, "It was not in his Power to oblige those sort of People to do me Justice; for by the stranding of the Dutch Ship, they had got so many Goods, that it had made them rich and proud; and should he go about to force them to bring up my Goods at the usual rates, they would forthwith quit the Country, and fly to Appah." Being in these melancholy Circumstances, imposed on by all hands, and without hopes of redress, an accident relieved me very unexpectedly. For a few days after this the Lord of the place sent for me; and going to him, he told me, "He had just then received Advice, that an English Ship was arriving in the Road of Whidaw; and he desired I would send my Boat there, to persuade the Captain to come to Jaqueen." I answered, "I did not doubt but that Ship was the *Italian* Galley, Captain Dagge, who was known to him; for I had expected him some time, his Ship belonging to the same Gentleman as mine did: But since I had received such bad usage from him and his People, he could not expect I would be so imprudent as to advise the Captain, who was in the same Interest with me, to come and receive the like Treatment: Adding, If I sent my Boat, it should be to desire Captain Dagge to stay at Whidaw, and send a Messenger to the King of Dahomè, to represent the usage I had met with from him; tho', to let him see how loth I was to give any Offence that way, I should intirely forget what was past, if he would make me easy." This immediately brought him to do me Justice: He took his usual Custom that very day, and the following went himself to the Sea side, to the Towns where the Porters lived, and persuaded them to carry my Goods at the usual rates.

Soon after this I received a Letter from Captain Dagge, desiring I would let him know how Affairs stood at Jaqueen. Having informed him of all matters, he concluded, it would be for our Owner's Interest if he stayed at Whidaw, where he had great Success; for that People being in a starving Condition, and obliged to sell their Servants and Children for Money and Goods, to buy Food from their Neighbours of Popoe;[10] his Ship was soon filled with Negroes, and

[9] A mistaken pagination numbers the pages 66-67.
[10] Popo was a few leagues to the windward, that is west, of Whydah.

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he had the good fortune to sail from the Coast three days before me (pp. 83-86). . . .[11]

But as to the King of Dahomè's Traders, when I objected to them my Agreement with their Master, producing the Writing I had made in his Presence, and calling the Linguist to witness, that I was not to take any Slaves but such as I liked; yet it signified nothing: For tho' the Interpreter was so honest as to own it, yet he was as imposing as any other, pretending the King's Orders for what they did. Nay, I began at last not to think my self safe, one of the Traders being so insolent as to present his Fusil at me, for refusing to take his bad Slaves. For tho' they came to trade, yet they were always armed with Sword and Dagger, and a Boy carried their Gun for them. These people were far different from the Traders we used to deal with at Whidaw: For these came always in a modest manner to deal with us, and tho' sometimes I owed them Goods on my Notes for ten days together, because the badness of the Sea prevented our landing them; yet they shewed no Uneasiness about it: Whereas, on the contrary, these Dahomè Traders would come ten times a day with their Notes; tho' they were sensible the Sea was so great on the Shore, that we could land no Goods. And when I expostulated with them, about the needless trouble they gave me and themselves in coming so often to me to read their Notes; it not being in my Power to pay them, 'till I could get Goods landed; they angrily replied, "They did not like a bit of Paper for their Slaves, because the writing might vanish from it; or else the Notes might be lost, and then they should lose their Payment." Upon that I used to shew them my Book, telling them their Notes were entered therein, and should they lose them by any Accident, yet I would pay them by my Book: And as to the writing it would never go off the Paper; but this did no ways satisfy them.

About this time several Portuguese Ships arrived in the Road of Whidaw, and stay'd there, on a prospect of the Country's being settled again; for the King of Dahomè had permitted a great number of the common People to return, and they began to build them Houses near the English and French Forts. But some time after it appeared, that it was only done to deceive the Europeans. However the King of Dahomè being desirous of the Portuguese Gold, which they bring to purchase Negroes with, his Majesty sent a great many Slaves down to Whidaw, which made Trade dull with us at Jaqueen. For tho' formerly great Numbers came to this place, from other Nations now destroyed by the Dahomes, there remains at

[11] A mistake in pagination numbers pages 86-87 as 70-71, 90-91 as 74-75, and 94-95 as 78-79. Snelgrave, the surgeon, and most of his seamen were at this time ill. The surgeon, who also acted as factor for Snelgrave, died a day or two later.

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present only one Country called Lucanne,[12] lying towards the North-East, for the Jaqueens to trade to. Which Nation, by means of a wide River, has escaped being made a Conquest to the barbarous and cruel Dahomes (pp. 87-89). . . .

But to return again to the great Captain:[13] When he was ready to depart from Jaqueen, all the Europeans in the Place waited on him to the side of the River, that runs on the back part of the Town. Upon taking leave I told him, "I wanted but eighty Negroes to compleat my Cargo", and he promised he would acquaint the King with it; and I might be sure his Majesty would send them down to me forthwith. However, this did not happen according to my Expectation; for I understood afterwards the King had no Slaves by him for sale, tho' he had great numbers of captive Negroes, which tilled his Grounds, and did other Work. For, it seems, after they are once inrolled for that Service, his Majesty never sells them, unless they are guilty of very great Crimes.

After the great Captain's departure, I was obliged to wait a long while for a dispatch; at last the desired Time came, and the King's Factors that brought the Negroes behaved themselves so well towards me, that I had no reason to complain of them. . . .

The first of July, 1727, we sailed from the Road of Jaqueen, having on board above 600 Negroes. I had a tedious Passage to the West-Indies of seventeen Weeks, which obliged us to stop at several places for Water and Provision. But at length we arrived at Antegoa, where the Cargo of Negroes (who had stood very well) came to a good Market; And having lain there for a Cargo of Sugars, we sailed from thence the latter end of February, and got safe into the River of Thames, the 25th of April 1728, having been sixteen Months on this remarkable Voyage (pp. 106-110).[14] . . .

[12] Lucanne, possibly Ulcumi, east of Ardra.

[13] Snelgrave succeeded in getting his complaints to the king, who sent down an officer, named in the narrative "the great Captain", to punish the most insolent of the traders. To this emissary of the king Snelgrave gave a dinner, which he describes with some detail. He was urged to buy an elderly female slave, but refused as she was too old to work, and would be unsaleable. Later he learned that upon his refusal to take her the king had ordered her thrown into the sea, from which she was rescued by the seamen of the *Katherine*. She proved a useful passenger, reassuring the female slaves, "who used always to be the most troublesome to us, on account of the noise and clamour they made, were kept in such Order and Decorum by this Woman, that I had never the like in any Voyage before". She was later sold to Charles Dunbar, surveyor general of customs of Barbados and the Leeward Islands (pp. 101-106).

[14] On his arrival in England, Snelgrave was so far from well that Capt. John Dagge took command of the *Katherine* and Snelgrave remained in England for a year, but in 1729-1730 he was back on the Windward Coast. Native wars had continued during his absence. The Dahomians, though attacked at the same time by inland enemies and by the people of Whydah and Popo, were still in the ascendancy and had laid waste the country to the destruction of English and native trade. Testesole, governor of the English fort, had been murdered for lending assistance to the enemies of the Dahomians. The warlike character of the King of Dahomey was scarcely conducive to peaceful trade. He developed no regular traffic in slaves, as did the surrounding peoples with whom the

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I come now [15] to give an Account of the Mutinies that have happened on board the Ships where I have been.

These Mutinies are generally occasioned by the Sailors ill usage of these poor People, when on board the Ship wherein they are transported to our Plantations. Wherever therefore I have commanded, it has been my principal Care, to have the Negroes on board my Ship kindly used; and I have always strictly charged my white People to treat them with Humanity and Tenderness; In which I have usually found my Account, both in keeping them from mutinying, and preserving them in health.

And whereas it may seem strange to those that are unacquainted with the method of managing them, how we can carry so many hundreds together in a small Ship, and keep them in order, I shall just mention what is generally practiced. When we purchase grown People, I acquaint them by the Interpreter, "That, now they are become my Property, I think fit to let them know what they are bought for, that they may be easy in their Minds: (For these poor People are generally under terrible Apprehensions upon their being bought by white Men, many being afraid that we design to eat them; which, I have been told, is a story much credited by the inland Negroes;) So after informing them, That they are bought to till the Ground in our Country, with several other Matters; I then acquaint them, how they are to behave themselves on board towards the white Men; that if any one abuses them, they are to complain to the Linguist, who is to inform me of it, and I will do them Justice; But if they make a Disturbance, or offer to strike a white Man, they must expect to be severely punished."

Europeans were accustomed to trade, but sold only those captives he took in war. The regular traders were either killed or driven away and not likely to return during his life. Snelgrave, after waiting two months for a revival of trade, which he saw no reason to expect, returned to England, surrendering what few negroes he had to another vessel belonging to Morice, the owner of the *Katherine* (pp. 111-146). During much of Snelgrave's career he was in the service of this merchant. After his capture by pirates in 1718, in the *Bird,* one of the vessels belonging to Morice, he was met at Bristol by a letter from that merchant promising him another command at once. In his account of the destruction of Jaquin in 1732 he writes of Robert More of the *Squirrel,* a galley "belonging to the late Humphrey Morice" (p. 152). When he left Jaquin at that time he left behind two vessels belonging to this owner.

[15] In book II. Snelgrave enumerates the means by which negroes become slaves. The most common methods are: (1) by conquest in native wars; (2) by crimes; (3) by debt. The author adds that he has been told that inland peoples sell their children, even when under no necessity to do so, but that he has never encountered this among the coast tribes.

Then follows a defense of the slave trade, in which Snelgrave argues not only its advantages to the merchants but to the slaves themselves: (1) otherwise they would be destroyed in Africa; (2) they live better in the Plantations than they do at home, self interest causing the planters to take excellent care of them; (3) the trade removes criminals from among the Africans left at home; and lastly, it brings great benefit to the Sugar Plantations, and hence to the nation (pp. 160-161).

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When we purchase the Negroes, we couple the sturdy Men together with Irons; but we suffer the Women and Children to go freely about: And soon after we have sail'd from the Coast, we undo all the Mens Irons.

They are fed twice a day, and are allowed in fair Weather to come on Deck at seven a Clock in the Morning, and to remain there, if they think proper, till Sun setting. Every Monday Morning they are served with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are very fond of. The Men Negroes lodge separate from the Women and Children: and the places where they all lye are cleaned every day, some white Men being appointed to see them do it. . . .

The first Mutiny I saw among the Negroes, happened during my first Voyage, in the Year 1704. It was on board the *Eagle* Galley of London, commanded by my Father, with whom I was as Purser. We had bought our Negroes in the River of Old Callabar in the Bay of Guinea. At the time of their mutinying we were in that River, having four hundred of them on board, and not above ten white Men who were able to do Service: For several of our Ship's Company were dead, and many more sick; besides, two of our Boats were just then gone with twelve People on Shore to fetch Wood, which lay in sight of the Ship. All these Circumstances put the Negroes on consulting how to mutiny, which they did at four a clock in the Afternoon, just as they went to Supper. But as we had always carefully examined the Mens Irons, both Morning and Evening, none had got them off, which in a great measure contributed to our Preservation. Three white Men stood on the Watch with Cutlaces in their Hands. One of them who was on the Forecastle, a stout fellow, seeing some of the Men Negroes take hold of the chief Mate, in order to throw him over board, he laid on them so heartily with the flat side of his Cutlace, that they soon quitted the Mate, who escaped from them, and run on the Quarter Deck to get Arms. I was then sick with an Ague, and lying on a Couch in the great Cabbin, the Fit being just come on. However, I no sooner heard the Outcry, That the Slaves were mutinying, but I took two Pistols, and run on the Deck with them; where meeting with my Father and the chief Mate, I delivered a Pistol to each of them. Whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroe Men that were on the Forecastle; but they did not regard their Threats, being busy with the Centry, (who had disengaged the chief Mate,) and they would have certainly killed him with his own Cutlace, could they have got it from him; but they could not break the Line wherewith the Handle was fastened to his Wrist. And so, tho' they had seized him, yet they could not make use of his Cutlace. Being thus disappointed, they endeavoured to throw him overboard, but he held so fast by one

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of them that they could not do it. My Father seeing this stout Man in so much Danger, ventured amongst the Negroes to save him; and fired his Pistol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them. But a lusty Slave struck him with a Billet so hard, that he was almost stunned. The Slave was going to repeat his Blow, when a young Lad about seventeen years old, whom we had been kind to, interposed his Arm, and received the Blow, by which his Arm-bone was fractured. At the same instant the Mate fired his Pistol, and shot the Negroe that had struck my Father. At the sight of this the Mutiny ceased, and all the Men-negroes on the Forecastle threw themselves flat on their Faces, crying out for Mercy.

Upon examining into the matter, we found, there were not above twenty Men Slaves concerned in this Mutiny; and the two Ring-leaders were missing, having, it seems, jumped overboard as soon as they found their Project defeated, and were drowned. This was all the Loss we suffered on this occasion: For the Negroe that was shot by the Mate, the Surgeon, beyond all Expectation, cured. And I had the good Fortune to lose my Ague, by the fright and hurry I was put into. Moreover, the young Man, who had received the Blow on his Arm to save my Father, was cured by the Surgeon in our Passage to Virginia. At our Arrival in that place we gave him his Freedom; and a worthy Gentleman, one Colonel Carter, took him into his Service, till he became well enough acquainted in the Country to provide for himself.

I have been several Voyages, when there has been no Attempt made by our Negroes to mutiny; which, I believe, was owing chiefly, to their being kindly used, and to my Officers Care in keeping a good Watch. But sometimes we meet with stout stubborn People amongst them, who are never to be made easy; and these are generally some of the Cormantines, a Nation of the Gold Coast. I went in the year 1721, in the *Henry* of London, a Voyage to that part of the Coast, and bought a good many of these People. We were obliged to secure them very well in Irons, and watch them narrowly: Yet they nevertheless mutinied, tho' they had little prospect of succeeding. I lay at that time near a place called Mumfort on the Gold-Coast, having near five hundred Negroes on board, three hundred of which were Men. Our Ship's Company consisted of fifty white People, all in health: And I had very good Officers; so that I was very easy in all respects. . . .

After we had secured these People, I called the Linguists, and ordered them to bid the Men-Negroes between Decks be quiet; (for there was a great noise amongst them.) On their being silent, I asked, "What had induced them to mutiny?" They answered, I was a great Rogue to buy them, in order to carry them away from their

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own Country, and that they were resolved to regain their Liberty if possible." I replied, "That they had forfeited their Freedom before I bought them, either by Crimes or by being taken in War, according to the Custom of their Country; and they being now my Property, I was resolved to let them feel my Resentment, if they abused my Kindness: Asking at the same time, Whether they had been ill used by the white Men, or had wanted for any thing the Ship afforded?" To this they replied, "They had nothing to complain of." Then I observed to them, "That if they should gain their Point and escape to the Shore, it would be no Advantage to them, because their Countrymen would catch them, and sell them to other Ships." This served my purpose, and they seemed to be convinced of their Fault, begging, "I would forgive them, and promising for the future to be obedient, and never mutiny again, if I would not punish them this time." This I readily granted, and so they went to sleep. When Daylight came we called the Men Negroes up on Deck, and examining their Irons, found them all secure. So this Affair happily ended, which I was very glad of; for these People are the stoutest and most sensible Negroes on the Coast: Neither are they so weak as to imagine as others do, that we buy them to eat them; being satisfied we carry them to work in our Plantations, as they do in their own Country.

However, a few days after this, we discovered they were plotting again, and preparing to mutiny. For some of the Ringleaders proposed to one of our Linguists, If he could procure them an Ax, they would cut the Cables the Ship rid by in the night; and so on her driving (as they imagined) ashore, they should get out of our hands, and then would become his Servants as long as they lived.

For the better understanding of this I must observe here, that these Linguists are Natives and Freemen of the Country, whom we hire on account of their speaking good English, during the time we remain trading on the Coast; and they are likewise Brokers between us and the black Merchants.

This Linguist was so honest as to acquaint me with what had been proposed to him; and advised me to keep a strict Watch over the Slaves: For tho' he had represented to them the same as I had done on their mutinying before, That they would all be catch'd again, and sold to other Ships, in case they could carry their Point, and get on Shore, yet it had no effect upon them.

This gave me a good deal of Uneasiness. For I knew several Voyages had proved unsuccessful by Mutinies; as they occasioned either the total loss of the Ships and the white Mens Lives; or at least by rendring it absolutely necessary to kill or wound a great number of the Slaves, in order to prevent a total Destruction. More-

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over, I knew many of these Cormantine Negroes despised Punishment, and even Death it self: It having often happened at Barbadoes and other Islands, that on their being any ways hardly dealt with, to break them of their Stubbornness in refusing to work, twenty or more have hang'd themselves at a time in a Plantation. However, about a Month after this, a sad Accident happened, that brought our Slaves to be more orderly, and put them in a better Temper: And it was this. On our going from Mumfort to Annamaboe, which is the principal part on the Gold Coast, I met there with another of my Owner's Ships, called the *Elizabeth*. One Captain Thompson that commanded her was dead; as also his chief Mate: Moreover the Ship had afterwards been taken to Cape Lahoe on the windward Coast, by Roberts the Pirate,[16] with whom several of the Sailors belonging to her had entered. However, some of the Pirates had hindered the Cargoe's being plundered, and obtained that the Ship should be restored to the second Mate: Telling him, "They did it out of respect to the generous Character his Owner bore, in doing good to poor Sailors."

When I met with this Vessel I had almost disposed of my Ship's Cargoe; and the *Elizabeth* being under my Direction, I acquainted the second Mate, who then commanded her, That I thought it for our Owner's Interest, to take the Slaves from on board him, being about 120, into my Ship; and then go off the Coast; and that I would deliver him at the same time the Remains of my Cargoe, for him to dispose of with his own after I was sailed. This he readily complied with, but told me, "He feared his Ship's Company would mutiny, and oppose my taking the Slaves from him:" And indeed, they came at that instant in a Body on the Quarter-deck; where one spoke for the rest, telling me plainly, "they would not allow the Slaves to be taken out by me." I found by this they had lost all respect for their present Commander, who indeed was a weak Man. However, I calmly asked the reason, "Why they offered to oppose my taking the Slaves?" To which they answered, "I had no business with them." On this I desired the Captain to send to his Scrutore, for the Book of Instructions Captain Thompson had received from our Owner; and he read to them, at my request, that Part, in which their former Captain, or his Successor (in case of Death) was to follow my Orders. Hereupon they all cried out, "they should remain a great while longer on the Coast to purchase more Slaves, if I took these from them, which they were resolved to oppose." I answered, "That such of the Ship's Company as desired it, I would receive on board my own; where they should have the same Wages they had at present on board the *Elizabeth,* and I would send some

[16] Roberts, see *ante,* no. 128 and notes.

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of my own People to supply their Places." This so reasonable an Offer was refused, one of the Men who was the Ship's Cooper telling me, that the Slaves had been on board a long time, and they had great Friendship with them: therefore they would keep them. I asked him, "Whether he had ever been on the Coast of Guinea before? He replied no. Then I told him, "I supposed he had not by his way of talking, and advised him not to rely on the Friendship of the Slaves, which he might have reason to repent of when too late." And 'tis remarkable this very person was killed by them the next Night, as shall be presently related.

So finding that reasoning with these Men was to no Purpose, I told them, "When I came with my Boats to fetch the Slaves, they should find me as resolute to chastise such of them as should dare to oppose me, as I had been condescending to convince them by arguing calmly." So I took my leave of their Captain, telling him, "I would come the next Morning to finish the Affair."

But that very Night, which was near a month after the Mutiny on board of us at Mumfort, the Moon shining now very bright, as it did then, we heard, about ten a Clock, two or three Musquets fired on board the *Elizabeth*. Upon that I ordered all our Boats to be manned, and having secured every thing in our Ship, to prevent our Slaves from mutinying, I went my self in our Pinnace, (the other Boats following me) on board the *Elizabeth*. In our way we saw two Negroes swimming from her, but before we could reach them with our Boats, some Sharks rose from the bottom, and tore them in Pieces. We came presently along the side of the Ship, where we found two Men-Negroes holding by a Rope, with their heads just above water; they were afraid, it seems, to swim from the Ship's side, having seen their Companions devoured just before by the Sharks. These two Slaves we took into our Boat, and then went into the Ship, where we found the Negroes very quiet, and all under Deck; but the Ship's Company was on the Quarter-deck, in a great Confusion, saying, "The Cooper, who had been placed centry at the Fore-hatch way, over the Men-Negroes, was, they believed, kill'd by them." I was surprized to hear this, wondring that these cowardly fellows, who had so vigorously opposed my taking the Slaves out, a few hours before, had not Courage enough to venture forward, to save their Ship-mate; but had secured themselves by shutting the Quarter-deck door, where they all stood with Arms in their Hands. So I went to the fore-part of the Ship with some of my People, and there we found the Cooper lying on his back quite dead, his Scull being cleft asunder with a Hatchet that lay by him. At the sight of this I called for the Linguist, and bid him ask the Negroes between Decks, "Who had killed the white Man?" They

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answered, "They knew nothing of the matter; for there had been no design of mutinying among them:" Which upon Examination we found true; for above one hundred of the Negroes then on board, being bought to the Windward, did not understand a word of the Gold-Coast Language, and so had not been in the Plot. But this Mutiny was contrived by a few Cormantee-Negroes, who had been purchased about two or three days before. At last, one of the two Men-Negroes we had taken up along the Ship side, impeached his Companion, and he readily confessed he had kill'd the Cooper, with no other View, but that he and his Countrymen might escape undiscovered by swimming on Shore. For on their coming upon Deck, they observed, that all the white Men set to watch were asleep; and having found the Cook's Hatchet by the Fire-place, he took it up, not designing then to do any Mischief with it; but passing by the Cooper, who was centry, and he beginning to awake, the Negroe rashly struck him on the head with it, and then jump'd overboard. Upon this frank Confession, the white Men would have cut him to Pieces; but I prevented it, and carried him to my own Ship. Early the next morning, I went on board the *Elizabeth* with my Boats, and sent away all the Negroes then in her, into my own Ship: not one of the other Ship's Company offering to oppose it. Two of them, the Carpenter and Steward, desired to go with me, which I readily granted; and by way of Security for the future success of the Voyage, I put my chief Mate, and four of my under Officers (with their own Consent,) on board the *Elizabeth*; and they arrived, about five Months after this, at Jamaica, having disposed of most part of the Cargoe.

After having sent the Slaves out of the *Elizabeth,* as I have just now mentioned, I went on board my own Ship; and there being then in the Road of Anamaboe, eight sail of Ships besides us, I sent an Officer in my Boat to the Commanders of them, "To desire their Company on board my Ship, because I had an Affair of great Consequence to communicate to them." Soon after, most of them were pleased to come; and I having acquainted them with the whole Matter, and they having also heard the Negroe's Confession, "That he had killed the white Man;" They unanimously advised me to put him to death; arguing, "That Blood required Blood, by all Laws both divine and human; especially as there was in this Case the clearest Proof, namely the Murderer's Confession: Moreover this would in all probability prevent future Mischiefs; for by publickly executing this Person at the Ship's Fore-yard Arm, the Negroes on board their Ships would see it; and as they were very much disposed to mutiny, it might prevent them from attempting it." These Reasons, with my being in the same Circumstances, made me comply.

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Accordingly we acquainted the Negroe, that he was to die in an hour's time for murdering the white Man. He answered, "He must confess it was a rash Action in him to kill him; but he desired me to consider, that if I put him to death, I should lose all the Money I had paid for him." To this I bid the Interpreter reply, "That tho' I knew it was customary in his Country to commute for Murder by a Sum of Money, yet it was not so with us; and he should find that I had no regard to my Profit in this respect: For as soon as an Hour-Glass, just then turned, was run out, he should be put to death;" At which I observed he shewed no Concern.

Hereupon the other Commanders went on board their respective Ships, in order to have all their Negroes upon Deck at the time of Execution, and to inform them of the occasion of it. The Hour-Glass being run out, the Murderer was carried on the Ship's Fore-castle, where he had a Rope fastened under his Arms, in order to be hoisted up to the Fore-yard Arm, to be shot to death. This some of his Countrymen observing, told him, (as the Linguist informed me afterwards) "That they would not have him to be frightened; for it was plain I did not design to put him to death, otherwise the Rope would have been put about his neck, to hang him." For it seems they had no thought of his being shot; judging he was only to be hoisted up to the Yard-arm, in order to scare him: But they immediately saw the contrary; for as soon as he was hoisted up, ten white Men who were placed behind the Barricado on the Quarter-deck fired their Musquets, and instantly killed him. This struck a sudden Damp upon our Negroe-Men, who thought, that, on account of my Profit, I would not have executed him.

The Body being cut down upon the Deck, the Head was cut off, and thrown overboard. This last part was done, to let our Negroes see, that all who offended thus, should be served in the same manner. For many of the Blacks believe, that if they are put to death and not dismembred, they shall return agaln to their own Country, after they are thrown overboard. But neither the Person that was executed, nor his Countrymen of Cormantee (as I understood afterwards,) were so weak as to believe any such thing; tho' many I had on board from other Countries had that Opinion.

When the Execution was over, I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the Men-Negroes, "That now they might judge, no one that killed a white Man should be spared:" And I thought proper now to acquaint them once for all, "That if they attempted to mutiny again, I should be obliged to punish the Ringleaders with death, in order to prevent further Mischief." Upon this they all promised to be obedient, and I assured them they should be kindly used, if they kept their Promise: which they faithfully did. For we sailed, two

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days after, from Anamaboe for Jamaica; and tho' they were on board near four Months, from our going off the Coast, till they were sold at that Island, they never gave us the least reason to be jealous of them; which doubtless was owing to the execution of the white Man's Murderer.

After the Captain [Messervy, of *Ferrers* galley] had told me this story, he desired me to spare him some Rice, having heard, I had purchased a great many Tuns to the Windward; where he had bought little, not expecting to meet with so many Slaves. This request I could not comply with, having provided no more than was necessary for my self, and for another of my Owner's Ships, which I quickly expected. And understanding from him, that he had never been on the Coast of Guinea before, I took the liberty to observe to him, "That as he had on board so many Negroes of one Town and Language, it required the utmost Care and Management to keep them from mutinying; and that I was sorry he had so little Rice for them: For I had experienced that the Windward Slaves are always very fond of it, it being their usual Food in their own Country; and he might certainly expect dissatisfactions and Uneasiness amongst them for want of a sufficient quantity."

This he took kindly, and having asked my Advice about other Matters, took his leave, inviting me to come next day to see him. I went accordingly on board his Ship, about three a clock in the afternoon. At four a clock the Negroes went to Supper, and Captain Messervy desired me to excuse him for a quarter of an hour, whilst he went forward to see the Men-Negroes served with Victuals. I observed from the Quarter-Deck, that he himself put Pepper and Palm Oyl amongst the Rice they were going to eat. When he came back to me, I could not forbear observing to him, "How imprudent it was in him to do so: For tho' it was proper for a Commander sometimes to go forward, and observe how things were managed; yet he ought to take a proper time, and have a good many of his white People in Arms when he went; or else the having him so much in their Power, might incourage the Slaves to mutiny: For he might depend upon it, they always aim at the chief Person in the Ship, whom they soon distinguish by the respect shown him by the rest of the People."

He thanked me for this Advice, but did not seem to relish it; saying, "He thought the old Proverb good, that "The Master's Eye makes the Horse fat." We then fell into other Discourse, and among other things he told me, "He designed to go away in a few days:" Accordingly he sailed three days after for Jamaica. Some Months after I went for that place, where at my arrival I found his Ship, and had the following melancholy account of his Death, which happened about ten days after he left the Coast of Guinea in this manner.

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Being on the Forecastle of the Ship, amongst the Men-Negroes, when they were eating their Victuals, they laid hold on him, and beat out his Brains with the little Tubs, out of which they eat their boiled Rice. This Mutiny having been plotted amongst all the grown Negroes on board, they run to the forepart of the Ship in a body, and endeavoured to force the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck, not regarding the Musquets or Half Pikes, that were presented to their Breasts by the white Men, through the Loop-holes. So that at last the chief Mate was obliged to order one of the Quarter-deck Guns laden with Partridge-Shot, to be fired amongst them; which occasioned a terrible Destruction: For there were near eighty Negroes kill'd and drowned, many jumping overboard when the Gun was fired. This indeed put an end to the Mutiny, but most of the Slaves that remained alive grew so sullen, that several of them were starved to death, obstinately refusing to take any Sustenance: And after the Ship was arrived at Jamaica, they attempted twice to mutiny, before the Sale of them began. This with their former Misbehaviour coming to be publickly known, none of the Planters cared to buy them, tho' offered at a low Price. So that this proved a very unsuccessful Voyage, for the Ship was detained many Months at Jamaica on that account, and at last was lost there in a Hurricane (pp. 162-191).[17] . . .

[17] Tales of mutinies abound in the literature of the slave trade from this time on, many of them being printed in the colonial newspapers. There is little question but that they became much more common as the trade fell into the hands of independent traders, who probably were more careless in their supervision of the negroes, and who carried smaller crews in comparison with the size of their cargoes than had the company vessels.

Book III. relates Snelgrave's capture by the pirates, in 1718. Ten English vessels had already been seized when Snelgrave arrived on the coast (pp. 193-288).

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168. Journal of the *Judith* Snow.[1]

London the 8th July, 1728.

Invoice of the Sundry Goods and Merchandize Shipped on board the "Judith" Snow Capt. Anthony Overstall Commander, and Consigned to the Said Anthony Overstall, To be disposed of on the Coast of Africa For Negroes, Gold, Elephants Teeth etc. For the proper account and risque of Owners of said Ship and Cargoe, Under Mark and Numbers as per Margent. Dr. To Cost and Charges is . . .

Pewter in 13 Barrells.

				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
No. 1 to 13.	No. 1. qt. 50 3	Guinea Basons at	1. 1. 6						
	2. 50 2	Ditto	1. 1. 6						
	3. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 7						
	4. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 8						
	5. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 6						
	6. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 6						
	7. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 6						
	8. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 7						
	9. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 7						
	10. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 6						
	11. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 7						
	12. 50 3	Ditto	1. 1. 7						
	13. 100 2	Ditto	1. 3. 1						
			17. 1. 24	Tuttle 1956 at 12 peese	}	97	16		
	13 Barrels					1	6	99	2

[168] [1] Columbia University, Montgomery Library of Accounting, School of Business, "Book containing Orders and Instructions to Anthony Overstall commander of the *Judith* Snow, for the coast of Africa; with an Invoice of his Cargoe and Journal of Trade on the Sd. Coast. Voyage the 6th, July the 8th, anno 1728."

The book containing the orders, invoices, and journal of the *Judith* is bound in white vellum, and is in excellent condition. A part of it is here printed through the kindness of the librarian. The owner of the *Judith* was that Humphrey Morice who owned the *Katherine*, which Captain Snelgrave commanded. The first page of this volume gives the signals to be observed between ships in the service of Morice, but does not name his vessels.

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Guns in 32 Chests.

14	to	21.	8 Chests each	qt.	25 is 200	Buccaneer Guns	at 15/	per gun	150		
			24 Ditto		25 600	Trading Ditto	10/		300		
			8 Chests				at 6/6		2	12	
			24 Ditto				at 5/6		6	12	
											459 4
Battery.											
No. 46			A cask	qt.	200	Brass pans 3. 18	at 2/6	per pan	26		
						A Cask				5	
											26 5
Woollen Goods.											
47	to	55.	9 Bales each	qt.	25 is 225	blue Long Ells	at 20/	per pcc.	225		
		56.	1 Bale Conta.		15	blue Long Ells	at 20/		15		
					6	green Ditto	at 20/		6		
57	to	60	4 Bales each	qt.	25 is 100	Blue Says	at 30/		150		
61	to	63	3 Ditto		25 75	Large Blue Ranters	at 14/		52	10	
64	to	69	6 Ditto		25 150	Middling Blue Ditto	11/		82	10	
		70	1 Bale Conta.		21	Middling Blue Ditto at 11/	11 11				
					8	Middling Green Ditto at 11/	4 8		15	19	
71	to	74	4 Bales each	qt.	25 is 100	Large Green Ranters	at 14/		70		
											619 19
											[616]

Cowries in 4 Casks.

75 qt. to qt. 78

		gr.	c		
No. 75 qt.	4	1	15	Tare	71
76	4	1	—		64
77	4	—	21		69
78	4	—	3		61
	16	3	11		265
	2	1	13	Tare	
	14	1	26	Nett Cowries at £7 per Cwt.	

101 7 6

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[*Journal of the "Judith"*—continued:]

India Goods.							£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
No. 79	A cace	qt.	20	Cuttanees	at 30/		30					
			10	photaes	at 11/6		5	15				
			10	Coopees	at 14/		7					
			20	Romalls Cotton	at 11/6		11	10				
			10	Charconnaes	at 28/		14					
			20	Carroderrys	at 9/6		9	10				
80	1 Ditto	qt.	10	photaes	at 11/6		5	15				
			30	Cotton Romalls	at 11/6		17	5				
			40	Chints 13 yds	at 13/		26					
			10	Carroderrys	at 9/6		4	15				
			10	Coopees	at 14/		7					
81	1 Ditto	at	100	Seersuckers	at 18/		90					
			10	Chints 13 yds	at 13/		6	10				
82	1 Ditto	qt.	150	Chillae Brawles	at 3/6		26	5				
83	1 Ditto	qt.	30	Broad Chints 9 yds	at 7/6		11	5				
			20	Niccanees Small	at 8/6		8	10				
			30	Brawles	at 5/		7	10				
			30	Guinea Stuffs	at 2/8		4					
			40	Blue Baffts[2] 16 yds.	at 19		38					
84	1 Ditto	qt.	60	Niccanees Small	at 8/6		25	10				
			10	Broad Chints 9 yds	at 7/6		3	15				
85	1 Ditto	qt.	10	Bejuta pauls	at 17/		8	10				
			10	Negane pauls	at 17/		8	10				
			30	Bombay Stuffs	at 30/		45					
			22	Broad Chints 9 yds	at 7/6		8	5				
86	1 Ditto	qt.	20	Niccanees Large	at 11/		11					
			20	Ditto small	at 8/6		8	10				
			8	Broad Chints 9 yds.	at 7/6		3					
			10	Chelloes	at 15/		7	10				
87	1 Ditto	qt.	70	Dittoe	at 15/		52	10				
88	1 Ditto	qt.	73	Brawles 2 clouts each	at 4/6		16	8	6			
			61	Ditto 3 Do.	at 4/6		13	14	6			
89 to 93	5 Chests each	qt.	65 is 325	old sheets	at 22		29	15	10			
			10	Caces			3	13	6			
	Charges at Customs House							17		576	19	4

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Gunpowder, Malt Spirits, Tallow and Beans.

No.										
	21 Barrells each	qt. 36 is 756 Gunpowder	at 45/ per barrell	47	5					
	31 Ditto each	qt. 18 is 558 Ditto	at 22/6 per Barr'll	34	17	6				
	50 Half Anckors of Malt Spirits		at 12 each	30						
	207 Keggs of Tallow		at 6/ per kegg	62	2					
	30 Quarters of Beans		at 25/ per Qr.	37	10					
							211	14	6	

Cotton Ware.

94	A cace qt. No. 1.	a parcell qt. 10 Dozen Handkerchers ¾ yd. wide	at 12/ per dozen	24					
	2.	10 Ditto							
	3.	10 Ditto							
	4.	10 Ditto							
	5.	10 Ditto 25 inch's wide	at 13/6 Do.	6	15				
	6.	10 Ditto 27 Ditto	at 14/6 Do.	7	5				
	7.	10 Ditto 29 Ditto	at 16/ Do.	8					
	8.	10 Ditto 31 Ditto	at 18/ Do.	9					
	9.	10 Ditto 24 Ditto	at 11/6 Do.	5	15				
		A Cace			5				
							61		
	To Carta, Lightera, portera, Wharfa, Searchers fees, Custome Cocketts, etc. at 2 per Cent						43	1	
	To Premio of £2190 Insurance at 8 guin's per Cent; and pollicy						184	3	8
							£2379	16	

Errors Excepted

per HUM: MORICE

[2] It is possible that here and elsewhere this should be *basts*.

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LONDON the 8th July 1728.

Capt. Anthony Overstall, It is my Orders that you proceed immediately with my *Judith* Snow to Gravesend and so soon as you have paid your Officers and Seamen their River pay and cleared at the Fort, that you then make the best of your way for the Downes and proceed directly through Channell for the Coast of Africa. Let your Great Guns and small Armes be Loaded and in readiness for use and Service upon any occasion that may happen, and let Instructions be put in your Steerage to assigne proper Quarters for your Officers and Seamen how to be stationed in case of Action by this meanes you may prevent being surprised by any Enemies whatsoever being allways upon your guard and defence, and it may likewise be usefull to you should hereafter an Insurrection happen or be attempted amongst your Negroes.

God granting you to arrive in safety upon the Coast of Africa you must touch at Sestos or any other good Places to Windward to Wood and Water as you shall judge best for that purpose and to Supply your Selfe with Rice and Mallageta, make what Trade you can at all places for Gold, Elephants Teeth, Negroes, or any other Commodity you can meet with for my advantage.

Bee as expeditious as possible to furnish your Selfe with Wood Water Rice Corn and Mallageta and in making what sales you can of your Cargoe on the Windward part of the Coast where I am in hopes you will meet with very good Trade and plenty of Gold.

In all probability you will hear of my Ship the *Portugall* Gally, Capt. Joseph Traharne, upon the Coast of Africa and possibly you may go out from hence with my Ship *Katherine* Gally, Capt. John Dagge, or meet her on the Coast of Africa therefore it is my desire and Orders on your meeting with these vessells, or any other in my Service that you consult and agree together what is proper to be done for my Interest in every Ship and you and such other Commds: are at Liberty to deliver any Goods Negroes or Stores out of one Ship into the Other giving a Receipt to each other for the same, it being my Intention for all Commanders in my Imploy to do all manner of Good Offices to one another and to forward and assist each others dispatch off the Coast of Africa as may be most for my Interest haveing a Regard to give preference to such Ships departure as her Circumstances may require to be first sent off the Coast and carries the greatest Number of Negroes.

And if it is your good fortune to meet with success in your Trade to Windward I would have you follow Capt. Dagge and Capt. Traharne from Place to Place to put what Negroes you have purchased aboard either the *Katherine* or *Portugall* and receive from Capt. Dagge and Capt. Traharne such Goods as may

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be a proper assortment for you to purchase more Negroes withall which you may be capable of effecting considering how well your Vesell Sails and can turn to Windward.

You must touch at the Mine and deliver my Letters to the Dutch Gentlemen there, I hope you will be able to sell part of your Cargoe to them for Gold, you must receive from those Gentlemen and all others what ever Gold they will Ship aboard you, and consigne the same to mee.

You must stop at Cape Coast Castle and go ashore to waite upon Governor Franklyn, and deliver him my Letter and see if he is disposed to make any Trade with you for any part of your Cargoe for Gold, after haveing paid your Compliments to him I would have you proceed to Leeward in quest of Capt. Dagge and Capt. Traharne.

I would have you call at Accra and waite upon the Danes Generall there and inquire if any Ship which belongs to mee that the Commander thereof has left any Goods in his hands to be accountable to the Commander of the next Ship in my Service that calls there, and you must receive from the Danes Generall the produce of such Goods as he is accountable for, in Gold Negroes or Elephants Teeth according to the agreement you find such Commanders in my Service have made with the Danes Generall which you will be a Judge of when he produces to you the Contract between them and him, and if you find him to have acted honourably and faire by mee you may leave any Goods with him which you have left unsold that are not fitt for Trade to Leeward takeing his Receipt for such Goods you leave with him to be accountable to the next Commander that comes there in my Service for the value thereof, at such prices and Termes as he and you shall agree upon for the Sales of the European Goods you deliver him, and the rates and prices you are to take the Affrican Commoditys at which are to be delivered to my future Commanders which call at Accra for the value.

I would have you touch at Quittah, Affalahoe, and Popoe which are places of Good Trade and from thence I would have you send a Messenger by Land to Whydah or Jacqueen to Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne, to give an account of your being there, and to advise either of them the Number of Negroes you have aboard, and whatever you think necessary to informe either of them, that you hear may be Trading there, and that you will stay there untill you have an answer, and that you will be ready to come down to Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne to Whydah or Jacqueen whenever they give you Notice to come to them to deliver what Negroes you have aboard to them and receive what Goods either of them may have left, or that they may put your full Compliment of Negroes aboard your Vessell to dispatch you of, and you deliver them what Goods you have left,

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in fine I mean for you and the other Commanders in my Imploy to agree together and make such a disposition of your affaires as may be most for my Interest.

If you continue upon the Coast I would have you put aboard Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne what Gold and Elephants Teeth you have aboard and take three Receipts for same One Receipt send mee by the *Katherine* or *Portugall* another send mee by the first opportunity you meet with afterwards and the other bring home along with you, pray observe that a Messenger will go by Land from Popoe to Whydah and back againe in 48 hours time or less, and should Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne make their Trade at Jacqueen, you must then contrive to have a Cannoe to carry your Letter from Whydah to Jacqueen, and you may desire Mr. Willson the African Companys Chief at Whydah, to hire a Cannoe for that purpose, and assure him you will reimburse him what charges he may be at therein. On Receipt of Capt. Dagges or Capt. Traharnes answer you must Regulate and govern your Selfe accordingly either to receive from them your full compliment of Negroes and proceed off the Coast directly after delivering them the Goods of your Cargoe you have remaining unsold or to deliver either of them your Negroes aboard and receive from them the Goods they have left and so for you to continue longer upon the Coast and returne back againe to Windward as they and you shall agree upon.

I am in hopes that you will be able to dispose of the most part of your Cargoe for Gold and likewise to sell what Negroes you purchase to the Portuguese and others for Gold, and I had rather that you should sell your Negroes for Five Ounces of Gold per head for men, and proportionably for Women Boys and Girles, whereby the hazard of Mortality will be avoided carrying them to the West Indies, therefore do you exert your Selfe to Convert your Cargoe and Negroes into Gold which will be a certainty.

Haveing finished the Sales of the Cargo of Goods you carry from hence and leaveing what remaines undisposed of with the Commander of such Ship in my Imploy as you leave behind you upon the Coast of Africa, you must proceed from thence to Barbados where God Granting you to arrive in safety you must apply your Selfe to Messrs. Withers and Harrison Merchant there to whom I would have you deliver your Cargoe of Negroes provided they give you hopes of selling the same at £30 per head in that Island, nay I will acquiesce to £28 per head Barbados money round in an Average, and if you sell your Negroes there Messrs. Withers and Harrison will supply you with money to pay our Seamens Wages, and for necessarys for the use of your Ship and Load her home for London without loss of time, and you must observe said Gentlemens Orders

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as to your returne home to Great Brittaine, If Messrs Withers and Harrison should desire to have from you 50 or 100 Negroes you may deliver them the same but you must take a particular care not to unsort your Cargoe of Negroes thereby only furnish them with a Number in Allottment proportionable to what you have aboard. Should it fall out that you cannot sell your Negroes at Barbados you must then proceed to Antegoa and apply your Selfe to Collo. Edward Byam and Mr. George Byam who possibly may dispose of part of your Negroes for Bills of Exchange but you must take care not to unsort your Negroes there likewise by selling only the best, which will ruine the Sale of the remainder therefore it behoves you to take care of that particular as I cautioned you already to do at Barbados. I hope you may gett at Antegoa £24 to £25 Sterling per head for what Negroes you may Sell there, if you end the Sales of your whole Cargoe there Messrs. Byam and Compa. will supply you with money to pay your Seamens Wages and Load your Ship for London.

But if you cannot effect the Sales of your whole Cargo you must then proceed from Antegoa to St. Christophers and apply your Selfe to Mr. John Willet Merchant there to whom I would have you deliver all your Cargoe of Negroes provided he gives you encouragement for the Sales thereof and I shall write him directly from hence my Orders concerning their disposall should you finish the Sales of your Negroes at St. Christophers, you will be supplyed there by Mr. Willett with a Loading of Sugar for London and with money to pay your Seamens Wages and for your Ships use.

You not meeting with a Markett at Barbados or the Leeward Islands you must make the best of your way for Jamaica, and so soon as you are in sight of Kingston hoist your Jack at your foretopmasthead, and fire three Guns a Minute after each other and carry a Whiffe in your Ensigne as a Signall for Messrs. Basnett, Tymms and Hyde to come off to you and consult about the Sale of your Cargoe of Negroes or to send your Ship to the Spanish West Indies to sell your Negroes there if opportunity offers, so you must follow their Ordres as to your further proceedings.

You may make the above Signall at Barbados, Antegoa and St. Christophers and I will give notice thereof to the Gentlemen at Each Island.

You must be mindfull to have your Negroes Shaved and made Clean to look well and strike a good impression on the Buyers at whatever place you touch at, where you may have hopes of selling them which may prove of considerable advantage to mee in their Sales, for as they appear Att first sight the Planters represent to one another their quality and goodness as they are affected with their looks and appearance.

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You will observe by your Invoice the Cargo I have put aboard you here at London amounts to £2379. 16. Sterling and you well know that the Goods are the best Commodities in their kind, that I am in hopes you will meet with a good Sale and quick dispatch for your Cargoe an Account of the Disposall thereof you must daily enter down in this Book of Trade of all Goods you sell or buy, expressing the price and species of Goods disposed of in words at length, and what you purchase with the same, setting down the day of the Month and place where you made such Traffick paid Customes or any Materiall thing happening relateing to your Cargoe, and the Transactions of every days Trade must be signed by your selfe first, and Second Mate, and Doctor, or so many of them as are present where such Sales are made and such Goods purchased and a Copy of this Book on Sheets of paper you must send mee from time to time by all opportunitys.

Your own and Officers Negroes which I permitt you and them to carry free of freight I have sett down at Bottom of these my Instructions and must be all purchased with your own proper Goods on the Coast of Africa and mark'd with each mans own mark, which I grant you and them Liberty to sell at Barbados Jamaica or elswhere as you and they think fitt.

In case of your Mortality (which God forbid) I appoint Mr. Thomas Sunn [Tunn?] your Chiefe Mate to succeed you in the Command of my *Judith* Snow who must act in the manageing the Sales of the Cargoe, and purchasing Negroes, Gold, Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities, and upon your demise your Successor must take an Exact Inventory of all the Goods aboard both what relates to your own Adventure as well as that of my Cargoe, and this Inventory must be Signed by your Successor and all the Principall Officers on Board in an Entry made for that purpose in your book of Trade, and a copy of such Entry must be sent mee by the first conveyance that offers that right and Justice may be done to the Relations of the deceased, I expect that you should keep a faire Account of the Disposition of your own adventure And what you purchase therewith to be produced to mee if required, the same I expect from your Officers as to their Adventures which you should give them notice of that they may keep an Account accordingly.

Other Officers must succeed in Course unless they prove insufficient for their Posts and you order otherwise during your lifetime or your Successor finds it for my Benefitt to remove any Officer from his Station for bad Conduct or inability in such case he must promote the next in Succession to that Post which such a one would naturally have filled had not incapacity or want of Meritt disqualified him from being put into that Post.

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Every Officer must subject himselfe to these my Orders and Instructions in every respect as they will answer the contrary at their Perill.

Herewith you have your Mediterranean Pass Plantation Certificate and Ships Register which you must lay up in some place that may be secure from Wett and allways ready at hand when wanted.

You must take especiall care not to lower and depreciate the prices of my Goods in your cargoe for that will be an unspeakable disadvantage to mee you haveing a large assortment of all sorts of Goods and can Command the Trade as you please, and what you do will have a mighty influence on the Trade of my other Ships that may follow you.

You must not exceed the sume of £250. Sterling in the Adventure I permitt you to carry upon your own Account, including every thing whereof I give you this notice and warning that you may avoid trespassing upon the Allowance I have given you under forfeiture of your Commission Wages, and all Priviledge whatsoever.

Lett your Officers and Seamen be well used by you and have everything that is necessary and Convenient for them especially if sick and out of Order and let them have such refreshments as are proper for them when they work hard and are fatigued with hard labour in the Warm Climate of Africa.

Bee carefull of and kind to your Negroes and let them be well used by your Officers and Seamen. By all opportunitys let mee hear from you to know how Trade governs at all places and what Commodities are most in demand on the Coast of Affrica. And as it is impossible for mee to foresee and Provide against innumerable accidents that may happen to you in this Voyage I must therefore referr to your prudence care and good management the Conduct of this Ships Cargoe and Investment which I leave entirely to you to dispose of as you find most for my benefit and advantage depending on your Integrity and experience to do your best for mee in every particular so Committing you to the protection of the Almighty I remaine

Your assured Friend

HUM: MORICE

I allow you Capt. Anthony Overstall an Adventure of Two hundred and Fifty pounds Sterling and three Negroes Freight free.

I allow Mr. Thomas Sunn your Chiefe Mate an Adventure of Twenty pounds Sterling and one Negro freight free.

I allow Mr. Rich. Lightbody Your Surgeon an Adventure of Fifteen pounds Sterling and a Negro Boy Freight free.

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Acct. of Reice and Slaves Purchesed and Whatt Goods Paid[3]

Page the 1st		oz.	A.	Tc.
	To Twentey Guinea Stuffs at Two Aceys Each	2	8	
	To Nine peases of Broad Chints at five aceys ea	2	13	
	To a Loaven Small Niceneas at five Aceys Each	3	7	
	To Teen Brass panns at One Acey Each		10	
JUNKE the 2nd of Septemb'r	To Seaven peases of Blew Bafft, at Eight Aceyes Each	3	8	
	To One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Aceyes		5	
To the 4th	To Seaven Bralls of three Clowths at three Aceys Each	1	5	
	To the Treader for his Servis			
	Four twoo pound Beassen		3	
	The quantity of Reice purchased 8460 pounds	14	11	
JUNKE the 3rd of Sep'br 1728	To twoo Bucenear gunns Each Seaven Aceyes		14	
	To four Brass panns at One Aceye Each		4	
A boye No. 1		1	2	
	One Bucenear gunn at Eight Acceyes		8	
Ditto the 3d	To One Treaden gunn[4] at four Acceyes		4	
A boye No. 2	To twoo twoo pound Beassens		1	6
			13	6
	To twoo Bucenear gunns at Eight Acceys Each	1		
Ditto	To One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
the 3d	To twoo treaden gunns at four Acceyes Each		8	
A man No. 3	To Twoo twoo pound Beassens		1	6
		2	1	6
	To twelve too pound Beassens		8	
	To Teen three pound Beassens at one Acey Each		10	
At REIVER SISTERS[5] Sept. 6	To four treaden gunns at four Acceyes Each	1		
	To two Blew Baffts Each Eight Acceyes	1		
A boye and A Garell	To Two Quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Acceyes Each	1		
No. 5	To Two halfe Anchers at five Acceyes Each		10	
		4	12	

ANTHONY OVERSTALL
THOS. SUNN
ROBT. HAYSHAM[6]

[3] The *Judith* began her purchasing at Junk, which is on the Grain Coast, southeast of Cape Mesurado.

[4] Trading gun.

[5] Sestos River. The village of Sestos was not far from the mouth of the Junk River.

[6] These names, signed at the foot of each page of the journal, are omitted throughout the remainder of the excerpts here printed. On Sept. 20, and thereafter the name Francis Barber or Barker is added. From these signatures it is impossible to determine whether the chief mate was Thomas Tunn or Sunn.

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Acctt. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

Page 2		oz.	A.	Tc.
	To seaven two pound Beassens		5	
Sisters	To five three pound Beassens Each one Acceye		5	
the 7th	To Two Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		8	
of Sept. 1728	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
A boye	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Acceyes		5	
No. 6				
		1	15	
	Teen Three pound Beassen Each one Acceye		10	
Do. the	Seaven Two pound Beassen		5	
7th	Two Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		8	
A Garell	One quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Accys		8	
No. 7				
		1	15	
	One Treaden gunn at four Acceyes		4	
Do.	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceys		8	
the 7th	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Acceyes		5	
A boye	Seaven three pound Beassen Each one Accey		7	
No. 8				
		1	8	
	Teen three pound Beassens Each one Accey		10	
	Two Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		8	
Do.	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Acceys		5	
the 7th	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Aceys		8	
A boye	Five two pound Beassens		3	
No. 9				
		2	2	
	Teen three pound Beassen each one Accey		10	
	Teen Brass panns Each one Accey		10	
	Three Treaden gunns Each four Acceys		12	
Do.	One Blew Bafft at Eight Acceys		8	
the 7th	One quarter Barrell powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
A man	One Small Niconee at five Acceyes		5	
No. 10	Three two pound Beassens		2	
		3	7	
	Five three pound beassens Each One Accey		5	
	Aleaven two pound beassen at		7	6
Do.	Three Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		12	
the 9th	Five Brass panns Each One Accey		5	
A man-	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Aceys		5	
boy	One Blew Bafft at Eight Acceys		8	
No. 11	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
		3	2	6

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Acctt. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

Page 4

		oz.	A.	T.
	Four Treaden gunns at four Aceys Each	1		
	One Halfe Barrell of powder at one Ounce	1		
Bassam	Four peaper Bralles at Three Aceis Each		12	
the 16th	One Challow at Nine Aceis		9	
Sepbr	Four Cotton Ramalles at Six Aceis Each	1	8	
A man	Three Sheets at One Aci Each		3	
No. 13	One three Clout Brall at three Acey		3	
		5	3	

	Four Trading Gunns at four Accis Each	1		
	One halfe Barrell of powder at Sixteen Accis each	1		
	Foure paper Brawlls at three Accis each		12	
Do. the 16th	One Challow at Nine Accis each		9	
A man	Four Cotton Ramall at six Do.	1	8	
No. 14	Three Sheets at one Do.		3	
	One Three Cloth Brawll at three Do.		3	
		5	3	0

	One halfe Barrell of powder at Sixteen Accis	1		
	Foure Trading Gunns at four Accis Each	1		
Do. the	Two Challow at Nine Accis Each	1	2	
16th	Three Cotton Ramalls at six Do.	1	2	
A man	Twelve Sheets at one Do.		12	
No. 15	One three Cloth Brawll at Three Do		3	
		5	3	

	Two Quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Accis Each	1		
	Foure Trading Gunns at foure Do.	1		
Do. the	One Challow at Nine Do.		9	
16th	Thirteen Sheets at One Do.		13	
A woman	Two Cotton Ramalls at Six Do.		12	
No. 16				
		4	2	

	Eight Trading Gunns at foure Accis each	2		
	Two Quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Do.	1		
Do. the	One halfe Ancher of Spirits at Five Do.		5	
17th	One pice of Broad Chince at five Do.		5	
A woman	Two Brass panns at One Do.		2	
No. 17	One paper Brawll at three Do.		3	
		3	15	

Page 8

	Eight Trading Gunns at foure Accis Each	2		
Bassam	One Quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Do.		8	
Sept. the	One pice Broad Chince at Five Do.		5	
19th	One Challow at Nine Do.		9	
1728	Three Sheets at One Do.		3	
A woman				
No. 34				
		3	9	

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Acct. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

		oz.	A.	T.
Do.	Six Tradeing Gunns at foure Accis Each	1	8	
the 20th	One halfe Barrell of powder at Sixteen Do.	1		
A woman	Two Bras panns at One Do.		2	
No. 35	Two Sheets at One Do.		2	
		2	12	

Invoyce of Sundry goods and Merchantdize Shiped on bd the *Judith* Snow (Anthony Overstall Commander) by John Dagge (Comdr of the *Katherine* Gally) for propper Account of Humphrey Morrice (Esq. and Merchant) in the Citty of London and Owner of the said Ships and Cargoe under Mark and Number as the Margent

To Costs and Charges, *Vizt.*

		£	s
Bailes	is Four Bails Large Green Ranter		
Mark KG	Each qt. Twenty-five is One		
No. 185:192	Hundred at 14/8	70	
196:198			
No. 203	Is one Baile of Large Blew Do. qt. Twenty-five at 14/8	17	10
207	Is a Baile of Green Sais qt. 25 at 30/8	37	10
216:217	Is Two bails of Green Long Ells Qt. 25 is 50 at 20/8	50	
	Fivety Halfe Anchors of Spirits at 12/8 Each	30	
	Twelve 36 lb. Caggs of powder at 45/8	27	
	Tenn 18 lb. Do. at 22/6	11	5
	Thirty-six Dozen of Large Slope pointed knives at 2/9 per Dozen	4	19

Page 9		oz.	A.	T.
	Foure Trade Gunns At four Accis Each	1	—	—
	One Quarter Barrell of Powder at Eight Do	—	8	—
	Two pice of Broad Chince at five Do	—	10	—
Little Bassam	One halfe Ancher of Spirits at five	—	5	—
Septr the 27th	One phottoe at Seven	—	7	—
A Woman	One Cotton Ramall at Six	—	6	—
No. 36	Two Guinea Stuffs at one and halfe Do.	—	3	—
	One three Cloth Brawll at three Do	—	3	—
		3	10	—

	One Quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acces Each		8	
	Two Trade Gunns at four Do		8	
Do the 28th	Two pices of Broad Chince at five Do		10	
A Boy	Four Sheets—at One Do.		4	
No. 37		1	14	

	One Quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Accis Each	—	8	—
	Four Trade Gunns at four Do	1	—	—
	One Cotton Ramall at Six Do	—	6	—
Do the 28th	One pice Broad Chince at five Do	—	5	—
A woman	One three Clowt Brawll at three Do.	—	3	—
No. 38	Two Sheets at One Do.	—	2	—
		2	8	—

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Acct. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

		oz.	A.	T.
Little Bassam Mark P G	Rec'd from on board the *Portugall* Gally Joseph Treeharn Comd'r by the *Judith* Snow Long boate for the said Snow to the proper Account of Humphery Morrice Esq. and Merchant in the Citty of London the goods as pr Margent.			
No 84	is One Chest of Small Knives of one hundred Dozen Six Caggs of powder Each $\frac{el}{18}$ —			
Page the 14th				
Annamaboe[1] 8ber the 18th 1728 A Man No. 53	Six Large Blue Purpletts at five Ackees each	1	14	
	One Quarter Barrells pow[d]er at Eight Do.		8	
	Two Tradeing Gunns at foure Do.		8	
	Two Buckanneer Gunns at five Do.		10	
	Two halfe anchor of Spirritts at Do.		10	
	Two Caggs Tallow at three Do.		6	
	Twenty foure three pound Beassen at Two thirds Do.	1		
	One pice of thirteen yds Chints at Six Do.		6	
	Six Sheets at One Do		6	
	Foure Brass panns at Do.		4	
		6	8	
Do the 18th	Paid Custom to a Anneskan One halfe Anchor of Spirretts at five Ackees Each		5	
Do the 18th A Man No 54	One Large Blue Ell at Eight Ackees Each		8	
	One Do Green at Do		8	
	One Green Large purplett at five Do		5	
	Two blue Do at Do		10	
	Two Buckannar Gunns at Do		10	
	Twelve Brass panns at one Do		12	
	Thirty: three pound Bassens at Two thirds Do	1	4	
	Eight Brass panns at One Ackee Each		8	
	Three Caggs of Tallow at three Do		9	
	One halfe Anchor of Spirretts at five Do		5	
	Five Sheets at One Do		5	
		6	4	
Do the 18th	Custom To Aggee Eight Sheets		8	
	Paid for three hundred Yams One halfe Anchors of Spirretts at five Ackees Each		5	

[1] Before leaving Sestos, the *Judith* received from the *Portugall*, Capt. Traherne, additional casks of beads and brass pans. She traded at Bassam and Little Bassam until Oct. 5, buying 13 men, 14 women, 2 man-boys, 4 boys, and 1 girl. There are also occasional entries of purchases of gold. On the 6th the vessel was at Assini, where 1 woman was bought, on the 8th at Cape Appolonia, on the 10th at Ancobra, where 5 negroes were purchased. She arrived at Anamabo on Oct. 18. Here most of her slaves were obtained.

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An Acct of Slaves purchessed and What Good paid for them.

		oz.	A.	T.
Page 16				
ANNAMABOE 8ber the 19th 1728	For Custom to Great Corramantee foure Sheets		4	
	For Do. to little Do Do		4	
Do the 19th A Woman No 58	Foure Cotton Ramalls at Six Ackees Each	1	8	
	Four Small Nickanees at Do	1	4	
	Foure Middleing Blue purpletts at foure Do	1		
	Three Neguinea pauls at Eight Do	1	8	
		5	4	
Do the 19th	Custom To King of Annamaboe			
	Two Small Nickanees at five Ackees Each		10	
	One Bejuttapaul at Eight Do		8	
	Foure three pound Bassons at three quarters Do		3	
	One Cagg of Tallow at three Ackees Each		3	
	One Sheet at One Do		1	
	One halfe Anchor of Spirretts at five Do		5	
		1	14	
Do the 19th A Woman No 59	Three Buckanneer Gunns at five Ackees Each		15	
	Twelve three pound Bassons at two thirds Do		8	
	Two Caggs of Tallow at Three Do		6	
	One Bejuttapaul at Eight Do		8	
	One Large Green purplett at five Do		5	
	One Middleing Do at foure Do		4	
	One large Blue purplett at five Do		5	
	One Middleing Do at foure Do		4	
	Foure Brass panns at One Do		4	
	One Beguineapaul at Eight Do		8	
	Five Sheets at One		5	
	One halfe anchor of Spirritts at five Do.		5	
		4	13	
Do the 19	For Lymes and Codd pepper for the Slaves			
	One Middleing Blue purplett		4	
Page 43				
ANNAMABOE 9ber the 20th Damaged Goods paid for Ninety Chests of Corne at two Ackees pr. Chest.	Six Two pound Bassons at three fourths ech.	0	4	0
	Two Blue Long Ells at Eight Ackees Ech	1	0	0
	Two Middleing Blue perplets at foure Do	0	8	0
	Foure Large Green Do at five Do	1	4	0
	One Green Long Ell at Eight Do	0	8	0
	Nine Tradeing Gunns at foure Do	2	4	0
	Foure Challows at Eight Do	2	0	0
	Three pices of yd Chints at foure Do	0	12	0
	Three Small Nickannees at foure Do	0	12	0
	Five Blue halfe sayes at five and two fiffths	2	0	0
		11	4	0

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An Acct. of Slaves purchased and What Good paid for them.

		oz.	A.	T.
Do the 20th Paid for Lyme Juce Lyms and Aprabae[?]	Two halfe Anchors of Spirritts at five Ackees Ech	0	10	0
	Six paper Brawlls at two and halfe	0	9	0
	One phoattee at Six Ackees Ech	0	6	0
	Twelve Challow Brawlls at Two Do	1	8	0
	One Small Nickannee at foure Do	0	4	0
	Two Tradeing Gunns at foure Do	0	8	0
		3	13	0
Do the 20th pd. for 500 yams at 3 ackees and halfe pr. hunderd	Three Keggs of Tallow at three Ackees	0	9	0
	One Blue long Ell at Eight Do.	0	8	0
	halfe head of Beads at halfe Ackee	0	0	6
		1	1	6
	Drank Amongst the Trade Men and Others to Suport Trade and the Like etc from the first Coming on the Coast to the 19th of 9ber 1728			
	Eight half Anchors of Spirritts at five Ackees Each	2	8	0
	Paid Custom to Cape Corse for wattering the *Judith* Snow—			
	Two Buckanneer Gunns at five Ackees Each	0	10	0
	Two halfe Anchors of Spirritts at five Do	0	10	0
		1	4	0
	Paid for filling and [*illegible*] off watter at Cape Corse at one Tachee per Cask	0	7	1
	For Repairing two Globe Lamps at Cape Corse	0	2	0
		0	9	1

Page the 46th

Accrae xber the 3d 1728	These Recd from the Gentlemen at the Deans fort (In Barter for the following goods Left by Captn. John Dagg of the *Katherine* Gally) for the propper Acct. of humphrey Morrice Esqr. (Merchant in the Citty of London) pr. A: O.			
Recd Eleven men at oz. a T 6 8 and Three boyes oz. a T at 8 – –	Fiffty Tradeing Gunns at foure ackees Each	12	8	
	Fiffty paper Brawll at three Do.	9	6	
	Thirty halfe Anchors of Sperritts at foure Do.	7	8	
	Thirty five Challows at Six Do.	11	4	
	Fiffty pices of Cushlees at five Do.	15	10	
	Twenty Corriderrys at foure Do.	5	0	
Recd. Do Elephants Teeth Weghtt 787 pound at	Tenn peices of Cotton hankerchies at five Do.	3	2	
	Eight Quarter Barrells of powder at Seven Do.	3	8	
	Fiffty three pounds } Bassons Two two pound }	2	6	
Teeth fourteen at 2½ pr. Achee	Six Keggs of Tallow at two and halfe Eh.		15	
	Foure Cuttonnees at foureteen Each	3	8	
No. 146 to 159		74	—	

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Acct. of Slaves purchassed In the "Judith" Snow.

		oz.	A.	T.
Do. the 3d	To Make Compleat In full Between Esqr. Morrices Assignes and the Deans Gentlemen to this Day I have paid the following Goods.			
	Seven halfe Barrells of Powder at twelve Ackees Eh	5	4	
	Six. Quarter Do. Do. at Six Do.	2	4	
	Twenty five Buckanneer Gunns at five Do.	7	13	
	Twenty five Tradeing Gunns at foure Do.	6	4	
	Twenty three Keggs of Tallow at three Do.	4	5	
	Six Whole Anchors of Sperritts at tenn Do.	3	12	
	Six Corriderrys at five Do.	1	14	
		31	8	

Page the 95th

ANNAMABOE Feaby the 21st 1728/9	paid for One hund'd and Sixty Seven Chests of Corn at two Ack. Each—			
	Twenty Trading Gunns at foure Ack Eh	5	—	
	One hund'd Twenty Six Sheets at One Do	7	14	
	One hund'd Twenty three pd of Beads at three pd and ½ pr. Ack.	2	3	
	Six Blue Sayes Damaged at five Ack. Each	1	14	
	Seven green Sayes Do at five Do	2	3	
	Foure blue long Ells Do at foure Do	1	—	
	Three Green long Ell at foure Do	—	12	
		20	14	

To the Docter at Sev'll times for Rowllers and Spreading plasters.
Six Old Sheets

Expended for Tallowing Our boat Bottom at Sundry times
Foure Keggs of Tallow—

Expended for the Slaves from the 23d of Feab'y 1728/9 to Aprill the 26th 1729
Foure halfe Anchors of Spirretts
One Roll of Brazill Tabaccoe

March the 8th 1728/9	Dyed One Man Slave Mark	I: S
Do. the 31st 1729	Dyed One Woman	I: S
Aprill the 6th	Dyed One Man boy	I: S.
14th	Dyed One Man	I: S.
17th	Dyed One Woman	M. G.
19th	Dyed One Man	I: S.
22d	Dyed One Large Boy	I: S.

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Acct. of Slaves purchassed In the "Judith" Snow.

Page the 96th	An Acct of Goods Remaining In the *Judith* Aprill 27th 1729		
Barbadoes	Pewter Bason		1
	Buccannere Gunns		2
	Tradeing Do		90
	Brass pann		1
	Blue halfe Sayes	Damaged for Slaves Cloutes	3
	Middleing Blue perplt		9
	Large Green perplt		2
	Coopees		2
	Seer Suckers		5
	Old Sheets		201
	Beads Quantity pr wt.		324
	Rolls Brazell Tobaccoe		2

	Delivered to Messrs. Withers and Harrison Fourty-One Slaves *Vizett*	
	Boys Twenty Two	22
Barbadoes	Men boys Five	5
Aprill the 27th	Men Two	2
1729	Weomen Five	5
	Girls Seven	7
	Tottall	41

Do Aprill the 30th	Dyed One Quashaw Man Slave	Mark M. G
Sea May 3d	Dyed One Man Slave	I: S
Do the 17th	Dyed Two Men Slaves	I: S and M: G

Anthony Overstall
Thos. Tunn
Robt. Haysham
Francis Barker

Page the 97th	Mortallity of Slaves Deliverys and Sale of Some Good pr the *Judith*	
	Dyed Three Men Slaves	
	Delivered to Messrs. Bassnett Tyms and Hyde	
Kingston	One hundred Seventy Three Slaves *Viz.*	
June the 5th	Seventy Eight Men	78
1729	Thirty three Women	33
	Fifty two Boys Large and Small	52
	Ten Girls	10

169. Bounty demanded by the Company of the Indies.[1]

1728, September 15, Fontainebleau

Gratification demandée par la Compagnie des Indes pour les nègres apportés par ses Vaisseaux aux colonies avec approbation d'Orry, contrôleur général.

[169] [1] MSS. des Colonies, C2, 19, ff. 97-98. Inscribed: "A Font'au le 15e Sep'bre 1728. Neant au moyen: de Celuy du 20 avril 1729."

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Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes,

La Compagnie des Indes demande une ordonnance sur le Tresor royal pour la gratification de 13 *ll.* par chaque teste de Noirs qu'elle a Introduit dans les Colonies par ses vaisseaux venant de Guinée et du Senegal, laquelle gratification est ordonnée par la Declaration du mois de Janvier 1685. portant Etablissement d'une Compagnie de Guinée, et par l'art. 24 des Lettres patentes du mois de Mars 1696. portant Etablissement de la Comp'e du Senegal;

Sçavoir

Le Vaisseau la *Jolie* Capitaine Boüet a debarqué du petit Goave Suivant le certificat du 7 8'bre 1727. Signé Duclos	379.	testes de noirs
Le V'au la *Parfaite* Capitaine Noel de la Baronnie a debarqué au Cap françois Suivant le certificat du 20 Novembre 1727. Signé le Gentil et visé de Chastenoye	123.	
	502:	
De l'autre part	502:	
Le V'au la *Junon* Capitaine Grasson a debarqué au dit lieu, Suivant le certificat du 1er May 1728. Signé de Chastenaye et Gentil .	569:	
Le V'au la *Galathée* Capitaine Butler a debarqué au dit lieu Suivant le Certificat dudit jour Signé idem	390:	
Le V'au le *prince de Conty* Capitaine Tredillac a debarqué a la nouvelle Orleans Suivant le Certificat du 21 November 1727. Signé Perier	266:	
Le V'au le *duc de Noailles* Cap'ne Dupuys a debarqué au dit lieu Suivant le certificat du 8. avril 1728. Signé idem	262.	
Le V'au le *marquis de Coetquen* Capitaine de Ponthay a debarqué a la Martinique Suivant l'Etat du 15. Janvier 1728. Visé Blondel Jouvancourt et Marin cy	114.	
Le B'au *St. Charles* Cap'ne Villegegu Durand a debarqué au dit Lieu Suivant l'Etat du même Jour Visé id	25.	
	2128	
Cy Contre	2128.	
Le V'au la *Ceres* Capitaine Burgand Desbouchand a debarqué a la Martinique Suivant le Certificat du 7. avril 1728. Signé Burgand Desbouchand et Visé Chateaugué cy	267:	
Le V'au le *Maure* Capitaine Guesneau a debarqué audit lieu Suivant le certificat du 15 Avril 1728. Signé Guesneau et Visé Chateaugué cy	277.	
Le V'au le *duc du Maine* Capitaine la Vigne a debarqué au dit Lieu Suivant le certificat du 3. Juin 1728. Signé Blondel Jouvancourt	431:	
Le V'au le *Fortuné* Cap'ne de Bray a debarqué id. que dessus . . .	314:	
Le V'au le *duc de Bourbon* Cap'ne Texier a debarqué id	294:	
Le V'au *L'affriquain* Capitaine l'Epine forestier a debarqué id . .	189:	
La Corvette *l'Aquilon* Capitaine Basseterre a debarqué id	99:	
	3999:	
De l'autre part	3999:	
Le B'au le *Phoenix* Cap'ne Robinet a debarqué a la Martinique Suivant le certificat du 3. Juin 1728. Signé Blondel Jouvancourt	38.	
	4037	Testes
de Noirs a 13 *ll.* piece cy . . . . . 52481 *ll.*		

Il paroist juste d'expedier une ordonnance de la Somme de Cinquante deux mille quatre cent quatre vingt une livres.[2]

[2] Endorsed, "bon".

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170. Tyndall and Assheton to Isaac Hobhouse and Company.[1]

Kingston, Novemb. 13, 1729.

Gentlemen, Since our last we [have] Little to add, only we should have been glad to have recd a joint Letter from you, though severall Bristol ships are Lately arriv'd. The *John and Betty* arrived here the 4th Instant, with One hundred and fifty light negroes, she purchas'd two hundred and fifty, and have buried eleven or more since her arrivall. They are the worst Cargoe of Negroes have been imported for severall Years past. Our day of Sale was the 10th Instant, They were so badd Could not sell Tenn to the planters. We yesterday sold one hundred and five to Messrs Lamego and Furtado, at eighteen pounds Ten shillings per head, Which Considering the Condition the Negroes were in, is the greatest price have been given. The remainder are so very bad, Cannot gett £8 per head for them. Wee shall be oblig'd to sell them at Outcry[2] for the most they will Yield. This comes per *Aurora,* per whom have wrote before. she is a Clever Ship and the Master seems to be a man as knows his Business, And as the Guinea Trade must have a Turn if the Assiento open's, as at present it seems to have done,[3] There haveing Last night arrived from Portobell a South Sea Snow, that Carried over the Factors, Where they are Very well recd, And the Factor here now wants 4 or 500 negroes to send over, They haveing a permission till the Scedulas come over And they will no other but Pappaws, Gold Coast, or Angolas. We wish therefore you would send her either to the Gold Coast or Angola, and if any of the Owners chuse to sell, We should be obliged to you, to take for us such part they or any of them like to sell. The gold Coast Ship now expected if they arrive safe must meet with agreable Sails, here being at present now a demand for the Country, of near a thousand shares to be paid the first Sugars in the Cropp. And there will not be this next Year Insuing Negroes Enough For Especially Gold Coast and Angolas, for the demand, the South Sea Company being so much behind hand, of what the're to diliver yearly, By their Assiento Contract. We hope you will putt our friends in mind of the present Incouragement, And you may depend we shall do our Utmost to serve them. Sugars are grown very Scarce and most of the Ships here must Stay till the Cropp. Att present they are started 2/6 or 3/ per lb. But we hope as there is a prospect of a great Cropp, they will break Seasonable. Cotton, pimento and ginger, mostly ship't home. Rum 20 *d.* per

[170] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIII. 124. Tyndall and Richard Assheton were Jamaica correspondents of the Bristol firm Isaac Hobhouse and Onesiphorus Tyndall.

[2] That is, at public auction.

[3] The treaty of Seville, re-establishing the assiento, was signed Nov. 9, 1729.

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gallon, Indigo 2/10 *d.* all sorts of Provission's Cheap, new beef fallen to 47/6 per Barrill, next ship will bring it to 40/ We hope the Opening of the Assiento trade, will put some Life into the flower trade, which have been a Long time at a Low price and a dull market. We are very sorry for our friend harding But we hope if he sends his ship to Angola, as we addvised him, It was our opinion would be the best place for a ship of her Burthen, It will make some amends. Here are severall ship's will sail soon, per whom will Write. Till then we are with Utmost Respect

Messrs. Is. Hobhouse, and Ones. Tyndall.

171. Sale of a Cargo of Slaves.[1]

Barbados, Anno 1730.

Merch'ze being Negroes per the *Freke* gally John Bartlett Commr from Guinea for account of William Freke Esqr. and Company, Merch'ts in Bristoll.

	£	s.	d.
To Cash paid duty of 335 Negroes landed at 5/ per head	83.	15.	
To ditto paid Jno. Walker for landing 326 and Carr'ng 190 ab. the Ships	4.	14.	
To ditto paid for 6 pcs Niconees and 3 pcs perpetts for Clouts	5.	12.	6
To ditto paid for printing notes and for hire of Messingers to give notice round the Island of the Sale	5.	11.	
To ditto paid for greens and other provisions for the Slaves till Sold	10.	17.	9½
To ditto paid for Treating Customers during the Sale	25.	9.	3
To ditto paid for Yardroom and Lodging	12.		
To ditto paid the Vendue Master for outcrying	2.		
To Commission 5 per Cent	310.	7.	3
	460.	6.[1]	9½
To account Currant for Net proceeds hereof being Five thousand Seven hundred and Forty Six pounds Eighteen Shillings and two pence half penny Currant money	5746.	18.	2½
	6207.	5.	

Errors Excepted.

Thos. Withey.
Thos. Harrison.[2]

172. Invoice of Goods shipped to Africa.[1]

London, Jany 7 1729/30.

Invoyce of Sundry Goods shipt on board the "Nassau" Snow John Sidy Master bound for the Windward and Gold Coast of Affrica under the Marginal mark and Number Cons'd s'd Capt. for acct. as at Foot.

N G

No.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1 to 5	5 Casks qty. 1535 of Brass Guinea Pans Neptunes and Kettles at £8. 2. 6. (12 cwt. 0. 9) and 14 for 1 cwt. 2. 14	108.	15.	4			
	5 Casks	1.	5		110.		4

[171] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIV. 4.
[2] The firm is elsewhere referred to as Harrison and Withers. The list which follows shows sales of 141 men, 75 women, 65 boys, 48 girls, 329 in all, for £6207 5 *s.* Individual prices are not given.

[172] [1] Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager Papers, no. 4. The editor confesses to failure in interpreting many of the abbreviations of this invoice.

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[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

No.				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
6 a Case qty.	10. Cuttanees	at 29/ pr. p's.		14. 10. —		
	20. Photaes		10/6	10. 10. —		
	30. Silk Romalls		11/3	16. 17. 6		
	20. Striped Persian Taffaties		25/6	25. 10. —		
	20. Fine Silk Romalls		23/	23. —. —		
	15. Seersuckers		21/	15. 15. —		
	10. Coopes		18/6	9. 05. —		
	Case			—. 07. —	115. 14 6.	
7. a Case qty.	30. Chilloes	at	9/6	14. 5. —		
	30. Ditto red		11/6	17. 5. —		
	a Case			—. 4. 6	31. 14. 6	
8. a Case qty.	50. Romalls	at	11/	27. 10. —		
	a Case			—. 04. —	27. 14. —	
9. a Case qty.	10. Neganepants	at	16/6	8. 5. —		
	30. Bejutapants[3]		do	24. 15. —		
	40. Guinea Stuffs		2/6	5. —. —		
	Case			—. 9. —	38. 9. —	
10. a Case qty.	20. Tapseils	at	11/	11. —. —		
	20. Nicanees large		15/	15. — —		
	10. ditto		12/	6. — —		
	Case			—. 8. —	32. 8. —	
11. a Case qty.	21. blue Chilloes	at	15/6	16. 5. 6		
	29. red ditto		16/6	23. 18. 6		
	30. Chints Caddy		7/	10. 10. —		
	Case			—. 07. —	51. 1. —	
12. a Case qty.	100. Brawls at 5/ £25. —Junk and Packg.		6/		25. 6. —	
13. a Bale qty.	30. Blue Basts Fine at 22/6 £33.15-		Do. 3/		33. 18. —	
14 a Case qty.	20. Blue and white Callicoes	at	24/	24. —. —		
	100. Sletias		6/	30. —. —		
	20. Carpetts		4/3	4. 5. —		
	Case			—. 5. —	58. 10. —	
15 to 20.	6 Chests qty. 390 Old Sheets		at 20 *d.*		32. 10. —	447. 5. —
22-23. 26-27.	4. Bales qty. 120 Ranters, measg 1357 yds		at 6½ Dying 1/ each			
21. 1. do.	qty. 30 p's Ranters best broad Green		at 9/6		42. 15. —	
29. 1. do.	qty. 15 p's Ditto		7/		14. 5. —	
					5 5. —	62. 5. —

[3] These two articles are probably the same as those earlier designated as pauls. The word appears in both forms.

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[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

N G		To Amount of Sundrys			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
No. 24.	a Bale qty.	20	Long Ells	at 25/	25. —. —	
28.	a Bale qty.	10	Ditto		12. 10. —	
		30	p's Long Ells Dying	at 3/ p p's	4. 10. —	42.
25.	a Bale qty.	5	half Welch Plains qty. 387 yds.	at 11 *d.* p yd	17. 14. 9	
			Dying 15/ p p's		3. 15. —	21. 9. 9
30 to 42.	13 Cases qty.	175	Round Trading Gunns	at 7/3	63. 8. 9	
		75	Flatt ditto	7/5	27. 16. 3	
		25	Buckaneer	at 11/	13. 15. —	
		25	Musketts	at 8/	10. —. —	
		120	Cutlasses	1/8	10. —. —	
		13	Cases and larmer [?]		4. 3. —	129. 3. —
43.	a Cask qty.	10	Gross. 8 doz. Slopepointed Knives	at 45/	24. —. —	
			Cask 5/ Shiping 1/6		. 6. 6.	24. 6. 6
44.	a Box qty.	10	dozen Looking Glasses	6/	3. —. —	
		2	Gross Fine Steels	at 8/	—. 16. —	
			Box		—. 3. —	3. 19. —
45.	a Box qty.	78	parcells Sealing Wax. weit. 63 l.	at 22 *d.*	5. 15. 6.	
			Box		1. —	5. 16. 6
46.	a Box qty.	120	Masses of Fine Beads	at 1/	6. —. —	
		3000	Arangoes at 5/ per 100 £7. 10			
			Box 10 *d.*		7. 10. 10	13. 10. 10
48 to 52.	5 Casks qty.	520	Guinea Basons weit. 11 Ct. 03 qr. 23 l.	at 94/ per C.	51. 12. 2	
			Cask		1. 3. 6	52. 15. 8
53. 54.	2 Casks qty.	4	Ct. 01 qr. 16 l. Cowries	at £6. 10 per C.	28. 11. —	
			Casks		. 07. 6	28. 18. 6
56. 57.	2 Cases qty.	72	Men's Felt Hatts	at 14½ *d.*	4. 07. —	
		72	Ditto Laced	18½ *d.*	5. 11. —	
			Cases		. 11. 6	10. 9. 6
58.	a Cask qty.	798	Brass Manillaes wrot. weit. 248 oz.	at 2/	24. 16. —	
			Cask		—. 2. —	24. 18. —

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[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

					£ s. d.	£ s. d.
N	1. a Chest qty.	66	Bundles of Beeds weit 216 oz.	at 11 *d.*	9. 18. —	
		5	mil. Christal Strings	at £2. 6 per m.	11. 10. —	
			Chests and Cordage		—. 8. —	21. 16. —
	7. a Cask qty.	4	Cwt: 02 qr. of Sugar	at 32/ per Cwt	7. 4. —	
			Cask and Carta		—. 3. 6	7. 7. 6
	20. a Bale qty.	20	pair of 5. quarter Blankets	at 3/	3. —. —	
		20	pair of 6. quarter Ditto	4/9	4. 15. —	
			Packing and Looking over		—. 10. —	8. 5. —
	246. Barrs of Iron qty.	3	Ton	at £17. 15 per Ton	53. 5. —	
	a Basket qty.	18.	Splinter Padlocks	at 6/2 pr. doz.	—. 9. 3	
		6.	do	at 9/	—. 4. 6	
		24.	Flatt padlocks	5/7½	—. 11. 3	
			Cha. on Iron. Basket and Canvas		—. 9. 9	54. 19. 9
	137. Keggs qty.	14:01:24	Tallow	at 45/ per Cwt.	" 32. 11. —	
		137	Keggs		" 3. 19. 11	
			Wharfa. and Watera.		—. 2. 10	£36. 13. 9
	4. Casks qty.	24.	mil Flints	at 4/ per mil. £4. 16—		
				Cask 1/		£ 4. 17
	1. hhd Tobacco weit.		N. 456 oz.	at 2½ *d.* per oz.	4. 15. —	
			Charge		— 3. —	£ 4. 18.
	a Cask qty.	51	oz. of Worsted Fringe		2. 11. —	
			Casks		3. 6	£ 2. 14. 6
	a Cask qty.	10	bags Musquet Shott weit. 5 Ct.	at 18/ £4. 10.		
				Cask 4. 6.	4. 14. 6	
	20 Pigs of Lead	3	Cwt. 03 qr. 09 l.	at 16/6 per Cwt	3. 3. 2	
			Carriage		3. —	£ 8. —. 8

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[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
121. Keggs qty.	25 Barrels of Gun-powder at 70/. p Barl	87. 10. —	
	Less 3 per Cent for present money	2. 11. 9	
		84. 18. 3	
	70 Kegs at 8 *d.* and 51½ Barrl. at 10 *d.*	4. 9. 2	
	Watera.	10. —	£89. 17. 5
5 Casks qty.	650 Gallons of Malt Spirit at 18 per Galn	46. 10. —	
	4 Iron Bound Casks and Bar	2. 17. —	
	100 ½ Anchor at 1/6 each	7. 10. —	
	100. Spare hoops	. 1. 8	
	Waterage and Cha. on board	. 10	£57. 8. 8
			£1273. 15. 10
	Charges		
	Coqr. 5/6 Serch. 18/9 Portera. Wharfage Lighter and Carta. as per p'ticulars paid for Sundrys £2. 18. 5	4. 02. 08	
	Settg. Callendg makg up and Packg 120 Ranters with Gilt seals and Fillot at 2/3 ½ per p's	13. 15. —	
	Presg makg up and Packg 30 Long Ells wth. Paint'd Fillots and G't Seals	5. 02. 06	
	Settg Plaining measg makg and Packg 5 Welch Plains	1. 03. 04	£24. 03. 06
	To Commis's and Contingencies 2 per Cent	25. 16. —	
	Premio on £1300. at 5 per Cent with Policy	65. 04. 06	£91. —. 6
			£1388. 19. 10

John and Joseph Eyles	2/5	£	555. 11. 11
Burrington Goldsworthy	1/5	£	277. 15. 11
Hugh Raymond Esq.	1/5	£	277. 16. —
Peter Burrell[3]	1/5	£	277. 16. —
		£	1388. 19. 10

173. Tyndall and Assheton to Hobhouse and Company.[1]

Kingston Jam'ca, March 16th 1729/30.

Messrs. Is. Hobhouse and Ones. Tyndall,

Gent'n, By the Recommendation of Mr. Peter Beckford, We have consigned sundry Merch'ize to Capt. Thos. Beckford[2] Merch't in

[3] Peter Burrill was for some years subgovernor of the South Sea Company. It is probable that this cargo was sent by that company, to be exchanged with the African Company for slaves.

[173] [1] Jefferies MSS., Hobhouse Correspondence, p. 97.

[2] An earlier Peter Beckford, who died in 1710, had been lieutenant governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica, as well as agent for the Royal African Company. His son Peter, speaker of the Jamaica assembly, died in 1735. The Peter to whom reference is here made may have been this son, or a grandson, the fourth to bear the name. One Thomas Beckford was appointed to the Jamaica council in 1716, and at that time was objected to by Lord Archibald Hamilton as a "violent man in the assembly" and "opposed

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London, and intend (till We have a Vessell annually to use St. Anns and Bristol,[3] which may [be] in some time worth while) to send him what sugar we make at our Plantation.

Capt. Beckford was formerly an African Co. Director and if we are not mistaken is now a Director of the Banck.[4] We have wrote him of the arrival of the Schedulas [cedulas?] and of the great Demand here is and must continue for Negroes, and if he or any of his Friends would ingage in that Branch of Trade we would be concernd a sixth or an eighth provided she came direct from Guinea to Jamaica, and we have gave him further Power, in case he has not effects enough of ours in his hands to comply with such engagements to draw on you for it and which we desire you to honour, and if at any time you should be in advance on the first advice, shall Remitt and thankfully pay Interest and we shall always endeavour to do our utmost for the Interest and Honour of the House.

We must further intreat you if he should write for a security as it is usual in Guinea consignments haveing advised him that we would engage six eights per ship, and to Ballance in a twelve Month, and that you would give security accordingly.[5]

174. Contract of Francis Moore with the Royal African Company.[1]

[July 23, 1730.]

This indenture, made the Twenty-third Day of July, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty, and in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the

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to his Majesties policies". The Capt. Thomas Beckford here mentioned was in all probability a relative of the Jamaican branch of the family, even if not this Thomas. The Beckford family continued to exert great influence in plantation affairs and is the one alluded to by a pamphleteer of 1754, who complains of the influence of West India fortunes in British politics: "No less than three brothers from one of our Sugar islands . . . having offered themselves one for London, one for Bristol, and one for Salisbury, and a fourth . . . intended for a Wiltshire borough" (L. M. Penson, *Colonial Agents of the British West Indies*, 1924, p. 176, n. 2). William sat at this time as a member for London, Richard for Bristol, Julius for Salisbury. In the general election of 1754 Richard Beckford was referred to by an opponent as "a West Indian hog" and a "Negroe tyrant" (John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 310). See *Dictionary of National Biography* for the lives of various members of this large and famous family.

[3] That is, between St. Anne's and Bristol. Kingston, on the south side of Jamaica, was the usual port for Bristol vessels, but this seems to imply that Messrs. Tyndall and Assheton intended to use St. Anne's Bay, on the north side of the island.

[4] The name does not appear in the list of bank directors published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731.

[5] *I. e.*, six-eights of the purchase price of the negroes will be remitted when the vessel returns to Bristol, the remainder will receive one year's credit.

[174] [1] *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa: containing a Description of the Several Nations for the Space of Six Hundred Miles up the River Gambia . . . with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pholey, who was in England in the Year 1733, and Known by the Name of the African.* By Francis Moore, Factor several Years to the Royal African Company of England (London, 1739). Francis Moore, in the autumn of 1730 went to Africa as a "writer" for the Royal African Company. He was sent first to James Fort, near the mouth of the Gambia, then up the river to various posts. His contract with the company is from the appendix to his volume, no. I., pp. 1-5.

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second, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, etc., Defender of the Faith, etc. Between the Royal African Company of England of the one Part, and Francis Moore of London, Writer, of the other Part. Whereas the said Company upon the good Testimony and Character, they have received of the said Francis Moore, have entertained him the said Francis Moore into their Service in the Quality of a Writer at James Fort on James Island, in the River Gambia, or elsewhere, as the Company, or any of their Governors or chief Merchants for the Time being, at any of their Settlements in Africa, within the Limits of their Charter shall direct and appoint, for the Term of three Years certain, to commence from the time of his Arrival at James Fort, on James Island aforesaid, and for as long time after as he shall be by the said Royal African Company continued in the Place or Factories hereafter mentioned, to be employed in all or any of their Traffick, Merchandizes, Business or Affairs in any Place or Places whatsoever in Africa, wherein they or any by them authorized shall think fit to use or employ him. Now this Indenture Witnesseth, that the said Francis Moore for himself, his Executors and Administrators, doth covenant, promise and agree to and with the said Company and their Successors by these Presents, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will henceforth during the said Term of three Years and every part of the same, and for so long Time after as he shall be used or employed in the said Service of the said Company or their Successors well, duly and honestly serve the said Company and their Successors in all and every such Place and Places, and all and every such Affair and Business whatsoever, wherein they or such as shall be authorized shall employ or intrust him. And shall also from time to time, and at all times observe, keep, and pursue all and every the Orders, Directions or Instructions, which from time to time he shall receive from the said Company, or any other Person or Persons thereto authorized, or appointed by them, and to the utmost of his Power and Skill resist, and withstand all and every such Person or Persons as shall break, or endeavour to break the said Orders, Directions and Instructions, or any of them, or shall attempt or practice any Matter or Thing whatsoever, to the Hindrance or Damage of the said Company or their Successors, or of their Goods, Merchandizes, Trade or any of them, or any Part thereof. And as much as in him lies also prevent and defeat all and every such Practices, Attempts and Actions whatsoever, which shall or may tend to the Damage, defrauding or Prejudice of the said Company, or their Successors, or of their Goods or Traffick, or any Part thereof in any wise; and that he shall and will from time to time, and at all times from henceforth conceal without disclosing to any Person or Persons whatsoever, all such

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Matters as be delivered unto him as Secrets by any of the Agents Factors, or any other Officers of the said Company, or their Successors, that may any ways concern the said Company, or their Successors, to have the same concealed. And further, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will from time to time, and at all Times from henceforth, give true Notice and Intelligence, with all convenient Speed unto the said Company or their Successors for the time being, or to such as shall be by them authorized in that behalf, or some of them, of all and every intended Deceits, Wrongs, Abuses, Breach of Orders, Inconveniences, and Hindrances, as he the said Francis Moore shall know, or understand, or credibly hear to be contrived, done, practised, offered or intended to be done against the said Company or their Successors, or their Goods, or Trade, or any of them, or any Person or Persons by them employed, or in their Service in any Place or Places; together with the names of those Persons by whom the same shall be so contrived, offered, practised, or intended. And also, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will from time to time, and at all times from henceforth during his said Employment, keep a true and particular Journal of all his Proceedings relating to the Affairs of the said Company, and also Books of Accompts, wherein he shall daily, duly, and truly enter the Accompt of all and every particular Buying, Selling, Receipts, Payments, and all other Transactions relating to his Trust in the said Employment; and shall not charge, place, or put to the Accompt of the said Company for any Goods, Merchandizes, Negroe Servants, or Gold, which he shall buy, any more or greater Sums, or other Things than he shall really and *bona fide* pay, deliver, or exchange for the same. And also shall bring to Account in the said Books, the full Rates and Prices of all such Goods and Commodities as he shall sell, barter, or pay in Exchange for any Negroe Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, Beeswax, or other Commodities, which he shall be allow'd to purchase for the Accompts of the Company. Which said Books shall be produced and delivered to the said Company, or any other by them appointed to receive the same, whensoever the same shall be demanded or sent for. And shall also on Demand well and truly deliver and pay unto the said Company, or their Successors, all and every such Monies, Goods, Negroe Servants, Gold, or Merchandizes whatsoever, as by the Foot of the same Account or otherwise shall appear to be due to him, or to remain in his Hands or Possession, or for which he ought to be chargeable or answerable in any Manner whatsoever. And moreover, the said Francis Moore doth for himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, covenant and promise to and with the Company and their Successors by these Presents, that he the said Francis

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Moore shall not, nor will at any Time from henceforth during the time of his said Service, directly, or indirectly, by himself or any other, deal in, use, or practice any buying, selling, trading, bartering, or merchandizing in any Gold, Negroe Servants, Ammunition, Goods, or Commodities, of any Sort or Kind whatsoever. And shall not engage or employ either the Stocks of the said Company or any Part thereof, or make use of the Credit of the said Company in trading for any Commodities, either for himself or any others. And further, that in case he the said Francis Moore shall at any Time hereafter, during the time of his Employment in the Affairs of the said Company, or before he shall be discharged out of their Service, directly or indirectly by himself or any other, with his own Money or Merchandize, or with his own Credit, or with the Money, Merchandize, or Credit of any other, deal in, use or practise, any Buying, Selling, trading or Merchandizing for himself, or for any other Person or Persons whatsoever, but only to and for the proper Use, Benefit, and Account of the said Company or their Successors: That then he shall lose and forfeit to the said Company his growing Wages or Salary hereafter mentioned, and the Arrears thereof. And also all such Commission Money as shall then be or become due to him from the said Company. Nevertheless all and every other the Covenants, Clauses, Contracts and Agreements in these Presents contained, shall stand and be in full Force and Virtue. And moreover, the said Francis Moore doth for himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators covenant and grant to and with the said Company and their Successors, that in case he the said Francis Moore or any other in Trust for him, or by his Order and Direction shall contrary to these Presents, buy, barter, sell, trade, or merchandize in or with any of the Goods, Negroe Servants, Gold, and Merchandize above-mentioned, or in any other Goods, or Merchandizes whatsoever; that then he the said Francis Moore, his Executors and Administrators upon Demand after every such buying, selling, trading, or merchandizing in any of the Commodities prohibited as aforesaid, or in any Merchandize whatsoever, shall and will pay unto the said Company or their Successors, for and upon all Sorts of Merchandize, as a Damage already agreed on and adjusted, after the Rate or Price of three hundred Pounds Sterling per Tun, and so for a greater or lesser Quantity than a Tun: And also for Gold four pounds Sterling per Ounce, and for Negroes twenty Pounds Sterling for each Negroe. And also, that he the said Francis Moore shall from Time to Time, and at all Times from henceforth, with all convenient Speed give Intelligence and Notice to the said Company, or their Successors for the Time being, as well of all and every such Person or Persons who now are, or at any time hereafter shall be employed in the

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Service or Affairs of the said Company, as shall use exercise, or practice any Trading, Buying, Selling, or merchandizing in any Place or Places in any the Commodities, Negroe Servants, Gold, or Merchandizes above-mentioned, or in any other Merchandizes whatsoever, either to, from, or on the Coast of Africa aforesaid, or any Place within the Limits of their Charter, other than for the proper Account and Benefit of the said Company, and their Successors: As also of every Particular of the same trading and dealing according to his best Knowledge and Understanding. And also, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will from Time to Time, when and as often as he shall be thereunto required by Letters, Orders, or Authorities from the said Company, remove to any of their Factories where they shall so direct, require, or appoint him. And also shall come and return for England, when he shall be by the Order and Direction of the said Company thereunto required. And in case the said Francis Moore shall refuse or neglect to remove or to return into England when he shall be thereunto required as aforesaid: that then it shall and may be lawful to and for any Person or Persons, thereunto authorized by the said Company, to seize upon the Person of him the said Francis Moore, and send or bring him the said Francis Moore to and for England as aforesaid. And also to seize upon, secure, and inventory all and every the Goods, Merchandizes, Negroe Servants, Gold, and all other the Chattels of him the said Francis Moore in the Parts and Places of Africa within the Limits of the Charters of the said Company, and the same to transmit and send over into England to the said Company, there to rest in the Possession of the said Company, until the said Francis Moore shall clear his Accompts, and make good what he shall owe or stand indebted to the said Company. And lastly, the said Francis Moore doth covenant and agree to and with the said Company, that he shall and will at all Times and in all Things during the Time of his Service as aforesaid, faithfully and diligently use, behave, and demean himself as a good and faithful Servant towards the said Company and their Successors, and those by them authorized. And the said Royal African Company in Consideration of the Covenants and Agreements in these Presents contained, to be done and performed by him the said Francis Moore and provided that the said Covenants and Agreements be severally and respectively done, performed, fulfilled, and executed by him the said Francis Moore, and not otherwise, do for themselves and their Successors covenant and agree to and with the said Francis Moore, that they shall and will pay and allow unto him the said Francis Moore the Wages and Salary of thirty Pounds Sterling per Annum (and Diet according to the Company's present Establishment) in Manner following, (that is to say)

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two third Parts thereof yearly and every Year, and the other third Part to remain in the Hands of the said Company, until the End or Expiration of the Time agreed upon for him the said Francis Moore to serve the said Company, and then, and upon his the said Francis Moore's clearing and evening all Accompts which shall be between him and the said Company, the same shall be paid and delivered unto him the said Francis Moore, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns. In Witness whereof the said Royal African Company of England hath to one Part of these Indentures caused their common Seal to be affixed, and the said Francis Moore to the other Part of these Indentures has set his Hand and Seal, the Day and Year first above written.

175. Francis Moore's Travels in Africa.[1]

The Fort is called James Fort, and is the chief Settlement that the Royal African Company have in this River. This Fort keeps the Right of Trading to the River Gambia for the Company, and consequently for the Subjects of England. Were this once in the Hands of the French, who, I am very well inform'd in the Year 1719 would have purchas'd it for the Mississippi Company,[2] could they have obtained Leave for the so doing, they would then exclude not only the Company, but all other Nations, from Trading hither, as they already have from the Coast of Senegal, where they maintain an exclusive Trade by Force, and take all Ships. This they justify by two Forts, which they possess on the Coast of Senegal.[3] The Royal African Company of England had formerly an exclusive Trade here; but for the Encouragement of the Plantations in America, the Parliament thinking fit that all his Majesty's People should enjoy the Liberty of Trade to Africa, for the Company's Right, and in Equity to them, who are at the Charge of maintaining the Forts for the Benefit of others, did first grant them Ten per Cent. upon all separate Ships that should Trade to the Coast, and since that ceased, have for some Years past granted to the Company 10,000£ each Year for the Maintenance of their Forts.[4] This is a very advantageous Bargain to the Nation; for as these Forts are necessary to be kept up as Marks of the British Possessions in Africa, if the Company did not maintain them, the Crown would be obliged to do it, or let them fall into the Hands of Foreigners, and it would cost

[175] [1] Moore, *Travels*.

[2] In January, 1719, John Law had absorbed into his Company of the Indies the Senegal Company, in June that of Africa, and in 1720 that of Guinea. It is altogether probable that his plans included the acquisition of the property of the English company in the Gambia. Pierre Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*, p. 275, n. 3; L. A. Thiers, *The Mississippi Bubble* (1859), p. 71.

[3] St. Louis and Goree.

[4] The first parliamentary grant was made to the company in 1730.

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the King to maintain them with the Garrisons and Governors under his Majesty's Commissions, 3 or 4 times as much as it does now. By this Agreement, besides a free Trade, the separate Traders have had their ships often assisted, their cargos taken off at good Prices, and have reaped several other Advantages, as well as the Publick: And the Increase of Duties which arises from the Increase that these Advantages have made in the American, as well as the African Trade, more than makes up to the Publick, the Money that is given by them for this Purpose.

Besides the Fort, there are several Factories up the River settl'd for the Conveniency of Trade. They are all under the Direction of the Governor and chief Merchants at this Fort, to whom the Factors remit all their Trade. For this Purpose the Company have here three or four Sloops of about thirty Tons each, and about the same Number of Long-Boats; some of them are constantly employed in fetching Provisions and water from the Main for the Use of the Garrison, and the rest are employed in carrying Goods up to the Factories, and bringing from them Slaves, Elephants Teeth, Wax or whatever Trade they have by them, down to James Fort. . . . These Factories are supplied with Factors sent over by the Company; or, for want of them, the most able Writers, who have given Security to the Company for their Honesty, which is generally done by two Bondsmen for the Sum of 1000 £ besides the Person's own Bond for the like Sum. Notwithstanding this giving Security, several of the Company's Factors have been so base as to embezzle their Goods, and squander them away to the Amount of very large Sums; yet have they met with such Indulgence from the Court of Chancery, that I have not known one Instance of their ever being able to oblige the Bondsmen to pay the Penalties of their Bonds (pp. 16-18). . . .

To this King[5] the Separate Traders generally pay Custom, which amounts to about One hundred and twenty Barrs, it being a Country of good Trade, especially when the Merchants come down with their Slaves, which happens according to the Numbers they bring, which are sometimes so large, that the Company's Factories up the River are not able to purchase them all; and very often when they can sell them all up the River, yet if they hear that there are a good many Ships in Barrah, they will bring their Slaves down to them, having found by Experience that by White Mens outbidding one another, they have sometimes had very large Prices for their Slaves, whereas had they not been so eager to buy from, and out-bid one another, they

[5] This was the king of Barra, "a truculent monarch of the Mandingo tribe", who demanded a salute from all who entered or left the river. He was subordinate to the ruler of Barsally. In his territory the company had two factories, one at Gillyfree and one at Colar on the Colar River, a northern tributary to the Gambia, not far inland.

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might have bought the Slaves for half the Money they paid for them. Unless the separate Traders pay their Custom here, the King will not allow them to have either Wood or Water in his Country; for which Reason only a pretty many Masters of Ships chuse to pay the Kings Custom, and yet do not stay to trade here, but proceed directly up the River. . . . In this Country[6] is the Company's chief Factory of Joar, close to the Town of that Name, and about two Miles from the River, the Road to which lies one Mile over a fine pleasant Savannah, the other Mile along a narrow Creek. The Separate Traders generally come up hither to trade at Rumbo's Port, which is about three Miles from Joar, and the same distance from Cower, where is the greatest Resort of People, and the most Trade of any Town in the whole River; for it is to this Place that the Merchants always bring their Slaves, provided that they are not in great Haste to return home, or cannot meet with a very good Market for them before they come down so low (pp. 20-22). . . .

The same Merchants[7] bring down Elephants Teeth, and in some Years Slaves to the Amount of 2000, most of which they say are Prisoners taken in War: They buy them from the different Princes who take them; many of them are Bumbrongs and Petcharies,[8] Nations who each of them have different Languages, and are brought from a vast Way inland. Their Way of bringing them is, tying them by the Neck with Leather-Thongs, at about a Yard distance from each other, 30 or 40 in a String, having generally a Bundle of Corn, or an Elephant's Tooth upon each of their Heads. In their Way from the Mountains they travel thro' very great Woods, where they cannot for some Days get Water, so they carry in Skin-Bags enough to support them for that Time. I cannot be certain of the Number of Merchants who follow this Trade, but there may perhaps be about an Hundred, who go up into the Inland Country with the Goods, which they buy from the White Men, and with them purchasing in various Countries Gold, Slaves and Elephants Teeth. They use Asses as well as Slaves in carrying their Goods, but no Camels nor Horses.

Besides the Slaves which the Merchants bring down, there are many bought along the River. These are either taken in War, as the former are, or else Men condemn'd for Crimes, or else People stolen, which is very frequent. The Company's Servants never buy

[6] Barsally, north of the Gambia. Moore's narrative is accompanied by a map of the river, showing the points at which trade had been established.

[7] The Mandingoes were the middlemen in the slave traffic, for all this part of Africa.

[8] The Bumbrongs and Petcharies or Patcharis, two primitive negro tribes of the middle valley of the Gambia, dominated in the eighteenth century by the Mandingoes (H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia*, pp. 74, 188). Astley suggests that the Bumbrongs were the Bambarros, whom he had previously mentioned. *Voyages*, II. 242, note d.

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any of the last, if they suspect it, without sending for the Alcade, or chief Men of the Place, and consulting with them about the Matter. Since this Slave-Trade has been us'd, all Punishments are chang'd into Slavery; there being an Advantage on such Condemnations, they strain for Crimes very hard, in order to get the Benefit of selling the Criminal. Not only Murder, Theft and Adultery, are punish'd by selling the Criminal for a Slave, but every trifling Crime is punish'd in the same manner.

There was a Man brought to me in Tomany,[9] to be sold for having stolen a Tobacco-pipe. I sent for the Alcade, and with much ado persuaded the Party grieved to accept of a Composition, and leave the Man free.

In Cantore, a Man seeing a Tyger eating a Deer, which he had kill'd and hung up near his House, fir'd at the Tyger, and the Bullet kill'd a Man: The King not only condemn'd him, but also his Mother, three Brothers and three Sisters, to be sold. They were brought down to me at Yamyamacunda; it made my Heart ake to see them, and I did not buy them; upon which they were sent farther down the River, and sold to some separate Traders Ships at Joar, and the King had the Benefit of the Goods for which they were sold.

Several of the Natives have many Slaves born in their Families: There is a whole Village near Brucoe of 200 People, who are all the Wives, Slaves, or Children of one Man. And tho' in some Parts of Africa they sell their Slaves born in the Family, yet in the River Gambia they think it a very wicked thing; and I never heard of but one that ever sold a Family-Slave, except for such Crimes as would have made them to be sold had they been free. If there are many Family-Slaves, and one of them commits a Crime, the Master cannot sell him without the joint Consent of the rest; for if he does, they will all run away, and be protected by the next Kingdom, to which they fly. The Slaves sold in the River, besides those brought by the Merchants, may amount in a Year to about 1000, more or less, according to the Wars upon the River (pp. 41-43). . . .

A Barr is a denomination given to a certain Quantity of Goods of any Kind, which Quantity was of equal Value among the Natives to a Barr of Iron, when this River was first traded to. Thus, a Pound of Fringe is a Barr, two Pounds of Gunpowder is a Barr, an Ounce of Silver is but a Barr, and 100 Gun-Flints is a Barr, and each Species of trading Goods, has a Quantity in it called a Barr; therefore their Way of reckoning is by Barrs, or Crowns, one of which does not sometimes amount to above one Shilling Sterling; but that happens

[9] Tomany, south of the Gambia, a country with more large towns in it than any other on the river. The company had a factory at the town of Yamyamacunda in Tomany. Moore, p. 26.

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according to the Goods which they are in Want of, sometimes cheap, sometimes dear. These five Articles, *viz.* Spread-Eagle Dollars, Crystal Beads, Iron Barrs, Brass Pans, and Arrangoes, are called the Heads of the Goods, because they are dearest. When you agree with the Merchants for Slaves, you always agree how many of the Heads of the Goods you shall give him upon each Slave, which is three or four, if Slaves are worth forty or fifty; but when Slaves are dearer, as they oftentimes are, at eighty Barrs per Head, then you must give five, and sometimes six of the Heads upon every Slave; and there is an Assortment made of the Goods, by Barrs of different Species, which come out to the Price of the Slaves. The Men and Women used to be much dearer than Boys and Girls; but there have been so many Vessels in the River of late Years, for young Slaves, to carry to Cadiz and Lisbon, that there is scarce any Difference between the Prices of young Slaves and grown ones (p. 45). . . .

On the *14th* [*November, 1730*], sailed the Company's Snow, *Guinea* Pacquet, Capt. William Martin, on a trading Voyage down the Gold Coast, and so to Cape Coast Castle, the head Settlement the Company have in all Africa; with her went Mr. Philip Galand, my Ship-Mate, in order to learn the Coast Trade. About Midnight our Ensign was called down by the Centinels, who were then on Duty, in order to prevent the Slaves from making their Escape, they having got an Iron Bar out of the Slave-House Window; but it was then too small for a Man to get out at, so that they were taken and secured in another Place for that Night, and on the next Day the Ringleader of them being found out, and proving to be an old Offender, he was ordered one hundred Lashes (p. 49). . . .

On the *31st* [*December*], early in the Morning; we saw a Vessel coming up the River: When she was over against Albreda, the Governor ordered a Shot to be fired to bring her to. Upon which she immediately lowered her Sails, but did not think fit to come to an Anchor, till she had run upon the Company's spit of Sand and Rocks, which runs out from the Island where she struck; Upon which the Governor ordered our Ensign to go on Board her, and bring her into the right channel; during which Time she sent her Boat with one of the Mates to tell the Governor, that she was the Brigantine *John and Anne,* Capt. Thomas Stoneham, a separate Trader from London. In the Evening she came to anchor on the North side of the Island, and saluted the Fort and in about three Days time the Captain went ashore to Gillyfree, and was there seized by the Natives, for anchoring at the Port of Gillyfree, and not paying his Customs to the King of Barrah; he immediately sent over Word of his being confined, upon which the Governor sent our Ensign over to his As-

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sistance; and upon Promise of his paying the King's Custom of One Hundred and Twenty Bars Country Money, next day, he was permitted to go on board his Vessel, and on the Day following he paid the said sum (p. 56). . . .

. . . [The French at Albreda][10] drive a considerable Trade, but are much hinder'd by the English not allowing them to give above forty Barrs per Head for Slaves: but in the year 1735, there being great Demand for Slaves at the Missisippi, where the French Gentlemen themselves informed me they send their Slaves,[11] they broke thro' that Agreement, and gave fifty Barrs per Head for Slaves, with seven of each of the Heads of the Goods, which amounted to more than Ten Pounds Sterling; their Goods being better in their kind than our English generally are, was the reason of their purchasing a great many Slaves in that Year, notwithstanding there were no less than three Liverpool Vessels trading about a Mile above the French, at the Port of Gillyfree, who gave Seventy or Eighty Barrs per Head, and yet were not able to purchase near the Number of Slaves which the French did. In the Year 1724, there was a Contract made between the French Agents at Goree and the English at James Fort, that the French should settle a Factory in the River Gambia below James Fort, in order to make what Trade they could; and altho' the English Company's Stock was then at the lowest Ebb, and not that only, but it is very probable that the French were resolved to settle there, either with or without Leave, yet is it to be observed, that the Royal African Company, in lieu of the French having a single Settlement in Gambia, obtained Leave for to send Vessels when they pleas'd, to trade both at Joally and Portodally, two Places near Goree, which produce great Trade, and which the French are at a great deal of Pains, as well as Cost, to engross to themselves: By which means, notwithstanding the Articles, our Voyages there often miscarry (pp. 58-59). . . .

The same Evening[12] the Ship *Kent,* Capt. Francis Wheeler, from the Gold Coast, arrived, and anchored at James Fort, in order to

[10] The French establishment consisted of a factor, two writers, and four or five other white men. Relations between the French and the English on the river were friendly at the time of Moore's voyage, and social visits were exchanged between James Fort and the French vessels at Albreda. Moore, pp. 57, 63.

[11] For some account of the French demand for slaves in Louisiana at this time see this work, vol. III., Louisiana.

[12] Feb. 19, 1731. On Jan. 11 the *Elizabeth,* John Carruthers, a separate trader, and an unnamed vessel had arrived in the river; on the 12th the *Herbert,* Plater Onley (see *ante,* no. 126); on the 13th the *Ruby,* brigantine, captains Creague and Colwell; on the 25th the *William and Betty,* Whitloe, a separate trader from Liverpool; on the 31st the *Bonetta,* Captain James Livingstone, a company vessel bringing out a cargo for trade and several persons for the company's service. Moore, pp. 59-60.

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take in some Boys and Girls, which he had contracted for of our chief Merchants (pp. 62-63).[13] . . .

On the *17th* [*March, 1731*] the Company's Sloop *Fame,* John Boys Master, sailed for Cohone, in Barsally, on a trading Voyage, which lies in the same Kingdom as the Company's chief Factory at Joar, about a hundred Miles from it, and near the Sea. There the King commonly resides; and as there is good Profit to be made for the Company by these Voyages, provided their Supercargoes are honest, they generally send two or three Times in a Year. Whenever the King of Barsally wants Goods or Brandy, he sends a Messenger to our Governor, at James Fort, to desire he would send a Sloop there with a Cargo; this News being not at all unwelcome, the Governor sends accordingly. Against the arrival of the said Sloop, the King goes and ransacks some of his Enemies Towns, seizing the People, and selling them for such Commodities as he is in want of, which commonly is Brandy or Rum, Gunpowder, Ball, Guns, Pistols, and Cutlasses, for his Attendants and Soldiers; and Coral and Silver for his Wives and Concubines. In case he is not at War with any neighbouring King, he then falls upon one of his own Towns, which are numerous, and uses them in the very same Manner. After the *Fame* Sloop had been gone about five Days, she came back to the Fort, having lost three Anchors, and narrowly escaped being lost herself, in trying to go over the Bar which is at the Mouth of the River Joally, on her Way to Cohone; the Smith immediately set to work and refitted her, and on the Morrow she set out again on her Voyage.

On the *29th,* the Company's Ship *Bonetta* sailed on a trading Voyage down to Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle, etc., with whom went Mr. Thomas Bursey, a Writer, in joint Commission with Capt. Livingstone, who commanded the said Ship. . . .

The Ship *Kent,* Captain Francis Wheeler, sailed for Lisbon, with a Cargo of young Slaves (pp. 65-67). . . .

. . . Soon after[14] came down the *Arabella,* Captain Pyke, a separate Trader, from Joar, loaded with Slaves; and having stay'd a Day or two at James Fort, sail'd for Maryland, having among his Compliment of Slaves one Man call'd Job Ben Solomon, of the Pholey Race, and Son to the High-Priest of Bundo in Foota, a Place about ten Days Journey from Gillyfree; who was travelling on the

[13] On Feb. 10, 1731, the *Success,* Capt. Robert Cummins, a company vessel bound for Cape Coast, came up the river; on the 11th a separate trader, the *Arabella,* under Captain Pyke, from London, arrived and the next evening sailed up the river for Joar; on the 20th the *John and Anne,* Captain Stoneham, arrived. Soon after this the *Ruby* sailed for the Gold Coast, where she was attacked by the natives and Captain Colwell was killed. Moore, pp. 61-65.

[14] Soon after Apr. 11, 1731.

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South Side of this River, with a Servant, and about twenty or thirty Head of Cattle, which induced a King of a Country a little Way inland, between Tancrowall and Yamina, not only to seize his Cattle, but also his Person and Man, and sold them both to Captain Pyke, as he was trading at Joar. He would have been redeemed by the Pholeys, but was carried out of the River before they had Notice of his being a Slave.[15] The same day the *Elizabeth,* Capt. Carruthers, came down from Joar with his Compliment of Slaves.

On the *18th* [*April*], in the Morning, the *John and Anne* Brigantine, Captain Stoneham, a separate Trader, came down the River with most of his Men sick (p. 69). . . .

The next Day the *Mary,* Captain Gordon, sailed for the Coast; as did likewise the *Sierra Leone,* Captain Jenkins, for South Carolina; which last arrived here before I came, and delivered his Cargo to to the Governor and Chief Merchants, for which they paid One hundred and eighty Slaves (p. 70). . . .

On the *2d of May,* the *John and Anne,* Captain Stoneham, sailed for Sierra Leone, the Crew being in very indifferent Health. About two Days afterwards the *Herbert,* Captain Onley, sailed for Virginia or Maryland; as did also the Day after the *William and Betty,* Captain Whitloe, for the West-Indies.[16]

On the *15th,* the *Adventure* Sloop sail'd up for Yamyamacunda,[17] from whence she took Mr. James Conner on Board her as Super-Cargo to Fatatenda[18] on a Trading-Voyage. . . . The next Day the Company's Snow, *Guinea* Pacquet, Captain Martin, came up to James Fort, from a Trading-Voyage down the Coast. We had expected her two Months past, but the reason of her Stay was occasion'd by her being obliged to turn to Windward all the Way back from the Coast. The *Greyhound* Galley, Captain Ramsay, from England, a separate Trader, came up in the Evening; and anchor'd near the Fort (pp. 70-71). . . .

[15] For the remainder of this story, see *post,* nos. 176 and 197. Moore describes the Pholeys as "People of a tawny Coulor . . . much like the Arabs, which Language they most of them speak", "they are industrious and frugal, and raise much more Corn and Cotton than they consume. . . . To have a Pholey Town in the Neighbourhood, is by the Natives reckon'd a Blessing". They were a nomadic people, not subject to the rulers of the countries in which they lived, but with their own chiefs. Moore, pp. 30, 32, 39.

[16] For the arrival of these vessels in the river see above, notes 12 and 13. As evidence of usefulness of the Royal African Company, it was its custom to send home certificates as to the services it had rendered the private traders. Such a certificate the master of the *William and Betty* refused to sign. June 10, 1731, Rogers, Stibbs, and Harrison to the company, T 70: 7, p. 179.

[17] Moore speaks of the factory here as having a considerable trade in dry goods, but does not mention slaves. Moore, p. 26.

[18] Fatatenda, or Fath Tenda, two hundred miles from the mouth of the river, was the point at which George Thompson had established a settlement when he was sent out in 1618. The word "tenda", meaning wharf or port, frequently occurs in the names of villages along the river. Reeve, *The Gambia,* p. 51.

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On the *22d,* the *Elizabeth,* Captain Carruthers, a separate Trader, loaded with Slaves, sailed for South Carolina. The *Fame* Sloop returned from the King of Barsally's Town Cahone, having made a tolerable Voyage; she directly unloaded, and putting on Board a Cargo for Joar Factory, she proceeded immediately up thither, and from thence to Yamyamacunda, in order to bring down all the Dry Goods [19] from each Factory, to send Home by the *Guinea* Pacquet, which will go very soon for England (pp. 71-72). . . .

On the *24th* [*August*], the Governor and Mr. Harrison sent for me, and told me, that as they were in Expectation of my being appointed a Factor by the next Advice from the Company, they had thought it proper to send me up to Joar in the mean Time, to learn the Nature of the Trade, and the Temper of the Natives, and order'd me to prepare myself for the Voyage.

On the *28th,* about Ten at Night, I embark'd on Board the *Fame* Sloop, John Boys Master, and proceeded up the River towards Joar, having receiv'd from the Governor and Chief Merchants the following Orders.

JAMES FORT, Aug. 28, 1731.

Sir, You are, on Receipt hereof, to embark on Board the Company's Sloop *Fame,* Capt. John Boys, and proceed to Joar Factory under the Direction of Mr. William Roberts, Factor, whom we have order'd to give you the best Light into the Nature of the Trade, and every thing else necessary to qualify you to take upon you the Management of the Company's Affairs, where and whenever it shall be required of you.

You are therefore, upon your Arrival there, to apply yourself to him; and, so long as you shall continue there, to aid and assist him in every thing that relates to the Trade, and the Company's Affairs, and especially to be on all Occasions obedient to his Commands, in order to enable you to be the sooner qualified as aforesaid.

You are to advise us, from Time to Time, of the Progress you make, and give us a particular Account of your Remarks of the Trade, and above all, the Methods you shall think best to be used to please the Traders, and to encourage them to trade with the Company with the least Expence. We wish you Health, and are

Your Loving Friends

ANTHONY ROGERS.
THO. HARRISON.

. . . About thirty Leagues from the Fort [20] we met the *Greyhound* Galley, Capt. Ramsay, a separate Trader, who had been lying at Joar all the Rains, and not purchased above seventy five Slaves, and some of them he was obliged to take by Force, they being free People, crossing the River in a Canoa, whom he took on Account of old Serin Donso, a noted Broker at Cower, near Joar, who having

[19] By "dry goods" Moore apparently refers to all commodities other than slaves which the company received from the natives.

[20] James Fort. Moore was on his way to Joar, which he reached Sept. 4, 1731.

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had a great deal of Money from Capt. Ramsay, on Promise of bringing him a great deal of Trade, and not being so good as his Word, he very justly seized these People, and the Natives hearing of it, obliged the old Broker to redeem them, which he accordingly did.

This Ship having lost her Voyage, for want of being able to slave soon, and being obliged to lie, at great Expence and Hazards of Men's Lives, all the wet Season, made me think what great Advantage it might be both to the separate Traders, and the Company, if the great Mart of Exchange was to be at James Fort: That is to say, if the Company kept a Stock of Slaves at the Fort, sufficient to furnish any Ship immediately, with a whole Cargo, which as soon as disposed of, they might be again supplied from their Out-Factories. The separate Trader would afford to give a larger Price at James Fort, than he can up the River, for there is the Charges of going up, the Uncertainty of getting the Cargo, and when he has sometimes got half a Cargo, he may lie some Months before he can be able to compleat it; all the Time he lies there he runs the Hazard of the Sickness and Rebellion of those Slaves he already has, they being apter to rise in a Harbour than when out at Sea; since if they once get Masters of a Ship, in the River, their Escape to Shore is almost certain, by running the Ship aground; but at Sea it is otherwise, for if they should surprize a Ship there, as they cannot navigate her, they must have the Assistance of the White Men, or perish. Besides, whilst the Ships lie in the River, the Crews are apt to be sick, and consequently not able to guard their Slaves; of which several Instances have been, and Ships lost thereby. They are also liable to Palavers, which often turn out very expensive, and they are obliged to pay Customs, and make excessive large Presents to the Kings and Brokers, as those who have been trading to Joar must know by Experience. All this would be avoided by buying a Cargo at once. The Company would have a conveniency also by it, since they cannot without Disadvantage, buy dry Goods, without buying Slaves with them. If therefore they sold the Slaves to the separate Traders, they might assort their Warehouse with the European Goods from them, and thereby command all the dry Goods in the River, in spite both of the Portugueze and French; and with good Care of the Factors, there might be dry Goods enough procured for to load home the Company's Ships with Speed, so as they might not be upon Charges, and lose Time by going on trading Voyages down the Coast, none of which, in my Time, ever turned out to the Company's Advantage (pp. 79-82). . . .

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It is to that insatiable Thirst of his [21] after Brandy, that his Subjects Freedoms and Families are in so precarious a Situation; for he very often goes with some of his Troops by a Town in the Day-time, and returns in the Night and sets fire to three Parts of it, and sets Guards to the fourth to seize the People as they run out from the Fire; he ties their Arms behind them, and marches them to the Place where he sells them, which is either Joar or Cohone (p. 87). . . .

On the *22d of December,* Captain Robert Clarke, a separate Trader, who was late in the Company's Service, and went home last June, came to anchor at Rumbo's Port in the Snow *Tryall,* in order to purchase young Slaves for Lisbon.

On the *3d of January* [*1732*] came up a New-England Scooner call'd the *Gambia,* John Major Master, loaded with Salt and Rum; he stay'd here but a short while, and then proceeded up the River to Cassan,[22] about four Tides above this place (p. 89). . . .

On the *21st* of this Month of *January,* arrived the King of Barsally, who yesterday fell upon one of his own Towns, and having taken a good many Prisoners, brought them along with him, with Intent (I believe) to sell them to Captain Clarke, a separate Trader, now at anchor at Rumbo's Port. On his Arrival he took Possession of Mr. Roberts's Bed and Room for himself, and the Slavehouse for his Slaves and People who look after them. He soon inquired after that Fellow which I found robbing the Stores, whom Mr. Roberts some time since sent down to the Fort, he being an intimate acquaintance of the King's. The King's Behaviour this Time was not much unlike the last, which obliged me to write the following letter to the Governor.

To Anth. Rogers, Esq; Governor of James Fort.

JOAR FACTORY, Jan. 22, 1731/2.

Sir, On the 18th Instant I received your agreeable Letter as also some from Mr Oglethorpe and Mr Hayes.[23] I must now acquaint you, that the Day after

[21] The king of Barsally. Shortly after Moore's arrival at Joar this potentate appeared with 300 followers, drank up the liquor at the factory, and rifled the stores.

[22] Cassan, Kassan, or Gasson, a small town on the north side of the Gambia, about 125 miles up the river.

[23] James Oglethorpe had become a director of the Royal Company in 1731 and deputy governor in 1732. Since he became engrossed in his plans for settling Georgia in 1732 and sailed for America in October of that year, it is difficult to believe that the affairs of the company received much of his attention at any period after 1732. For his part in the story of Job ben Solomon see *post,* pp. 423-424. Francis Moore's connection with Oglethorpe did not cease with this expedition, for we find Moore in the winter of 1735-1736 on board the *Simmonds* with the Wesleys and Oglethorpe, bound for Georgia. An account of this voyage he published in 1744. He is thought to have been the writer of the letter from Savannah published in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* VI. 229 (1736). The editor of John Wesley's *Journal* speaks of Wesley as having seen the letters, "afterwards published", in which Francis Moore gives his account of the voyage (*Wesley's Journal,* standard ed., I. 140, 146).

Charles Hayes, deputy governor of the company for a number of years and the author of tracts in its defense, was more of a mathematician and geographer than a merchant.

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the King of Barsally arrived with a small Retinue of about a hundred Men, and forty or fifty Slaves, most of which are unmerchantable. He came directly to the Factory, and took Possession of Mr Roberts's Room for himself, and the Slavehouse for his People and Captives. He endeavour'd as much as possible to get the Key of the Stores, which Mr Roberts prevented with much Difficulty by rushing out of the Room. Soon after he sent his Men to seize me, who when they brought me to him, laid me along upon the Bed, and searched my Pockets for the Key of the Store, but found it not. He asks much after that Fellow we sent down for robbing the Stores, and is very angry at our sending him from hence. His being so inquisitive after that Fellow, so eager after the Key of the Stores, and his not suffering People to carry any thing from the Factory, gives me reason to believe that he intends to strip the Warehouse ere he departs; which, I am afraid, nothing but a Sloop's Arrival (with Mr Harrison) can prevent. I am obliged to bear the Insults of his People to prevent Outrages; but as I am now in hopes of going soon from hence, I will bear whatever I possibly can, believing it to be for the Company's Interest (pp. 90-92). . . .

Instructions to be observed by Messrs William Roberts and Francis Moore, Factors, at Joar.[24]

JAMES FORT, 22 January, 1731/2.

Our last to you, Mr. Roberts, was of the 15th Instant, which acknowledged the Receipt of your Letter of the 7th with your Book of Accomps, all which we have perused, but have not as yet had Time to give you our Observations thereon.

This now goes by the *Fame* Sloop, Capt. John Boys, and serves to cover Invoices of sundry Goods and Merchandize, amounting to 4674 Bars, 4 *s.* 0 *d.* which we hope will come safe to Hand, and prove to Content, they being in all Respects agreeable to your own Indent.

We are in the first Place to acquaint you, Mr William Roberts, that whereas the Company in their Letter to us, have signified their Pleasure concerning Joar Factory, that it being a Place of great Trust, ought not to be left under the Direction of one Factor: You are hereby required to admit Mr. Francis Moore, to be your Colleague, and from the Receipt hereof to be with you jointly concerned in the Management of the Company's Affairs, and for the better carrying on the same, you are to observe, that nothing be transacted but what shall first meet with the Approbation of the other; for as you are equally concerned and accountable, so it is but reasonable that each Person should have it in his Power to prevent any thing being done that to him shall seem to be to the Prejudice of the Company. You are therefore on Receipt hereof (if you, Mr Moore, are not satisfied that the Remains in Store do correspond with Mr Roberts's Books from the 1st Instant) to take an Inventory of all the Company's Effects at the Factory first, and which if it should be thought necessary to be done, you are hereby required and directed, that Capt. Boys be there present, in order to enable him to sign and testify to us, that the same is an exact and just Inventory of all the Company's Effects there.

The Company has highly reflected and resented our Conduct for suffering and passing by without showing due Resentment, (by discharging all such Factors and others in the Service, and sending them home with such Characters as they

[24] Moore, *Travels*, App., no. II., pp. 6-11. Before Moore's letter had had time to reach the fort the *Fame* arrived at Joar, bringing new instructions to Roberts and Moore, occasioned by the company's attempt, under the new director, Oglethorpe, to inaugurate a more rigid discipline. Moore adds that the company was also making great efforts to develop trade in commodities other than slaves, a policy which it will be remembered had been inaugurated by the Duke of Chandos. Moore, p. 93.

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deserve, in order that they recover the Damages of their Bondmen) to all those who have squandered away and have been lavish of their Capital Goods, even in Trade, and other ways appropriated them to their own Uses; to such who have run themselves in Debt, particularly those who have left Powers of Attorney behind them, and to those in particular who are at Out Factories, such as formerly made good Remittances of dry Goods, and of late none; they, in particular, the Company absolutely commands us to use with no show of Compassion, nor admit of any Excuse or Pretence, but forthwith to send them home as aforesaid, they being but too well assured, that the Reason proceeds from the Factors applying them to their own Uses. . . .

1st. You are to observe, that the keeping of your Books do commence immediately after you have taken an Inventory, and at the latter End of March next to send down an Abstract or Ballance Sheet of your Accompts to that time, and at the latter End of June, two Setts of your Books, (*viz.* Journal and Ledger, and such other Books as are necessary to be kept ballanced and signed by your selves, one of which to be sent to the Company, the other to remain here on the Fort.

2dly, You are on no Account to omit sending us an exact Journal of the real Goods as well as Price you pay for whatever Slaves, Teeth, Wax or Gold you remit to the Fort from time to time, whereby we may see in what manner you trade, and to give you Credit for the same in our Books, conformable to the Company's Instructions.

3dly, You are to take a particular Care that you charge no Goods upon Trade, but what you really and *bona fide* pay for the same; and as it has formerly been a Custom to enter Goods given in Presents on account of Trade, as paid for the Trade you afterwards made, you are now to charge all such Presents in Trade, etc. in distinct Accompts by itself, that the prime Cost of all Trade may appear in your Books without any additional Charges, by which Means it will be a Guide for new Comers hereafter to go by.

4thly, You are to be very frugal in your Expences, and on no account to make unnecessary Presents, and for such as you find necessary to make, you are to be very particular, in expressing the same in your Books, assigning your Reasons for so doing, and for what Account; without which it is the Company's express Orders to us to charge all such Expences, etc. to your respective Accompts.

5thly, You are to be very careful and circumspect in your Choice of Slaves, that you on no account purchase any but such as shall be merchantable, free from Sickness, Distempers, Ruptures, or loss of Limbs; all such as you shall purchase that appear to have any of the above Ails, or are otherways unmerchantable, are (as the Company directs in such Cases) to be placed to your Accompts, charging you for each Slave 50 Barrs, without a Power to dispose of the same again, unless you first obtain Liberty from the Governor and Council for so doing.

6thly, In case of Mortality of any Negroes, you are to enter the same in your Books, and charge no more than the prime Cost of the Slave that dies, drawing out two Certificates, specifiing the Manner of his dying, with the Distemper as near as you can guess, which Certificates must be attested by whatever White Men are at the Factory, and send the same to the Fort, one of which to be sent to the Company.

7thly, You are to omit no Opportunity of advising us of the State of your Affairs, whereby we may be able to send you what Supplies you may have Occasion for from time to time, and if no Opportunity happens in 15 Days, to send a Messenger.

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8thly, You must take particular Care, that the Company's Goods suffer no Damage, either by the Bugabugs, or any other Accident, the Company's Orders being, that all such Goods as are damaged by your Neglect, are to be charged to your Accompts.

9thly, You are on no Account to absent your selves from the Factory, unless Leave be first granted you from the Governor, and then for no more than one, to prevent Losses in the mean time.

10thly, You are on no Account whatever to lend any of the Company's Servants or Natives any Money, except those that reside with you, except you receive particular Orders for so doing from the Governor or chief Merchants.

11thly, Whereas the Company has of late received great Abuses by their Servants, appropriating to their own Uses a great deal of dry Goods, *viz.* Teeth, Wax, Gold, and oftentimes Slaves, and it being one and the chief Reason, we have recalled Mr Saxby from Joar, and rendered him unfit to serve the Company: You are hereby to observe and take due Notice, that you are not on any Pretence whatsoever, to take to your Account, dispose of, sell, barter, or deliver to any Person or Persons, any Slaves, Teeth, or Wax, on any Account; neither are you to buy any of the said Commodities, nor any other Person or Persons for you (for any other Use, Intent, or Purpose, or Account, than the Royal African Company of England.) And for the better preventing such gross Abuses for the future, you are hereby to observe, that . . . for every Slave . . . which you shall sell, barter, deliver, or make use of, without our previous Knowledge and Consent thereto, you shall be mulcted 200 Barrs . . . and be rendered incapable to serve the Company hereafter.

Having inserted the above Orders, you are further to observe, that as we have no immediate Call or Demand for Slaves, you are not to exceed 40 Barrs a Head, and above 4 of Silver, Iron, and Crystal, all Charges and Customs included, especially Silver, of which we have but very little, and not sufficient to answer the Demands that the Trade for dry Goods requires. We therefore think it a Matter of the greatest Consequence to endeavour to reduce it to three Barrs a Head in that Commodity, provided in lieu thereof you advance in Brass and Arrangoes to 5 or 6 Barrs a Head; the only Reason we have not to give you Orders peremtorily to give no more than three, is, because we would willingly prevent the Merchants from passing down. On that Consideration only we would have you give four, the Prevention of which would perhaps strengthen a Proposal the Company have given us Orders to make the French Company about supplying them with Slaves on certain Considerations which probably they would come into the sooner, when they find it is in our Power to prevent the Trade from coming down to their Factory. . . .

And as the Company will admit of no Excuses from us, and plainly tells us, our Non-performances proceed from our Negligence, and not commanding our Factors to pursue the same, and to give due Encouragement: We shall expect without fail your Answers to those, that the Company may at least be satisfied with our Endeavours, we mean in Regard to our giving the necessary Orders. We therefore expect that you'll exert your selves, and give all due Encouragement, and as to the Prices we must leave it to your own Prudence to agree with the Natives in the best Manner you can, or otherwise, what Reasons you can have to urge to the contrary.

We have had from sundry Persons good Informations, that the King of Barsally had laid a Foundation of forming a bad Design against the Company's Factory, and their Affairs, on account of your having seized his Slave for Theft; to prevent which, and that of two Evils the least is to be chosen, we have released him, it not being proper by any Means for the sake of gaining one

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Slave to run so great a Risque, as the shipping him off would in all Probability create; so that all we can say on that Head, is to recommend more prudent Measures for the future, and not to take Wolves to watch your Sheep.

You are to acquaint old Serin Donso with our Orders concerning the Trade, and that Mr. Rogers can't possibly come up, but that Mr. Harrison will in his way up the River call there in about a Fortnight's Time; in the mean Time acquaint him that we expect the Performance of his Promise to us when down here, in every Respect.

You are not to detain the Sloop longer than while you are unloading her, and than you have finished the Survey as aforesaid provided it is thought meet.

To the Governor, and chief Merchants of James Fort.[25]

JOAR FACTORY, Feb. 8, 1732.

Gentlemen, Yours, per the *Fame* Sloop, came safe to hand, with the Goods, agreeable to Invoice. I have perused the several Paragraphs of your Letter, and shall endeavour, on my Part, carefully to observe the same, and hope shall not fail therein. What merchantable Slaves the King of Barsally brought, he sold to Capt. Clarke, before the Sloop arrived, altho' he gave me fair Promises every Day. As to his Behaviour here, Mr. Moore, and Capt. Boys will inform you more than I can express in Writing. We endeavour'd to keep him out of the Stores, but to no Purpose, he would not be resisted, but go in, and with him ten or twelve of his People, intent upon nothing but Thieving, which we could in no manner prevent. His own Key-keeper has a Key, with which they open'd the Stores in the Night-time, and stole considerable Quantities of Goods, an exact Account of which you have herein inclosed. Had not the Sloop come up, nothing could have prevented their taking the whole Store. They have stole almost all I had, broke my Chest, and Messieurs Harrison's and Moore's Scrutores, and taken most of the Things out of them. All our Servants ran away, being afraid of being seized and sold. Unless the King can be prevented from coming here, and acting in this Manner, no Person can pretend to live here; being not only in Danger of losing what Things we have, but even our Lives. I hope, Gentlemen, you'll consider, and give Redress, our Case being quite desperate. I have no more to add, but remain, Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTS.

On our Way down we met a large Ship from Bristol, called the *Gregory,* Capt. Robert Smith, a separate Trader, going up the River to slave at Joar. We also met the *Adventure* Sloop going up to Samy, with Mr. Lemaigre, a Company's Factor, who lives there,[26] and trades for the Company, to whom he remits Slaves the Year round, at forty Barrs per Head.

On the *11th* [*February, 1732*], we arrived at James Fort having had a brisk fair Gale all the Way down. The Governor was gone down in the *Guinea* Packet, Capt. Martin (who arrived here from

[25] Moore returned to the fort on board the *Fame,* carrying with him the letter which follows.

[26] Samy, a factory of the company on the Samy River north of Gambia, in Upper Yani. Stibbs, who was entertained by M. Lemaigre, says that he was a French private trader, who lived five miles up the Damasensa River, and was the only European in the immediate region. Moore, p. 251.

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England the 15th Instant) to Barringding,[27] one of the King of Barrah's Towns, where he yet staid, in order to adjust some Disputes between him and the Company, concerning the Governor's assisting some separate Traders, who refuse to pay the King's Customs.

On the *14th,* the *Guinea* Packet returned with the Governor; there likewise came up in Company with her a large Ship from Lisbon, called the *Andaluzia,* Capt. Pearson, to purchase Slaves for the Brazil. The next Day the *Adventure* Sloop carried up the Alcade of Vintain, and his Attendants, to their own Town, they having been down with the Governor at the King of Barrah's Town.

On the *22d,* the Governor and I went on board the *Guinea* Packet, who was then going on a trading Voyage to Cutcheo, after which we went on board the *Dispatch* Sloop, to take Leave of the Captain, being now bound for England. After we had sailed a little Way down with them, we came up in the Cutter. And the next Day we went over to Gillyfree, with Mr. John Harrison, to take Charge of that Factory, in the room of Mr. Hugh Hamilton, who was going to settle a Factory at Fatatenda.

Soon after, the *Andaluzia,* Capt. Pearson, sailed up the River: and the *Tryal,* Capt. Clarke, came down from Joar, having about seventy young Slaves; by him we received Advice that the Company's Factory at Yamyamacunda was burnt down (pp. 96-98). . . .

. . . Soon after, the *Sea-Nymph* sail'd[28] for James Fort, with a Parcel of fine Slaves which Mr. Roberts had purchased during my Absence. . . .

On the next Day [*March 9*], my Colleague, Mr. Roberts, quitted the Factory, on account of my being in Charge of the Store: All the Servants belonging to the Factory he took along with him, except our Girl-Cook, and she would not be perswaded to go away on any Account. He dressed himself in Clothes like the Natives, and went and lived at Cower, which lies about three Miles from Joar (p. 101). . . .

Here [Cower] lives that old Man, so well known to all White Men, call'd Serin Donso, who exacts upon every Body very much, and has such great Power over all the Merchants who bring their Slaves here, that unless you see him, it is in vain to expect Trade. This is the chief Town on the whole River; and, as I hinted before, the best Place for Trade.

On the *12th,* the *Andaluzia,* Capt. Pierson, came up to anchor at Rumbo's Port, in order to purchase Slaves; she had not a sortable

[27] The chief town of the Mandingoes.

[28] On Mar. 1 Moore started the return journey to Joar, on the *Sea-Nymph,* with a letter to Roberts which expressed lack of faith in his accusations against the king of Barsally, and placed Moore in charge of the stores. On Mar. 8 Hugh Hamilton and Edward Peeters, on their way to settle a factory at Fatatenda, and Philip Garland and Henry Johnson, going to Brucoe for the same purpose, arrived at Joar.

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Cargo, and therefore bought but few; those which he did buy, lying him in about Ten Pounds Sterling per Head.

On the *22d* I receiv'd Advice, that Capt. Major of the New-England Scooner was some few Days since cut off by the People of Cassan, a little Way up the River, at the Persuasion of Chequo Voss, a Portuguese, who lives there (p. 102). . . .

On the *10th* [*April*],[29] we arriv'd at Yanimarew, which is the plesantest Port in the whole River, being delightfully shaded by Palm and Ciboa Trees, the Leaves of which are made use of for covering Houses, and are called Palmetto. Here the Company have a small House, with a Black Factor, to purchase Corn for the Use of the Fort. In 1734 several separate Traders coming to Joar, and finding themselves ill used by Serin Donso, the chief Broker, they one and all came up to this Place, and made the Merchants bring up their Slaves from Joar after them, which had like to have occasioned a Quarrel between the King of Yany and the King of Barsally, the latter thinking that the former had sent Messengers to decoy the Ships from his Port of Joar.

On the *15th,* we left Yanimarew, and proceeded up to Cassan, a little above it, where, about three Weeks before, the New England Scooner [30] was cut off by the Natives. As soon as we arrived there, Mr. Harrison and I went ashore, where, when the whole Town was come about us, Mr. Harrison demanded the Slattee to give him an Account how he dared to kill Capt. Major, of the New England Scooner: To which he answer'd, as near as I could translate it, in the following Manner.

"Some Years ago this Place was a Port of great Trade, which made a great many Ships resort hither; who often used us very ill, by carrying away several of our Friends and Relations by Force, without any Provocation. Even last Year Capt. Stoneham carried away one of my own Nephews, because Seignior Chequo Voss, a Portuguese, who lives in this Town, was not so good as his Promise, in bringing him Trade by the Time limited. Now lately, this New England Scooner began also to impose upon me in the following Manner. Soon after it arrived at my Port, the King of Lower Yany,[31] in whose Dominion this Town is, sent a Slave to me to sell for him, which I carried aboard the Scooner, to Capt. Major; but he having no very good Goods, at least not such as I liked, made me

[29] Early in April James Davis had arrived to take charge of Joar, and Moore was directed to go to the factory at Yamyamacunda and aid James Conner in its management. Roberts was to assist Davis until a permanent assistant arrived, when he was to return to James Fort.

[30] "This Scooner belonged chiefly to one Capt. Moore, of New England, who was then trading in a Sloop at the Port of Yamyamacunda. The Men when the Slattee gave them the Boat, went up to him thither, where he made a very profitable Voyage" (p. 113).

[31] Yani or Niani is south of the river, about 100 miles from its mouth.

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defer selling him, till such Time as I could acquaint the King what Sort of Goods he had; upon which the Captain desir'd I would leave the Slave aboard till the King's Answer came, which I accordingly did. At length I receiv'd Orders from the King not to sell the Slave, for he did not like the Captain's Goods. Upon that, I went on board, and told the Message to the Captain; at which he fell into a great Passion, and would not let me take the Slave out of the Scooner. I did not say much to the Captain, but came home, called all my People together, told them the Case, and then we reckon'd up the many Injuries we had received from other separate Traders, and at last we resolved to take the Scooner, which we did the next Morning. In the Action the Captain was killed, for which I am very sorry; but as for the rest of the Men which were on board the Scooner, I gave them the Boat and some Provisions, and let them go where they pleased" (pp. 111-113). . . .

About twelve Miles up the River [Samy] is the Town of Samy, noted for good Trade: The Company had here a Factory under Mr James Lemaigre, a Frenchman, who bought a great many Slaves, and remitted them to James Fort, at a settled Price: He dying in the Year 1733, one Valentine Mendez, a Black Portuguese, contracted with the Company to remit them Slaves at a certain Price, and now lives at his own House at Wallia, about four Miles above Samy (p. 115). . . .

On the *31st* [*December*], in the Evening, a Long boat, belonging to the *Tryal* Snow, Capt. Robert Clarke, a Separate Trader, then at Joar, came by this Port,[82] telling the Servants, when they challenged her, that she belonged to Sig. Antonio Voss, at Tancrowall, and was going up to Bassy Port, to bring down some Slaves. The Reason of their not being willing to be known, was for Fear of the Natives seizing them, upon Account of the ill Usage they have sometimes received at the Hands of the Separate Traders, by them called Interlopers, and from the Advice, perhaps, of the Accident which happen'd to Capt. Major, some few Months since, at Cassan, which I have before mentioned (p. 148). . . .

On the *5th* [*February, 1733*], in the Evening, I received Advice, that Capt. Williams, Master of a Brigantine, trading about Joar, having bought a few Slaves, and not looking well to them, they mutiny'd, rose, and killed a great Part of the Ship's Crew; the Captain himself had his Fingers cut by them in a miserable Manner, and it was with great Difficulty he escaped being killed, which he did in swimming ashore, by which means he got safe to James Fort, where he

[82] Moore was then at Brucoe, having gone there to take charge of the company's stores after a fire which had destroyed the factory and left the factor unable to look after them.

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was kindly received by the Governor, and took his Passage to England along with Captain Clarke in the *Tryal* Snow; as did likewise our third Chief Merchant, Mr. Thomas Harrison, whose Brother John died at Tancrowall the very Day that he embarked from James Fort (p. 156). . . .

In less than a Year [33] there were great Wars almost all over the Country; which continued so long, that when I came to England they were not over. Vast Numbers of Slaves were taken in these Wars, and the chief Trade of the Company's Factories up the River was for Slaves taken.

On the *4th of April,* in the Evening, the *Bumper* Sloop, from New England, Captain Samuel Moore Master, who had last Year a Scooner cut off at Cassan, came to anchor at Brucoe Port, being bound up to Yamyamacunda; he had on Board a good Number of Guns, and Hands sufficient, and it was thought he design'd either to make good Trade, or else get Satisfaction of the Natives for the Loss of his Scooner last Year at Cassan. He stay'd here all Night, and the next Morning proceeded up the River to Yamyamacunda (p. 157).[34] . . .

On the *11th of May* Mr. Lemaigre came down in his own Sloop, with above thirty Slaves on Board, which he was going to sell at Joar to the Separate Shipping. He stay'd here but a little while, and then proceeded on his Way down. I having occasion to purchase some Necessaries from the Ships below, went with him in his sloop, but when we were got within twenty miles of Joar we met the *Fame* Sloop, Thomas Saxby Master, bound up the River with a Load of Salt to purchase Corn for the Use of James Fort, and in Company with him was the *Amersham* Sloop, Captain Munday, a Separate Trader, bound to Yanimarew to purchase Slaves, by whom we received Advice that the *Dolphin* Snow, Captain Lovett, was arrived at James Fort from the Company, with Mr. Richard Hull, who was come to relieve Gov. Rogers, he designing to return to England by the *Dolphin* Snow. Upon receiving this News, I thought it advisable to go on Board the *Fame* Sloop and return to my Factory. . . .

On the *4th of June* arrived the *Sea Nymph* Sloop, John Brown Master, with Mr. James Boots Writer, and a pretty large Cargo for this Place. She had likewise Cargoes and Writers aboard for Fatatenda and Yamyamacunda. By this Conveyance I received the following Letter:

[33] A thunder-storm on March 16 had caused the natives to predict wars in a short time.

[34] Owing to the exertions of Mr. James Conner, the company's factor at Yamyamacunda, Moore's trading was successful in spite of the great hostility of the natives toward him (p. 164). Capt. Samuel Moore cleared from Boston for Africa on Dec. 13, 1732. *Boston News Letter,* Dec. 14, 1732.

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JAMES FORT, May 27, 1733.

Sir . . . You are likewise not to take or pay yourself, or other Servants, any of the Heads of the Goods, nor any Slaves, Teeth, Wax or Gold, or any other Dry Goods, on any Account whatsoever; but to remit such as you have of each at every Conveyance that offers by the Company's Vessels to the Fort, on the Account and Risque of the Royal African Company of England. . . .

You are not to confound your Trade made with the Natives, Portuguese or Merchants, as has been, under Pretence to make the Merchants and Portuguese Trade of Slaves, Teeth, Wax and Gold, come out more reasonable; and as Slaves are bought at much more reasonable Rates of the Natives than of the Merchants, so likewise are Teeth, Wax and Gold, bought at under or almost half the Price as of the Portuguese. Therefore all Transactions for the future are expected to be justly entred in your Waste-Book, that a fair, clear and true State of Trade and other Occurrences may be seen, and to be a Guide for such new Comers as may hereafter happen to succeed you. . . .

By every Remittance you are to send us the real Cost, and the particular Goods paid for every particular Species remitted of Slaves, Teeth, Gold and Wax; and as it has been usual for some of the Companys Servants to be so disingenuous as to act contrary to their Covenants, and their solemn Engagements, as to the Particulars paid or issued-out, so likewise have they in taking all Advantages to themselves of what Dry Goods they have purchased. But now, as the Company have settled your Commissions at Five Shillings per Head for every merchantable Slave . . . we hope it will induce you to dispose of their Goods to the best Advantage you possibly can, and likewise to account for all other Advantages, and that not to your own Account, but for the Company. Your doing otherwise being not only a Breach of your solemn Contract or Agreement with the Company, but an Injury to their Chief Agents, who now draw their Commissions on the clear Profits only that shall accrue thereby. . . .

Your Loving Friend,

RICHARD HULL

(pp. 158-163). . . .

On the *19th* [*January, 1734*],[35] I arrived at Rumbo's Port, near Joar, where the *French* Snow Capt. Coffin, a Separate Trader, was then trading, having in about a Month purchased seventy-five prime Slaves, fit for Cadiz or Lisbon, to one of which Places he was consigned (p. 181).[36] . . .

On the *22d* [*February*] we saw a Vessel coming from the Sea, which about Noon came to anchor at Gillyfree, being the *Scipio,* Capt. Gordon, a Separate Trader, in Twenty five Days from Bristol. . . .

On the *26th,* seeing a Vessel coming from the Sea, we fired a Shot to bring her to; upon which the Captain came up, and acquainted us she was a Separate Trader, the *Thomas* Brigantine, Henry Smith Master, from Liverpool: at noon she anchor'd at Gillyfree. . . .

[35] Moore, because of illness, was on his way to James Fort.

[36] Not long after word came that Captain Coffin was dead and that the natives had taken his chief mate and surgeon prisoners.

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On the *25th* [*February*] the Governor and myself dined with Capt. Onley, and the same Day came up a Separate Trader, the *Liverpool Merchant,* Capt. Golding, from Liverpool, and anchor'd at Gillyfree (pp. 183-184). . . .

[Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton to Francis Moore.]

JAMES FORT, Apr. 21, 1734.

Sir, We received yours of the 1st Instant, and note what you say as to your Conduct at Joar Factory, which was rightly done of you. The Boy-Slave you remitted by Capt. Smith was accepted of by him, and we have credited your Account for the same. We sold all Captain Smith's Slaves for four Ounces of Gold each, one with another; and which both Parties are well pleas'd with. We have likewise received the Remains of Capt. Onley's Cargo, who sails for Maryland in two or three Days with one hundred and ten Slaves (p. 188). . . .

On the *25th* [*May*] the *Sea Nymph* Sloop arrived here on her Way down from Yamyamacunda and Wallia, with Slaves and Dry Goods for Account of the Company (p. 191). . . .

[Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton to Francis Moore.]

JAMES FORT, May 17, 1734.

Sir, . . . We are not a little surprised to hear from Yanimarew, that the Shipping are trading there for Slaves with Merchants, and that others are gone down to Cower, and that you should neither advise us of their passing you, or what Number, or even of your attempting to trade with them. This is such a Disappointment and Omission, we did not in the least expect from Mr. Moore, and is wondred at the more, because you are tied up to no Price (pp. 193-194). . . .

[Francis Moore to Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton.]

CUTTEJARR PORT, May 26, 1734.

Gentlemen, . . . I observe what you say concerning my not advising you of the Merchants passing down; in answer to which I must acquaint you, that they went on the Back Part of this Kingdom, and did not come within two Days Journey of this Place, neither did the People here know anything of them till they had passed. And therefore, tho' it was a Disappointment to you, yet it was no Omission in me, for I heard nothing of it till after my last Letter was sent away; tho' if I had, it would have signified nothing, for they were resolved to go down, and on no account to come near Samy.

Since my last there have several small Coffles of Slaves come to Samy with Alcade Donso, but most of them are resolved to pass down; however I have been there, and am in hopes of purchasing some in three or four Days, tho' this same Slattee Donso is a very odd Sort of a Fellow, and never yet traded higher than Joar. . . .

One of the Slaves I have now remitted has five or six Teeth wanting, and therefore I made them abate the same Number of Barrs in the Price, as you

[37] On March 27 Moore was sent up the river on a trading voyage, during the progress of which he was to inspect all the factories on the river. There were frequent letters exchanged between Moore and Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton during this trip, a few of which are here printed, but little was noted that related especially to the trade in slaves.

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will see by the Invoice. I am surprized to find that Sig. Valentine Mendez has not remitted you so many Slaves as I have, and the more, because his Cargo is so much larger and better than mine, you having sent him up a Parcel of Amber, when I at the same time daily lose Trade for want of that Commodity. However, I can only say, that I will do my best Endeavours for the Company's Interest, and make what Trade I possibly can (pp. 195-197). . . .

[Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton to Francis Moore.]

JAMES FORT, June 1, 1734.

Sir, . . . We have agreed with Captain Nash and Captain Ball for both their Cargoes, and for their Sloops to make a second Tryal at Portodally; where, with Mr. Conner, they were dispatched yesterday. As we on that and other Accounts want a good many Slaves, we desire you to exert yourself, and not stand out for a Price. As to Leach and Cooper,[38] we desire you to give them no manner of Countenance, by keeping them Company, or other ways assisting them (p. 199). . . .

[Francis Moore to Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton.]

CUTTEJARR PORT, July 1, 1734.

Gentlemen, This comes by *James* Sloop, Nap Gray Master, (who, according to your Order, has deliver'd up the *Fame* to C. Brown) and serves to acquaint you, that you will herewith receive twenty Slaves, as likewise some Elephants Teeth and Gold, Invoice and Costs of which are inclosed, amounting to ——, by which means I am very much dissorted; therefore if you think proper to continue me here all the Rains, I desire you would send me a Supply; for if I have Goods, I don't doubt making good Trade. By reason of my Trade, I could not go down to Brucoe as you proposed; but the inclosed will let you into the Knowledge of the Situation at that Factory. I hear of a great Coffle of Slaves now on the Road under the Conduct of Slattee Sanyconta Madebaugh. If it is true that he is coming, I shall heartily wish for Valentine Mendez's Cargo, who I am sure will make you stay a long time before he remits you what he is indebted to you for that fine Cargo which you have supplied him with, and which he intends to keep by him till Slaves are cheap (pp. 200-201). . . .

The next Day [*Aug. 8, 1734*][39] about Noon came up the *Dolphin* Snow, which saluted the Fort with nine Guns, and had the same Number returned; after which came on Shore the Captain, four Writers, one Apprentice to the Company, and one Black Man, by Name Job Ben Solomon,[40] a Pholey of Bundo in Foota, who in the Year 1731, as he was travelling in Jagra, and driving his Herds of Cattle across the Countries, was robbed and carried to Joar, where he was sold to Captain Pyke, Commander of the Ship *Arabella,* who was then trading there. By him he was carried to Maryland, and sold to a Planter, with whom Job lived about a Twelvemonth without being once beat by his Master; at the End of which time he had

[38] These two had some time before left the company's service and begun trading for themselves. They returned to James Fort with Moore when this trip came to an end.

[39] Moore, shortly after his letter of July 1, had been directed to return to James Fort.

[40] See *ante,* p. 399, and *post,* no. 197.

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the good Fortune to have a Letter of his own writing in the Arabic Tongue convey'd to England. This Letter coming to the Hand of Mr Oglethorpe, he sent the same to Oxford to be translated; which, when done, gave him so much Satisfaction, and so good an Opinion of the Man, that he directly order'd him to be bought from his Master, he soon after setting out for Georgia. Before he returned from thence, Job came to England; where being brought to the Acquaintance of the Learned Sir Hans Sloane,[41] he was by him found a perfect Master of the Arabic Tongue, by translating several Manuscripts and Inscriptions upon Medals: He was by him recommended to his Grace the Duke of Montague,[42] who being pleased with the Sweetness of Humour, and Mildness of Temper, as well as Genius and Capacity of the Man, introduced him to Court, where he was graciously received by the Royal Family, and most of the Nobility, from whom he received distinguishing Marks of Favour. After he had continued in England about fourteen Months, he wanted much to return to his Native Country, which is Bundo, (a Place about a Week's Travel over Land from the Royal African Company's Factory at Joar, on the River Gambia) of which Place his Father was High-Priest, and to whom he sent Letters from England. Upon his setting out from England he received a good many noble Presents from her most Gracious Majesty Queen Caroline, his Highness the Duke of Cumberland, his Grace the Duke of Montague, the Earl of Pembroke, several Ladies of Quality, Mr. Holden, and the Royal African Company, who have order'd their Agents to show him the greatest Respect (pp. 202-203). . . .

Job Ben Solomon having a Mind to go up to Cower to talk with some of his Countrymen, went along with me.[43] In the Evening we weighed Anchor, saluting the Fort with five Guns, which return'd the same Number. . . .

In the Evening [*Aug. 26, 1734*], as my Friend Job and I were sitting under a great Tree at Damasensa,[44] there came by us six or seven of the very People who robb'd and made a Slave of Job, about thirty Miles from hence, about three Years ago; Job, tho' a very even-temper'd Man at other times, could not contain himself when he

[41] It will be remembered that the collections of Sir Hans Sloane formed the nucleus of the British Museum.

[42] Moore's volume is dedicated in the usual flowery manner of the century to the Duke of Montagu, who, it has been noted, was one of the patrons attributed by Snelgrave to the Dahomian Tom (*ante*, no. 167, n. 6). It is probable that his interest in this negro and in Job ben Solomon called forth Moore's tribute: "In the Wilds of Africa your Humanity is praised, and the grateful Arabs pray for you in the Desarts." Moore, preface.

[43] Moore on Aug. 23 set out to Joar, where he was to have charge of the factory. The last sentence of his orders reads thus: "By this Conveyance comes one Black Free Man, by Name Job Ben Solomon; whom you are to use with the greatest Respect, and all the Civility you possibly can."

[44] Damasensa was southeast of Joar, on the south side of the river, not far from Elephant's Island.

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saw them, but fell into a most terrible Passion, and was for killing them with his broad Sword and Pistols, which he always took care to have about him. I had much ado to dissuade him from falling upon the six Men; but at last, by representing to him the ill Consequences that would infallibly attend such a rash Action, and the Impossibility of mine or his own escaping alive, if he should attempt it, I made him lay aside the Thoughts of it, and persuaded him to sit down and pretend not to know them, but ask them Questions about himself; which he accordingly did, and they answer'd nothing but the Truth. At last he ask'd them how the King their Master did; they told him he was dead, and by further Enquiry we found, that amongst the Goods for which he sold Job to Captain Pyke there was a Pistol, which the King used commonly to wear slung about his Neck with a String; and as they never carry Arms without being loaded, one Day this accidentally went off, and the Balls lodging in his Throat, he died presently. At the Closing of this Story Job was so very much transported, that he immediately fell on his Knees, and returned Thanks to Mahomet for making this Man die by the very Goods for which he sold him into Slavery; and then turning to me, he said, "Mr Moore, you see now God Almighty was displeas'd at this Man's making me a Slave, and therefore made him die by the very Pistol for which he sold me; yet I ought to forgive him, says he, because had I not been sold, I should neither have known any thing of the English Tongue, nor have had any of the fine, useful and valuable Things I now carry over, nor have known that in the World there is such a Place as England, nor such noble, good and generous People as Queen Caroline, Prince William, the Duke of Montague, the Earl of Pembroke, Mr. Holden, Mr. Oglethorpe, and the Royal African Company" (pp. 205-207). . . .

On Job's first Arrival here, he desired I would send a Messenger up to his own Country to acquaint his Friends of his Arrival. I spoke to one of the Blacks which we usually employ upon those Occasions, to procure me a Messenger, who brought to me a Pholey, who knew the High Priest his Father, and Job himself, and express'd great Joy at seeing him in safety returned from Slavery, he being the only Man (except one) that was ever known to come back to this Country, after having been once carried a Slave out of it by White Men.[45] Job gave him the Message himself, and desired his Father

[45] As a matter of fact there are a number of accounts of the return of natives, some of whom had been sold as slaves. Barbot gives one of them, which was related to M. Casseneuve by one Emanuel:

"The king, said he, had formerly sold me for a slave to a Dutch captain, who finding me a good servant, in his passage to the West-Indies, did not sell me to the planters there, as he did all my countrymen he had aboard, but carried me with him into Holland, where I soon learnt to speak good Dutch, and after some years he set me free. I went from Holland into France, where I soon got as much of that language as you hear by me.

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should not come down to him, for it was too far for him to travel; and that it was fit for the Young to go to the Old, and not for the Old to come to the Young. He also sent some Presents by him to his Wives, and desired him to bring his little one, which was his best beloved, down to him. After the Messenger was gone, Job went frequently along with me to Cower, and several other Places about the Country; he spoke always very handsome of the English, and what he said, took away a great deal of the Horror of the Pholeys for the State of Slavery amongst the English; for they before generally imagined, that all who were sold for Slaves, were generally either eaten or murdered, since none ever returned. His Description of the English gave them also a great notion of the Power of England, and a Veneration for those who traded amongst them. He sold some of the Presents he brought with him from England for Trading-Goods, with which he bought a Woman-Slave and two Horses, which were very useful to him there, and which he designed to carry with him to Bundo, whenever he should set out thither. He used to give his Country People a good deal of Writing-Paper, which is a very useful Commodity amongst them, and of which the Company had presented him with several Reams. He used to pray frequently, and behaved himself with great Mildness and Affability to all, so that he was very popular and well-beloved. The Messenger not being thought to return soon, Job desired to go down to James Fort to take care of his Goods, I promising to send him word when the Messenger came back, and also to send some other Messengers, for fear the first should miscarry.

On the *26th* [*September*] I sent down the *Fame* Sloop to James Fort, and Job going along with her, I gave the Master Orders to shew him all the Respect he could. . . .

This is the rainy Season, in which it is very difficult to send Goods to upper Factories; no Slaves come down, and therefore it is the time for collecting dry Goods up the River (pp. 207-209). . . .

On the *26th* [*November*] the *Fame* Sloop being at Damasensa, and I having about twelve Slaves by me, sent to Capt. Brown to come and fetch them down, in order to carry them to James Fort; the next Day he accordingly came up, and I having disposed of all my merchantable Goods at the Factory, I thought it advisable to take this

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Thence I proceeded to Portugal, which language I made my self master of with more ease than either the French or Dutch. Having thus spent several years in travelling thro' Europe, I resolved to return to my native country, and laid hold of the first opportunity that offered. When I arriv'd here, I immediately waited on the king, who had sold me for a slave, and having related to him my travels in Europe, added, I was come back to him, to put my self into his hands, as his slave again, if he thought fit. The king was so far from reducing me to that low condition, that he gave me one of his own sisters in marriage, and constituted me Alcaide, or governor of this town, where you see me live, and of that of Portudal; for the person who acts as governor there, is only my deputy." Churchill, *Voyages*, V. 425. See this work, I. 360 n.

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Opportunity of going down to the Fort, where I arrived on the third of December.

On the *9th* [*December*] in the Evening came up the *Dolphin* Scooner, Messieurs Norry and Ross, from London, but last from Holland; where they left the Company's Snow *Success* just ready to sail for this Place, with a good Cargo. With this Scooner, came over one Mr William Cleveland, Brother-in-Law to our second Chief Merchant Mr Charles Orfeur, with a full Design to get a Fortune by trading here against the Company, having for that purpose brought over a pretty good Cargo of Goods amounting to 400 *l.* Sterling, intending to settle and live in Mr Orfeur's House at Gilly-free. However, our Governor Mr Hull, being strongly rivetted to the Company's Interest, would not suffer his Colleague's Brother to settle and trade against the Company; upon which Mr Cleveland disposed of his Goods to the Company, for which they paid him in Slaves, after which he went down the Coast with the said Scooner (pp. 219-220).[46] . . .

On the *29th* [*January, 1735*] came up from Damasensa in a Canoa Job Ben Solomon, who I forgot to say, came up in the *Fame* Sloop along with me from James Fort on the 26th of December last, and going on Shore with me at Elephants Island, and hearing that the People of Joar were run away, it made him unwilling to proceed up hither, and therefore he desired Conner to put him and his things ashore at a Place call'd India, about six Miles above Damasensa, where he has continued ever since; but now hearing that there is no farther Danger, he thought he might venture his Body and Goods along with mine and the Company's, and so came up.

On the *14th* [*February*] a Messenger, whom I had sent to Job's Country, return'd hither with Letters, and Advice that Job's Father died before he got up thither, but that he had liv'd to receive the Letters sent by Job from England, which brought him the welcome News of his Son's being redeemed out of Slavery, and the Figure he made in England. That one of Job's wives was married to another Man; but that as soon as the Husband heard of Job's Arrival here, he thought it adviseable to abscond: That since Job's Absence from his Country, there has been such a dreadful War, that there is not so much as one Cow left in it, tho' when Job was there, it was a very noted Country for numerous Herds of large Cattle. With this Messenger came a good many of Job's old Acquaintance, whom he was exceeding glad to see; but notwithstanding the Joy he had to see his Friends, he wept grievously for his Father's Death, and the

[46] On Dec. 26 Moore, taking with him as assistant Thomas Hilton, had started for James Fort. On the journey he learned that owing to a native war the people of Joar had abandoned the town, and he hastened forward, alarmed for the safety of the company's stores, which however proved to be undisturbed.

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Misfortunes of his Country. He forgave his Wife, and the Man that had taken her; For, says he, Mr. Moore, she could not help thinking I was dead, for I was gone to a Land from whence no Pholey ever yet returned; therefore she is not to be blamed, nor the Man neither. For three or four Days he held a Conversation with his Friends without any Interruption, unless to sleep or eat.

On the *8th of March* [*1735*] the Snow *Dolphin,* Capt. Robert Clarke a separate Trader, came up to Rumbo's Port, in order to trade for Slaves (pp. 223-224).[47] . . .

On the *8th* [*April*], having deliver'd up the Company's Effects to Mr. James Conner, and taken proper Discharges for the same, I embarked on Board the Company's Sloop *James,* to which Mr. Hull accompanied me, and parted with me in a very friendly manner. Job likewise came down with me to the Sloop, and parted with me with Tears in his Eyes, at the same time giving me Letters for his Grace the Duke of Montague, the Royal African Company, Mr. Oglethorpe, and several other Gentlemen in England, telling me to give his Love and Duty to them, and to acquaint them, that as he designs to learn to write the English Tongue, he will, when he is Master of it, send them longer Epistles, and full Accounts of what shall happen to him hereafter; desiring me, that as I had lived with him almost ever since he came there, I would let his Grace and the other Gentlemen know what he had done, and that he was the next Day going with Mr. Hull up to Yanimarew, from whence he would accompany him to the Gum Forest, and make so good an Understanding between the Company and his Country People, that the English Nation should reap the Benefit of the Gum Trade;[48] saying at last, that he would spend his Days in endeavouring to do good for the English, by whom he had been redeemed from Slavery, and from whom he had received such innumerable Favours.[49] (pp. 230-231).

[47] Moore was now at Joar, where on Mar. 16 Governor Hull arrived, on his way to the "Gum Forest" to open a trade there, taking Job with him. Early in April the company abandoned its factory at Brucoe, as there was little trade there, and Moore was relieved of the charge of Joar. At this point in the narrative Moore inserts an account of his daily routine, his food, his bed, and his service.

[48] The English had made some endeavors to establish a profitable gum trade, but the bulk of that trade remained in the hands of the French.

[49] Moore settled his accounts with the company at James Fort and set sail for England May 13, 1735, where he arrived without special adventure July 13. After reporting to the company in London he returned to his own home in Worcester, but he could have remained here but a short time, for in October he is with Oglethorpe aboard the *Simmonds* bound for Georgia.

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176. Memoirs of the Life of Job ben Solomon.[1]

I. *An Account of the Family of Job; his Education; and the more remarkable Circumstances of his Life, before he was taken Captive.* . . . Job's Name, in his own Country, is Hyuba, Boon Salumena, Boon Hibrahema; *i. e.* Job, the Son of Solomon, the Son of Abraham. The Sirname of his Family is Jallo.

Job, who is now about 31 or 32 Years of age, was born at a Town called Boonda in the County of Galumbo (in our Maps Catumbo) in the Kingdom of Futa in Africa; which lies on both Sides the River Senegal, and on the south Side reaches as far as the River Gambia. These two Rivers, Job assured me, run pretty near parallel to one another, and never meet, contrary to the Position they have in most of our Maps. The Eastern Boundary of the Kingdom of Futa or Senegal is the great Lake, called in our Maps Lacus Guarde. The Extent of it, towards the North, is not so certain. The chief City or Town of it is Tombut; over against which, on the other side of the River, is Boonda, the Place of Job's Nativity.

About fifty Years ago Hibrahim, the Grandfather of Job, founded the Town of Boonda, in the Reign of Bubaker, then King of Futa, and was, by his Permission, sole Lord Proprietor and Governor of it, and at the same Time High Priest, or Alpha; so that he had a Power to make what Laws and Regulations he thought proper for the Increase and good Government of his new City. Among other Institutions, one was, that no Person who flies thither for Protection shall be made a Slave. This Privilege is in force there to this Day, and is extended to all in general, that can read and know God, as they express it; and it has contributed much to the Peopling of the Place, which is now very large and flourishing. Some time after the Settlement of this Town Hibrahim died; and, as the Priesthood is hereditary there, Salumen his Son, the Father of Job, became High Priest. . . . When Job was fifteen Years old, he assisted his Father as Emaum, or Sub priest. . . .

II. *Of the Manner of his being taken Captive; and what followed upon it, till his Return.* In February, 1730, Job's Father hearing of an English Ship at Gambia River, sent him, with two Servants to attend him, to sell two Negroes, and to buy Paper, and some other Necessaries; but desired him not to venture over the River, because the Country of the Mandingoes, who are Enemies to the People of Futa, lies on the other side. Job not agreeing with Captain Pike

[176] [1] *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; who was a Slave about two Years in Maryland; and afterwards being brought to England, was set free, and sent to his native Land in the Year 1734.* By Thomas Bluett, Gent., who was intimately acquainted with him in America, and came over to England with him (London, 1734). Those parts of the account of Francis Moore which relate to Job should be read in connection with this narrative (see *ante*, pp. 399, 414-419).

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(who commanded the Ship, lying then at Gambia, in the Service of Captain Henry Hunt, Brother to Mr. William Hunt,[2] Merchant, in Little Tower-street, London) sent back the two Servants to acquaint his Father with it, and to let him know that he intended to go farther. Accordingly, having agreed with another Man, named Loumein Yoai, who understood the Mandingoe Language, to go with him as his Interpreter, he crossed the River Gambia, and disposed of his Negroes for some Cows. As he was returning Home, he stopp'd for some Refreshment at the House of an old Acquaintance; and the Weather being hot, he hung up his Arms in the House, while he refresh'd himself. Those Arms were very valuable; consisting of a Gold-hilted Sword, a Gold Knife, which they wear by their Side, and a rich Quiver of Arrows, which King Sambo has made him a Present of. It happened that a Company of the Mandingoes, who live upon Plunder, passing by at that Time, and observing him unarmed, rush'd in, to the Number of seven or eight at once, at a back Door, and pinioned Job, before he could get to his Arms, together with his Interpreter, who is a Slave in Maryland still. They then shaved their Heads and Beards, which Job and his Man resented as the highest Indignity; tho' the Mandingoes meant no more by it, than to make them appear like Slaves taken in War. On the 27th of February, 1730, they carried them to Captain Pike at Gambia, who purchased them; and on the first of March they were put on Board. Soon after Job found means to acquaint Captain Pike that he was the same Person that came to trade with him a few Days before, and after what Manner he had been taken. Upon this Captain Pike gave him leave to redeem himself and his Man; and Job sent to an Acquaintance of his Father's near Gambia, who promised to send to Job's Father, to inform him of what had happened, that he might take some Course to have him set at Liberty. But it being a Fortnight's Journey between the Friend's House and his Father's, and the Ship sailing in about a Week after, Job was brought with the rest of the Slaves to Annapolis in Maryland, and delivered to Mr. Vachell Denton, Factor to Mr. Hunt, before mentioned. Job heard since, by Vessels that came from Gambia, that his Father sent down several Slaves, a little after Captain Pike sailed, in order to procure his Redemption; and that Sambo, King of Futa, had made War upon the Mandingoes, and cut off great Numbers of them, upon account of the Injury they had done to his Schoolfellow.

Mr. Vachell Denton sold Job to one Mr. Tolsey in Kent Island in Maryland, who put him to work in making Tobacco; but he was

[2] Captain Pike (Pyke) occasionally appears in the "Carroll Papers", engaged in carrying tobacco from Maryland to London (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XVIII. 337-338, XIX. 180). For William Hunt's dealings with the Carrolls see "Carroll Papers", *ibid.,* XVIII., index.

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soon convinced that Job had never been used to such Labour. He every Day shewed more and more Uneasiness under this Exercise, and at last grew sick, being no way able to bear it; so that his Master was obliged to find easier Work for him, and therefore put him to tend the Cattle. Job would often leave the Cattle, and withdraw into the Woods to pray; but a white Boy frequently watched him, and whilst he was at his Devotion would mock him, and throw Dirt in his Face. This very much disturbed Job, and added considerably to his other Misfortunes; all which were increased by his Ignorance of the English Language, which prevented his complaining, or telling his Case to any Person about him. Grown in some measure desperate, by reason of his present Hardships, he resolved to travel at a Venture; thinking he might possibly be taken up by some Master, who would use him better, or otherwise meet with some lucky Accident, to divert or abate his Grief. Accordingly he travelled thro' the Woods, till he came to the County of Kent, upon Delaware Bay, now esteemed Part of Pensilvania; altho' it is properly a Part of Maryland, and belongs to my Lord Baltimore. There is a Law in force, throughout the Colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, etc. as far as Boston in New England,[3] *viz.* That any Negroe, or white Servant who is not known in the County, or has no Pass, may be secured by any Person, and kept in the common Goal, till the Master of such Servant shall fetch him. Therefore Job being able to give no Account of himself, was put in Prison there.

This happened about the Beginning of June, 1731, when I, who was attending the Courts there, and had heard of Job, went with several Gentlemen to the Goaler's House, being a Tavern, and desired to see him. He was brought into the Tavern to us, but could not speak one Word of English. Upon our talking and making Signs to him, he wrote a Line or two before us, and when he read it, pronounced the Words Allah and Mahommed; by which, and his refusing a Glass of Wine we offered him, we perceived he was a Mahometan, but could not imagine of what Country he was, or how he got thither; for by his affable Carriage, and the easy Composure of his Countenance, we could perceive he was no common Slave.

When Job had been some time confined, an old Negroe Man, who lived in that Neighbourhood, and could speak the Jalloff Language,[4]

[3] From the earliest days of slavery in Maryland the law had provided that runaway slaves were to be imprisoned. A supplement to this provision, passed in 1719, provided that if the master, after due notice that his runaway negro had been taken up, did not claim his slave the sheriff was to sell him (*Archives of Maryland,* XXXIII. 459-460). The Virginia law (1726) provided that if a negro failed to name his owner he was to be committed to jail and advertised by the sheriff (Hening, *Statutes at Large,* IV. 168-175); the Pennsylvania law (1726) provided that any negro taken ten miles from home without a pass in writing was to be whipped. *Statutes,* IV. 63, sect. X.

[4] The Jalloffs, Jolloffs, or Yalofs, were negroes of the Senegambia, neighbors of the Foulis.

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which Job also understood, went to him, and conversed with him. By this Negroe the Keeper was informed to whom Job belonged, and what was the Cause of his leaving his Master. The Keeper thereupon wrote to his Master, who soon after fetch'd him home, and was much kinder to him than before; allowing him a Place to pray in, and some other Conveniences, in order to make his Slavery as easy as possible. Yet Slavery and Confinement was by no means agreeable to Job, who had never been used to it; he therefore wrote a Letter in Arabick to his Father, acquainting him with his Misfortunes, hoping he might yet find Means to redeem him. This Letter he sent to Mr. Vachell Denton, desiring it might be sent to Africa by Captain Pike; but he being gone to England, Mr. Denton sent the Letter inclosed to Mr. Hunt, in order to be sent to Africa by Captain Pike from England; but Captain Pike had sailed for Africa before the Letter came to Mr. Hunt, who therefore kept it in his own Hands, till he should have a proper Opportunity of sending it. It happened that this Letter was seen by James Oglethorpe, Esq;[5] who, according to his usual Goodness and Generosity, took Compassion on Job, and gave his Bond to Mr. Hunt for the Payment of a certain Sum, upon the Delivery of Job here in England. Mr. Hunt upon this sent to Mr. Denton, who purchas'd him again of his Master for the same Money which Mr. Denton had formerly received for him; his Master being very willing to part with him, as finding him no ways fit for his Business.

He lived some time with Mr. Denton at Annapolis, before any Ship could stir out, upon account of the Ice that lay in all the Rivers of Maryland at that Time. In this Interval he became acquainted with the Reverend Mr. Henderson, a Gentleman of great Learning, Minister of Annapolis, and Comissary to the Bishop of London, who gave Job the Character of a Person of great Piety and Learning; and indeed his good Nature and Affability gain'd him many Friends besides in that Place.

In March, 1733, he set sail in the *William,* Captain George Uriel Commander; in which Ship I was also a Passenger. The Character which the Captain and I had of him at Annapolis, induced us to teach him as much of the English Language as we could, he being then able to speak but few Words of it, and those hardly intelligible. This we set about as soon as we were out at Sea, and in about a Fortnight's Time taught him all his Letters, and to spell almost any single Syllable, when distinctly pronounced to him; but Job and my selfe falling sick, we were hindered from making any greater Progress at that Time. However, by the Time that we arrived in England, which was

[5] Oglethorpe became deputy governor of the Royal African Company in January, 1732. *Gentleman's Magazine,* II. 585; see *ante,* no. 175, n. 23.

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the latter End of April, 1733, he had learned so much of our Language, that he was able to understand most of what we said in common Conversation; and we that were used to his Manner of Speaking, could make shift to understand him tolerably well. . . .

By his good Nature and Affability he gained the good Will of all the Sailors, who (not to mention other kind Offices) all the way up the Channel shewed him the Head Lands and remarkable Places; the Names of which Job wrote down carefully, together with the Accounts that were given him about them. His Reason for so doing, he told me, was, that if he met with any Englishman in his Country, he might by these Marks be able to convince him that he had been in England.

On our Arrival in England, we heard that Mr. Oglethorpe was gone to Georgia, and that Mr. Hunt had provided a Lodging for Job at Limehouse. After I had visited my Friends in the Country, I went up on purpose to see Job. He was very sorrowful, and told me, that Mr. Hunt had been applied to by some Persons to sell him, who pretended they would send him home; but he feared they would either sell him again as a Slave, or if they sent him home would expect an unreasonable Ransom for him. I took him to London with me, and waited on Mr. Hunt, to desire leave to carry him to Cheshunt in Hartfordshire; which Mr. Hunt comply'd with. He told me he had been apply'd to, as Job had suggested, but did not intend to part with him without his own Consent; but as Mr. Oglethorpe was out of England, if any of Job's Friends would pay the Money, he would accept of it, provided they would undertake to send him home safely to his own Country. I also obtained his Promise that he would not dispose of him till he heard farther from me.

Job, while he was at Cheshunt, had the Honour to be sent for by most of the Gentry of that Place, who were mightily pleased with his Company, and concerned for his Misfortunes. They made him several handsome Presents, and proposed that a Subscription should be made for the Payment of the Money to Mr. Hunt. The Night before we set out for London from Cheshunt, a Footman belonging to Samuel Holden, Esq; brought a Letter to Job, which was, I think, directed to Sir Byby Lake.[6] The Letter was delivered at the African House; upon which the House was pleased to order that Mr. Hunt should bring in a Bill of the whole Charges which he had been at about Job, and be there paid; which was accordingly done, and the Sum amounted to Fifty-Nine Pounds, Six Shillings, and eleven Pence Half-penny. This Sum being paid, Mr. Oglethorpe's Bond was deliver'd up to the Company. Job's Fears were

[6] Sir Bibye Lake was at this time subgovernor of the Royal African Company.

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now over, with respect to his being sold again as a Slave; yet he could not be persuaded but that he must pay an extravagant Ransom, when he got home. I confess, I doubted much of the Success of a Subscription, the Sum being great, and Job's Acquaintance in England being so small; therefore, to ease Job's Mind, I spoke to a Gentleman about the Affair, who has all along been Job's Friend in a very remarkable Manner. This Gentleman was so far from discouraging the Thing, that he began the Subscription himself with a handsome Sum, and promised his further Assistance at a dead Lift. Not to be tedious: Several Friends, both in London and in the Country, gave in their charitable Contributions very readily; yet the Sum was so large, that the Subscription was about twenty Pounds short of it; but that generous and worthy Gentleman before mentioned, was pleased to make up the Defect, and the whole Sum was compleated.

I went (being desired) to propose the Matter to the African Company; who, after having heard what I had to say, shew'd me the Orders that the House had made; which were, that Job should be accommodated at the African House at the Company's Expence, till one of the Company's Ships should go to Gambia, in which he should be sent back to his Friends without any Ransom. The Company then ask'd me, if they could do any Thing more to make Job easy; and upon my Desire, they order'd, that Mr. Oglethorpe's Bond should be cancelled, which was presently done, and that Job should have his Freedom in Form, which he received handsomely engross'd, with the Company's Seal affixed; after which the full Sum of the whole Charges (*viz.* Fifty-nine Pounds, Six Shillings, and eleven Pence Half-penny) was paid in to their Clerk, as was before proposed.

Job's Mind being now perfectly easy, and being himself more known, he went chearfully among his Friends to several Places, both in Town and Country. One Day being at Sir Hans Sloan's, he expressed his great Desire to see the Royal Family. Sir Hans promised to get him introduced, when he had Clothes proper to go in. Job knew how kind a Friend he had to apply to upon occasion; and he was soon cloathed in a rich silk Dress, made up after his own Country Fashion, and introduced to their Majesties, and the rest of the Royal Family. Her Majesty was pleased to present him with a rich Gold Watch; and the same Day he had the Honour to dine with his Grace the Duke of Mountague, and some others of the Nobility, who were pleased to make him a handsome Present after Dinner. His Grace, after that, was pleased to take Job often into the Country with him, and shew him the Tools that are necessary for Tilling the Ground, both in Gardens and Fields, and made his Servants shew him how to use them; and afterwards his Grace

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furnished Job with all Sorts of such Instruments, and several other rich Presents, which he ordered to be carefully done up in Chests, and put on Board for his Use. 'Tis not possible for me to recollect the many Favours he received from his Grace, and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who shewed a singular Generosity towards him; only, I may say in general, that the Goods which were given him, and which he carried over with him, were worth upwards of 500 Pounds; besides which, he was well furnished with Money, in case any Accident should oblige him to go on Shore, or occasion particular Charges at Sea. About the latter End of July last he embark'd on Board one of the African Company's Ships, bound for Gambia; where we hope he is safely arrived, to the great Joy of his Friends, and the Honour of the English Nation. . . .

IV. *Of Job's Person and Character.* Job was about five Feet ten inches high, strait limb'd, and naturally of a good Constitution; altho' the religious Abstinence which he observed, and the Fatigues he lately underwent, made him appear something lean and weakly. His Countenance was exceeding pleasant, yet grave and composed; his Hair long, black, and curled, being very different from that of the Negroes commonly brought from Africa.

His natural Parts were remarkably good; and I believe most of the Gentlemen that conversed with him frequently, will remember many Instances of his Ingenuity. On all Occasions he discovered a solid Judgment, a ready Memory, and a clear Head. And, notwithstanding the Prejudices which it was natural for him to have in favour of his own religious Principles, it was very observable with how much Temper and Impartiality he would reason in Conversation upon any Question of that kind, while at the same Time he would frame such Replies, as were calculated at once to support his own Opinion, and to oblige or please his Opponent. In his Reasonings there appeared nothing trifling, nothing hypocritical or over-strained; but, on the contrary, strong Sense, joined with an innocent Simplicity, a strict Regard to Truth, and a hearty Desire to find it. Tho' it was a considerable Disadvantage to him in Company, that he was not sufficient Master of our Language; yet those who were used to his Way, by making proper Allowances, always found themselves agreeably entertained by him.

The Acuteness of his Genius appear'd upon many Occasions. He very readily conceived the Mechanism and Use of most of the ordinary Instruments which were shewed to him here; and particularly, upon seeing a Plow, a Grist Mill, and a Clock taken to pieces, he was

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able to put them together again himself, without any farther Direction.

His Memory was extraordinary; for when he was fifteen Years old he could say the whole Alcoran by heart, and while he was here in England he wrote three Copies of it without the Assistance of any other Copy, and without so much as looking to one of those three when he wrote the others. He would often laugh at me when he heard me say I had forgot any Thing, and told me he hardly ever forgot any Thing in his Life, and wondered that any other body should. . . .

His Learning, considering the Disadvantages of the Place he came from, was far from being contemptible. The Books in his Country are all in Manuscript, all upon Religion; and are not, as I remember, more than Thirty in Number. They are all in Arabick; but the Alcoran, he says, was originally wrote by God himself, not in Arabick, and God sent it by the Angel Gabriel to Ababuker, some time before Mahommed was born; the Angel taught Ababuker to read it, and no one can read it but those who are instructed after a different Manner from that in which the Arabick is commonly taught. However, I am apt to think that the Difference depends only upon the Pointing of the Arabick, which is of later Date. Job was well acquainted with the historical Part of our Bible, and spoke very respectfully of the good Men mentioned in Scripture; particularly of Jesus Christ, who, he said, was a very great Prophet, and would have done much more Good in the World, if he had not been cut off so soon by the Wicked Jews; which made it necessary for God to send Mahomet to confirm and improve his Doctrine.[7]

177. Account of Duties on Negroes imported into Barbados, 1730-1737.[1]

Account of Cash receiv'd and sums Bonded for in the Treasury's Office of this His Majesty's Island [*Barbados*] *ariseing from the Dutys of . . . Negros imported . . . 27th of November, 1730 to the 27th of February 1730/1.*[2]

[7] For an account of another Mohammedan slave brought to America see "Autobiography of Omar ibn Said, Slave in North Carolina", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 787-795.

[177] [1] C. O. 33: 30. The duty was 5 *s.* per head. The African items have been selected from a long list of vessels.

[2] Similar headings, which carry this list to June 3, 1737, have been omitted.

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	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	s.	d.
1730								
Dec. 1	John Fairchild	*Recovery*	Thos. Chapman	Affrica	11	2	15	
" 3	Withers and Compa.	*Happy* Snow	Wm. Haskins	"	60	15		
" 9	" " "	*Freak* Galley	Jno. Bartlet	"	340	85		
" 14	Wm. Haskins	*Happy* Snow	Wm. Haskins	"	3		15	
1731								
Ja. 3	Blaney Harper	*Aurora*	Thos. Davis	"	270	67	10	
" 7	"	*Mary*	Jno. Chapman	"	165	41	05	
" 13	Withers and Co.	*Happy* Snow	Wm. Haskins	"	4	1		
" "	" "	*Freak* Galley	Jno. Bartlett	"	5	1	5	
" 21	Theo's Morris and Co.	*Hare*	Jno. Sacheveral	"	137	34	05	
Feb. 4	Jno. Fairchild	*Recovery*	Thos. Chapman	"	66	16	10	
" 20	Blaney Harper	*Robert*	Nath'll Letherland	"	170	42	10	
Mar. 4	Blower and Cogan	*Redclif*	Blaney Adair	"	242	60	10	
" 18	Rich'd Morecroft	*Forster*	Chas. Thornton	"	136	34		
Apr. 29	" "	*Lark*, Man of War	Capt. Cockburn	"	8	2		
" 30	Morris and Co.	*Greyhound* Galley	Edward Holden	"	37	9	5	
May 5	Withers and Co.	*Judieth*	Jeremiah Pearce	"	61	15	5	
" 11	" " "	"	" "	"	100	25		
" "	" " "	"	" "	"	36	9		
" 13	Rich. Morecroft	*Hopewell*	Jos. Bird	"	100	25		
" 17	Shurland and Salmon	*Guyney Hen*	Henry Waner	"	201	50	5	
May 25	Rich. Morecroft	*John*	Wm. Cookson	Africa	99	24	15	
" 26	James Jones and Co.	*James*	Wm. Douglas	"	115	28	15	
" 26	Thomas and Sterling	*Neptune*	Jas. Lyon	Africa	130	32	10	
June 1	Rich. Morecroft	*Wm. and Elizabeth*	Jas. Brownbill	Affrica	93	23	5	
" 3	Blower and Cogan	*Jamaica*	Thos. Quirke	"	40	10		
" 15	Withers and Co.	*Betty* Gally	Thos. Gross	"	260	65		
" 17	" " "	"	" "	"	100	25		
July 22	Blaney Harper	*Hardman* Gally	Wm. Penkel	"	170	42	10	
Aug. 20	Blower and Cogan	*Jamaica*	Thos. Quirke	"	1	5		
" "	Withers and Co.	*Betty* Gally	Thos. Gross	"	2	10		
Sept. 18	Withers and Co.	*Cato*	Rd. Uppington	"	10	2	10	
" 20	Ruddock and Co.	*John* Gally	Wm. Kennedy	"	250	62	10	
Oct. 2	Withers and Co.	*Pearl*	Jenkins Hughes	"	91	22	15	
" 29	Blower and Cogan	*Benedicta*	Art'r Raymond	"	29	7	5	
Nov. 19	Lake and Company	*Garway*	Rd. Stockwell	"	290	72	10	
Nov. 30	Blower and Cogan	*Benedicta*	Arthur Raymond	Africa	1		5	
" "	Withers and Co.	*Ruby*	Robt. Maxwell	"	112	28		
" "	Sam'll Salmon	*John and Ann*	Tho. Stoneham	"	88	22		
1732								
Jan. 18	Withers and Co.	*Ann*	Tho. Hill	"	400	100		
" 25	Rich'd Morecroft	*Mary*	Jas. Winfeild	"	153	38	5	
Feb. 1	Harper and Moore	*Robert*	Nat. Leatherland	"	147	36	15	
" 15	Benj. Hall	Scooner *Francis*	Robt. Ball	"	22	5	10.	
" 16	Noblet Ruddock	Briga. *Diana*	Jno. Malcolme	"	101	25	5	
" "	Thomas and Sterling	Snow *Mary*	Wm. Gordon	"	154	38	10	
" 29	Withers and Co.	*An*	Thos. Hill	"	45	11	5	
Mar. 13	Richd Morecroft	Briga. *Forster*	Chas. Thornton	"	34	8	10.	
Ap. 29	Jas. Jones and Co.	*James*	Thos. Newton	"	162	40	10.	

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[*Account of Cash received*—continued:]

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	s.	d.
May 8	Rd. Morecroft	*Good Intention*	Jas. Williamson	"	40	10		
" 10	"	Briga. *Hopewell*	Jno. Greenwood	"	108	27		
" 10	"	*Endeavor*	Jno. Levett	"	125	31	5	
" "	Withers and Company	Do.	Do.	"	47	11	5	
" 31	HarperandMoore	Ship *Scot*	Hugh Crawford	Affrica	240	60		
June 6	Withers and Co.	*Indian Queen*	Geo. Porry	"	16	4		
" "	Rd. Morecroft	*Pearl* Man of War	Fitz Roy Lee	"	32	8		
June 26	Rd. Morecroft	*Hope*	Robt. Brownbell	Affrica	180	45		
" 27	"	*Endeavour*	John Levett	"	7	1	15	
" "	Withers and Co.	"	" "	"	17	4	05	
" "	John Levett	"	" "	"	3		15	
July 26	HarperandMoore	*Redclif*	Blaney Adair	"	233	58	5	
Aug. 1	Withers and Co.	*St. Andrew*	Geo. Appleby	"	83	20	15	
Sept. 25	Wm. Webster	*Molly* Gally	Jno. Caunther	Affrica	45	11	5	
" 27	HarperandMoore	"	" "	"	32	8		
Oct. 18	" " "	*Rainbow*	Rd. Morgan	"	150	37	10.	
" "	" " "	"	"	"	171	42	15	
Nov. 27	Rd. Morecroft	*Princess Ann*	Robt. Stevenson	"	43	10	15	
Dec. 13	Withers and Co.	*Sarah*	John Hog	"	90	22	10	
" 19	HarperandMoore	*Helina*	John Dyke	Affrica	226	56	10	
1733								
Jan. 9	Withers and Co.	*Berkley*	Pereg'ne Stockdale	"	79	19	15	
" 18	HarperandMoore	*Mary*	Jas. Winfeild	"	181	45	5	
" 26	Withers and Co.	*Sarah*	John Hogg	"	3		15	
Feb. 1	Rich. Morecroft	*Lark*	Thos. Dickenson	"	30	7	10	
Mch. 20	Withers and Co.	*Ruby*	Robt. Maxwell	"	20	5		
" 31	Robt. Maxwell	"	" "	"	110	27	10	
Apr. 3	HarperandMoore	*Charles*	Jas. Brownbill	"	262	65	10	
" 9	Murry Crimble	*Bridget* Galley	Wm. Clarke	"	68	17		
May 3	Murry Crimble	*Oldburry*	John Tyler	"	71	17	15	
" 8	Noblet Ruddock	*John*	John Willson	"	31	7	15	
" 19	Murry Crimble	*Pheasant*	Jno. Drummond	"	61	5	5	
June 23	Richd. Morecroft	Snow *Vine*	Richd Gregson	"	32	8		
July ?	Murry Crimble	*Oldburry*	John Tyler	"	1		5	
Oct. 1	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Galley	Price Powell	Affrica	40	10		
" 8	Withers and Co.	Snow *Jenny*	Ed. Bryan	"	8	2		
" 10	" " "	" "	"	"	32	8		
" 11	HarperandMoore	*Scott*	Hugh Crawford	"	15	3	15	
" 12	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Galley	Price Powell	"	12	3		
" 13	HarperandMoore	*Scott*	Hugh Crawford	"	12	3		
" 16	Richd Morecroft	*Hope*	Robt. Brownbell	"	68	17		
" 19	HarperandMoore	*Scott*	Hugh Crawford	"	16	4		
Nov. 20	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Gally	Price Powell	"	4	1		
" 29	Richd Morecroft	*Betty* Gally	Ed. Deane	"	112	28		
Dec. 6	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Gally	Price Powell	"	15	3	15	
" 10	Anthony Lynch	" "	" "	"	23	5	15	
1734								
Jan. 11	HarperandMoore	Brig'e *Hare*	Nichs. Gallimore	"	100	25		
" 22	Withers and Harrison	Scoonr *Little Molly*	Wm. Bond	"	120	30		
" 26	Richd Morecroft	*Torrington*	Wm. Perry	"	7	1	15	
Feb. 16	HarperandMoore	Snow *Rose*	Robt. Law	"	1		5	
" 19	" " "	Brig'e *Hare*	Nichs. Gallimore	"	20	5		
" "	" " "	Snow *Rose*	Robt. Law	"	145	36	5	

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[*Account of Cash received*—continued:]

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	s.	d
Apr. 20	Thos. Newton	*Mary andEllinor*	Thos. Newton	Affrica	47	11	15	
" 20	Rich. Morecroft	*Lively*	Fra'e Cutting	"	23	5	15	
" 29	Salmon and Harris	*Sea Flower*	Francis Quirke	"	45	11	5	
May 25	Rich. Morecroft	*Isabella*	Peter Poly	"	102	25	10	
" 30	Thos. Newton	*Mary andEllinor*	Thos. Newton	"	8	2		
June 11	Salmon and Harris	*Aurora* Gally	Tim's Tucker	"	30	7	10	
June 15	Salmon and Co.	*Aurora*	Tim's Tucker	"	2		10	
" 17	" " "	"	"	"	12	3		
July 4	Noblet Ruddock	*Bridget*	Wm. Clark	"	27	6	15	
" 5	" " "	"	" "	"	8	2		
" 6	" " "	"	" "	"	11	2	15	
Aug. 13	Withers and Co.	Ship *Nassau*	Jno. Bradshaw	"	30	7	10	
Sept. 4	William Day	*Bonaventure*	James Cahoone	"	2		10	
" 25	Chris'r Brown	"	"	"	10	2	10	
Oct. 11	HarperandMoore	*Princess Amelia*	Ed. Tarlton	"	30	7	10	
" 15	Withers and Harrison	*Molly*	John Mackett	"	55	13	15	
Nov. 5	Benj. Hall	Briga. *Barron*	Thos. Nash	"	20	5		
Nov. 5	Benj. Hall	*Bumper*	Robt. Ball	Africa	20	5		
" 7	Thos. Lake	*Barron*	Thos. Nash	"	12	3		
" 11	Benj. Hall	*Bumper*	Robt. Ball	"	6	1	10	
" 18	" "	"	" "	"	43	10	15	
" 19	" "	*Barron*	Thos. Nash	"	15	3	15	
Dec. 7	Noblet Ruddock	*Peneil*	Benj. Tanner	"	143	37	5	
" 10	" "	"	" "	"	9	2	5	
" 24	Rich'd Morecroft	*Crocodile*	Philip Aubin	"	60	15		
" 27	" "	"	" "	"	59	14	15	
" 27	David Minvielle	"	" "	"	26	6	10	
Feb. 21	" "	Snow *Blank*	Ezekiel Davies	"	55	13	15	
Mch. 10	Rich. Morecroft	*Nancey*	Egerton Cutter	"	32	8		
" 13	" "	*Crocodile*	Philip Aubin	"	11	2	15	
1735								
Mch. 15	Richd. Morecroft	Snow *Nancy*	Egerton Cutter	"	32	8		
" 18	" "	"	" "	"	20	5		
" 20	" "	"	" "	"	20	5		
" 27	" "	Ship *Stoneage*	Thos. Hill	"	20	5		
Apr. 14	Rich'd Morecroft	Snow *Nancy*	Egerton Cutter	Africa	56	14		
" 28	" "	Ship *Betty*	Murray Campbell	"	35	8	15	
" "	" "	*Willoughby*	Richd. Heysham	"	20	5		
May 2	" "	Snow *Grace*	Jas. Cowley	"	100	25		
" 3	" "	" "	" "	"	12	3		
June 21	" "	*Susanna*	Wm. Kennedy	"	37	9	5	
" 26	" "	Briga. *Swallow*	Patrick Norris	"	50	12	10	
July 1	" "	" "	" "	"	69	17	5	
Sept. 2	" "	*Pine Apple*	David Hallow	"	30	7	10	
" 8	" "	" "	" "	"	27	6	15	
" 9	" "	" "	" "	"	25	6	5	
Nov. 4	" "	*Mermaid*	Wm. Hambly	"	150	37	10	
" 8	Withers and Harrison	*Stagenhoe*	H. Strangeway	"	53	13	5	
" 24	Saml. Salmon	*Neptune*	Thos. Newton	"	39	9	15	
Dec. 12	" "	*Berkley* Gally	Peregrine Stockdale	"	50	12	10	
" 16	Richd. Morecroft	*Mermaid*	Wm. Hambley	"	143	35	15	
" 29	Withers and Harrison	*Illustrous Pair*	Chas. Tweedy	"	20	5		

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[*Account of Cash received*—continued:]

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	s.	d.
1736								
Jan. 5	Withers and Harrison	*Illustrous Pair*	Chas. Tweedy	Africa	110	27	10	
Jan. 7	"	" "	" "	"	10	2	10	
Feb. 16	"	*Prince William*	Geo. Brichall	"	23	5	15	
" 25	"	" "	" "	"	49	12	15	
Mch. 2	Rich. Morecroft	*Mary and Ann*	Jas. Winfield	"	50	12	10	
" 2	Withers and Harrison	" " "	" "	"	16	4		
" 3	Richd. Morecroft	*Carolina*	Geo. Campbell	"	25	6	5	
" 6	" "	*Poyntz*	Rich'd Williams	"	20	5		
" 18	Patrick Johnson	H. M. S. *Argyle*	Geo. Slater	"	10	2	10	
" 24	Joseph Ball	"	"	"	2		10	
" 26	Richd. Morecroft	*Susanna*	David Mallortie	"	30	7	10	
Apr. 5	"	*Grace*	James Cowley	"	60	15		
" 6	"	"	" "	"	18	4	10	
" 30	Withers and Harrison	*Mary*	Wm. Frasier	"	30	7	10	
May 18	Richd. Morecroft	*Wm. and Betty*	Robt. Halliburton	"	21	5	5	
" "	" "	*Princess Amelia*	Andrew Ross	"	15	3	15	
" 20	" "	*Earl of Derby*	Thos. Grenup	"	125	31	5	
June 4	" "	*Cape Coast*	Thos. Parkes	"	20	5		
"	" "	*Antelope*	James Hurst	"	30	7	10	
"	" "	*Pretty Betsie*	John Boyes	"	18	4	10	
Dec. 20	Richd. Morecroft	Snow *Nancy*	Thos. Ball	Africa	32	8		
" 22	Samuel Salmon	Sloop *Neptune*	Thos. Newton	"	43	10	15	
" 24	Richd. Morecroft	*Nancy*	Thos. Ball	"	7	1	15	
" "	" "	*Dianna*	Jno. Malscolme	"	51	12	15	
1737								
Jan. 24	" "	*Forster*	Henry White	"	70	17	10	
Apr. 15	Richd. Morecroft	*Forster*	Henry White	"	82	20	10	
May 13	Abra. Delyon	*Ranger*	Dan. Smith	St. Eustace	8	2		
June 3	Rich. Morecroft[3]	*Willoughby*	Richd Heysham	Africa	40	10		

178. Theodore Morris to Isaac Hobhouse.[1]

Barbados, Jan'y 12th, 1730/1[?]

Mr. Isaac Hobhouse.

Sir, My last to you was the 26th Dec'r, since which I have not been honoured with any from you. The 29th the *Aurora* Capt. Davis

[3] There also appears in this account a record of 10 new negroes from Madeira, entered by Richard Morecroft, from the *Hope,* Capt. James Lamb; no duty recorded.

[178] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIII. 133. The Bristol merchants were at this time not happy over their profits. The *Boston News Letter,* Sept. 9, 1731, contained the following item: "Bristol, May 1. There are Letters from Annamabo, which relate, that on the 7th of December last, a Sloop belonging to Glasgow in Scotland, was carried off by the Negroes, on that Coast, who to the Number of 140 rose, and killed the Mate and most of the Men. Several of our Ships lately come from that Coast have met with dangerous Repulses by the Negroes rising, to quell whom the Sailors were obliged to kill several, and some of them lost their Lives in the Expedient; a Sickness too in that Climate has been very fatal to some of our Ships Companies, and carried off many. What with the Negroes rising, and other Disappointment, in the late Voyages thither, have occasioned a great Reducement in our Merchants Gains."

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arrived here and in pursuance to his orders he applyed to Messrs Blower and Cogin, who refused the Slaves at the Limits and orders for remittances, on which the Capt: offerd them to me, and I refused the Consignment as did Messrs. Withers and Harrison afterwards, on which the Capt. applyed to Mr. Harper, who accepted of them, and as it's reported he Sould the Cargo to Mr. Ruddock,[2] who retailed them, and I hope to good advantage, as they were a good Cargo of Slaves.

The 31st the *Scipio* Capt Bradshaw arrived from the Bite Seven Weeks, and proceeded to Leeward without comeing to an Anchor, he left there only your *Grayhound* and *James* the first with about 50 Slaves, and the other with but fue. The Capt. said the *Grayhound* would saile in about a month so that I may Expect her the latter End of this, and if you have sett me any Limits, under Twenty, I don't doubt but I shall come up to them, for there has not a Cargo of Ebbo Slaves [3] sould here a long time, and many People are Enquiering for them. Capt. Chapman whos arrivall I formerly advised of, from a small place near Widdaw landed last week 200 Slaves, and sould about ¾ of them at a verry good price. This Day the *Hare* Brigantine of Liverpoole arrived here from the Galinas last, she has been this Voyage as far to the Southward as Annamabo, and Turned back to windward, and to little purpose, for her Slaves are but Midling, this cons'd to B. H: NR and me, and they are working with the Capt. to give them to them, which he may do if he pleases, for as I so soon Expect the *Grayhound* I choos to sitt still untill she arrives. . . .

I am now come to the 14th, since which the Capt. of the *Hare* Brigantine of Liverpoole has given me the sale of his Cargo of Slaves, which consists of 140 Slaves, which I shall gett rid of in a feu Days, so that they shall be no hindrance to any that may arrive after, for a short Horse is soon curryed. I have not Elce. . . .

Sir, I am now come to the 15th, and have verry little to add but to Inclose you the two second bills to the first remitted you on the *James* acct., and to acquaint you that 8 weeks since the following Ships were at the Gallinas.

The *Penrill* Capt. Chreighton with	20	Slaves
The *Betty* Capt. Gilbert	25	Do.
The *Comerse* Capt. Cole	25	Do.
The *Phenix* Capt. Arthur	50	Do.

[2] Noblet Ruddock, a bankrupt Bristol merchant, who was in the West Indies from 1727 to 1734, may have been the seller of this cargo (John Latimer, *Annals of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 237). He is probably the consignee referred to below as "N R". The "B. H:" is without doubt Blaney Harper.

[3] Slaves from Calabar.

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which is all the news I have by the *Hare* Brigantine.[4]

[P. S.] I am unacquainted with the Owners of the 3 last Vessells, for want of an African list therefore pray advise them what I have wrote you.

179. Charges of the Royal African Company.[1]

African House Feb. 22d 1730[/1].

An Estimate of the Charges of the Royal African Company of England, for the Maintenance of the Severall British Forts and Settlements belonging to the said Company on the Coast of Africa for the Year One thousand Seven hundred and thirty one.

	Cape Coast Castle[2]	41 Guns.
Fort Royal		25
Phipps' Tower[3]		7
Queen Ann's Point		5

[4] A news item from Liverpool adds a number of vessels to those here mentioned: From Barbados, *Violet,* Oxenden, from Anamabo, 212 slaves; *Dreadnought,* Calabar, 227 slaves; *Mercury,* Smith, Antigua, 380; *Unicorn,* from Bonny; *Levant,* from Anamabo, 350; *William,* Jump, from Boston, taken by her slaves, and retaken. The *Berkley,* Burroughs, was on the coast; the *Amarilla,* at Cape Palmas; the *Diana,* at the Bite of Benin; the *Hope,* Brownbill, at Barbados. At St. Thomas was the *Hare,* Sacheverel; the *Henry* had sailed. At Bonny the *Mary,* Cornwall, and the *Freke*; at Angola, *Hayman, Amoretta, Budget,* and a South Sea Company's ship. From Bonny had recently sailed the *Infanta,* the *Indian Queen,* the *Bonny,* and the *Bath. Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer,* Jan. 23, 1731.

[179] [1] Archives of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol, "African Trade," Bundle D, box V. Under the monopoly of the Royal African Company the Merchant Venturers had had no legitimate share in the African trade, though Latimer intimates that even in the days of the monopoly they were secretly trading between Africa and America. At the end of the period of exclusive trade Bristol merchants were among the most active in taking advantage of the newly granted privileges and in opposing all efforts of the company to regain its former position. In this activity the Merchant Venturers shared with the corporation of Bristol. In the first nine years of open trade (1698-1707) 160,950 negroes were said to have been sent to America on Bristol vessels. In 1725 sixty-three vessels, with a capacity of 16,950 negroes, went out from here. Latimer estimates that this city spent £2000 in defeating the attempts of the company to regain the monopoly (*Merchant Venturers,* pp. 178-180; *Annals of the Eighteenth Century,* p. 90; Pitman, p. 67). The Merchant Venturers may have had the charges which follow, and which were doubtless part of a report prepared by the Board of Trade, in order to see whether they could be disproved. With them was a long account of the coast establishments, dated Feb. 16. For Bristol petitions presented during the struggle to prevent the revival of monopoly see *Commons Journals,* XII. 125, XVI. 83, 86, 550, 551, XVII. 76, 298, 299, 308; *Lords Journals,* XVI. 305; Stock, II. 218, 239.

[2] The company at this time described the castle as a square building fortified with four large bastions, and a platform towards the sea. It had by this time been enlarged by the company to six times the size of the original building. *C. J.,* XXI. 477.

[3] Phipp's Tower was an out-work built to protect the tower and gardens of Cape Coast against inland enemies.

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		Salary £	Diet £
1 Surgeon	at 50 and 50 £	50	50
1 Surgeon's Mate	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
10 Armourers Smiths Carpenters etc.	at 30 and 20 £	300	200
1 Deputy Inspector of the Fortifications		30	20
1 Gunner	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Gunners Mate	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
3 Serjeants	at 30 and 20 £	90	60
6 Corporals	at 20 and 15 £	120	90
2 Drummers	at 18 and 14 £	36	28
40 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	520	560
2 Linguists and Messengers,	1 at 48 and 1 at 24 £	72	
313 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		1878
43 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		344
	Totals	1298	3285
	The Salary added to the Diet		1298
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£4583

Dixcove Fort, 24 Guns.

1 Serjeant	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
8 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	104	112
1 Carpenter	at 30 and 20	30	20
10 Black Sawyers Carpenters, etc 30 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		240
6 Canoemen	at 8 £ ea		48
	Totals	184	455
	The Salary added to the Diet		184
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£ 639

Succundee Fort, 31 Guns.

1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
9 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	117	126
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ ea		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ ea		40
	Totals	137	301
	The Salary added to the Diet		137
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£ 438

Commenda Fort, 24 Guns.

1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
9 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	117	126
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ ea		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ ea		40
	Totals	137	301
	The Salary added to the Diet		137
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		438

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		Salary £	Diet £
Tantumquerry Fort, 8 Guns.			
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
5 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	65	70
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		40
	Totals	85	245
	The Salary added to the Diet		85
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		330
Winnebah Fort, 16 Guns.			
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
10 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	130	140
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		40
	Totals	150	315
	The Salary added to the Diet		150
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		465
Accra Fort, 40 Guns			
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
10 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	130	140
30 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		180
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		40
	Totals	150	375
	The Salary added to the Diet		150
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		525
William's Fort, Whidah, 32 Guns.			
1 Gunner	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Serjeant	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
4 Armourers, Smiths, Carpenters	at 30 and 20 £	120	80
1 Drummer	at 18 and 14 £	18	14
15 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	195	210
100 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		600
10 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		80
	Totals	393	1024
	The Salary added to the Diet		393
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£1417
James Fort, Gambia, 36 Guns.			
1 Surgeon	at 60 and 40 £	60	40
1 Surgeon's Mate	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
10 Armourers, Smiths, Carpenters, etc.	at 30 and 20 £	300	200
1 Surveyor	at 50 and 20 £	50	20
1 Gunner	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Serjeant	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
2 Drummers	at 18 and 14 £	36	28
30 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	390	420
5 Native Linguists and Messengers		55	
32 Castle Slaves	at 8 £ each		256
	Totals	981	1024
	The Salary added to the Diet		981
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		2005

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Abstract of the Estimate of the Castle Charges for the Year 1731.

	Castle Charge £
Cape Coast Castle and it's Outworks	4583
Dixcove Fort	639
Succondee	438
Commenda	438
Tantumquerry	330
Winnebah	465
Accra	525
Williams Fort, Whidah	1417
James Fort, Gambia	2005
Incident Charges on the Gold Coast and Whidah to be pd. there	4500
Incident Charges to be paid at Gambia	1200
Total Charges to be paid in Africa	16,540
Which by deducting 50 per Cent is Sterling money	11,027
To which is to be added the Charge of procuring and subsisting recruits of Artificers and Soldiers to be sent out, And of their passage to Africa, Also of Castle Stores, Ammunition and Materials, Computed to be paid in England in the Year 1731	2,400
To be likewise Added an Allowance for 70 persons who are Chiefs, Factors and Writers, and who upon all Occasions Act as well in a Military as trading Capacity after the rate of £27 Coast money or £18 Sterling each per Annum, being the pay of Common Soldiers only	1,260
Total of the foregoing Estimate for the Maintenance of the British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, for the Year 1731, in Sterling mony, amounts to	14,687

By Order of the Court of Assistants

EDWARD SPARKE

Accountant to the Royal African Company of England

Abstract of the Whole Charges of the Company's Forts.

Names of Places	Trade Charge this Year £	Castle Charge this Year £	Total Trade Charges £	Total Castle Charges £
Cape Coast Castle	1820	3865		
Dixcove	200	513		
Succondee	180	312		
Commenda	180	359		
Tantumquery	165	251		
Winnebah	165	287		
Accra	165	431		
Williams Fort, Whidah	310	967		
Incident Charges paid on the Coast		5312		
Total Charge of the Gold Coast and Whidah paid in Africa			3185	12,297
James Fort, Gambia	1364	1547		
Incident Charges paid at Gambia		1321		
Total Charge of James Fort Gambia pd. there			1364	2,868
Total of the Charges paid in Africa			4549	15,165
Which reduced into Sterling Money is			3033	10,110

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	Total Trade Charges £	Total Castle Charges £
To which must be added the Charges of sending out thirty two Factors and Writers	415	
And the Charges of procuring and subsisting 70 Recruits of Artificers and Soldiers, and of their Passage to Africa, Also of Castle Stores Ammunition And Materials, being paid in England from June the first to Dec. the 31st 1730		2028
Total Trade Charges for the Year 1730 in Sterling Money	3448	
A Deduction being made out of the Trade Charges for 70 Persons who are Cheifs, Factors, and Writers, and who upon all Occasions act as well in Military as a Trading Capacity, after the Rate of 27 £ Coast Money or 18 £ Sterling each per Annum, being the Pay of only Common Soldiers, and added to the Castle Charges, the same will Amount to		1260
Total Charges of the Companys Establishments for the Maintenance of the Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa for the Year 1730 in Sterling Money Amounts to		13,398

An Account of the Disposal of the Sum of £10,000, Granted the last Session of Parliament towards the maintenance of the foregoing Forts and Settlements.

	£
Paid in England for procuring and subsisting 70 Recruits of Artificers and Soldiers, and for their Passage to Africa, Also for Castle Stores, Ammunition and Other Materials for the Use of the said Castles from June the 1st 1730 to Ult. Dec. 1730, as before mentioned	2028.

Sent out in Goods by the Undermentioned Ships to Africa since the first day of June 1730 for defraying such part of the foregoing Castle Charges as is payable there, to the amount of £13,542. 1. 5, vizt.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By the ship *Diligence,* Capt. John Deer	415.	4.	4			
By the *Guinea* packet, C. Wm. Martin	5081.	7.	3½			
By the *Bonetta,* James Livingstone	3337.	4.	3			
By the *Clarendon,* C. John Usher	4708.	5.	7			
				13,542.	1.	5
				£15,570.	1.	5

By Order of the Court of Assistants

EDWARD SPARKE

Accountant to the Royal African Company of England

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180. Considerations upon the Trade to Cuba.[1]

Some further Considerations humbly proposed in order to prevent farming out the Factorys upon the Island of Cuba.

	p'ces of 8
That there has been sold at havana from 10 Novr. 1730 to Jan'ry 11th 1731 abt 1549 Negroes, which at 250 p'ces 8 per head amount to	387,250:
The Company have had sent home in return 11,325 of Snuff, supposing ea: to weigh 7 Arr:[2] make 79,275 arrb. w: at 2 p'ces 8 per Arr: (very nearly the mean proport: in price, said Snuff has been charged at to the Company) amount to no more than	160,384:3¼
Remains to be recovered upon sd. Acct p'ces 8	226,865:4¾

Excepting a deduction to be made for Bags, Some Sugar and a little Logwood for dunnage, for the Ships which will hardly amount to more than the odd thousands p'ces of 8 so that it may be supposed, there remains 200,000 p'ces to be collected, besides the other debts, created in abt 12 or 13 Years before, arising in the whole, to a very great Sum; which when comes to be duly considered, it's not unlikely but many Gentlemen in the Direction, might be brought to think it more for the Interest of the Company, to continue the Factorys upon the old footing, especially as the Company will be certain Gainers upon every piece of India, sent thither hereafter, 70 p'ces of 8 as no more Negroes are to be sent them from Jamaica, but what can be disposed of for Money, and that the Proffit will arise even when Negroes are dear at Jamaica, than to hearken to proposals for farming out their Factorys, admiting the Terms offerred should be seemingly as beneficial as for the Company to keep the Trade in their own hands when it should be further set forth, the necessity there will be (if the Honble Court of Directors give into the proposed Scheme) of having some persons besides the Farmers at the Factorys to take Care of the Companys property, the Exceptions the Spaniards may take to this Method, and the frequent cavils it may raise, to have that Trade carried on by persons who are not imediately under the Companys Direction.

All which are offerred with the greatest Submission.

[180] [1] Williams L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., Assiento, II. 913 (XLIV.). This paper has neither date nor signature. The trade of the South Sea Company had been for the second time violently interrupted in 1727 by the outbreak of war between Spain and England. The company's establishments were restored and trade resumed after the treaty of Seville, in November, 1729. For an account of the contribution which the assiento volumes among the Shelburne Papers make to the history of the Spanish-American slave trade from its re-establishment to its surrender by the English company, see A. S. Aiton, "The Asiento Treaty as reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII. 167-177.

[2] Arroba, a measure which varied, but was between 25 and 36 pounds.

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181. Daniel Wescomb to —— Humphrey.[1]

South Sea House 18th June 1731.

Sir, In answer to Your Letter of Yesterday to the Court of Directors, I am by their Order to acquaint You, That as They have Resolved for some time past, to depend on the Jamaica Market for the Provision of all such Negroes as their Agents shall want for the Supply of the Spanish West Indies, upon which Encouragement, many Merchants as well from hence as from Bristol and Liverpoole, have dispatched Their Ships to the Coast of Guinea, It is by no means proper for the Company to Concern themselves about Your ordering or not, the Ships You mention from Barbadoes to Jamaica, That being a Matter That must rest within Your own Judgment. Our Agents Buy of all Importers Indifferently as They want and find Negroes for Their Purpose as to price and Goodness, and if You think proper to Order Your Ships to Jamaica, They will stand equal chance with other Ships.

182. Jonathan Dennis to Peter Burrell.[1]

Cuba, Novr. the 2d 1731 at N. S.

. . . The *Anne* Galley Capt. Spackman, was taken off the E't End of Jamaica the 24th of June 1728, and brought into this Port with two hundred and Sixty negroes and a Considerable Value of Camwood and other comoditys from the Coast of Affrica.[2] . . .

We have now been Six months without a Vessel from Jamaica though we have by several Occations prayd the Agents to send us one to load for Europe on the Hon'ble Companys Account. We cant help it but 'tis a miserable case nor doe I mention this by way

[181] [1] Add. MSS. 25557, p. 119. It will be observed from this letter that the company of the assiento had abandoned any attempt to obtain its supply from the Royal African Company and was buying from any seller. This gave to the separate traders of the American continent the same opportunity to share in the Spanish-American markets that was presented to the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Those writers who have attributed to the possession of the assiento by the English great influence on the trade of the North American continent can find their only support in the share which New England vessels were now at liberty to obtain if they could. That they took any considerable share in this branch of the trade, there is little reason to believe.

[182] [1] William L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 341-352. Jonathan Dennis was a factor of the South Sea Company in Cuba.

[2] The case of the *Anne* had been the subject of interminable negotiations ever since its seizure by a Spanish Guarda Costa in 1728, and continued a subject of dispute through 1735. Capt. Joseph Spackman began petitioning for a restoration of vessel and cargo, valued at £10,590 1 *s.* 6 *d.*, in July, 1728; Benjamin Keene, minister to the court of Madrid, was instructed by numerous letters to obtain restitution; Christopher Astley, Benjamin Weale, and Joseph Croucher, of London, petitioned for letters of marque, that they might obtain private satisfaction. The English contention was that the vessel had been seized after word reached the West Indies that the preliminaries to peace had been agreed upon. The history of the case is set forth in a report to the king, Nov. 22, 1729. Add. MSS. 33028, pp. 198 ff.; 18272, f. 294; see also *Boston News Letter,* Nov. 16, 1732.

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of complaint perhaps the Gentlemen at Jamaica may have had reasons, that I cant think of, for not sending us negroes, (for we have had but twelve sent us in Six Months) notwithstanding our pressing them for three hundred, for which number we are sure of a Sale at this time; and tis for this reason we send this Sloop in order if possible to prevaile with those Gentlemen to send as many as they can; which without they doe; there will be no proposing to live at all here. . . .

183. ORDER IN COUNCIL CONCERNING THE JAMAICA DUTY.[1]

1731, 1 Dec.

[The Committee submit their report with the draft instructions. The report of the Board of Trade had set forth:] That by the said Act a Duty of fifteen shillings per head is laid upon all Negroes imported into Jamaica and another of Thirty shillings for every Negroe that shall be exported from thence, or put on Board for exportation, excepting such slaves only as have paid the Import Duty, and have not been sold in the Island since their Importation; . . . That the said Lords Commissioners further Reported, That the said Act so far as it relates to the Duties on Negroes is a Burthen upon the British Trade and Navigation, and contrary to Your Majestys additional Instruction to the Governor of Jamaica; By which he is forbid to consent to any Law upon any pretence whatsoever imposing a Tax upon Negroes imported into Jamaica, or Landed there for refreshment only, . . . whereupon the said Lords Commissioners humbly propose that in regard this is a Temporary Act and in all probability will have had its effect before an order for its repeale can reach the said Island, that therefore instead of repealing the same Your Majesty would be pleased to signify to the Governor of the said Island Your Majestys Dissatisfaction of this proceeding and to command him upon pain of Your Majestys highest Displeasure to adhere more strictly to his Instructions for the future—And at the same time absolutely to forbid him to give his assent to any Law imposing Duties upon Slaves imported into Jamaica payable by the Importer, or upon any slaves exported that have not been sold in the Island, and continued there for the space of twelve months, and to forbid him likewise to give his assent to any Act whatsoever imposing Duties on the Importation of any Felons from this Kingdom into Jamaica.[2]

[183] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 161-162. Three petitions had been received against the Jamaica act levying a duty: one from the merchants trading to Jamaica, one from the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, and one from merchants and shipowners of Liverpool.

[2] The recommendation was carried out and most specific instructions were sent to Governor Hunter (Add. MSS. 25562, pp. 136, 137, 250-251). Either in disregard of these orders, or before they were received, the governor assented to an act of Jan. 19,

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184. Voyage of the *Mary*, 1732.[1]

We have now about 260 Slaves on board, and hope to get out of this unwholesome Place about a Month hence; the Captain and Doctor have been very ill, but are now on the Recovery. We have buried the Carpenter and six other Hands: and all the People we have left are in a very bad state of Health.

Another Letter is arrived this Week from the said Ship, dated from St. Christopher's which say, they have buried in all twelve Men, and 128 Slaves, that the Captain, Doctor, and Mr. Masters the Chief Mate, with several of the People, and some Slaves are in a very sickly and weak Condition, the former having lost the Use of his Limbs.

Another Letter mentions, that our Ships trading at Bonny have had a sickly Time on it, not one but much weakened by the Loss of their People, insomuch that it must be with great Difficulty for them to make their Voyage. The *Indian Queen* Capt. Perry, have buried some of her Hands, and a Number of Negroes.

Bristol Aug 26 [1732].[2]

Came in since our last, the *Mary*, Bibbe, from Africa and Jamaica, which Ship has made a very sickly Voyage, out of 27 Sailors they have buried 20, and about 141 Negroes. They had but five able Hands to take Care of a great number of Negroes, and to Navigate the Ship from St. Christopher's to Jamaica, which they did with great Difficulty and Fatigue. One of the Sailors was kill'd on the Coast by the Chief Mate, who unhappily flung a Yam (a root that grows in Africa) to the Deceased, which hitting him on the side of the Head, he fell on the Deck with the same, and expired in about four Hours after. The People on board say they do not know what is become of the Mate, intimating that he has made his Escape.

1732, placing 10*s.* a head on all negroes imported and 20*s.* on all those exported. The Merchant Venturers at once took steps to obtain the disallowance of the measure. On Jan. 3, 1732, £100 was voted for that purpose; and on May 11 a petition to the king was prepared ("Calendar of the Records of the Merchant Venturers," II. 63). The question was referred to the Board of Trade, which, after considering it through September and early October, with petitions from merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, and the South Sea Company, letters from Governor Hunter, an address from the council and assembly of Jamaica, and a presentation of the needs of the island by the colonies' agents, recommended that the act be repealed, and the Council renewed its instructions to that effect. Oct. 13, 1732, C. O. 137: 20; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 162-164; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728-1734, pp. 305, 307-310, 314, 401-403, 417-427, *passim*; Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager MSS., vol. I., 1732, Sept. 4.

[184] [1] *Boston News Letter*, Oct. 5, 1732, "Extract of a Letter from on Board the *Mary* Galley, Capt. Bibby, dated at Bonny on the Coast of Guinea, Jan. 4, 1731/2."

[2] *Boston News Letter*, Dec. 7, 1732. The item is copied from Bristol News.

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185. Vessels of the South Sea Company.[1]

[Havana, 1732.]

Ships Names	Commanders	When arrived	When sailed	Nett Proceeds No. Negroes	Total amount	Comm @ 4 p Ct.
		1730	1730			
Bridgen	Capt. Sam Webster	May 6th	July 25th	200	The only Negroes sold per I D and Compa. at havana	
Flotta	Marq: de Mari	May.....	June 17th			
John Brigantine	And: Bissett	July 16th	Nov'r.23rd @ Curaçao	15		
			1731			
Prince of Asturias	Will: Blackburne	Novemb'r 10th	Jan'ry 13th	150	39,424.5 p'ces ⅝	1,684.3
Granada	John Gibson	Novemb'r 27th	February 26th	200	52,299.4	2,990.2
		1731				
Adventure Man of Warr	L'd Muskerry	Jan'ry 19th	February 27th			
Hanibal	Robt. Turner	March 12th	August 29th	200	43,880.7½	1,914.5
Assogues [?]	Dn Rodrigo de Torres	March 17th	May 26th			
John Brigant: 3 Voya	And: Bissett	April 3rd @ Jam'ca	May 26 to Campechy	10	2,395.6½	114.
Sloop *Adventure*	Thom's Pinkney	February 17th	April 16th			
Boat *Mercury* @ Prov.	Richd. Leggett	May 25th	June 9th			
William Galley	Alexander Inness	May 27th		15	3,119.4	145.2
Snow *Dn. Carlos*	John Seymour	June 16th	August 29th	98	24,246.1	104.1.2[2]
St. George	Edward Fennell	July 16th	August 29th	233	60,910.7	2,597.5
John Brigantine	Andrew Bissett	July 20th				
				906	226,277.3 p'ces ⅜	10,487.2½
Galeons @ Cartaxena	Dn Manl Lopez Pintado	July 22nd	August 19th			
Sloop *Diamond*	Jno: Parris w'th Provisions for the Galeons		August 19th to Carolina			
Belinda		August 6 and 7th	October 7th to Jamaica			
Brigantine *Fox*			Aug'st 29th to Philadelp:			

[185] [1] William L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 911. This paper has no explanatory superscription or signature. According to the Spanish record, the South Sea Company had introduced under the assiento: into Buenos Aires, Oct. 14, 1715–Jan. 3, 1731, 8600 negroes; into Porto Bello, Sept. 16, 1715–July 22, 1723, 3994¾; into Cartagena, Dec. 22, 1714–Apr. 22, 1724, 2808¼; into Vera Cruz, Apr. 6, 1716–Jan. 15, 1731, 1464¼; Havana, July 25, 1715–Feb. 5, 1725, 1580⅔ (Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 2525). The fractions make it clear that *piezas de Indias* not slaves per head are here reckoned.

[2] The figures are transcribed as they appear in the Shelburne MSS., though there seems little meaning to some of them.

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Ships Names	Commanders	When arrived	When sailed	Nett Proceeds No. Negroes	Total amount	Comm @ 4 p Ct.
Sloop *Adventure*	Peter Kearney	August 8th @ Jamca		60		
Boat from Providence	Higgonbotham	August 18				
Bellamont	George Eaves	September 13th		264		
Betty Snow	James Phelps	October 15th		180		
Sloop *Adventure*	Peter Kearney	December 1st		32		
Catherine	Wolfe	December 7th 1732		27		
Mary	Poynter	January 11th		80		
No. of Negroes sold at havana per W N and H T from Nov'r 10th: 1730 to 11 Jan'ry 1732				1549		

Which according to the foregoing Analogy of 906 for 226,277 p'ces of $\frac{8}{8}$ in an Average, is very nearly 250 p'ces per head, So that 1549 Negroes at said Price, amount to £87,131. 5 (@ 4/6 per p'ce of $\frac{8}{8}$) Commiss: of which at 4 Ct. is £3485. 5.

The above 215 Neg's (included in the Parenthesis) were the only Negroes sold by I D and Compa. while at Havana, the 200 carried thither in the *Bridgen* with them, and the 15 were sent in the *John* Brigantine only as a qualification for her admittance into Port; for the real design of her being sent thither was to carry I D the shocking News of his intended removal, and lest this should not be great enough Mr. P was pleased to consign the Negroes to Messrs N and T. on supposition I D would have resigned his Commission as Chief there, to W N on said Notice, but this, not carrying the face of a Certainty with it, there were no more Negroes allotted for that Place till 10 Nov'r which were sent in the *Prince of Asturias* Capt Blackburne, who carried the Orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors relating to the new regulation of the two Factorys on that Island, and then were sent 150 Neg's and on the 27th of the same Month 200 more in the *Grenada.* So that altho I D had writ to the Agents for Negroes very pressingly, 4 several times, under the following dates, *vizt.* on 9th 28th and 30th May and 12 June, yet none were sent him, but as soon as he was prevented from any benefit in the Sales, You find Sr that Factory was supplied with as many or truly more than they had occasion for, Wherefore that Usage and the

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neglect shewn him at Santiago de Cuba, for we learnt, from his last Letters, that they had had no more than 12 Small Negroes, sent thither in 8 Months, tho' had several times writ for 150, having a pressing occasion for them, and could have disposed of for money gives but too much reason to say he has had a great deal of partiallity and ill Will shewn him etc.

186. THE OWNERS OF THE *UNION* TO CAPTAIN RICHARD PRANKARD.[1]

BRISTOL, January 29th 1732/3.

Capt. Richard Prankard,

We hope this will find you safe arrived on the coast of Angola and with a fine Parcell of Negroes ready to putt on board our Ship *Union,* by whom (God willing) you'll receive this, which is to confirm the orders already given you to continue on the Coast so long as Capt. Williams and you think will be to our Interest which we reckon must be till the departure of the *Union,* who sails at a great Expence and as you are sensible our design of sending you is to give dispatch to her, so you must in the best manner of which you are capable exert yourself in the purchase of a parcell of fine Men and Women, that you may not loose the good caracter you have already gott. And as you are obliged to take at times some boys and Girls, you must endeavour between you and Capt. Williams to purchase about 100, aiming chiefly at the females from 10 to 14 years of age, and when have settled all your affairs with Capt. Williams and that you are sensible of his having no longer occasion of your assistance, must receive from him sundry goods and Merch'zes loaded on the *Union* as per Invoyce and bill of loading here inclosed amtg to £386.0.2 Sterling money, and proceed for Gaboon and Cape Lopez, where you are with the utmost dispatch to dispose of the same for Wax, Elephants teeth or Redwood, and some Negroes if to be had.

During Capt. Williams stay in London, he gott information of Capt. Lone of the nature of the Trade and the Assortment of the Cargoe which he assures us will answer well so hope you will not be long in disposing of so small a Cargoe, which as soon as done you must make the best of your way to Cadiz in Spain applying there to Messrs. Casamajor,[2] Sympson, Warre, and Polier, and before you go too farr up the Bay, send them an express of your arrival, where shall meet with our farther orders and that they may know you at a Distance observe to carry your Ensign at the Foretopmast head, when

[186] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 4 B.

[2] It was to a Casamajor, a Bristol correspondent of Humphrey Morice, that instructions were sent for Snelgrave after his capture by pirates in 1718. Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea,* p. 288.

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one of them may come off to you, and give you orders what River to proceed to.

Observe that the Boys and Girls you buy be very black and handsome, and in case of your not having provisions to proceed directly to Cadiz may stop at Annabona [Annobon] or any Island for fresh subsistance.

Keep us advised of what passes in all our concerns and make what dispatch possible to return to

Your friends and Owners

JAMES LAROCHE
MATT. THOMAS
LS. CASAMAJOR
ISAAC HOBHOUSE
JOHN BARTLETT
LYONEL LYDE, For the Exrs of Alderman [*illegible*][3]

187. CARGO FOR A SLAVE VESSEL.[1]

Estimate for a Cargo wherewith to purchase 250 Negroes at Benny.[2]

250 paper brawles at 5/6	£ 68. 15		
80 blew Chints of the Smallest Flower and none with Large Spriggs	104.		
50 blew Byram pauls	50.		
50 Demi long cloaths	60.		
100 Large Niccanees fine small stripe	80.		
100 Small ditto	60.		
100 Cotton Romals with red and blew stripes mixd	60.		
30 Photeas blew and white Check'd	20.		
		502.	15
300 Musquets bright barrels 100 ditto black	190.		
40 pair common large pistols	28.		
40 blunderbusses 18 inches	30.		
		248.	
2 tonns lead in small barrs abt. 4 lb. each		32.	
5 cwt. Neptunes 22 in. in the bottom		40.	
15 cwt. Monelas		56.	5
14 Tonns Iron		230.	
1000 Copper Rods		50.	
80 wicker bottles brandy		40.	
5 cwt. Christial pipe beads		28.	
		£1226.	

[3] Latimer speaks of James Laroche as the owner of a privateer in 1747, but has no reference to his trading activities. His son, Sir James, five years a member of Parliament, was a master of the Merchant Venturers and a leader in the opposition to abolition (Latimer, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 477, and *Merchant Venturers*, p. 185). See signatures of the petition of 1739 for several of these names.

[187] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 9.

[2] Undoubtedly Bonny.

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Provisions and necessaries.

80 cwt. Rice
150 bus. Beans
30 cwt. wt. bread
10 cwt. wh. Flower
60 cwt. beeff and Porke
10 bushells pease
5 bh. Malagetta
2 Firkins butter
2½ tonns Shipbeere
12 Groce Tebaccopipes
4 cwt. Tebacco
2 Surgery chest and Medicines
14 doz. Candles
2 bbls. Gunpowder
50 Galls. brandy
20 dozn. beere
10 bushells Grutts
Groceries

188. Bounty demanded by the Company of the Indies.[1]

A Marly, le 19e fevrier, 1733.

Compagnie des Indes

La Compagnie des Indes demande une ordonnance sur le Tresor Royal pour la gratification de 13 *ll.* pour chaque teste de noirs qu' elle a introduit dans les Colonies par ses Vaisseaux venant de Guinée et du Senegal depuis le 5 may 1730 Jusqu'au 3 Novembre 1732, laquelle gratification est ordonnée par la Declaration du mois de Janvier 1685. portant Etablissement d'une Compagnie de Guinée et par l'article 24 des lettres patentes du mois de mars 1696, portant Etablissement de la Compagnie du Senegal.

Sçavoir	teste de noirs
Par le Vaisseau *l'anglique* Capitaine herault il a eté debarqué a Cayenne suivant le Certificat du S'r lefebvre d'Albon du 5 may 1730 cy	314
Par le V'au le *Superbe* Capitaine P're Cadou il a eté debarqué a la Martinique suivant le Certificat du 8 Decembre 1731.	314
Signé Marin cy	288:
Par le Vaisseau le *Cheval Marin* Cap'ne Charles Negre il a eté debarqué au petit Goave Suivant le Certificat du S'r de St. Aubin du 8 mars 1732 cy	175:
Par le Vaisseau la *bien-aimée* Capitaine Charles Boy il a eté débarqué aud. lieu suivant le certificat dud. S'r de St. Aubin du 2. avril audit an cy:	136:
Par le V'au *L'Entreprenante* Cap'ne de Jonceray des forges il a eté introduit a la Martinique Suivant le certificat du 23 Juin aud. an visé du S'r de Champigny cy	284:
Par le V'au le *Jason* Capitaine Pierre Tonault de la Cour il a eté débarqué au cap franzois Suivant le Certificat du S'r de Sartre du 2. 7'bre audit an cy	361:
Par le V'au le *Pontchartrain* Cap'ne Du Rocher il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le certificat du S'r de Sarte du 24. du mois de Septembre cy	107:
Par le Vaisseau *L'union* Capitaine Desqueyroux il a eté debarqué aud. lieu suivant le Certificat id. du 26 dud.	122:
Par le Vaisseau *Le Nestor* Capitaine Negre il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le Certificat id du 3 Novembre aud. an	392
	2179:
Noirs a raison de 13th par Teste font la somme de	28327*ll.*

[188] [1] MSS. des Colonies, C2, 25, ff. 114-115. "Gratification demandée par la Compagnie des Indes pour les Nègres introduits par elle aux colonies. Rapport approuvé par Orry."

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Il paroist juste D'Expedier une ordonnance de la d'te Somme de Vingt huit mille trois cent vingt sept livres.[2]

189. THOMAS GERALDINO TO DIONISIO MARTINEZ DE LA VEGA.[1]

Sir: In a letter dated October 7, which I received December 15 by the English ship called *El Prospero Solomón,* Capt. Joseph Cobb, your lordship acknowledges receipt of my letter of May 21, which I sent you by Don Nicolas Holloway and D. Juan Eden, both agents of the royal company of the treaty of negroes, who were sent at that time to the agency in that city [Havana] and its jurisdiction. On that occasion I informed your lordship of having told the court of directors that the king had appointed agents who were to cooperate with those of the company in all the ports where this enterprise had been established in accordance with the stipulations contained in chap. 28 of the treaty, and that the provisions introduced there should be limited to the precise quantity necessary for the support of the number of slaves carried by each vessel. I also notified your lordship that notwithstanding the fact that the company, or rather its court of directors had approved of these new rules and had given orders to their agents in Jamaica to obey them, it took occasion to represent to the king the prejudices it feared in consequence of these rules. Nevertheless your lordship begs me to write to you with greater detail about the co-operation of his Majesty's agent with those of the company, for the reason that you did not receive any orders or information in this matter, remonstrating at the same time that the regulating of provisions for the support of slaves having been left to the arbitration of the agents of Jamaica, your lordship considers this disposition, as it is expressed in chap. 22 of the treaty, quite confusing.

In answer to the above stated I wish to inform your lordship that I have given an account of the context of your letter to the king so that in case the orders which I supposed you to have received did not reach you, they may be repeated. . . . I am enclosing a copy [of the orders sent to Vera Cruz] herewith so that it may serve your lordship as guide. it answers your inquiry, it being well understood that its practice has been accepted by the court of directors. With regard to the adjustment concerning the number of slaves each vessel is to carry, it was decreed this number should amount to 80 heads, of all ages, per 100 tons with the exception of that port and

[2] Endorsed: "Tresor R'al. 1733, 2179 testes de noirs a 13 par teste 28327 *ll.* Expedié l'ord'e le 23 fevrier 1733. Rendu les Certifficats au bureau de M. Raudot le 20 fev. 1733." In the margin is "bon".

[189] [1] Archives of the Indies, 153-5-7, 41B. Thomas Geraldino was the London agent appointed under the terms of the assiento contract to safeguard Spanish interests in England. Dionisio Martinez de la Vega was governor of Havana.

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Campeche, where payment for slaves is generally made in products and (although orders have now been given to the agents to sell slaves only against cash) they say that they cannot be limited to a certain number on account of the bulkiness of the cargo which they are taking on their return voyage.[2] For this reason an agreement was made with the court of directors to the effect that for the present and until this point is cleared, all vessels sent to the two above-mentioned ports for the purpose of bringing back products should carry certificate of tonnage, number of slaves and corresponding provisions and should be chartered to accept cargo belonging to the company. It is for this reason such vessels do not carry the regulation number of slaves.

As for the limitation of provisions which your lordship contends was left to the arbitration of the agents in Jamaica, although by the enclosed copy of the king's order, his intention is clearly defined, I feel compelled to reply that, since the distances as well as the time needed for the voyage, vary when and where to the company sends negro slaves and since their sale everywhere involves expenses to the company, it has been found impracticable to establish a general rule to be applied to all alike. For this reason the generic term of limitation of provisions in accordance with the number of slaves carried was applied so that, in accordance with distance and the time necessary in each port for their sale, the agents in Jamaica were to provide them and the king's officials were to admit them at the port of destination, thus guarding against the misuse which the commissioners of the company have always made of this permission, through intervention by the governor and a commissioner of the king, both of whom are to take possession of these provisions and lock them in the custody of the three keys as ordained in the enclosed decree issued by his Majesty. . . .

In case the king should not have appointed a commissioner at that port, the inspection will become the duty of the royal official whom your lordship is to appoint ad interim until his majesty provides otherwise. . . .

Chap. 26 of the treaty provides that vessels used by the company of the assiento are not allowed to carry away from America other values than what results from the sale of slaves, yet I am convinced that the two ships which lately arrived here from that port have brought several sums of money and that very particularly the *St. James* brought besides the money, the amount of which I have so far been unable to ascertain, sixty pouches of cochineal and four of indigo and within the latter several bars of silver, all of which was unloaded in Portsmouth. If the bill of lading which the factors over

[2] Logwood was a frequent return cargo from Campeche.

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there remit to the court of directors, declares that not one real in money is contained in the shipment for the account of the company, the transgression of the treaty or agreement is established, for which however the only penalty stipulated consists in not retaining the said vessel any longer in the services of the company, which is very poor satisfaction to the interests of the king, especially in case this vessel was chartered instead of being the property of the company. I cannot refrain from placing such a case before the consideration of your lordship for the reason that, even though I, complying with my duty, should use all the means at my disposal to expose such shipments, all my care can produce is to give an account to the king—as I have done—in order that his Majesty may ordain the necessary measures to have the shipping in America carefully watched, with the result however that upon the ship's arrival here all possible means are used to avoid my vigilance and even in case my care should lead to discovery there exists no law to force the captains to denounce the owners. All I have been able to attain so far is that three of these captains whose guilt I have been able to prove, were declared unfit to serve the company again.

Your lordship will be kind enough to ordain that from now on the royal officials over there are to send me a statement of the visit of inspection they make on board the company's vessels which are ready to sail with cargos for this kingdom and, as orders have been given by the court of directors—upon my petition—to the agents at Jamaica, that they also send me a copy of the visit of inspection on all vessels sent to the different agencies, your lordship will be so good as to ordain that affidavits are sent to me of everything ships, bound for that port, carry, as well as those bound for Cuba, thus to enable me to compare lists of these vessels with those of the cargos the agents of the company issue and in this manner avoid disorder, or rather, remedy it, for up to the present, factors have taken advantage of their powers to the detriment of the interests of the king and his subjects. . . .

LONDON, Jan. 12, 1734.

190. BOUNTY DEMANDED BY THE COMPANY OF THE INDIES.[1]

A MARLY le 16[e] Janvier 1734.

Compagnie des Indes.

La compagnie des Indes demande une ordonnance sur le tresor Royal pour la gratification de 13 *ll.* par chaque teste de noirs venant de Guinée et du Senegal qu' elle a fait Introduire dans les Colonies

[190] [1] MSS. des Colonies, C2, 26, ff. 4-5. "Rapport au sujet de la gratification demandée par la Compagnie des Indes pour les nègres introduits par elle aux colonies, avec approbation d' Orry."

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par les Vaisseaux cy-après, laquelle gratification est ordonnée par la declaration du mois de Janvier 1685, portant Etablissement d'une compagnie de Guinée, et par l'article 24 des lettres patentes du mois de mars 1696, portant Etablissement de la Compagnie du Senegal; et pour la gratification de 20 *ll.* par chaque marc d'or qu'elle a apporté en France et porté a la monnoye de Paris, aussy ordonnée par l'article 25 desd. lettres patentes de 1696.

Sçavoir

	Teste de Noirs
Par le Vaisseau le *Mercure* Cap'ne Baugin, il a eté debarqué a la Martinique de M. D'orgeville du 20 Decembre 1731 cy	159:
Par le Vaisseau le *St. Esprit* Capitaine Trehoüart il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le certificat idem du 26 mars 1732, cy	270:
Par le Vaisseau la *Renée françoise* Cap'ne Desprez lefebvre, il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le Certificat Id. dud. jour cy	211:
Par le V'au la *Ste Trinité* Capitaine Jolly il a eté debarqué Idem Suivant Idem cy	130:
Par le Vaisseau le *Diligent* Cap'ne Mary il a eté debarqué Id. Suivant Id. cy	244
Par le Naivre *l' Aimable Suzanne* Captaine le Houx il a eté debarqué au Cap françois Suivant Certificat de M. Du Clos du 10 decembre 1732 cy	222
Par le Vaisseau la *Baleine* Capitaine Vaubercy il a eté debarqué au Cap françois suivant le certificat de M. de Sartre du 7 Janvier 1733 cy	491:
Par le Navire la *Ste. Elisabeth* Cap'ne Texier il a eté debarqué au petit Goave Suivant le Certificat de M. Du Clos du 24. dud. mois cy	118:
Par le V'au le *Pacifique* Cap'ne Buron il a eté debarqué au Cap françois suivant certificat de M. de Sartre du 27 dud. mois cy	567:
Par le Navire la *Thetis* Cap'ne fillon il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le Certificat dud. S. de Sartre du 30 dud. cy	192:
Par le Navire le *St. Philippes* Cap'ne Pellissier il a eté debarqué aud. lieu suivant le certificat dud. Sr. de Sartre visé par M. Chastenaye du 31 dudit cy	333:
Par le Navire le *Duc de Bourbon* Capitaine Pichon il a eté debarqué du cap françois Suivant le certificat de M. de Sartre du 24 fevrier 1733 cy	183:
Par le brigantin le *Phoenix* Cap'ne Le Gueroult il a eté debarqué au petit Goave Suivant le Certificat de M. Du Clos du 26 dud. mois cy	115:
Total	3235:
Les N. 3235 testes de noirs a raison de 13 *ll.* par Teste font la somme de	42,055 *ll.*
Il a eté porté a la monnoye de Paris 17 Marcs 6 onces, 6 gros ½ d'or Suivant le Certificat du 22 may 1733, signé aviat et Souchet, a raison de 20 *ll.* Le marc cy	357: 0: 7:
Total	42,412: 0: 7:

Il paroist juste d'Expedier une ordonnance de la dite Somme de quarante deux mille quatre cent douze livres sept deniers.[2]

[2] Note in the margin, "bon".

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191. Tariff of Charges at Vera Cruz.[1]

1733, May 13.

The Articles for a Tariff of Charges on 200 Negroes Computed to be Sold Annually at Vera Cruz.

No. 1.	Port charges on the Vessels Employ'd to Carry Negroes, and bring back the Returns (it may be 4 annually) with some Charges at Landing the Negroes, etc., whatever shall be really paid.	
2.	Negro Provisions and Maintenance from the Time of Landing till Sold or de[livered] at 1¼ Rial per diem for each Neg'o suppose 12 days	375
3.	For Medicines, Surgery, Nursing and Burial of the Negroes at 2 pieces of ⅛ per Negro	400
4.	For Negro keeper, Bombo's etc. 3 pieces of ⅛ per Negro	600
5.	For contingent charges 3 pieces of ⅛ per Negro	600
6.	For Rent of a House and Negro [?] per annum	750
7.	For Sallary to the Judge Conservator per annum	1500
8.	For Commission to the Factor and Bookkeeper (as Settled the 9th Ultimo) 10 per cent. on the Returns	

192. News Item relating to Slave Trade.[1]

Bristol, Nov. 14, [1733.]

By the *Susannah* came Letters from Jamaica of the 12th of August, which advise, that the Market for Negroes (of whom there are great Numbers lately arrived there) is at a stand in that Island, by reason of the Trade being stopp'd at the Havvanna and other Places on the Main by the Spanish Governors, on Account of the *Deal Castle* Man of War's taking a Spanish Register Ship, as a Reprizal for the *Wool Ball*; this will prove a great Detriment to some Merchants in this City; the Merchants of Jamaica, to whom the Cargoes of Negroes are consigned, not knowing what way to dispose of them.

193. Thomas Geraldino to José Patiño.[1]

Sir. . . . In my letter of December 31 I stated that the court of directors intended to send the second agent of Jamaica to Porto Bello with the order of the agents who reside in that port [Jamaica] to seize the property of the company there, and that, though not objecting to this decision (for I consider it advantageous), I did oppose the election of the second agent of Jamaica because I presumed that by appointing him to fill this position it would be impossible to obtain the dismissal of Prater which I had previously demanded. After a great many objections the court agreed and tomorrow is the day chosen to elect another man for this commission,

[191] [1] Add. MSS. 25554, p. 34.

[192] [1] *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 17, 1733.

[193] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-5-7, doc. no. 14, "Indiferente General Asienti de negros. Correspondencia de la via reservada con los ministros y Directores del Asienti en Londres. Añon 1733 a 1734". The first paragraphs report the decision of the South Sea Company to make no further payments to Spain until the disputed value of the peso has been settled.

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the election of commissioners for the said port having been delayed for some time. This decision convinces me of the advisability of sending, as quickly as possible, someone to fill that agency, and that this act demands a certain amount of precaution, caused by the present attitude in Europe, where they failed to send the necessary commissioners who had been appointed for Carácas, while the trading post of Campeche has not been provided and the agents who went lately to Havana died and they do not apparently intend to replace them. For these reasons the introduction of negro slaves is at a standstill. For the greater part of all of this I feign ignorance in order to lend more power to those who are inclined to favor the negotiations for the suspension of the treaty, which will soon be brought up for consideration, and to the attainment of which I do not spare any efforts. I beg your excellency to render account of this to his Majesty.

LONDON, January 21, 1734.

194. THOMAS GERALDINO TO JOSÉ PATIÑO.[1]

Your Excellency. . . . as doubtless in the said assembly [general court of the South Sea Company] the question of applying the proceeds of the cargo of the ship the *Royal Caroline*[2] towards a part payment of the 900,000 pounds sterling which the company owes and on which it pays interest, would be discussed, one of these proprietors[3] might make a suggestion, by stating that the only means of paying the entire debt would be to abolish the treaty of Negroes and to apply the capital diverted for this purpose to payment of the debt. This suggestion was well received by my confidants among the proprietors and after calling others to the meeting and holding several conferences with me, they put this plan into execution and at an opportune moment in the general assembly, one of them said to the assistant governor that he wished to remind him that time and again the consideration of the proposition which I had made of suspending the treaty had been deferred by justifiable reasons, but that since these reasons no longer existed, he proposed that a day be assigned for the convocation of another general assembly for the sole purpose of discussing this matter, which he considered to be of the greatest importance to the company. From reports he had about the matter, he found that the profits derived were very small, while the losses were very considerable, owing to the bad faith on the part of the agents, who not only appropriated the entire profit which

[194] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-5-7, doc. no. 32.

[2] The *Royal Caroline*, the "annual ship" allowed to the company by the assiento, had just completed a profitable voyage, Anderson says, the only profitable voyage a "permission ship" ever made. Anderson, *Origins of Commerce*, III. 430.

[3] Those proprietors who favored surrendering the negro trade.

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the company might have had, but, taking advantage of the opportunities afforded them as employees in the service of the company, undermined the fair understanding between the two Crowns and thus injured the nation; that if the company paid the king the 33,000 pound sterling per annum as duties on the slave trade, the saving of this amount, together with what might be obtained as its equivalent from Spanish commerce, would, in a short time, wipe out the entire debt of the company and would at the same time prove advantageous to both nations.

This proposal was greatly applauded by the entire general assembly and without giving the assistant governor time or occasion to reply, another member took the floor and stated that, owing to the fact that at the end of March another general assembly was to be called in accordance with the statutes of the company, which provided for a meeting every three months, the court should then be ready to inform the general assembly of the steps taken in their consideration of my proposal and what measures were to be adopted towards a resolution. This was unanimously agreed upon.[4] . . .

LONDON, Mar. 4, 1734.

195. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY: ORDER OF THE GENERAL COURT.[1]

Whereas: it is stipulated and agreed upon between the court of directors of the royal company of the treaty and Don Thomas Geraldino, director for his Catholic Majesty to superintend the business transactions of said company, that the different vessels which are sent by the commissioners of the company in Jamaica, to Cartagena, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz in the Spanish West Indies, should never carry less than four negro slaves to each five tons of each vessel's total tonnage (to wit: that a vessel of 100 tons is to carry 80 slaves and so forth in due proportion) unless such a vessel should carry a special certificate issued by the assembly of the court, stating why she was sent with a smaller number of slaves. When it concerns Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Carácas, and Campeche, this could not be done nor could any general rule be established because it has to be borne in mind that the proceeds from the sale of negroes in these parts would have to consist for the greater part in products.

Therefore, in accordance with the said agreement, the court of directors and the said Don Thomas Geraldino, by the present docu-

[4] By an investigation of 1734 the proprietors reckoned that their profits had not amounted to more than £3226 a year. This seemed to them so inconsiderable that they desired to surrender the assiento privilege. Anderson (III. 468, 470) quite seriously remarks on the selfishness of this, since it ignored the advantage which England gained from the large illicit trade carried on under cover of the assiento.

[195] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-5-7, 107A. "Translation of a document issued by the general court of directors of the company of the treaty for the introduction of 150 slaves to Campeche on the ship called the *Aguila*, of 300 tons."

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ment, certify to Don José Savariego, governor of Campeche and to the other ministers and officials of his Catholic Majesty who are qualified or might be qualified, that they have issued permission or passport marked No. C. allowing the vessel called the *Aguila* of 300 tons more or less, her Captain George Haynes, to proceed to Campeche with 150 negro slaves and provisions (concerning which Mr. Edward Prater and Mr. John Merewether, agents of said company in Jamaica, will issue certificates) for the support of the crew, the negroes, and also of Messrs. Campbel and Oren, agents in Campeche, to whom the above mentioned agents in Jamaica are to consign the slaves, stock, and provisions. The said vessel is to bring on her return voyage from the said port of Campeche such effects belonging to the treaty as may be shipped conveniently and which the agents may wish to ship on her. For this reason the vessel referred to is to be admitted readily at the said port of Campeche and she is to be allowed to deliver there the aforesaid 150 negroes with the food and provisions necessary for their support, together with food and provisions shipped for the use of the aforesaid agents and which are to be so declared by the certificates from the agents in Jamaica and, in exchange, she is to take on board the amount of goods the agents in Campeche may consider best to send, which are to be declared in a signed manifest to be delivered by the ship to the assembly of directors, with a duplicate for Don Thomas Geraldino. By the present the governor and all other ministers and officials of the king are entreated to render all due protection and assistance to these aforesaid agents in the sale of the slaves and in the shipping of the negroes under their care and direction.

Issued in LONDON, November 8, 1734.

By order of the assembly of directors of the royal company of the treaty of Great Britain.

Signed: WILLIAM SMITH, Secretary.

Fifty barrels of flour Five quarter casks of rum Ten barrels of lard Five quintals of cheese Twenty four hams	for one hundred slaves

For the vessel the *Drake,* Captain Pedro Hannar, of 300 tons, another similar document has been issued on the same date.

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196. John Merewether and Edward Manning to Peter Burrell.[1]

Jamaica, Janry 6th 1736.

Hon'd Sir, . . . Those Traders never deal in Gold Coast Negroes. If we might be indulged with receiving the Consignments of those Ships, we might hope for a few in the Year from some of our very good friends, which would help out: And we would not vary from our present method in choosing those Negroes ashore in the most publick manner. The Genl Account of Negroes duely transmitted with our half Yearly Accounts which specifies of whom bought and the Prices given, together with the Factors approbation of the Negroes they receive will we hope be Sufficient to Convince our Hon'ble Masters we intend no prejudice to the Company.

We have made the same request to the Deputy Governour and we begg leave to desire your favour.

You will please to Observe how much Cheaper we buy Callabar and Angola Negroes, than those from the Gold Coast, on which Account we take as many from the former Countrys as possibly we can, in order to render the Negroe Account proffitable to the Company.

We are under a very great uneasiness for fear the money so long expected from Lima should not arrive, Otherwise, as the Demand for Negroes has this last Year run low, we shall be able to make but a poor remittance in the Spring. . . .

197. Job ben Solomon to Mr. Smith.[1]

Yanimerow in the River Gambia Jan: 27th: 1735/6.

Sir, This is to acquaint you of my safe arrival at and return here from Bonda[2] being conducted safe and used with great civility all the way, which was owing to the respect and regard all the natives in

[196] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 869.

[197] [1] In the archives of the Royal Society there are two letters, numbered 1. 2. 21, and 1. 2. 22, *Catalogue of Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, p. 68, nos. 1614, 1615. The copy here given is of 1. 2. 21, with indications of the variations in the wording of the second letter. Differences in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are not indicated. At the bottom of 1. 2. 22 is written, "To Mr. Smith, writing master to St. Pauls School", and in another hand is the endorsement, "Job the black priest". Both letters are written in the same hand and on the same paper.

"On Thursday last Sir Hans Sloan communicated to the Royal Society a Letter which a Gentleman had receiv'd from Job the African, whom Mr. Oglethorp releas'd from Slavery, and the African Company sent home to his own Country in one of their Ships about twelve Months ago. In this Letter he very gratefully acknowledges the Favour he receiv'd in England, and in answer to some things desir'd of him when here, says, he has been in the Country where the Gum Arabick grows, (which at present we get chiefly from the French Settlements) and can assist the English in that Trade . . .", *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Jan. 13, 1737. A similar item is to be found in the *Virginia Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1737.

[2] 1. 2. 22, "Bunda".

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every part have for the Company and by being conducted by one white man only which was the Governors nephew on the Companys behalf which made no little noise and was of much service to me, one of my wives had got another husband in my room and the other gave me over, my father died soon after my misfortune of being seized and sold for a slave, but my children are all well, my redemption was so remarkable and surprizing that my messengers and letters sent on my first arrival here [3] were not credited, but how elevated and amazed they were at my arrival, I must leave you to guess at, as being inexpressible as is likewise the raptures and pleasure I enjoy'd, floods of tears burst their way and some little time afterwards we recover'd so as to have some discourse and in time I acquainted them and all the country how I had been redeem'd and conducted by the Company from such distant parts as are beyond their capacity to conceive, from Maryland to England, from thence to Gambia Fort, and from thence conducted by them to my very house, the favours done me by the Queen, Duke of Montague and other generous persons, I likewise acquainted them of and all with me praised God for such his providence and goodness, and as a more publick acknowledgment thereof I kept from my arrival [4] a months fast, I should think myself very happy in your company in these parts if your inclination continues to come in the companys service.

I am Sir, Your oblidged and most humble servant,

JOB THE SON OF SOLOMON
of the nation (or tribe) of Jalof.[5]

Pray my service to Mr. Ames and Dr. Oxley the book I promised of mine to send him was burnt in the wars, I shall send him some anti-poison per first opertunity.

198. TRANSACTIONS OF THE VERA CRUZ FACTORY.[1]

LONDON, May 3, 1736.

A Relation of the Transactions of the Vera Cruz Factory whilst under the Management of David Findlay and William Butler.

. . . In the month of December 1733 we had the honour to acquaint the Court of the steps we were taking to secure for the Comp's account a parcell of Prise Negroes taken out of a Jamaica

[3] 1. 2. 22, "letters sent on my behalf on my arrival here". This statement concerning the death of Job's father does not seem in exact accord with the one made by Moore, p. 418.

[4] 1. 2. 22, "from arrival".

[5] The signature, in Arabic, Dr. J. R. Jewett has kindly transcribed. There is also added the message: "I send greetings to Mista Ames and Dr. Oxley a Mista Sail."

[198] [1] Shelburne MSS., vol. XLIV., no. 45, pp. 270-275, 284.

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Interloper by his C[atholic] M[ajesty's] Ship of War the *Blandon*. The Carthagena Factory having demanded them in virtue of the Cedula of the 9th October 1717 for regulating the price of Prize Negroes, obtain'd Judgement in the Companys favour, but the Commodore resisted the Governours authority and refus'd delivering them up. On his arrival at Vera Cruz having had an information of the affair, we insisted on searching the ship in consequence of the 18th Art. of the Assiento, and accordingly requir'd the assistance of the Comp's Judge Conservator and the concurrance of his C. M's Interventor. The former not finding himself with sufficient authority over the officers of the Navy refer'd us to the Vice King, and we had then occasion to experience the little dependance to be laid on the other injoining with us to procure any redress for the Company affairs where they in the least clasht w'th either his C. M'y or his officers Interest, for instead of concurring with us he artfully retir'd to the Country, after having started several difficultys such as a distinction was to be made between King's ships and Merchantmen, which last he alledg'd only meant by the 18th Art. tho' it expressly says "we shall search all Ships and Vessells that shall come upon the Coasts or into its Ports in w'ch we have reason to believe or suspect there are contraband Negroes:[2] but the partiality of the Spanish Directors did not prevent us from executing our duty in setting a vigorous prosecution on foot against the Commodore, in which the part we acted expos'd us so much to the resentment of the Captors, that the Streets for some time became unsafe to us, and tho' at last we obtain'd a Decree that such of the Slaves as were alive (being 36) should be deliver'd to us, yet as if all Judgements granted by the Spanish Government in behalf of the Company were to be attended with some sinister circumstances, it was declar'd we should pay for the negroes at the rate of 110 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per head, that the Duty of 33 1/3 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ should in like manner be regulated per head and made good by us into the Royal Coffers, and that we should further be oblig'd to enter into an obligation to stand to his C M's determination on the whole affair should he even disapprove of the delivery of the Negroes, or order the refunding of their value. To this we replyed that the regulating Prise Negroes at pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 110 per head was a manifest breach of the Cedula of October 1717 which directs their being regulated at piece of $\frac{8}{8}$ 110 per pc. of India; that in like manner the regulating the dutys per head was a notorious violation of the 2d Art: of the Assiento, by which the Dutys of 33 1/3 *d* are stipulated per p's of India. That the demanding these dutys of us was no less an Infringement of the 4th and 5th Articles of

[2] This extensive power was limited by the provision that the governor's permission must be obtained before such search could be inaugurated.

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said Treaty which directs all dutys being made good in Madrid, and that the forceing us to enter into any obligation to stand H C. M's determination with regard to the validity of the delivery of the Negroes when the before mention'd Cedula of October 1717 contains no such clause, was derogatory to the Hono'b Company and their Servants rights and priveledges against all which Breaches, Violations and Infringements we protested in the most solemn manner, and sent the Court testimony of the same in the Mo of Sep't 1734. . . .[3]

Nor was it indeed long ere we had occasion to experience the nature of some of those discretionall Instructions on our having provided a remittance of 39,000 pieces of ⅧS and 7 [*illegible*] of Cochineal to be sent the Agents in Jamaica in December '34, when we were notified by the Director that no Effects but such as we could make appear to be the produce of Negroes would be permitted to be embarkt, which (to avoid the detention of the Vessell then in Port) we offerd to submit to under a proper salvo of our right to ship off in the Companys Vessells any of their Effects whatsoever Whether the produce of negroes or annual ships Cargoes, we were hereon again notified with another of his private Instructions requiring us to deduct from the amount sales of Negroes all Factory charges and payments, the surplus being what would only be permitted to be embarkt.[4] . . .

Our returning a hundred heads of Negroes consign'd us by the Campechy Factory least their sales might affect those of the Company when a Commission of the 10 per Ct. would have brought us upwards of 3000 pieces of ⅧS will I hope be admitted as a proof of the disinterested Zeal w'th which we transacted the Comp's affairs, and the ready and punctual obedience I paid to the Court's orders in delivering up all and every their affairs to Messrs Hays and Butler in the most clear and distinct manner. . . .

With regard to the Negro trade of Vera Cruz tho' the prices there are the best being pieces of ⅧS 300 for a p's of India either male or Female, pieces of ⅧS 270 for Girls under a p's and pieces of ⅧS 260 for boys, yet no settlement the Company have made has had a smaller demand for slaves owing to the vast number of tributary Indians w'th which the Kingdom of New Spain abounds who perform all Labour at easy rates. Since the first settlement of the Factory in 1715 to the time of my leaving it the whole number Introduc'd amounted only to 2449 heads and none [of] the Provinces of Yucatan, Tabasco, Guatemala have been supplied by the Campechy Introductions. The

[3] The omitted section raises objections to the Spanish claim that all documents must be signed by Spanish officers.

[4] In April, 1734, the factors were notified that they could not introduce their own stores but only negro provisions. This they regarded as a misinterpretation of art. XXII. of the assiento. On appeal, action was suspended. Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 276-278.

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demands at Vera Cruz are become less. Had Campechy on the annulling of Mr. Spencers farm [5] been joind to the Vera Cruz Factory both Ports might have been supplied by the same Vessell agreable to the 25th Art. of the Asso.[6] and the Refuse Negroes that did not immediately go off for ready money at Vera Cruz would have servd to have barterd at Campechy for Logwood, Wild Cochineal, and Drugs but at present the Provinces Contiguous to that Port have been so glutted by the large Introductions the Farmers have been oblig'd to make to qualifie their Vessells and at same time the Marketts in Europe for Logwood, Drugs and are so much reduc'd by the Campechy and Hondoras trades being overdone, that what would have proved a most advantageous settlement three years ago (if kept regularly supplied w'th moderate introductions) I am of Oppinion would now be attended with loss. . . .

199. John Merewether to Peter Burrell.[1]

Jamaica, Septem'r 6th 1736.

Sir, I had the Honour to write you of the 23 July. Since then Mr. Davison has cleared up the mistake of his and Mr. Humphreys giving a different account of the Negroes delivered them by Capt. Pitts, and Mr. Davison and I are in perfect good understanding; the last [two ?]Cargoes of Negroes sail'd clear this Morning, And we have [now a ?] prospect between this and Christmas of being very well supplied with Negroes, which we have advised the Factors on the other [side?]

A Brigantine arrived last Friday called the *Post Boy* of Bristol with 350 Negroes. These are proper for the Havanas and Cuba. As we want Girls we shall take those who are not too much on the Yellow cast, to which these Country Slaves are subject. But without a demand for the Havânah we shall take but few of the others, they not being in demand on the Continent, some we shall purchase to reduce the price of the Gold Coast Negroes.

It is these Cargoes which are not fitt for the Honourable Compy or this Island, that give cause to the Illicit trade, And some of these will be sent to the South Keys and to Hispaniola. The Consignees would choose to sell their Negroes here, but as they cannot they are forced to send them out, and oftimes to take a p[art] themselves to help forwards the Voyage. So that the Illicit trade hence to Cuba is founded on distress and necessity, And the Voyages for the most part turn out accordingly, for Sometimes when the Factors in

[5] That is, his license to trade in a given territory.

[6] Art. XXV. provided that those negroes not sold at one port might be carried to another.

[199] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 876.

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this place are forced to take a larger share than ordinary They loose as much by the Voyage, as they get by the Consignment of Negroes. The usual price for small Boys and Girls at the South Keys is 65 p'ces to 70, large Boys 70 to 85 p'ces Men and Women 100 to 110. And there is 12/2 per Ct paid on the gross Sales for Commission and freight. The Sloops in these Voyages being liable to be taken are fitted out in a defencible and expensive manner. What is called the private trade of this Island is the Clandestine trade carried on with the French and Spaniards. And it has been on the decline for some Years past, And is now at a very low ebb, So low that when I see a person entring largely into it, I think him to be in no good way. I have been the larger on this head because of the mistaken notion I find some Gentlemen in at home about it. At our last quarter Sessions I was surpris'd to see a Jew, one of the top Suprâ Cargoes in the Illicit Trade for Negroes and dry goods making Application to be releiv'd in his taxes by reason of his poverty, and he had an allowance. . . .

200. Letter on Board the *Prince of Orange*.[1]

St. Christophers, April 7 [1737].

At our Arrival here, I thought all our Troubles of this Voyage was over; but on the contrary I might say that Dangers rest on the Borders of Security. On the 14th of March we found a great deal of Discontent among the Slaves, particularly the Men, which continued till the 16th about Five o'Clock in the Evening, when to our great Amazement above an hundred Men Slaves jump'd over board, and it was with great Difficulty we sav'd so many as we did; out of the whole we lost 33 of as good Men Slaves as we had on board, who would not endeavour to save themselves, but resolv'd to die, and sunk directly down. Many more of them were taken up almost drown'd, some of them died since, but not the Owners Loss, they being sold before any Discovery was made of the Injury the Salt Water had done them. The Reason I have learn'd since of this Misfortune was owing to one of their Countrymen, who came on board and in a joking manner told the Slaves that they were first to have their Eyes put out, and then to be eaten, with a great many other nonsensical Falsities. I can't be certain when we shall sail from hence, there being a great Scarcity of Sugar, and the Slaves not all Sold; we are in hopes of selling 240; the Captain has lost

[200] [1] "Extract of a Letter from on board the *Prince of Orange* of Bristol, Capt. Japhet Bird". *Boston Weekly News Letter*, Sept. 15, 1737.

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two of his own Slaves. This Misfortune has disconcerted the Captain's Design of proceeding to Virginia with part of them.[2]

201. Letter on Board the ——, Captain Phelps of Bristol.[1]

May 27, 1737, Malemba.[2]

On the 9th Instant we arriv'd here, all perfectly well. The following Ships are already on the Coast of Angola, *viz.* At Loanga, the old *Queen Mary* of Bristol, (now in French service) for 700 Slaves, a large Pink for 500; a Snow for 300. At Malemba, Capt. Phelps of Bristol for 400. At Capebenda, the *Pearl,* of London, Tomson, for 550; the *Betty* Galley, Winster, for 450; and one large Frenchman for near 700. Neither of these (Winster excepted) hath 130 Slaves on board: So that, when Capt. Foy, in the *Medway,* Bower, in the *Shepherd,* and Hemley, in the *Morning Star,* are arriv'd from Bristol, (and without doubt several from other Places) what a Prospect shall we have for a quick Dispatch? All our Meat on board is quite rotten and stinks horribly.

202. John Merewether to Peter Burrell.[1]

Jam'a, Sep'r 30th, 1737.

Sir, I now give farther answer to your fav'rs of the 11th July. The Masters who have used the African trade, purchase as many slaves as they possibly can, proper for the Comp'y. The ships from Angola and Calabar bring in three assortments of negroes. The first for us, the second for the Planters, And the third for the illicit traders. The Gold coast ships Import Negroes for us, and the Planters. They are to[o] dear for the traders. By the last halfe years account we sent home, we bought only 940 out of 2907 Negroes imported, And we did not put by one, that we thought would please the Spaniards. And sometimes the Negroes are kept for us three and four months. If you should want any farther information of this trade I shall with the greatest pleasure give it you. . . .

203. John Merewether to the South Sea Company.[1]

Jamaica, Jan'y 29, 1738.

Hon'd Sirs, My last was of the 27th ult: I am at present under a good deal of care about the negroes. The small pox increases greatly.

[2] The slave trade, throughout the eighteenth century, provided the colonial reader of the newspaper with many tales of horror, sometimes tersely related, sometimes told with great elaboration. These were usually, though not always, taken from London or Bristol papers. The *Boston Weekly News Letter,* not long after this, published a gruesome account by one of the two survivors of the *Mary,* lost on a voyage from Cacheo to Lisbon with slaves. *News Letter,* Sept. 8, 1737.

[201] [1] *Virginia Gazette,* Nov. 11, 1737.
[2] Or Malimba, south of Loango.

[202] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 817-820.

[203] [1] *Ibid.,* pp. 794-795.

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But the sort continues favourable The [*illegible*] *Clara* was smoakt with brimston and tar before the Negroes were put on board. And the vessell ordred to the Keys to prevent the small pox breaking out; The Master had orders, in case nothing of that distemper appeared in seven days, to proceed in his voyage to the havannah. I ordred a double q'ty of provisions on board, And the master if it broke out at sea, to put into the grand Cumanas [2] where the Negroes might be taken care of on shore.

But on Saturday two men, and 1 woman and yesterday a boy all with the smallpox came on shore. Soe I ordred the vessell into our harbour. And the negroes to be landed at the palisadoes, where they shall be taken good care of: We have now at the pen 26 Negroes down And more falling down. Another place will be ready this day to receive the sick, that to[o] many may not be together. And this reason induced mee, to order the [*illegible*] *Clara's* Negroes to the Palisadoes. She shall proceed, as soon as ever it is fitting with the 100 negroes Mr. Wellden demands. I feared to mention this in the courts letter, least the Spanish agent should be allarmed, And frighten the American Spaniards, who have the small pox in the utmost terrour. . . .

204. George Peele to Peter Burrell.[1]

[Havana.]

Good Sir. . . . Another Affair which might tend to the benefit of the Company, and their Servants, would be to authorize their Factors, to oblige the several persons possessed of Negroes, introduced by the Tobacco Factors at the Havana during the late interruption of the Assiento [2] to indult them to the Assiento, for it's said there are not less than 5 or 6000 Negroes, so brought in there; besides a great many more, which have been constantly introduced, and sheltered under that Cover; by counterfeiting that mark in the inland Countrys. And as now their Supply will not be equal to their demand from the Assiento, private Traders will take the advantage of furnishing them, with as many as they want, which they could not do, if all Negroes but such as carry the Assiento Mark were liable to be seized; because then the Spaniards would be afraid and backward to purchase such. . . .

[2] Grand Cumanas or Camagnos, sandy shoals, south of Cuba.

[204] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 956-957. This letter is undated.

[2] Trouble with Spain, long brewing, reached the stage of avowed hostility in the summer of 1739. For at least a year previous to this the South Sea Company and Spain were attempting to arrive at some settlement of their differences. For the convention between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, in 1739, see Jenkinson, *Collection of Treaties*, II. 339-343; *Boston News Letter*, May 3, 10, Aug. 2, Sept. 13, 1739; *Gentleman's Magazine*, IX. 133-134.

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205. Deposition of Alexander Torbott.[1]

This Day Personally appeared Alexander Torbott of Leverpoole in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Chief Mate on board the *Pretty Peggy* of Leverpool, whereof Robert Law deceased was Master, in her Late Voyage from Leverpool to the Coast of Africa and Montserratt, before George Norton Esqr. Mayor of the Borough and Corporation of Leverpool, and made Oath, That, in or about the Month of August last Past, as they were Trading on the said Coast, and were taking in Wood and Water at Cape Coast, this Deponent saw his Majesty's Ship the *Diamond* of Forty Guns, Riding at Anchor, which, as this Deponent was informed by some of the Sailors belonging to the said Ship, had been Trading on that Coast, And Saith, That, as he passed alongside of the said Ship of War, he saw several Negroes on board; and also saw the *Spence* Sloop of Eight Guns then Riding there, which, as this Deponent was likewise informed there, Did afterwards go down to Anamaboe and there take Negroes from on board the Ship called the *Argyle* then Lying there, whereof Captain More and Captain Hamilton were said to be the Commanders, or had the Direction of her and her Cargo, and carried the same to St. Thoma; And the said Ship *Diamond* did also go down to Anamaboe, and took from on board the said Ship *Argyle* a Number of Negroes, and carried the Same to Barbadoes, as this Depon't was informed by the said Mr. More, who told him they had sent a Considerable Number of Negroes by the *Diamond* to Barbadoes; And, as this Deponent did hear, they had sent them upon Freight, and that they were 200 in Number or thereabouts, that were so sent, otherwise they would have Freighted the said Ship which this Deponent did belong to, and was then come down to and lay at Anamaboe, or would have sold to them those Negroes from on board the *Argyle,* And also did see the *Diamond* Man of War Riding at Anchor at Anamaboe near to the *Argyle* with Negroes on board.[2]

Alexr. Torbott.

Taken and Sworn at Leverpool abovesaid the 12th day of July 1738 before.

Geo: Norton.

[205] [1] Archives of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol. This deposition, with those which follow, is in "Bundle D, box V, African Trade". For a further account of the episode here described see Latimer, *Merchant Venturers,* pp. 180-181.

[2] The *Diamond* and the *Spence,* along with the *Greenwich,* mentioned in the next deposition, were vessels of his Majesty's navy, and of course should not have engaged in traffic of any sort.

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206. Deposition of William Muff.[1]

Bristol, 26th July, 1738.

The Information of William Muff Chief Mate of the *Plymouth* Brigantine on her late Voiage from Bristol to the Coast of Africa who on his Oath saith, That in the Month of November last Past this Informant was sent from Anamabo to Mumford to trade in the said Ships Long Boat for Negroes, etc. And he found his Trade there much Interrupted by Mr. Tibble and Mr. George Tyndall who were both in the Man of War *Greenwich's* Longboat Capt. Cornwall Commander and not only traded with the said Man of Warr's Long Boat but also kept a Store house on Shore with a Large Canoe to Ply and Carry Goods between the Ship and Longboat and he saith that his said Trade was much Distressed by the same Gentlemen for that they Advanced the Price of Negroes and Lowered the Prices of Goods Exchanged for Gold Particularly he saw them Give Thirty two Pounds per head for Men Slaves which before were Currently bought for the Merchants at Twenty eight Pounds per head and also saw them Sell Perpets and Anchors of Brandy at two Akeys and An half Each and half Says for five Akeys for Gold which usually Passed as follows *Vizt.* the Perpets and Anchors of Brandy for four Akeys each And the half Says for Six Akeys Each at Least Gold: And he Saith that the said Mr. Tibble told this Informant that he was Employed by Capt. Cornwall to trade for him and that Mr. Tyndall was second Mate of the *Greenwich* at that Time.

207. Deposition of Valentine Needham.[1]

This Day Personally Appeared Valentine Needham of Leverpoole in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Master of the *Mary and Ann* of Leverpoole in her late Voyage from Leverpool to the Coast of Africa and the West Indies, Before George Norton Esquire, Mayor of the Borough and Corporation of Leverpool aforesaid, and made Oath, That He was at Little Bassam[2] on the Coast of Africa on or about the beginning of the month of January last Past, and then and there saw His Majesty's Ship called the *Spence* Sloop whereof Captain Laws was Commander Lying at Anchor, and saw several Empty Canoes go from the Shore to the said *Spence* Sloop, and saw them return back with Goods of several Sorts in them, and such as are usually sold there, and traded with; And further Saith, That the said Captain offered to trade with this Deponent and to sell him

[206] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn July 26, 1738, before Nathaniel Day, mayor, and John Blackwell.

[207] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Aug. 3, 1738, before George Norton.
[2] Grand and Little Bassam were between Cape Lahou and Cape Three Points.

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Negroes for Goods, or barter for some Sort of Goods which he did not care to part with, And told this Deponent and Doctr. Carr on board the said *Spence* Sloop, that he had so much of the same Sort of Goods which this Deponent offered to have bartered with him, that he declared against taking those Sort of Goods, but would give him Negroes for some particular Sort of India Goods which this Deponent would not part with, or would let him have Negroes for Gold.

208. Deposition of William Dobb.[1]

This Day Personally Appeared William Dobb of Leverpoole in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Master of the *Pardoe*[2] Brigantine in her late Voyage to the Coast of Guinea and Barbadoes, Before George Norton, Esqr., Mayor of the Borough of Leverpool aforesaid, and voluntarily made Oath, That in or about the Month of May last Past, he this Deponent was at Barbados when his Majesty's Ships the *Greenwich* and the *Spence* Sloop arrived there with Negroes from the Coast of Guinea, and, as he was informed, and which he verily believes to be True, they then brought thither, which were sold by the Commanders or Officers belonging to the said Ships by Way of Cant or Auction at Barbadoes, in or about that Month, 300 Negroes or thereabouts: And this Deponent hath the Greatest Reason to believe the same to be True, for that he was Present at several of their Sales, and particularly, saw several of the Officers there present managing the said Sales.

209. Deposition of John McGown.[1]

This Day Personally appeared John McGown of Leverpool in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Master of the Brigantine *Mary and Betty* of Donaghadee in her late Voyage to the Coast of Africa, Before George Norton Esquire Mayor of the Borough of Leverpool aforesaid, and voluntarily made Oath, That, on or about the fifteenth Day of December last Past he was at St. Andrews on the said Coast, and saw there His Majesty's Ship the *Spence* Sloop, whereof Captain Laws was Commander Trading there; That he was on board her, and saw a Large Quantity of Teeth upon her Quarter Deck, which, as he understood were purchased by the Doctor of the said Sloop by Order of the said Captain, and saw some Negroes on board, and, (as he heard amongst and from the Persons on Board) there was a Large Quantity of Gold on board, which had been Like-

[208] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Aug. 7, 1738.

[2] In 1749 the *Pardoe*, Anthony Galter, delivered slaves in Charleston, S. C. She was the property of a Mr. Pardoe of Worcester.

[209] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Sept. 23, 1738.

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wise purchased by or by the Order of the said Captain Laws or by his Clerk on that Coast; and that he afterwards saw the said Sloop at Axum on the said Coast, where he was purchasing Gold and Teeth as any Merchant did, And this Deponent hath the greatest Reason to beleive the same, for that he was informed by the said Doctor, That they brought a Cargo of Goods with them from London of one thousand six hundred Pounds Value for that Purpose, which Cargo, as the Doctor told him, was Privately got over board a Ship from Holland as the said Sloop lay in the River, just before they Sailed from London.

210. Deposition of George Home.[1]

City and County of Bristol, ss.

George Home of the City of Bristol Mariner and Commander of the Ship *Young Watty* in her late Voiage from the Port of Bristoll to the Coast of Africa thence to the West Indies and back to the sd. Port maketh Oath That in the Months of December and January One thousand Seven hundred and thirty Seven as he was trading along the Windward Coast of Africa he saw several Notes brought off shore Attesting the purchase of a great many Slaves by the respective Long Boats Crew of His Majestys Ships of Warr the *Diamond, Greenwich* and *Spence* And Signed by the severall Commanders of the said Longboats, That this Deponent at his Arrival at Anamaboe in February following having frequent Occasion to go on Board the *Spence* saw there Negroe Slaves of both Sexes to the Number of Seventy and upwards at one time together with diverse Sorts of trading Goods lying on Deck and in the Capts Cabbin (to wit) Buckanier Guns and Musquets, India Wares of Various Sorts such as blue Basts, blew Chints, Beruda potts, Nicanees, and the like, And also pewter Basons Brass pans, Neptunes, Coarse hats peices of Silesia's, Keggs of Gunpowder, Cases of Spiritts Long Ells, perpets and other Goods (Escaping at present this Deponent's remembrance) that were as this Depont. verily beleives brought on sd. Coast in order for trade.

That about the latter end of February aforesaid or beginning of March this Deponent being on board the *Bonetta,* of London, Phillip Commins Commander, One William Nicholas Clerk of the sd. Sloop *Spence,* bought of sd. Commings Ten Negroes who were forthwith sent on Board the *Spence* And for such Purchase the sd. Mr Commings received the next day Sundry Sorts of trading Goods as above mencioned. That about the beginning of March aforesaid The Boats crew belonging to the sd. Ship *Greenwich* forced out of

[210] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Jan. 15, 1738/9, before John Becher, alderman.

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a canoe, trading to and fro, a Trader named Coffee Ango, for two Slaves owing to Capt. Cornwal who Commanded the *Greenwich,* which said Ango was redeemed by two Slaves being given in Lieu of him.

And this Depont. further Saith That Capt. Lawes Commander of the *Spence* very much Enhanced the price of Corn by giving very extravagant rates for the Same And being by this Depont. asked the Meaning of his so doing he the said Laws Answered That what Corn he then bought was for the use of his own and the Ship *Greenwich,* that he wanted Corn and must buy it at any rate or Otherwise his Slaves (being Numerous) must Starve And this Depont. is well assured That had it not been for the sd. Men of Warrs trading on the said Coast he should have purchased Negroes and other Commodities there much Cheaper and better, And had been more quickly Dispatcht with a Cargo from thence.

211. The South Sea Company: Payments for Duties on Negroes.[1]

Simancas.

Payments by the South Sea Company for Dutys on Negroes since the 1st of January 1730/1.

To	8th	December	1733	£74,039.	09.	6	Ps. 420,226.	4.	26
To	23d	"	1734	18,460.	04.	0	110,039.	2.	14
To	13	"	1735	18,353.	15.	5	109,382.	5.	31
To	19	"	1736	12,637.	13.	2	74,584.	1.	21
To	14	June	1737	21,575.	10.	2	124,277.	6.	11
To	25	December	1737	13,906.	14.	3	80,615.	3.	28
To	31	October	1738	10,694.	17.	7	63,562.	5.	22½
To	25	December	1738	7,283.	15.	1	43,648.	6.	5½
To				176,951.	29.	2	1,026,337.	4.	23
				2,182.	9.	11	13,000.	.	
To	25th	April	1739, Errors excepted,	£179,134.	9.	1	Ps. 1,039,337.	4.	23

April 26, 1739[2]

Jno. Reed, Accountant.

[211] [1] Simancas, Estado 2365 (old no. 7006). This contains papers from the estate of Don Tomas Geraldino, of Jerez de la Frontera.

[2] The privilege of carrying slaves to Spanish America, after much discussion, was renewed for four years by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (Jenkinson, *Treaties,* II. 384-385) but was surrendered in 1750. For statements of some of the arguments accompanying the last years of the assiento see Anderson, *Origins of Commerce,* III. 548-549; Postlethwayt, *Considerations on the Revival of the Royal British Assiento* (1749); Add. MSS. 32819, ff. 147-199.

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212. The Traders to Africa to the King.[1]

November 7, 1739.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble Petition of the Traders of London, Bristol, and Liverpoole, to the Coast of Africa.

Sheweth, That the trade of your Majesty's Subjects to that Coast is of the greatest Importance to this Kingdom as well in regard of the great Quantity of Manufactures and other goods annually exported thither as in respect of the great Numbers of Negroes annually Imported into your Majesty's Plantations in America therefrom, and there being Imployed at such Plantations in the producing of Sugar and other Commodities.

That your Petitioners being apprehensive, unless some of your Majesty's Ships of War be constantly stationed on the Coast of Africa That his Catholick Majesty, or his Subjects or any other persons under Spanish Commissions may send Ships of War, or Privateers to cruize on the Ships and Vessels of your Majesty's Subjects Trading on that Coast.

Therefore, your Petitioners most humbly beseech your Majesty will be Graciously pleas'd to give directions that a Sufficient Number of Ships of War may be ordered on this Service And that such Ships be releived every three or four Months by a like Number during the apprehension or continuance of a Rupture with Spain or any other Nation.

R. Armitage (Mayor of Liverpool)
R. Gildart
Geo. Norton
Foster Cunliffe
Sam'l Powell
John Hardman
Sam'l Ogden
Thos. Cockshutt
Bryan Blundell
Hen: Trafford
In: Fon [?] Gildart
Thos: Steel
Chas. Robert
Arthur Heywood
Jno. Goodwin

R. Cawband
Tho. Vardon
W. Jeffries (Mayor of Bristol)
Jos. Jeffries
Jas. Danning
Lyonel Lyde
Math. Day
St. Cluterbuck
B. Weeks
Rd. Lougher
Mich. Becher
Henry Combe
Jno. Combe
Mich'l Pope
Sam'l Davies

Richd. Henville
John Love
Sam. Bonham
Geo. Tryer
Jas. Pearse
Chas. Pole
Hen. Lascelles
Tho. Hull
Tho. Hill
Nath. Basnet
Edwin Somers
Thos. Truman
Jam. Buchanan
Wm. Love [Lone?]
Thos. Lengard[good?]
David Crichton
Thos: Heberts

[212] [1] House of Lords MSS., Feb. 18, 1741/2, Petition no. 1. The declaration of war between England and Spain had come in October, 1739.

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Geo. Tyrer	Phil. Cornist	Robt. Atkins and Co.
John Parr	Abel Greens	Geo. Arnold and Co.
Jos. Davies	Jas. Laroche	Tim: Cockshutt
Jas. Percival	Wm. Gordon	Chas. Wheeler
John Knight	Isaac Hobhouse	John Baker
John Reid	Jobb. Charleton	
Hen. Townsend	Corseley Rogers	

213. A Defense of the African Slave Trade, 1740.[1]

The African Slave Trade defended: And Corruption the worst of Slaveries.

Sir, The Guinea Trade, by the Mistake of some, or Misrepresentation of others, hath been charged with Inhumanity, and a Contradiction to good Morals. Such a Charge at a Time when private and publick Morals are laugh'd at, as the highest Folly, by a powerful Faction; and Self-interest set up as the only Criterion of true Wisdom, is certainly very uncourtly: But yet as I have a profound Regard for those superannuated Virtues; you will give me Leave to justify the African Trade, upon those Stale Principles, from the Imputations of "Mercator Honestus"; and shew him that there are People in some boasted Regions of Liberty, under a more wretched Slavery, than the Africans transplanted to our American Colonies.

The Inhabitants of Guinea are indeed in a most deplorable State of Slavery, under the arbitrary Powers of their Princes both as to Life and Property. In the several Subordinations to them, every great Man is absolute lord of his immediate Dependents. And lower still; every Master of a Family is Proprietor of his Wives, Children, and Servants; and may at his Pleasure consign them to Death, or a better Market. No doubt such a State is contrary to Nature and Reason, since every human Creature hath an absolute Right to Liberty. But are not all arbitrary Governments, as well in Europe, as Africa, equally repugnant to that great Law of Nature? And yet it is not in our Power to cure the universal Evil, and set all the

[213] [1] *London Magazine,* IX. 493-494 (1740). This item is scarcely worth preservation for its intrinsic importance, but rather because its appearance is indicative of a changing attitude toward the slave trade. In July, 1740, "Mercator Honestus" had published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (X. 341) "A Letter to the Gentlemen Merchants in the Guinea Trade, particularly addressed to the Merchants in Bristol and Liverpool", which argued against slavery and the slave trade: (1) that men were born with a natural right to liberty; (2) that they can only forfeit this by attempting to take away the property of another; (3) that the loss of liberty on the part of the parent is no reason why a child should be enslaved; (4) that the men in the Guinea trade deal in men, women, and children; (5) that they encourage acts of hostility among Africans; (6) that the blacks in Africa are more virtuous than after they are brought to America; (7) that the treatment of the negroes in the West Indies is shocking. He concludes by asking that some of the gentlemen who carry on the trade, "among whom there are no doubt wise and good men", give their reasons for it.

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Kingdoms of the Earth free from the Domination of Tyrants, whose long Possession, supported by standing Armies, and flagitious Ministers, renders the Thraldom without Remedy, while the People under it are by Custom satisfied with, or at least quiet under Bondage.

All that can be done in such a Case is, to communicate as much Liberty, and Happiness, as such circumstances will admit, and the People will consent to: And this is certainly by the Guinea Trade. For, by purchasing, or rather ransoming the Negroes from their national Tyrants, and transplanting them under the benign Influences of the Law, and Gospel, they are advanced to much greater Degrees of Felicity, tho' not to absolute Liberty.

That this is truly the Case cannot be doubted by any one acquainted with the Constitution of our Colonies, where the Negroes are governed by Laws, and suffer much less Punishment in Proportion to their Crimes, than the People in other Countries more refined in the Arts of Wickedness; and where Capital Punishment is inflicted only by the Civil Magistrates. . . .

Perhaps my Antagonist calls the Negroes Allowance of a Pint of Corn and an Herring, penurious, in Comparison of the full Meals of Gluttony: But if not let him compare that Allowance, to what the poor Labourer can purchase for Ten-pence per Day to subsist himself and Family, and he will easily determine the American's Advantage. . . .

Nevertheless, Mercator will say, the Negroes are Slaves to their Proprietors: How Slaves? Nominally: Not really so much Slaves, as the Peasantry of all Nations is to Necessity; not so much as those of Corruption, or Party Zeal; not in any Sense, such abject Slaves, as every vicious Man is to his own Appetites. Indeed there is this Difference between Britons, and the Slaves of all other Nations; that the latter are so by Birth, or tyrannical Necessity; the former can never be so, but by a wicked Choice, or execrable Venality.[2] . . .

[2] In December the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XI. 145-146, 186-188) contained a second article, brought forth by the letter of "Mercator Honestus", from inhabitants of the Leeward Islands. This refers to a controversy over the morality of the trade in which a negro, Moses Bon Saam, had taken part. The article distributed responsibility for the trade, first, on the African chiefs; secondly, on the English traders who bought in Africa; thirdly, on the people who protected the trade because of the gain in it or in the sugar trade which rested on it; lastly, on the planters, who would prefer white labor but could not get it. From this time forward the adherents of the trade were more and more frequently placed upon the defensive, being forced to consider not so much the economic contribution made to the nation by the slave trade as its ethical aspects. Their defense is in reality usually directed, as it is here, not to the trade but to the institution of slavery.

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214. The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: Minutes of Proceedings.[1]

Feb. 26, 1747/8.

African Committee. Having considered the intended bill, Recommendation that a letter be sent to our M.P.'s stating that the forts and settlements are at present of no service, except James Fort and Cape Coast Castle; that the scheme for a new company will be detrimental to private traders, and that the trade ought to be kept open; that the fee for admission should be settled at not exceeding 40 *s.* without any power to raise it; that the number of managers for London, Bristol, and Liverpool should be equal; that as many in the trade would not choose to pay to be made free of the company, such persons should not be debarred from trading; and that the clause for certifying on oath the value of every ship's cargo threatens new inconveniences and should be omitted.[2]

[214] [1] Latimer, "MS. Calendar of Records, Merchants Venturers' Society", II. 103. The entries are not exact quotations from the original minutes but calendared items. In 1720 the African Company, assisted by the South Sea Company, had tried to regain the monopoly, and in 1725 the former had offered the government a loan of £1,000,000 provided it could obtain the African grant. These requests Bristol spent a considerable sum in opposing (Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, p. 180). In November, 1741, the Royal African Company had agreed upon an enlargement of its capital stock by the sale of 17,500 shares at £10 per share, and an appeal to the king for what further assistance was necessary. With the money thus obtained it hoped to pay its creditors and revive its trade (*Gentleman's Magazine*, XI. 607, Nov., 1741). This plan came to nothing and was presently abandoned. In 1744 the company petitioned the House of Commons for aid in the upkeep of the West Coast forts and received £20,000 in place of the customary £10,000 paid them annually since 1730 (*C. J.*, XXIV. 534). The Board of Trade took up the preparation of a report on the trade. The Merchant Venturers of Bristol, receiving a request for information, on Sept. 11 directed their standing committee to forward a reply to the board. On Mar. 11, 1745, the society again considered the matter, this time in response to a letter from a Bristol member of Parliament. The master (Arthur Hart) was directed to state that an ingraftment into the company would be very injurious to the Bristol traders, thus declining an invitation which had been extended to the Bristol traders to join the company. As to what the government should do in case the company declined to support the African forts longer, the society had no advice to offer ("MS. Calendar", II. 90-91). The company was determined either to regain the monopoly or to resign the forts. The report of the Board of Trade came before the House of Commons Jan. 31, 1745, and the subject was discussed during the sessions of 1747, 1748, and 1749 (C. O. 389: 30, pp. 131-161, 192-198, *passim*; *C. J.*, XXIV. 730, XXV. 676-677). As usual, the pamphlet literature carried on the controversy outside Parliament while it was under consideration in Parliament. For the company the arguments were excellently presented by Malachy Postlethwayt in *The African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America* (1745). For the opposing side see John Cary, *Discourses on Trade and other Matters relative to it* (1745), pp. 57-60; and *A Detection of the Proceedings and Practices of the Royal African Company* (1749). One of the most informative of the controversial pamphlets was *A Short View of the Dispute between the Merchants of London, Bristol, and Leverpool and the Advocates of a New Joint Stock Company, concerning the Regulation of the African Trade* (1750).

[2] In April, 1748, the company proposed a bill which is probably that to which reference is here made. A new joint-stock company was to be established, which in addition to possessing the monopoly of the African trade should have entire control of the business of pawnbroking. The old company was to sell to the new its property on the African coast, and from the funds thus obtained pay its creditors. The argument for the preservation of a company was that French encroachment made more forts and stronger defenses on the coast necessary. Anderson, *Origins of Commerce*, III. 547-549; Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, 1747-1753, pp. 564-568.

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Mar. 17, 1747/8.

African Committee. Having received letters from Mr. Hoblyn, M.P., with a copy of a London petition on the trade, a letter was drawn up to Mr. Southwell, M.P., contradicting the assertions of the Londoners.[3] "The trade from this port in particular has lately been very considerable, and still increases, and we think that a joint-stock company will be very prejudicial, if not entirely destructive, to the separate traders." [4]

215. THOMAS BOTELER TO FRANCIS BOTELER.[1]

CAPE COAST CASTLE, Mar. 17, 1748/9.

. . . The Ships in General will make most excessive bad Voyages this Year, there is now 12 Sail at Anamaboa, Capt. Geddis in a very large Ship the *St. Phillip* belonging to Mr. George Fryerhow and one Capt. Burrish in a Ship from London between this and Dixcove and amongst them all they don't buy 6 Slaves per Diem and these at 9 z 8 per head the English, and 9 z 9 the French give. Capt. Duncombe in the *Alexander* from Bristol but owned chiefly in London will I believe make a great Voyage if Slaves bear any Price at Jamaica as he made his purchase before the French came down amongst them.[2] . . .

[3] The "Londoners" were to Bristol merchants synonymous with the African Company (Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 181-182). This does not entirely accord with the facts, as many of the important separate traders were Londoners, and two distinct plans for the future management of the African trade found support in London: a joint-stock company with a monopoly, and a company with open trade. Martin, *British West African Settlements*, pp. 8-9.

[4] The Bristol vessels engaged in the trade amounted to 47, with a capacity of 16,640 negroes, and an estimated value for ships and cargoes of £260,800. C. O. 388: 45, 1749, Dd 4.

[215] [1] C. O. 267: 5. Thomas Boteler was an agent of the company at Cape Coast Castle. Francis was his father. The first paragraph of the letter speaks of the necessity for closing all out-factories and letting the servants go, because of the failure of the company to send supplies. To this is affixed a memorial of the company asking for a grant.

[2] "In the Year 1749 the late Company's governor at Cape Coast Castle remonstrated to the Masters of the Seperate Trading Vessels then at Anchor in Annamaboa Road, that their giving such high prices for Negroes, must in the Event Ruin the Trade, by disabling the Planters to pay for them, that it also was the occation of fewer Negroes being brought for Sale, and quite destroyed the Gold, and Ivory Trades, which they acknowledge, and approved of a Plan the Governor laid before them, in order to lower the prices of Negroes, which was executed from £24 to £14 Sterling each, at which price they continued till the arrival of Governor Melvil on the 20th of June 1751, from the African Committee who was the ingenious Schemer of the present destructive Plan." The author goes on to say that prices under him were increased to £27, with no increase in the supply of slaves, since Africans were not tempted to sell by high prices but by need for merchandize. In 1748 Captain Pecket, in the *Adventure*, purchased 570 slaves in 6 weeks, at £10 stg., which he sold in Barbados for £30, his profits amounting to £7100. Eg. MSS. 1162, ff. 231, 236.

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216. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the General Court.[1]

London, May 4 [1749].

On Tuesday was held a general Court of the Royal African Company of England, when the Court came to some Resolutions to the following Purpose:

That, if the Company should be required to part with their Lands, Forts, Castles and Properties in Africa, on Account of the new proposed Establishment of an open Company, without any joint Stock or Power to trade as a Corporation, under proper Regulations; and that the Forts and Settlements upon the Coast of Africa be put under proper Management and Direction; That the Court of Assistants do make all due Applications to Parliament, by Petition or otherwise, to assert the Company's Rights and to use their utmost Endeavours to obtain such Consideration for their Property as shall enable the Company to pay their just Debts, and to make some reasonable Consideration to the Proprietors for the many and heavy Charges and Expences which they have sustained, by maintaining their Forts and Castles in Africa for the Benefit of the Publick over and above all Allowances which have been granted by Parliament.[2]

But in case such an open Company, upon due Examination, and Consideration of Parliament, be found liable to so many Difficulties and Uncertainties, as not to answer the good Purposes thereby intended, as has been the Case in several Instances of the like Kind, in former Applications to Parliament, And that the Company be not required to part with their Property in Africa: That the Court of Assistants do continue their Application and Endeavours to obtain such a provision for such a certain Term of Years, as shall be sufficient to enable the Company to support and maintain the British Honour, Dominion, and Jurisdiction in Africa, and to keep up and maintain their Forts and Castles in a defensible and respectable condition; and more especially in those Parts where this Nation has

[216] [1] *Boston Weekly Post Boy*, July 24, 1749. The plan of the London group for the re-establishment of exclusive trade gained no encouragement in 1747 and 1748, and by 1749 the company, convinced of the futility of the struggle, was prepared to accept a company with open trade. Petitions came to the House of Commons from London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and a bill was introduced on May 4 (*C. J.*, XXV. 697-698, 732-733, 777-778, 823-824, 829-830, 856). Colonial interest in the African bill is evidenced not only by this item but by one from the *Boston News Letter*: "London, April 15, 1749. We hear that the Trade to Africa will be laid free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects whatsoever, without being taxed with any Duties for the Support of the Forts and Settlements: that all who trade thither will be united in an open Company, under proper Regulations, without any joint Stock or Power to trade as a Corporation; and that the Forts and Settlements upon that Coast will still be maintained, as Marks of our Possession in those Parts, and be put under proper Management and Direction."

[2] The company petitioned on May 5, its creditors on May 9. Throughout the consideration of the bill frequent communications passed from Mr. Spence, secretary of the company, to the House of Commons. *C. J.*, XXV. 857, 861-862, 868, 872, 873, 876-877, 880, 882.

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several powerful Rivals to contend with: and also for obtaining such a reasonable provision as may be sufficient to clear off the Company's just Debts contracted by Means of an insufficient Allowance from the publick to support and maintain the Forts and Castles, and other British Rights in Africa: And thus to enable the company to carry on the African Trade to the mutual Interest and Satisfaction of the Company and all British separate Traders.

217. An Act for extending and improving the Trade to Africa, 1750.[1]

Whereas the Trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient Number of Negroes at reasonable Rates; and for that Purpose the said Trade ought to be free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects: Therefore be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for all his Majesty's Subjects to trade and traffick to and from any Port or Place in Africa, between the Port of Sallee in South Barbary, and the Cape of Good Hope, when, and at such Times, and in such Manner, and in or with such Quantity of Goods, Wares or Merchandizes, as he or they shall think fit, without any Restraint whatsoever, save as is herein after expressed.

II. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all his Majesty's Subjects, who shall trade to or from any of the Ports or Places of Africa, between Cape Blanco, and the Cape of Good Hope, shall for-ever hereafter be a Body Corporate and Politick, in Name and in Deed, by the Name of The Company of Merchants trading to Africa; and by the same Name shall have perpetual Succession, and shall have a Common Seal; and by that Name shall and may sue, and may be sued, and do any other Act, Matter, and Thing, which

[217] [1] *Statutes of the Realm*, V. 696-701, 23 Geo. II. c. 31. The bill of 1749 passed the Commons on June 6, 1749, and was considered for three days in the Lords before it was dropped and the Board of Trade asked to prepare a report on the method of trade (*C. J.*, XXV. 885-886; *L. J.*, XXVII. 362-364). Liverpool merchants sent to the board a representation arguing for free and open trade; the sugar planters, an argument for a joint-stock company with open trade (*Papers laid before the Honourable House of Commons by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, etc., 1750); the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers prepared amendments to the bill of 1749, and later spent £1000 in carrying through Parliament a bill which accorded with their desires (Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, p. 182). For the legislative history of the bill, see *C. J.*, XXV. 977-1058, *passim*; *L. J.*, XXVII. 400-443. It passed the Commons on Mar 19, and received the sanction of the king on Apr. 12 (*C. J.*, XXV. 1114). With reference to the outpouring of petitions throughout this period of discussion, one writer dryly remarked: "Even Rippon in Yorkshire, which made nothing but spurs, not a single pair of which had ever gone to Africa, petitioned for open trade." Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 54.

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any other Body Corporate or Politick, as such, can or may lawfully do.

III. And the better to uphold, maintain, and defend, all such Forts, Factories, and Settlements, on the Coast of Africa, as now are erected, or hereafter shall be thought necessary to be erected, for the securing and better carrying on the said Trade, Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every the British Forts, Settlements, and Factories on the Coast of Africa, beginning at Cape Blanco aforesaid, and extending from thence to the Cape of Good Hope inclusive, and all other the Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Coasts, Ports, Bays, Rivers, and Places, lying and being within the aforesaid Limits, and the Islands near adjoining to those Coasts, and comprehended within those Limits, which are now claimed by, or are in the Possession of the Royal African Company of England, or which may be hereafter in the Possession of the Company hereby established, shall, from and after the passing of an Act of Parliament for divesting the African Company of their Charter, Forts, Castles, and Military Stores, Canoe Men, Castle Slaves, and all other their Property on the Coast of Africa, their Goods and Merchandizes only excepted, be absolutely vested in the said new Company, established by this Act, and their Successors, to the Intent and Purpose that the said Forts, Settlements, and Premisses, shall be employed at all Times hereafter, only for the Protection, Encouragement, and Defence of the said Trade.

IV. And it is hereby further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for the Company established by this Act, to trade to or from Africa in their corporate or joint Capacity, or to have any joint or transferrable Stock, or to borrow or take up any Sum or Sums of Money, on their Common Seal.[2]

V. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Direction and Management of the Affairs of the said Company hereby established, shall be in and by a Committee of nine Persons,[3] to be chosen annually, as hereafter is mentioned, who are to meet and assemble together, from Time to Time, as often as shall be necessary, at some Place in the City of London; and the Committeemen for the Time being, or any five or more of them, or the major Part of them so assembled, shall, from and after the passing such Act of Parliament for divesting the African Company of their

[2] This article embodies the radical change in the management and method of trade which the act was intended to accomplish. An earlier draft of the bill added after the word "Act", "or the Committee to be chosen for managing the Affairs of the said Company", a prohibition which is provided for in article XIX. of the act as passed. Many of the company's future difficulties resulted from violations or suspected violations of these two articles. See *Considerations on the Present Peace* (1763), pp. 43 ff.

[3] The bill of 1749 provided for eight committeemen, four from London, two from Bristol, and two from Liverpool. Martin, *British West African Settlements*, p. 10.

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Charter, Forts, Castles, and Military Stores, Canoe Men, Castle Slaves, and all other their Property on the Coast of Africa, as aforesaid, or before the passing such Act, so far as the said African Company shall consent thereto, have full Power, from Time to Time, to make Orders for the governing, maintaining, preserving, and improving the Forts and Factories already built, or which hereafter shall be built, within the Limits aforesaid; and to appoint Governors, Deputy Governors, or any other Officers, Civil or Military, of or for the said Forts and Settlements, and them to remove and displace when they shall see fit; and to make Orders and Regulations for the better Government of the said Officers and Servants abroad, and to take Security from them for their good Behaviour, and for their paying due Obedience to the Regulations established by this Act, and to such other Orders and Regulations as the said Committee shall, from Time to Time, think proper to make; so as no Orders or Regulations, to be made by the said Committee, shall tend to lay any Restraint whatsoever on the said Trade or Traders to and from Africa, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act.

VI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Traders or Persons intending to trade to or from Africa, who, in order to be admitted into the Freedom of the said Company, shall, on or before the thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, have paid into the Hands of the Chamberlain of the City of London the Sum of forty Shillings each for their Freedom in the said Company, shall or may meet and assemble on the tenth Day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty, in the Gui[l]dhall of the said City; and they, or the major Part of them so assembled, shall or may choose three Persons: And that in like Manner such others of the Traders to or from Africa, who, in order to be admitted into the Freedom of the said new Company, shall, on or before the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, have paid into the Hands of the Clerk of the Merchants Hall in the City of Bristol, the Sum of forty Shillings each for their Freedom of the said Company, shall, or may assemble on the tenth Day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty, in some convenient Place in the City of Bristol; and they, or the major Part of them so assembled, shall choose three other Persons; and that in like Manner such other of the Traders to or from Africa, who, in order to be admitted into the Freedom of the said new Company shall, on or before the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, have paid into the Hands of the Town Clerk of Liverpool the Sum of forty Shillings each for their Freedom of the said Company, shall or may assemble on the said tenth Day of July one Thousand seven hundred and fifty in the Town Hall of Liverpool; and they, or the

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major Part of them, who shall be so assembled, shall and may chuse three other Persons; and the nine Persons so to be chosen in the Manner before expressed, shall be the first annual Committee for managing the Affairs of the said Company, and shall continue in Office for one Year, and until others shall be chosen in their Room respectively, as is herein after mentioned.

VII. And it is hereby further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in all future Elections, the said Committee of nine Persons shall annually, on the third Day of July in every Year, be nominated and chosen as follows; that is to say, Three of the said Committee shall be nominated and chosen by the major Part of the Freemen of the said Company, admitted to the Freedom of the said Company in London, who shall assemble for that Purpose at London; Three other Persons to be of the said Committee, shall be chosen and nominated by the major Part of the Freemen of the said Company admitted to the Freedom of the said Company in Bristol, who shall assemble for that Purpose at Bristol; and Three other Persons to be of the said Committee, shall be chosen and nominated by the major Part of the Freemen of the said Company admitted to the Freedom of the said Company in the Town of Liverpool, who shall assemble for that Purpose at Liverpool.[4]

VIII. [In case of the death of any member of the committee, the freemen of the city to which he belonged shall fill the vacancy after giving notice in the *London Gazette* ten days before such election is to take place.]

IX. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case at the Time appointed for the first and other Elections of the said Committee-men, the Traders admitted to their Freedom, in any one or more of the said Cities and Towns respectively, shall neglect to proceed to such Choice; in that Case, such other of the Persons who shall be chosen by the Traders admitted to their Freedom in the other of the said Cities or Towns, or the major Part of them, though less in Number than nine, shall or may act as the Committee for managing the Affairs of the said Company, until the next annual Election; and that all Elections of Committee-men for managing the Affairs of the said Company, shall be determined by the Majority of Votes then present; and that in all Cases, where the third Day of July shall happen to fall or be on a Sunday, the annual Election of Committee-men shall be had and made on the Monday the fourth Day of July.

[4] The election of the committee was the sole duty of the freemen. For the year 1750 they numbered: London 118, Bristol 156, Liverpool 99. The first committee elected was: London, Richard Boddicott, Robert Scott, Samuel Turner; Bristol, Vincent Briscoe, Joseph Champion, Samuel Dicker; Liverpool, Nathaniel Basnett, Richard Gildart, Charles Pole. Aug. 30, Sept. 14, 1750, "Minutes of Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, 1750-1755", T 70: 143; House of Lords MSS., 1750.

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X. Provided always, That in case of an Equality of Votes, the Lord Mayor of London, the Mayor of Bristol, and the Mayor of Liverpool respectively, shall and may determine which of such Persons shall be the Committee-man or Committee-men.

XI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee for managing the Affairs of the said new Company, shall meet together for the first Time on the first Monday in August one thousand seven hundred and fifty, and shall then settle the Manner of their future Meetings, and of the Notices and Summons to be sent for that Purpose, from Time to Time to the Members of the said Committee; and no Order or Resolution of the said Committee, to which all the Members of the said Committee present at the making thereof, shall not be consenting, shall be valid or binding, unless the same shall be approved and confirmed at a subsequent Meeting of the said Committee, at which all the Members of the said Committee shall be present, or of which, such of them as shall happen to be absent, shall have had the usual Notice.

XII. [At each meeting of the committee a chairman shall be chosen who is while chairman permitted to vote only in case of a tie. No member of the committee not present when the chairman is chosen is allowed to vote.]

XIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such of his Majesty's Subjects who shall, on or before the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred fifty, pay to the Chamberlain of London, the Clerk of the Merchants Hall in Bristol, or the Town Clerk of Liverpool respectively, the Sum of forty Shillings each, for their Freedom in the said Company, shall be the first Freemen and Members of the said new Company, established by this Act: And that, from and after the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, any other of his Majesty's Subjects, trading, or intending to trade to or from Africa, shall and may be admitted to be a Freeman or Member of the said Company at London, Bristol, or Liverpool, upon his Payment of the Sum of forty Shillings for the same, to such Person or Persons, as the Committee for managing the Affairs of the said Company shall, and are hereby required, from Time to Time, to appoint to receive the same in London, Bristol, or Liverpool, respectively.

XIV. Provided always, That no Persons so admitted, after the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, shall be intitled to vote for the Election of any Committee-man, until one Year after such Admission.

XV. [The persons paying forty shillings to receive a certificate and their names to be recorded in a book kept for that purpose.]

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XVI. [The sums of forty shillings and the lists of names shall be delivered to such persons as the committee may designate.]

XVII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Person or Persons who shall, from Time to Time, be appointed by the said Committee, at London, Bristol, and Liverpool, to receive the said Sums of forty Shillings, payable by Persons on their being admitted into the Freedom of the said Company, shall annually or oftener, if required by the said Committee, pay and deliver over all such sums which shall have been paid to them respectively for Freedoms in the said Company, together with Lists of the Names and Places of Abode of the Persons from whom they shall have respectively received the same, to the said Committee, or as they shall, from Time to Time, direct.

XVIII. [Exact lists of the freemen are to be printed ten days before the annual election and delivered to all freemen who desire them.]

XIX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Person shall be capable of being chosen or acting as a Committee-man, above three Years successively;[5] and two or more Persons, who shall be in Copartnership in Trade, shall not be capable to be chosen or act as Committee-men, during the same Time or Year: and the same nine Persons, or any of them, shall not, during such Time as they shall be of the said Committee, in any Manner, directly or indirectly, trade jointly, or in Copartnership, to Africa, or lade or cause to be laden, any Goods or Merchandizes on board the same Ship, in which any one of the said nine Committee-men shall, for that Voyage, have before laden Goods to be carried to any Place in Africa.

XX. And be it further enacted, That the same Committee shall and may, from Time to Time, invest such Part of the Money in their Hands, as they shall judge necessary, in the Purchase of Goods and Stores, which after the same are insured, which they are hereby impowered and required to procure to be done, are to be sent and exported to Africa, there to be sold, disposed of and applied, for the sole Use, Preservation, and Improvement of the Forts and Settlements there, and for the Payment of the Salaries and Wages to the Officers, and other Persons employed for keeping and preserving the said Forts and Settlements, and not otherwise: But it shall not be lawful for the said Committee to carry, or cause to be carried, or exported from Africa, any Negroes, or other Goods, in Return for the said Goods they shall so export from Great Britain, or in any

[5] For the method by which the intent of this clause was defeated see *Considerations on the Present Peace*, pp. 43 ff. It is to be noticed that this act does not forbid the officers on the coast to trade for themselves, a fact which was responsible for much complaint in succeeding years.

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other Manner to carry on any Trade to or from Africa: And a just and true Account of the said Committee's Receipts and Payments shall, from Time to Time be kept in a Book or Books for that Purpose; which Book or Books shall be open at the Office or Place where the said committee shall transact the Affairs and Business of the said Company, in London, to be perused at all seasonable Times by any Person admitted to the Freedom of the said Company, without Fee or Reward.

XXI. [The Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to have power to remove any committeemen or officers appointed by them, in case of misbehaviour.]

XXII. Provided nevertheless, That whenever any Committee-man shall be charged with Misbehaviour in his Employment, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations shall summon such Committee-Man to appear before them, and shall, in case he attends, hear such Committee-man; and upon his Attendance or Default, examine into the Truth of the said Charge, before they shall remove him from his Employment as aforesaid; any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee shall, and they are hereby required to render a just and perfect Account of all their Transactions once a Year, to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, or oftener, if thereunto required by the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them; in which shall be contained an Account of all the Monies received and disbursed by the said Committee, or their Order; and also an Account of all the Orders and Instructions given by the said Committee, as well to their Officers and Servants in Great Britain, as on the Coast of Africa; and all the Answers given thereto by the said Officers and Servants employed by the said Committee; and of all other Matters and Things whatsoever which shall be transacted by the said Committee.

XXIV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee, out of the Monies they shall receive, shall deduct annually a Sum, not exceeding the Sum of eight hundred Pounds, for defraying, in the first Place, the Salaries of the Clerks and Agents at London, Bristol, and Liverpool, the House-Rent of their Office in London, and all other Charges of Management, Commission, or Agency, in England; and the Residue of the said eight hundred Pounds shall be shared and divided amongst themselves, as they shall judge proper, as a Compensation for their Trouble and Attendance in the said Office of Committee-men; and the rest of the Monies which the said Committee shall receive for the Admission

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of Persons into the Freedom of the said Company, or otherwise, shall be applied and appropriated wholly to the Maintenance, Support, and Improvement of the Forts and Settlements already built, or which hereafter shall be built, on the Coast of Africa, which shall be in the Possession of the said Company; and for keeping them in good Repair; and for providing Ammunition, and other Stores, and Officers and Soldiers to defend the same; and for paying the said Officers and Soldiers; and to and for no other Use or Purpose whatsoever.

XXV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee shall, within one Month after the Expiration of the Year for or during which they shall have been chosen Committee-men, lay before the Cursitor Baron of the Court of Exchequer, an Account of all the Money received by the Committee during the preceding Year, and of the Application thereof, upon Oath; and the said Cursitor Baron shall, within one Month after the said Account shall be laid before him, examine, pass, and audite the same; and for the better discovering of the Truth of such Account the said Cursitor Baron is hereby impowered to examine any of the said Committee-men, and such other Person or Persons as he shall judge necessary, upon Oath, touching the Articles or Particulars in such Account expressed, or such of them as the said Cursitor Baron shall think fit; which Account, so audited and passed by the Cursitor Baron, shall be final and conclusive, and shall be a full and absolute Discharge to the said Committee-men, without their being compelled to give or render any further or other Account thereof; and the said Committee shall, every Session of Parliament, lay before the Parliament a Copy of such annual Account, audited as aforesaid, and of all Orders and Regulations made by them in the preceding Year, relating to the said Forts and Settlements, or the Government of their Officers or Servants employed therein; and Copies of every such annual Account, Orders, and Regulations, shall be annually laid before a General Meeting of the Members of the said Company, to be had in London, Bristol, and Liverpool respectively; of which fourteen Days Notice shall be previously given in the *London Gazette*.

XXVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Officer or any other Person to be employed by the said Committee, at any of the Forts or Settlements built or to be built in Africa, shall at any Time hereafter, in any Manner, or on any Pretence, obstruct or hinder any of his Majesty's Subjects in Trading; and that the Forts, Warehouses, and Buildings, already erected, or which shall hereafter be erected, by the said Company, shall and

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may at all Times hereafter be free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects, to be used as Warehouses for depositing Gunpowder, Gold, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Gums, and Drugs, and no other Goods.[6]

XXVII. Provided nevertheless, That the said Forts, Warehouses, and Buildings, may and shall, in case of Necessity or Danger, be free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects, for the Safety of their Persons, and Security of all their Effects whatsoever.

XXVIII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for any of his Majesty's Subjects trading to Africa, for the Security of their Goods or Slaves, to erect Houses and Warehouses, under the Protection of the said Forts, or elsewhere in any other Part of Africa within the Limits aforesaid, for the better carrying on of his or their Trade there; which Houses and Warehouses shall be the Property of the Person or Persons who shall build the same; but shall not be disposed of, or left, to any Foreigner whatsoever.

XXIX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Commander or Master of any Ship trading to Africa, shall by Fraud, Force, or Violence, or by any other indirect Practice whatsoever, take on board, or carry away from the Coast of Africa, any Negro or Native of the said Country, or commit, or suffer to be committed, any Violence on the Natives, to the Prejudice of the said Trade; and that every Person so offending shall, for every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of one hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain; one Moiety thereof to the Use of the said Company hereby established, and their Successors, for and towards the maintaining the said Forts and Settlements, and the other Moiety to and for the Use of him or them who shall inform or sue for the same.[7]

XXX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain for the Time being, shall, from Time to Time, give Instructions to the Captains of such of his Majesty's Ships of War as shall be stationed or ordered to cruize within the Limits aforesaid, from Time to Time,

[6] An earlier draft of the bill included slaves in this list of commodities.

[7] In the days when the Royal African Company dominated the trade there are few references to the kidnapping of free negroes, but all the evidence seems to point to a great increase in this abuse as the private trade increased. The minutes of the new committee (T 70: 143, 144) contain many references to the trouble caused by the disregard of this clause in the act, and in the instructions of the committee: "If the King of Barra shoud complain of two Natives having been carried off the Coast by an English Merchant Ship, you are to endeavor to pacify him and inquire into the circumstances and send them to the Committee and you must caution all Captains of Ships against taking or carrying off Pledges as they are liable to a Fine of £100, for each free Native by a late Act of Parliament". Apr. 6, 1751, Instructions to Messrs. James Skinner and Frederick Smith, James Fort, T 70: 143, p. 76.

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to inspect and report to them the State and Condition in which the said Forts and Settlements shall be; and the Officers of such Forts are required to permit such Captains to view and inspect the same; and Copies of all such Reports shall, every Session of Parliament, be laid before Parliament.[8]

XXXI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such Commission Officers of his Majesty's Navy, as the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or the Commissioners for executing the the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, for the Time being, shall appoint for that Purpose, shall inspect and examine the State and Condition of the Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, in the Possession of the said Royal African Company, and the Number of Soldiers therein, and also the State and Condition of the Military Stores, Castles, Slaves, Canoes, and other Vessels and Things, belonging to the said Company, and necessary for the Use and Defence of the said Forts and Settlements, and shall with all possible Dispatch report how they find the same, to the said Lord High Admiral, or Commissioners for executing the said Office; and the said Company, and their Officers and Servants, are hereby required to permit the said Officers of the Navy to make such Inspection and Examination, and to assist them therein: a Copy of which Report shall be laid before Parliament at the Beginning of the next Session.

XXXII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Accountant General of the High Court of Chancery for the Time being, and such two of the other Masters of the said Court, as the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain for the Time being, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain for the Time being, or the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal of Great Britain for the Time being, shall, from Time to Time, nominate for that Purpose, shall be, and they are hereby constituted and appointed Commissioners for examining into the Claims of the Creditors of the said Royal African Company: [Such commissioners shall be impowered to examine the accounts of the company and the creditors; creditors residing in Great Britain and Ireland to submit their claims before Aug. 30, 1750; those resident in Africa or beyond the seas to submit theirs before Dec. 30, 1750] and the Directors and Officers of the said Company, and all other Persons whatsoever, whom the said Commissioners, or any two of them shall think fit to

[8] These annual reports, including reports from the commanders cruizing the African coast and returns from the chief officers of the English forts, constitute a considerable source of information on African affairs during the second half of the century. The greater emphasis is laid on the military strength of the English establishments, but there are brief comments on trade. Reference to the returns made by Commodore Graves after his voyage (eighteen papers in all) may be found in *Lords Journals*, XXXI. 278. The series is to be found in the Admiralty Papers in the Public Record Office.

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examine, touching the Matters aforesaid, are hereby strictly required and enjoined to attend the said Commissioners, from Time to Time, and at all such Times and Places as the said Commissioners, or any two of them, shall under their Hands require or appoint, and to give the best and truest Information they can, touching the said Claims, and to produce all Books, Papers, Deeds, or Records relating thereto, in their respective Custody or Power, as the said Commissioners, or any two of them shall direct; and the said Commissioners, or any two of them, are hereby authorized to administer an Oath, for the better Discovery of the Truth of the Facts, touching which such Examination or Inquiry shall be made; and they are hereby required to close and finish their Examinations of all the Claims that shall be made by such of the said Creditors, who reside in Great Britain or Ireland, at the farthest, on or before the thirty first Day of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty, and of all the Claims that shall be made by such of the said Creditors who reside in Africa, or any other Parts beyond the Seas, on or before the twenty-eighth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty; and the said Commissioners shall lay Accounts of their Proceedings before the Parliament with all convenient Speed.[9]

XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case any Person or Persons summoned to appear before the said Commissioners, shall wilfully neglect or refuse to appear and be examined touching the Matters and Things by this Act directed to be inquired into, or shall refuse to answer, or shall not fully answer to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners present at the Time of such Examinations, or any two of them, all Questions put to him, her, or them, by the said Commissioners, or any two of them, as well by Word of Mouth as by Interrogatories in Writing; or shall refuse or wilfully neglect to produce, from Time to Time, to the said Com-

[9] Speed could hardly be said to have been achieved in the settlement of the affairs of the Royal African Company. Not until 1752 did the commissioners make noticeable progress. On Jan. 9 they received from the Royal African Company a list of the shareholders and on the 20th recommended that £112,142 3 *s.* 3 *d.* be voted as compensation to the company. Of this, £84,652 12 *s.* 7 *d.* was to go to the creditors; £1695 3 *s.* to the commissioners for their labors; £23,688 15 *s.* 5 *d.* to the proprietors of stock on record Dec. 31, 1748, which is 10 per cent. of the par value of such stock; £2105 12 *s.* 3 *d.* to the proprietors of stock acquired since that date, which is 5 per cent. of the par value (*C. J.*, XXVI. 342, 350, 360, 366, 382, 389-390; *L. J.*, XXVII. 622, 685, 704; *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXII. 272-274, 321; *London Magazine*, XXI. 267-268). In accordance with these recommendations a bill was introduced into the Commons on Feb. 22, was passed and sent to the Lords on Mar. 13, and given the royal assent on Mar. 26. This transferred the property of the old company to the new, and allowed the old to go out of existence (*C. J.*, XXVI. 401, 406-407, 453, 486-487, 494, 515; *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXII. 420-421). On Apr. 12, 1753, the commissioners gave notice to the creditors of the company that certificates for their claims would be issued to them on May 10 and 24 (*London Gazette*, Apr. 14, 1753). On Apr. 15 a committee of the Royal African Company met the new committee and delivered up the charter, and all books, papers, and writings, for the housing of which two rooms were taken in the Jerusalem Coffee-House. T 70: 143, pp. 135-136.

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missioners, or any two of them, all Books of Accounts, Papers, and Writings, in their Custody or Power, relating to the Matters herein directed to be inquired into by the said Commissioners, as the said Commissioners, or any two of them shall, from Time to Time direct; then and in every such Case it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Commissioners, or any two of them, by Warrant under their Hands and Seals, to commit him, her, or them, to such Prison, as the said Commissioners, or any two of them, shall think fit, there to remain, without Bail or Mainprize, until such Person or Persons shall submit him, her, or themselves, to the said Commissioners, and produce before them such Books of Accounts, Papers, and Writings, upon Oath, and full Answer make, to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners, to all such Questions as shall be put to him, her, or them, as aforesaid, according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act; and the said Commissioners, in every Case where any Person or Persons shall be by them committed for refusing to answer, or for not fully answering any Question or Questions put to him, her, or them, by the said Commissioners, by Word of Mouth, or upon Interrogatories, shall in their Warrants of Commitment specify such Question or Questions. . . .

XXXVI. [The expenses of passing this act to be paid from the first money received by the committee from freemen.] . . .

218. News Items relating to the Slave Trade.[1]

Boston.

By a Vessel lately arrived here from the West-Indies, we have Advice, that a Ship belonging to Liverpool coming from the Coast of Africa, with about 350 Slaves on board, and when in Sight of the Island Guardaloupe, the Slaves, as 'tis supposed, being admitted to come upon Deck to air themselves, took an Opportunity on the 28th of May, N. S. and kill'd the Master and Mate of the Ship and threw fifteen of the Men overboard, after which they sent the Boat with two white Lads and three or four others to discover what Land it was, meanwhile the Ship drove to the Leeward, which gave the Lads an Opportunity to discover the Affair to the Commandant of that Quarter of the Island, who immediately raised about 100 Men, and put them on board a Sloop, who went in Pursuit of the Ship, and in a few Hours took her and carried her into Port Louis.

New York, August 6 [1750].[2]

Last Tuesday arrived here the Ship *Hawk,* Capt. Waynman, in 11 Weeks from the Coast of Africa; in whom came two Men, late be-

[218] [1] *Boston Post Boy,* June 25, 1750; also in the *Boston News-Letter,* June 21, 1750.
[2] *Boston Post Boy,* Aug. 13, 1750.

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longing to the Snow *Ann,* Benjamin Clark Master of Liverpool; which Vessel having arrived on the Coast the Beginning of November last, with 12 Men, continued trading to the 14th of April; when having 60 Negroes on board, and the most of their white Men being sick, the Negroes got to the Powder and Arms, and about 3 o'Clock in the Morning, rose upon the Whites; and after wounding all of them very much, except two who hid themselves; they run the Vessel ashore a little to the Southward of Cape Lopez, and made their Escape. The Vessel soon beat to Pieces, and in attempting to get their Boat out, one of the well Men was drowned; so that 'twas with much Difficulty they got ashore: the Captain soon after landing expired from his Wounds, and next Day six of them set out to travel for Magumba,[3] to meet with some English Vessels, leaving five sick of their Wounds, on the Shore unable to go: After six Days travelling, another of them fainting with his Wounds, gave out, and they were obliged to leave him also; the remaining five got alive to Magumba the 3d of May; where three of them got on board the *Rider* to Galby, Capt. Bush, of Liverpool, bound for Amsterdam, tho one of them was so bad that he was given over by the Surgeons; and the other two got on board Capt. Waynman, as above; which last Vessel has also lost six of her Men by Sickness in the Voyage. This should be Caution of great Care and Vigilance to be used at that Trade.

BOSTON, Sept. 6, 1750.

By Capt. Tarr who arrived a few Days ago from St. Kitts, we have the following account that was sent him by Hamilton Montgomery, belonging to the Ship *King David* of Bristol, bound from the Coast of Guinea, *viz.* That on the 8th Day of May last, the Slaves on board the said Ship arose about five o'Clock in the Morning, none of them being in Irons on board. The Insurrection was contrived and begun by 15 that had for a considerable Time been treated with the same Freedom as the white men; and a great many of the latter dying, encouraged them in the Design. As the Chief of these Slaves spoke very good English, he often convers'd with the Captain in his Cabbin, where all the Arms were loaded; and consulting with his Comrades, knowing the small Strength of the white men, they at once flew into the Cabin, and secured the Arms in a few Minutes, kill'd the Captain and five of the People. Thereby putting it out of the power of the Remainder of the Ships Crew to make any Resistance, so that they got down the Hold to save themselves: But the Head of the Negroes call'd to them, and told

[3] Mayumba, in Loango.
[4] *Boston News-Letter,* Sept. 6, 1750.

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them, if they would come upon Deck and surrender, he would save all their Lives; which they soon did, except the chief Mate, who remain'd in the Hold some Hours after; but sending down a white Boy to acquaint him if he did not come upon Deck, they would come down and cut him in pieces; he therefore came up, and they directly put him in Irons, as they had all the others before: About 8 o'Clock the same Evening, they threw over-board nine of the white men alive with their Irons on: The chief Mate was also bro't on the Gunnel to be serv'd in the same Manner: but one of the Head Negroes interpos'd, and said, Who must take Care of the Ship? and withal declar'd that if they destroy'd him, he would kill the first that attempted it: whereupon they saved his Life. Having let the Ship drive with Wind and Tide for 24 Hours, they at last insisted to have her carried to the Gold-Coast, or Callabar, or St. Thomas's an Isle near the Coast of Guiney; but the Head Negro being a Fellow of more Sense than common, being persuaded there was no possibility of getting there, it was agreed to go where no white Man liv'd; and Desiada was pitch'd upon; which they made on the 14th of May; and at 6 in the Evening the Negroes oblig'd the chief Mate to hoist out the Boat; and they then put two white Men and four Negroes on board to go for the Isle: and if there were any Whites liv'd there, they were to return and kill the remainder of the Crew. But as the Relator writes, he afterward heard that they did not reach the Island, and that he heard nothing of them till he got the Ship to Anchor at Grand-tier Point, in Teage, a French Island, on the 19th. Where the French upon giving some small Assistance, not so much as venturing their Lives, or anything like it, charged the Expences to 3000 £, Currency. What further was done with the ship or the Negroes he does not write.

LONDON, May 25 [1751].[5]

By a Vessel just arrived at Liverpool, from Anamaboa on the Gold Coast in Africa, we have certain Advice that six French Ships of War are at Anchor there, with Troops, Artificers, Ordnance Stores, and all other necessaries for building a Castle; and that the Foundation thereof was actually laid before the Ship sailed. Thus will that Nation get such firm Footing on the only valuable Part of the Gold Coast, as must entirely and forever exclude us from the important Trade which we have hitherto advantageously carried on therewith. This however is no sort of Surprize to such as have seriously considered the Nature of our Commerce with Africa, and its connection with the true Interest of our Colonies, and of Great-

[5] *Boston News-Letter*, Aug. 8, 1751.

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Britain itself; whatever it may be to those who were desirous of seeing Anamaboa in the Possession of our most dangerous Rivals, rather than in the Hands of a free and open Company of British Merchants.[6]

219. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minutes of Committee.[1]

London, the 5th February, 1752.

Resolv'd That the following Letter to Thomas Melvil Esqr. be laid before the Board of Trade.[2]

Sir, Since we wrote our Answer to your Letter of the 11th July, we have received one from you of the 23d of the same Month inclosing Copies of your last Letter and of the References therein a Certificate of the Loss of a Cask of Cowries the Bills of Lading endorsed by you and a Remonstrance from Messrs. Boteler and Husbands,[3] to all which we give you the following Answer. As the Trade is laid open by Act of Parliament it is impossible for us to induce the separate Traders to order their Ships to this or that Place upon the Coast; it is to be hoped a Fort will afford the same Protection to the Boats at Annamaboe as at Cape Coast Castle.

We cannot alter our Instructions in Regard to the French Trade till the Affair has been more fully considered, in the mean Time, if you could bring about an Agreement with Generall Van Voorst to forbear trading with them it will at once put an End to all the Inconveniences you complain of: and we are told the General himself made such a Proposal to Messrs. Stockwell and Husbands in the year 1749;[4] neither can we authorise you to seize the Goods of

[6] The *News Letter,* May 24, 1750, contained an earlier warning: "London, March 20. By an extract of a letter from Barbadoes, we learn, That capt. Picket was arrived from the coast of Africa, and declares, that unless the Parliament does soon settle the African trade, it will be lost in a few years; for that he left twenty French vessels, and but one English ship on the coast." Cape Coast Castle was about the same time threatened by the Dutch. *Boston News Letter,* Apr. 4, 1751; C. O. 388: 45, 1751, July, Dd 42.

[219] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 127-128. The minutes of the committee which was now managing the trade, a few selections from which are here printed, give much detail concerning the instructions to agents, relations with the Dutch and French, as well as with the natives, and difficulties with the Royal African Company, whose confirmation was necessary to all actions of the new committee between the passage of the act of 1750 and that of 1752. Miss Martin sums up the difficulties involved in this situation in *British West African Settlements,* pp. 13-14.

[2] Thomas Melvil, appointed chief agent on the Gold Coast in June, 1751, was soon made governor in chief, the first to hold that position under the new régime. An earlier letter discusses relations with the French, the Dutch, and the natives (T 70: 143, p. 101). It is possible that the reference of this letter to the Board of Trade indicates a desire for the support of the board in gaining the confirmation of the Royal African Company, which still held the right to confirm all appointments and instructions. For the relations between the committee and the board see articles XXI., XXII., and XXIII. of the act of 1750.

[3] Thomas Boteler and William Husbands, factors at Cape Coast Castle. They had recently written complaining of the refusal of the separate traders to trade with the factories. C. O. 388: 44, Cc 73.

[4] Richard Stockwell, sent to the coast in 1749, had found the affairs of the company in a desperate condition. By his energy he revived trade, paid off much of the debt of the company on the coast, and saved the forts; but to accomplish this he traded with the French. For this offense he was, after nine months, superseded by Roberts. Capt. Thomas Pye, on the coast in 1749, apparently regarded his removal as a mistake,

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free Traders upon this Account, but We expect you should to the utmost discountenance and embarras such Traffick and suffer no French Ship to lie longer at the Forts than a proper Time for the Supply of Wood and Water if in Distress. It gives us great Pleasure to hear that English Woolen Goods and Manchester Checks are so much in Demand, We hope you will encourage the Consumption of them as well as every other Manufacture of this Country, with which View, We applaud your Attempt to open the Ashiantee Trade and heartily wish the Sum you mention may be sufficient to do it;[5] if your Allowance will not permit you to go great Lengths in purchasing an Extension of Commerce you must continue your Endeavors to engage the Assistance of the Kings and Gods of the Country to establish new or revive the old Channels of Trade upon the Coast.

LONDON, 19th February, 1752.

Addition to be made to the Second Clause of Mr. Melvil's Letter.

but we are so far from encouraging the least Attempt to draw the Trade from one Place to the other, that we think it necessary and do enjoin you most strictly to cultivate a good Correspondence and Harmony with the Fanteens, particularly with John Currantee and in the Prosecution of your Attempt to open the Ashiantee Paths we recommend you most carefully to avoid any Thing that may give the least Distrust or Suspicion of a Design to prejudice the Trade of his Town.

Instead of the last Clause

The Introduction of American Products upon the Coast of Africa is a very serious Affair and requires great Consideration, we are sorry you attempted it before you had communicated your Design that we might have either licensed or prohibited it with the Authority of the Government. In all Probability the Parliament may take it up this Session and in the mean Time we must insist upon your suspending your Progress in any Thing but Gum which it is foreseen there can be no Objection to.[6]

220. A PROPOSED LETTER TO THOMAS MELVIL.[1]

LONDON, the 15th June, 1752.

We are sensible that the Scheme of a free Trade upon the Coast must furnish Matter of Uneasiness and Discontent to the Fanteens

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as he wrote to the Admiralty on Mar. 18, 1750, that Stockwell had accomplished wonders. The new committee received the papers relating to Stockwell's conduct, among others sent to it by the Admiralty, when it took up its duties. "Minutes", Aug. 30, Oct. 23, 1750, T 70: 143, pp. 5, 13; C. O. 388: 44, Cc 73; House of Lords MSS., Feb. 8, 10, 1750/1.

[5] The Ashantis were in the midst of the protracted warfare which eventually made them the ruling native power on the Gold Coast. Many of the peoples with whom the English traded (Denkera, Akim, and Assini) had been made tributary to the Ashantis, who could thus close the paths used by traders taking slaves to the coast. At this time the Ashantis and the Fantis on the coast, with whom the English were on friendly terms, were outwardly friendly, but the English soon recognized that a contest between them was inevitable, and made great efforts to remain neutral, in order that they might maintain friendship with the victor, whichever it was. A. B. Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 85-90, 99-100.

[6] The reference is not to the importation of American products but to the raising of them in Africa. Melvil had planned to introduce the cultivation of cotton and indigo into Africa, but the Board of Trade disapproved of the scheme and it was dropped.

[220] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 150-151. This tart letter may have given place to a milder rebuke, but it is here included for the light it sheds on the fear of French aggression felt by the committee.

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since they must naturally be deprived by it of Part of that Trade which the Inability of the old Company and their exclusive Power at the Forts had thrown entirely into their Hands for some years past.

What then should have been your Conduct in this Case? especially when you saw the French were attempting to get a Footing among them at that critical Juncture and saw the Natives at the same Time (from some Cause or other no Matter what for to us it was meritorious) stand by their old Friends and prevent those invidious Rivals from becoming your troublesome Neighbours.

Should you not then have used your utmost Skill to have soothed the Minds of these loosing Traders by a proper Behaviour. Situated as you were, was the Trade of all your Ships at Cape Coast equal to the Risk of losing their Affections? Suppose the Admiralty from early and well founded Intelligence had not supported you with a Squadron support[?] to the French—in whose Hands would have Annamaboe been now? and how soon after in your own Suspicions must even Cape Coast and the other Forts have gone the same way? Sensible of all these Things, how could you irritate the People who surely shoud have been flattered and courted to serve your present Purpose, for national as the Object of that Coast may be you should consider how much it would lessen its Consequence if no less than a Squadron of men of War is constantly required to protect it?

It may be true if we had the secure and unmolested Possession of the Gold Coast that it is the same Thing to England upon what Part of it the Trade is carried on, but you who knew the Attempts the French had made and knew from the Value of it that it was likely they should repeat those Attempts, surely could distinguish that at such a Time it required all your Attention, Care and Thought to preserve in the Fanteens such a Regard for the English as might induce them to continue the Disposition they had so lately shewn to give us the Preference.[2] But when the French came upon the Coast

[2] One of the methods used by both English and French to gain the allegiance of the native rulers was the entertainment of their sons in England and France. In December, 1750, the "prince of Annamabo" returned to Africa from a sojourn in England, and a few months later the Admiralty was said to have received a letter from his father, expressing gratitude for his son's treatment, and offering the assistance of 20,000 men in building a fort in his territory. In July, 1751, news reached England that the kings of Anisham and Fetu were preparing to send their eldest sons to England (*Gentleman's Magazine*, XX. 272, XXI. 331, 375). John Currantee and Coffee Yango, two Fanti cabboceers, had sent sons to France, a fact which, without doubt, the French believed would help them in their endeavors to gain the support of the Fantis (Dec. 13, 1752, C. O. 388: 45, Dd 161). Readers of Walpole may remember an item of Mar. 23, 1749: "There are two black Princes of Anamaboe here, who are in fashion at all assemblies, of whom I scarce know any particulars, though their story is very like Oroonoko's: all the women know it and ten times more than belongs to it" (*Letters*, ed. Cunningham, II. 149). To this Wright, an early editor of Walpole's *Letters*, added: "Their story is briefly this: A Moorish king, who had entertained with great hospitality a British captain trafficking

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with two Men of War and were buying the Natives with Liquor, with Cloths and with Promises, to neglect them then was surely the highest Degree of Infatuation. Was a Bottle of Rum and a little Gunpowder (which we are informed was all you sent) a proper Present to be made at such a Time? Could you have contrived a Scheme more likely to affront the Natives and give Success to the French? if the Committee had not Liquor upon the Coast doubtless they had Goods to purchase it or had they not, would it have been much for you to have risked your own Credit for it at such a Ticklish Crisis? What monstrous Policy to put Contempt upon those from whom you expected Favor.

This Sort of Behavior has been the Cause of great Uneasiness to us, and if our Tenderness for your Character and our Unwillingness to punish you without allowing you Time to vindicate yourself were not supported with some prudential Reasons, we should think ourselves sufficiently warranted to suspend you immediately but as we hope what we have heretofore wrote you together with this Remonstrance will produce a total Alteration in your Behavior to the Fanteens and an absolute Obedience to all our Orders we have endeavored to obtain the Consent of the Lords of Trade who were equally surprised with us at this part of your Conduct, that you may continue in your Command upon the Coast.[3]

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on the coast of Africa, reposed such confidence in him, as to intrust him with a son, about eighteen years of age, and another sprightly youth, to be brought to England, and educated in the European manners. The captain received them, and basely sold them for slaves. He shortly after died, and, the ship coming to England, the officers related the whole affair; upon which the government sent to pay their ransom, and they were brought to England, and put under the care of the Earl of Halifax, then at the head of the board of trade, who had them clothed and educated in a suitable manner. They were afterwards received in the higher circles, and introduced to the King. On the first of February in this year, they appeared at Covent Garden theatre, to see the tragedy of Oroonoko; where they were received with a loud clap of applause, which they returned with a genteel bow. The tender interview between Imoinda and Oroonoko so affected the Prince that he was obliged to retire at the end of the fourth act. His companion remained but wept all the time so bitterly, that it affected the audience more than the play."

[3] "CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH-CAROLINA, May 11 [1753]. From Africa we have Advice, that there are a great Number of French Men of War on the Coasts of that Continent: And that they are erecting floating factories and Forts, in several Parts where we formerly had the greatest Trade. Capt. Bestock [Bostock], who arrived a few Days ago, saw three French Ships of 74, 56 and 18 Guns, on the Windward Coast" (*Boston News Letter,* July 3, 1752).

"The *Badger* sloop of war, arrived at Plymouth from the coast of Guiney, which place she left the beginning of March, brought advice, That upon commodore Buckle's arrival there with 3 men of war and the above sloop, he found 3 French men of war on the said coast, *viz.* one of 64, one of 54, and another of 20 guns, who were about building a fort, in order to make a settlement at Anamaboe: Upon which the commodore desired them to desist, the property or right to that place being in the Crown of Great Britain; otherwise he should be obliged to compel them by force to abandon their enterprize, and accordingly he made ready for an engagement: But the French commodore, after a little parleying and consideration, thought fit to sheer off and quit the coast. Commodore Buckle having afterwards had some conferences with the natives of the country, they told him, that they should be very glad to see a settlement made at Annamabo, and rather by the English than by the French, and therefore desired that our nation would go to

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221. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa.[1]

June 24, 1752.

A List of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, (established by an Act of Parliament passed in the 23rd of George II., entitled an "Act for Extending and Improving the Trade to Africa"), belonging to Liverpool, June 24th, 1752.

Armitage, John	Bird, Joseph
Atherton, John	Crowder, Thomas
Ashton, John	Crosbie, James
Bostock, John	Cunliffe, Foster
Bulkeley, William	Cunliffe, Ellis
Blundell, Jonathan	Cunliffe, Robert
Backhouse, John	Campbell, George
Blundell, Bryan	Clay, Robert
Blundell, Richard	Craven, Charles
Blackburn, John	Clayton, John
Bradley, George	Crompton, John
Brooks, George	Clews, George
Benson, Wm.	Chalmer, Thomas
Ball, Thomas	Davis, Joseph
Bridge, Edward	Dean, Edward
Blundell, William	Dobb, William
Brooks, Joseph	Dunbar, Thomas
Brooks, Jonathan	Earl, Ralph

work as soon as possible, for they wanted to see a good trade carried on there. One in the assembly indeed observed that there was room enough on the coast for both English and French, and that it was indifferent to them which of the two prevailed, provided they would deal fairly with his countrymen. After these conferences commodore Buckle sailed to Cape-Coast Castle, and there had intelligence, that the captains of the aforesaid French men of war, a little before abandoning Anamaboe, told natives that they might expect to see them again in ten months at least; for as they had given a valuable consideration (about 15,000*l.* sterling) for leave to settle there, they were resolved to carry their point sooner or later (*London Magazine,* XXI. 237-238, May, 1752). An item in the *Boston News-Letter,* July 30, 1752, repeats this account, with the names of the English vessels.

The *London Magazine* (XXII. 482) printed a "Copy of a Treaty concluded at Cape-Coast Castle, between England and the Fantee Nation on Feb. 6, 1753", in which the chief men of the Fantees renounced the French and swore devotion to the English (see also, *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXIII. 588). A diary of transactions with the Fantis is to be found in C. O. 388: 46, Ee 16.

[221] [1] Gomer Williams, *History of Liverpool Privateers,* p. 674, "From Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book, 1753." Of this list the following were at one time or another mayors of Liverpool:

John Blackburn, 1760	Richard Gildart, 1736
George Campbell, 1763	James Gildart, 1750
James Crosbie, 1753	Richard Hughes, 1756.
Foster Cunliffe, 1716, 1729, 1735	William Pole, 1778
Ralph Earl, 1769	Edward Trafford, 1742
Charles Goore, 1754, 1767	John Williamson, 1761

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Eddie, David
Ellams, Elliott
Forbes, Edward
Farmer, Joseph
Ford, Richard
Fletcher, Potter
Gildart, Richard
Goodwin, William
Goore, Charles
Gorrell, John
Gildart, James
Gordon, James
Goodwin, John
Hardman, John
Heywood, Arthur
Heywood, Benja.
Hesketh, Robert
Hughes, Richard
Hardwar, Henry
Higginson, William
Hallhead, Robert
Hughes, John Capt.
Kendall, Thomas
Knight, John
Leatherbarrow, Th.
Laidler, George
Lee, Pierce
Lowndes, Edward
Lowndes, Charles
Mears, Thomas
Manesty, Joseph
Nicholas, Richard
Nicholson, John
Ogden, Samuel
Ogden, Edmund
Oldham, Isaac
Okill, John
Pritchard, Owen
Parr, John
Parr, Edward
Pardoe, James
Penket, William
Pole, William
Parker, John
Rowe, William
Reed, Samuel
Strong, Matthew
Shaw, Samuel
Savage, Richard
Seel, Thomas
Strong, John
Smith, Samuel
Seel, Robert
Smith, Rob't.
Broad st.,
London
Tarleton, John
Townsend, Henry
Townsend, Richard
Trafford, Edward
Tarleton, John
Unsworth, Levinus
Williamson, Wm.
Whytell, Christo
Whalley, William
White, Hen. Lanc.
Williamson, John
Total 101

N. B. There are One Hundred and thirty five merchants free of the African Company in London, and One Hundred and fifty-seven in Bristol, whereas their Trade to Africa is not so extensive as the Merchants of Liverpool.[2]

[2] The author of *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool* (pp. 212-217) explains the success of Liverpool in her competition with London and Bristol for the African trade by the greater economy of her dealings with employees in it. Bristol captains received ample wages, in addition to primage, cabin privileges, and port charges. The factors were given five per cent. commissions on sales, and five per cent. on returns. Liverpool captains were not only on more restricted pay, but received no primage, and no port charges whatever, in comparison with those of from five to seven

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222. Petition of Matthew and John Stronge.[1]

[September 27, 1752.]

To the Right Honourable William Pitt Esqr. his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, The Humble Petition of Matthew and John Stronge and others Merchants of Liverpool,

Sheweth, That Your Petitionors fitted out a Snow called the *Clayton* of Liverpool for the African Trade which Sailed from the River Bonny in Africa on the 22d of February 1752 having on Board 324 Slaves bound to the West Indies and about two days afterwards was taken near the Coast by Nine English seamen who before had Robb'd their Own Captain and also another Ship and after having cruelly wounded the Captain of the said Snow turned him adrift in their Boat and ordered the chief Mate who they forced into their Service to Steer the Vessell for Pernambuco in Brazil. But soon after their Arrival he getting on Shore Discoverd the Affair to Captain John De Costa Britto Commander of the *Nazarone* Man of Warr of Portugal who took Possession of the Ship and Secured the Nine Pirates.

That the said Captain Britto Sold the Slaves who were reduced to near 200 by Sickness for the Benefit of the Owners and upon his Arrival with the Fleet at Lisbon in September 1752 Paid the Remainder of the Money arising from such Sale into the King of Portugal's Treasury and delivered up the Vessell and about 105 Elephants Teeth the Remainder of the Cargo to George Crowle Esqr. the then Consul at Lisbon who sold the same and remitted the Money to Your Petitioners after having deducted the Charges of refitting the Vessell at Pernambuco.

That a Memorial was presented by the said Consul to the Secretary of State at Portugal Praying that the said Pirates might be Delivered up to him to be Sent to England to be Tryed and Punished and that the Ballance of the Sale of the Slaves might be Paid to him for the Benefit of your Petitioners as appears by the Consul's Letter to Mr. Cleavland secretary to the Admiralty Dated 27th September 1752.

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shillings a day of the rival cities. The factors were on annual salaries rather than commissions. The prevailing method in Liverpool was to take poor boys as apprentices for long periods, make of them good seamen, then advance them to second mates, first mates, captains, and factors. As a result of this management Liverpool cargoes could be sold for about twelve per cent. less than those of London and Bristol. The effect of this on the African trade of Bristol was felt by the middle of the century, and by 1764 she had but 32 vessels to Liverpool's 74. For the rapid growth of the trade of Liverpool see also no. 289, n. 1.

[222] [1] P. R. O., Chatham Papers, vol. 78. Matthew and John Stronge were said by Gomer Williams to be among the principal shipowners of Liverpool. *History of Liverpool Privateers,* p. 155.

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That upon such Application from the Consul his Majesty of Portugal ordered his Secretary of State to Pay the Money out of the Mint. But the Consul Dying soon after the said order never was Complied with (although your Petitioners have since by their Friends at Lisbon made frequent application for that Purpose. And Your Petitioners are Fearfull never will be unless your Honour would be Pleased to send Directions to Mr. Castros the Minister there to apply for the same.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly Pray your Honour to Give such Directions to Mr. Castros or grant them such Relief in the Premisses as to your Honour shall seem Meet.[2]

223. Draft of an Indenture.[1]

London, 11th October, 1752.

This Indenture made this Day of in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second and in the year of our Lord 175 between of the one part and the Company of Merchants trading to Africa of the other part Witnesseth that the said hath agreed and for and in Consideration of the Covenants and Agreements hereinafter mentioned on the said Company's Part to be performed doth covenant promise and agree to and with the said Company of Merchants trading to Africa that he the said shall and will well and truly serve the said Company at any of their Forts Territories or Factories on the Coast of Africa in the Station or Capacity of a for the Space or Term of years to commence and be computed from the Time of his Arrival and Landing in Africa and from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleat and ended (and for such further Time as shall be agreed upon between the said and the Gov'r Deputy Gov'r or other Agent or Factor of the said Company) and for which Purpose he the said shall and will forthwith ship himself and go on board and proceed in such Ship or Vessel and remain and continue therein during her Voyage from England to Africa as the said Company shall provide direct and appoint for that Purpose, And that the said shall and will on his Arrival there apply himself to the Gov'r or Deputy Gov'r Agents or Factors appointed by the said Company for the Time being and follow such Rules Orders and Directions as he or they shall give direct or appoint. And the said doth hereby further covenant promise and agree that he the said shall and will during the

[2] This petition was accompanied by an "Extract of a Letter from George Crowle Esqr. Consul General of Portugal, dated at Lisbon the 27 Septem. 1752 to Mr. Cleveland", secretary to the Admiralty. The facts given in the two accounts are substantially the same. Crowle's letter gives the name of the master of the *Clayton* as Thomas Patrick. See Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 479-480.

[223] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 181-182.

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said Space or Term of years (and for such longer Term as he the said shall contract and agree for) well faithfully truely and honestly behave and demean himself towards the said Company their Committee Gov'r Deputy Gov'r and other Officers of the said Company and diligently employ do and perform to the utmost of his Power and Ability all such Works Labors and Business of the said Company as he shall be set about ordered or directed to do by the said Gov'r Deputy Gov'r or other Officers, Agents, or Factors of the said Company, and that he will not absent himself therefrom without their License and Consent and shall and will render and deliver to them a just and true Account of all such Business Matters and Things as shall or may be committed to his Care.

And the said Company for themselves and their Successors do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said that they will forthwith at their Expence provide a Passage for him the said in some good Ship or Vessel from England to the Coast of Africa and maintain and support him in such Voyage. And that the said Company and their Successors shall and will yearly and every year by Payments to be made every Months during the Time that the said shall continue in their Service and Employ well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the said in Goods and Merchandise at a fair and Market Price according to the Custom of the said Coast for his Maintenance and Support. In Witness whereof the said hath to one Part of these Indentures set his Hand and Seal and the said Company hath caused their Seal to be set and affixed to another Part thereof.

224. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1752.[1]

A List of the Guineamen belonging to Liverpool in the Year 1752, with their Owners' and Commanders' names and the number of slaves carried by each:

Ships	Commanders	Where Bound	Owners	No. of Slaves
Africa	Harrison	Benin	Jno. Welsh and Co.	250
African	John Newton[2]	Win'd and Gold Coas	J. Manesty and Co.	250
Annabella	Wm. Harrison	Do.	W. Dobb and Co.	260
Antigua Merchant	Robt. Thomas	Angola	Jas. Gildart and Co.	200

[224] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 675-677; Richard Brook, *Liverpool as it was during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century* (1853), pp. 510-513. For an account of the slavers sailing from Bristol and Liverpool to Africa between Jan. 1, 1754, and Jan. 1, 1755, see Eg. MSS. 1162 A, ff. 258-261.

[2] John Newton, who later in life became the friend of Cowper and the rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, was on the Windward Coast from 1745 to 1748. Between 1750 and 1754 he made three slave-trading voyages. For the details of his highly picturesque career see his *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788), and *The Life of John Newton: an Authentic Narrative* (London, 1822). *Nicholas Owen: Journal of a Slave-Dealer* (ed. Eveline Martin, London, 1930) recounts similar adventures in the life of a slave trader between the years 1746 and 1757.

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[*A List of the Guineamen*—continued:]

Ships	Commanders	Where Bound	Owners	No. of Slaves
Anglesey	James Caruthers	Win'd and Gold Coast	Tine, Farrar and Co.	180
Alice Galley	Rich. Jackson	Do.	R. Cheshyre and Co.	350
Ann, Galley	Neh'm'h Holland	Calabar	Wm. Whalley and Co.	340
Adlington	Tho. Perkin	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Manesty and Co.	320
Allen	Jas. Strangeways	Do.	J. Brooks and Co.	250
Achilles	Thomas Patrick	. . . . .	Hen. Hardwar and Co.	450
Betty	Sm. Sacheverelle	. . . . .	John Robinson	100
Blake	Alex. Torbet	Calabar	Jo. Bird and Co.	460
Barbadoes Merchant	John Wilson	Angola	G. Campbell and Co.	500
Boyne	Wm. Wilkinson	Bonny	E. Forbes and Co.	400
Beverley	William Lowe	Angola	E. Lowndes and Co.	200
Brooke	Thomas Kewley	Old Calabar	Roger Brooks and Compy.	400
Barclay	John Gadson	Do.	Jno. Welsh and Co.	450
Bulkeley	Chris. Baitson	Win'd and Gold Coast	Foster Cunliffe, Sons and Co.	350
Britannia	Jas. Pemberton	Do.	Thos. Leatherbarrow and Co.	300
Bridget	Anth'ny Grayson (or Hayston)	Do.	Foster Cunliffe, Sons and Co.	250
Clayton	Patrick	. . . . .	. . . . .	. .
Cumberland	John Griffin	Gambia	E. Deane and Co.	260
Chesterfield	Patrick Black	Old Calabar	W. Whalley and Co.	440
Charm'g Nancy	Tho. Roberts	Win'd and Gold Coast	W. Davenport and Co.	170
Cavendish	Robert Jennings	Win'd and Gold Coast	Nicholas and Co.	170
Cecilia	Rd. Younge	Gambia	Fr. Green and Co.	120
Duke of Cumberland	John Crosbie	Bonny	J. Crosbie and Co.	450
Dolphin	Joseph Pederick	Win'd and Gold Coast	Ed. Forbes and Co.	200
Elizabeth	William Heys	Gambia	Sam. Shaw and Co.	200
Elijah	. . . . .	Win'd and Gold Coast	E. Lowndes and Co.	200
Enterprise	Sam. Greenhow	Gambia (miss'g)	John Yates and Co.	130
Ellis and Rob't	Rich. Jackson	Win'd and Gold Coast	F. Cunliffe and Sons	320
Eaton	John Hughes	Angola	John Okill and Co. Wood and Teeth	
Fanny	Wm. Jenkinson	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Knight and Co.	120
Ferret	Joseph Welch	Do.	Jno. Welch and Co.	50
Florimel	Samuel Linaker	Calabar	Rich. Townsend and Co.	320
Frodsham	James Powell	Angola	Nich. Torr and Co.	450
Fortune	Hugh Williams	Bonny	Hy. Townsend and Co.	480
Foster	Edward Cropper	Benin	Foster Cunliffe, Sons and Co.	200
George	Charles Cooke	Angola	G. Campbell and Co.	250
Grace	. . . . .	Old Calabar	Ed. Forbes and Co.	400
Greyhound	Maurice Roach	Win'd and Gold Coast	Rd. Savage and Co.	120
Hesketh	James Thompson	New Calabar	R. Nicholas and Co.	260
Hector	Brook Kelsall	Do.	W. Gregson and Co.	480
Hardman	Joseph Yoward	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Hardman and Co.	300
Jenny	Thos. Darbyshire	Do.	Jno. Knight and Co.	450
Judith	Nich. Southworth	Bonny	Jno. Welch and Co.	350
James	Jno. Sacherevelle	Win'd and Gold Coast	James Gildart	120
Knight	Wm. Boats	Do.	Jno. Knight and Co.	400
Lintott	Ralph Lowe	New Calabar	R. Nicholas and Co.	400
Lord Strange	Edward Smith	Benin	Wm. Halliday and Co.	230
Lovely Betty	George Jackson	Win'd and Gold Coast	Geo. Campbell and Co.	140
Little Billy	Thos. Dickenson	Do.	J. Knight and Co.	60
Mersey	John Gee	Benin	J. Kennion and Co.	300

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[*A List of the Guineamen*—continued:]

Ships	Commanders	Where Bound	Owners	No. of Slaves
Middleham	John Welch	Old Calabar	R. Gildart and Sons	320
Methuen	John Coppell	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Crosbie and Co.	280
Minerva	Thomas Jordan	Gambia	Jas. Pardoe and Co.	400
Mercury	John Walker	Win'd and Gold Coast	Kennion and Holme	100
Molly	Richard Rigby	Win'd and Gold Coast	R. Golding and Co.	320
Neptune	Tho. Thompson	Old Calabar	Joseph and Jona. Brooks and Co.	450
Nelly	Joseph Drape (or Jno. Simmons)	Do.	Wm. Williamson and Co.	320
Nancy	John Honeyford	Bonny	T. Kendal and Co.	400
Nancy	Robert Hewin	Do.	Pet. Holme and Co.	400
Nancy	Thos. Midgeley	Gambia	Knight, Mairs and Co.	300
Orrel	James Griffin	Do.	W. Whalley and Co.	120
Ormond Success	. . . . .	Angola	Wm. Williamson and Co.	300
Pardoe	. . . . .	Win'd and Gold Coast	Jas. Pardoe and Co.	240
Priscilla	Wm. Parkinson	Angola	Jno. Welch and Co.	350
Phoebe	Wm. Lawson	Win'd and Gold Coast	Arthur and Ben. Heywood and Co.	280
Prince William	John Valentine	Angola	R. Gildart and Sons	200
Rider	Michael Rush	Do.	R. Gildart and Sons	300
Ranger	John Sanders	Win'd and Gold Coast	W. Farington and Co.	300
Sarah	Alex. Lawson	Bonny	T. Crowder and Co.	550
Salisbury	Thos. Marsden	Old Calabar	Robert Armitage	350
Sterling Castle	Charles Gardner	Bonny	John Backhouse and Co.	300
Samuel and Nancy	James Lowe	Win'd and Gold Coast	R. Savage and Co.	220
Swan	Peter Leay	Bonny	John Tarlton and Compy.	400
Sam'y and Biddy	Rob. Grayson	Win'd Coast	J. Blundell and Co.	120
Schemer	Robt. Grimshaw	Do.	T. Chalmers and Co.	120
Stronge	Thomas Cubbin	Bonny	Mat. and Jno. Stronge and Co.	300
Tarlton	Jas. Thompson	Do.	J. Tarlton and Co.	340
Triton	Chas. Jenkinson	Do.	Levinus Unsworth and Co.	240
Thomas	Jas. Hutchinson	Gambia	G. Campbell and Co.	200
True Blue	Benjamin Wade	Benin	J. Cheshyre and Co.	300
Thomas and Martha	Jn. Gillman	Win'd and Gold Coast	G. Campbell and Co.	200
Vigilant	Wm. Freeman	Do.	J. Bridge and Co.	160
Union	Tim. Anyon	Do.	J. Pardoe and Co.	350
William and Betty	Thos. Barclay	Angola	S. Shawe and Co.	400

Total 88 Ships carrying upwards of 24,730 Slaves, and 550 wood and teeth.

225. James Skinner to the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa.[1]

James Fort [Gambia], Jan. 23, 1753.

Mr. Hunt belonging to London arrived here the 18th Instant and is this day gone up the River to Purchase Slaves. This comes by Capt. Bray bound for Antigua with about 80 Slaves. He proposes

[225] [1] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 162, 167. It is possible that the first item should be Jan. 23, 1754, as it follows the March items in the manuscript.

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to call in at Sierraleone to get 20 Slaves more before he goes off the Coast. . . .

18th March, Capt John Walker from Liverpool gone up the River to trade.

23 Do. Capt. Allen and Bennet both from Liverpool gone up the River.

26 Do. Capt. Hutcheson came down the River with Slaves bound for Barbadoes. Capt. Elphinstone from Scotland and Holland gone up the River to trade. Capt. Midgeley from Liverpool gone up the River to Trade.

27th Capt. Sherrar from Rotterdam bound to Sierre Leone and Cape Coast Loaded with Spirits sailed this day.

226. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minutes of Committee.[1]

London, the 27th April, 1753.

Messrs. William Wansey and Thomas Harris attended with a Letter dated Bristol 5th April 1753 signed by Wm. Hare[2] and others importing that they were chosen by a general Meeting of the African Company in that City, to be a Committee of Correspondence etc. and that the said Messrs. Wansey and Harris were desired by them to communicate the Sentiments of that Committee with respect to the present State of Affairs upon the Coast; and to confer with Mr. Hardman[3] (on the Part of the Members of the Company at Liverpoole) in order to fix upon such Matters as shall be expedient for the general Good of the Trade.

Messrs. Wansey and Harris then proceeded in a Complaint of the Inconveniences attending the Trade from the Liberty allowed to the Governor and other Officers upon the Gold Coast of trading in Slaves upon their own Accounts to support which they called in Captains Graham and Hamilton and Mr. John Roberts late Governor of Cape Coast and the Committee having made a Progress in the Examination of the said Evidence

[226] [1] T 70: 143, p. 207.

[2] William Wansey was made an honorary freeman of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol in 1749; in 1755 he was a warden of the society (Latimer, *Merchant Venturers,* pp. 225, 330). A Thomas Harris was mayor of Bristol in 1769, but the name was not an uncommon one. William Hare was master of the Merchant Venturers in 1752. *Ibid.,* p. 329.

[3] This is the John Hardman of whom the author of *Considerations on the Present Peace* (pp. 9, 11) wrote years later: "The great Hardman is no more . . . he was noted for his contriving, and being industrious at procuring and presenting, memorials and petitions. He even influenced some merchants of the town of Rippon in Yorkshire, to petition the parliament, when that great and important trade to Africa was under its consideration. He likewise prevailed on many other towns to petition, all as little interested and connected with the trade of Africa as Rippon. . . . Mourn! mourn! O Liverpool for the loss of thy great hero and champion, who was at all times ready to enter the lists in defence of thy trade and commerce."

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Resolved That the Committee do adjourn to Wednesday the 2d May next at 10. . . .

LONDON, the 10th May, 1753.[4]

Read a Letter from the Committee of the African Company in Liverpoole complaining of the Consequences of the Governor and the other Officers upon the Coast being permitted to trade in Slaves and desiring that they may be restrained therefrom.

The Committee proceeded to the Consideration of the Complaints of the Merchants of Bristol of great Injury done to their Trade upon the Gold Coast of Africa by the Liberty allowed the Servants of the Company to trade in Slaves, and to which Cause they impute the high Prices which have been lately given for the same; and having gone through the Examination of the Evidence brought by Messrs. Wansey and Harris and taken it into Consideration together with their Letter containing their Observations upon the said Evidence and Proposals for remedying the Inconveniences complained of, and also the Letter from a Committee of the African Merchants in Liverpoole with the like Proposals

Resolv'd That the following Instructions be sent to the Governor and other Officers upon the Gold Coast.

That for the future no joint Trade shall be carried on by the Servants of the Company residing at different Forts upon any Pretence whatever.

That no Servant of the Company do presume to send out any Servant or Slave up the Country or Paths to intercept or prevent the Slave Trade from coming freely down to the Shipping.

That none of the Warehouses, Vessels, Canoes or other Craft belonging to the Company shall be made Use of for the Lodgement or Conveyance of any Goods except such as are sent out by the Committee for the Payment of Salaries and the Support of the Forts and Settlements, but in such Cases as the Act of Parliament directs.

That no Servants of the Company be permitted to lodge any Slaves in any of the Castles, or to export any Slaves purchased upon their own Accounts from any Part of the Coast.

That the Chief of every out Fort as well as the Governor of Cape Coast Castle be directed not only to prevent every Obstruction to the free Exercise of the Trade of Settlers in their neighbouring Towns but to encourage and protect them as much as possible.

That the like Instructions be given them to assist to the utmost the Commanders and Companies of every Brittish Ship in the Prosecution of their Trade and in wooding and watering their Ships.

Copies of the above ordered given in Answer to the Letters from Bristol and Liverpoole and to Messrs. Wansey and Harris.

. . .

LONDON, the 30th May, 1753.[5]

Ordered, That the Secretary do inclose Copies of the Letters from Messrs. Wansey and Harris of Bristol and Messrs. Hardman

[4] T 70: 143, pp. 209-211.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

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and others of Liverpoole in the following Letter to the Lords of Trade.

My Lords, By Order of the Committee etc. I have the Honor to lay before your Lordships Copies of Letters from the African Merchants of Bristol and Liverpoole complaining of the great Disadvantage they labor under from the Trade that is carried on by the Gov'r of Cape Coast Castle and the other Officers of the Forts that are concerned with him in the Purchase of Negroes, asserting that they have fully proved ten Articles of Complaint and proposing that the Servants of the Company shall be restrained from all Manner of trading in Slaves.

Your Lordships will observe that the Instructions intended to be sent to the Coast do not contain the whole of what is desir'd as the Committee are of Opinion that an absolute Restriction may be attended with bad Consequences to the national Trade.

A great Part of the Complaints are personal and not fully proved, the Committee will not trouble Your Lordships with any particular Remarks upon the Evidence, but if the Remedy proposed by the Complainants should appear to your Lordships the properest Regulation, they are very ready to offer those Reasons which in their Opinion render it improper, and shall then submit to your Lordships Determination.[6]

227. Deposition of William Brown, 1753.[1]

Affidavit of William Brown, master of the *Bristol,* sworn 16 June, 1753, saith, that when he was last in Africa carrying on trade, was informed by Brew, chief of Tantumquery, and Withers, chief of Winnebah, that they were engaged in partnership in the slave trade with Melvil, Young, and other officers at cape Coast Castle.

That Melvil and others told deponent, they expected a ship from Holland with a Dutch cargo, which ship they had some time before sent to Jamaica with slaves.[2]

That he was in company with Dacres, chief of Accra, who informed him Young was coming to turn him out of the fort, by reason he would not enter into partnership with Melvil and Young; that Dacres declared he should have been glad to have continued his employ, but rather than be uneasy he would quit it, and soon after did so. That deponent could not purchase from the chiefs of forts, slaves under an ounce and half, or two ounces a head more than he gave for those of equal goodness to the Negro traders, occasioned by the trade being carried on by the chiefs of the forts.

That deponent was informed by the Negroes at Annamaboa, if he wanted to trade under the forts, he must take canoes and canoe-men; for the canoe-men under the forts were overawed by the chiefs,

[6] See C. O. 388:45, Dd 163, 1753, June 26, for a full statement of the complaints of the Bristol and Liverpool merchants.

[227] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace,* pp. 44-45.

[2] A deposition of John Roberts, June 26, 1753, also testified to these facts. C. O. 388: 45, Dd 164.

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and they durst not assist him in trading; and deponent did so, and should have been under difficulties if he had not so done; and deponent found the Negroe traders under said forts, cautious and fearful of trading with him, lest the chiefs should know thereof, and sent to deponent in a private manner, when they had slaves to dispose of.

That cape Coast, Tantumquery, Winnebah and Accra were used by the chiefs as repositories for their market slaves, and saw them lodged in said castle and forts; that Negroes will bear a high price as long as the chiefs are permitted to trade in them, which will destroy the trade with all persons, but the chiefs and those settled at the forts.

228. Affidavit of James Hamilton, 1753.[1]

Affidavit of James Hamilton, chief mate of the *Polly* of Bristol, sworn the same day as above, Swears to the same purport and effect as above set forth by Brown, in regard to the chiefs copartnership conversation with Dacres, and his being displaced, and the high price of slaves, and the reasons, etc. And then saith, that during his voyage, he hired a factory at Logoe, and endeavoured to purchase slaves; on which Brew sent negro traders and goods thither to oppose deponent; and Brew told deponent, it was impossible for him to trade to same advantage as Brew could, as he had so good assortment of goods; that if deponent gave eight ounces a head for slaves,[2] Brew would give eight and [one] half; and to intimidate deponent, declared he would send the servants of the forts up the paths, and prevent the trade coming down, and accordingly did send them with liquor, and carried the traders to his own fort. That Brew refused to sell deponent slaves; and his reason was, Melvil had wrote him not to sell, as he could get a better price at cape Coast. That Young at Winnebah refused deponent slaves at ten ounces per head, unless deponent would give him the very best of his cargo, which would have unsorted him.

That Young refused him water for fifteen slaves, and deponent was obliged to give the natives fifteen shillings for forty gallons. That he went on shore with his gold taken at Succondee to trade, carried some checks with him; that Hippesly,[3] the chief there, took the gold taker on one side, whispered him, and threatened to whip him if he ever saw him bring goods there to trade with the natives.

[228] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace,* pp. 45-46.

[2] A note in the text adds: "An ounce is a nominal value set upon goods which cost about 40 *s.* in Europe; but sold in trade on the coast of Africa at 4 *l.*"

[3] John Hippisley was appointed governor Mar. 1, 1766. He died in the following summer (Claridge, *Hist. of the Gold Coast,* II. 582). Two years before this he had published three essays on the African trade, in one of which he demonstrated the necessity for allowing the officials on the coast to carry on trade if the forts were to be kept up. *Essays* (1764), pp. 26-32.

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That the natives and canoe-men at all the forts were fearful of trading with deponent, and declared they were afraid of being seen by the chiefs; that the forts were used as repositories for slaves, and that the trade will be hurt by the chiefs trading, as set forth by Brown.

229. Affidavit of Alexander Graham.[1]

[June 16, 1753.]

Affidavit of Alexander Graham, master of the *Fly,* sworn the same day, saith, that when he and Jenkins, commander of the *Silvia,* were trading at Annamaboa, they at first bought slaves at five ounces and half, and from thence to seven and a half per head, and went on in a good way. On a sudden found a stagnation, enquired the occasion, and were informed the prices were raised at the neighbouring forts; and this deponent was obliged to give an advanced price; that if the chiefs trade, the prices will be high, and the trade hurt.

230. Memorial of the Merchants of Bristol and Liverpool to the Board of Trade.[1]

. . . That an act was passed in the year 1750, for making the trade to Africa free and open, for which end the management of the forts and affairs were trusted to the care of nine persons, a committee as there set forth; that the said committee had the power of appointing officers and servants for managing their affairs in Africa, and discharging them at pleasure for not obeying their orders, or other misdemeanours; and they were to take care that the orders given their servants did not extend to public detriment, or the hurt of the free traders.

That officers were appointed, and leave given to trade (but not with foreigners, except Portuguese, for gold and tobacco)[2] so that they became the regulators of the market. The committee, by the act, are annually to lay before the general meeting of the company of the chambers of London, all resolutions, orders and instructions given their servants previous to such meeting, and copies to be sent to Bristol and Liverpool; but they have not so done.

That the committee's chief agents, instead of regarding the interest of their constituents, have acted opposite thereto, as soon as in power. Instead of assisting the free trader, they entered into a joint stock copartnership, and attempted a monopoly more formidable

[229] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace,* p. 46.

[230] [1] *Ibid.,* pp. 47-48. The author of the *Considerations* states that this memorial was presented on the basis of the facts of the preceding depositions and "other allegations."

[2] The prohibition against trade with foreigners on the coast had been the cause of much protest from the officers sent out by the committee.

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than any could have been at home, as they were on the spot, and had the whole power.

That the merchants of Bristol had advice of the chief proceedings from their commanders, which on their return they found too true; and that by the attempts of the chiefs to engross the trade, the prices of slaves were raised much higher than ever known. Also that the commanders were denied what strangers were always before assisted with, *viz.* canoes, canoe-men, wood, water, etc.

That a memorial was laid before the committee for their relief, but, to their great surprize, they found their complaints were treated as groundless surmizes, and unjust aspersions of the character of their officers, arising only from personal prejudice and party interest; a second and several repeated applications were made, and the committee at last informed the managers, that they had referred the matter to the lords of trade.[3]

231. Thomas Melvil to the Committee of the Company of Merchants.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, July 1, 1753.

There has lately sailed Capt. Ellis of Bristol 260 Slaves, Capt. Walker of Do. 190 Slaves, Capt. Boats[2] of Liverpool 418 Slaves, Jepson of Rhode Island 150 Slaves, almost ready Yowart of Liverpool and Chillcot of Bristol. Trade is midling. The Ashantee Paths neither altogether open nor are they quite Shut.

232. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minute of Committee.[1]

London, the 22d August, 1753.

Resolved That the following Letter be sent to Francis Gildart Esqr. Secry to the Freemen of the African Company in Liverpoole in Answer to his Letter of the 7th Instant.

Sir, Your Letter of the 7th Inst: was laid before the Committee etc. and they have directed me to inform the Freemen of the African Company (through you) that with other Instructions which they shall send very soon to the Coast they

[3] "Accordingly their Lordships heard the matters in dispute between the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, and that of the committee. And were of the opinion, that the officers and servants employed by the committee, ought not to be allowed to trade for Negroe-slaves further than the amount of the salaries allowed them by the committee; and that such slaves, should be disposed of for ivory, gold, bills of exchange, or other proper returns to England only" (*Considerations on the Present Peace*, p. 48). The author of the *Considerations* adds that the committee paid no attention to this expression of opinion, and that the governors on the coast continued to trade in slaves. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[231] [1] C. O. 388: 46, Ee 14.

[2] Captain William Boats, "born a beggar", if he did not "die a lord", at least died an affluent merchant, after a successful career as captain of slave vessels. For some account of his picturesque life see Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 484-485.

[232] [1] T 70: 143, p. 240.

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will transmit the Opinion of the Board of Trade and recommend it strongly to them to prevent any future Cause of Complaint. As the Act of Parliament doth not give any Power to the Committee to restrain or limit the Servant's Trade, they can not take it upon them to send any Orders to that Purpose, but must leave it to the Merchants concerned in the African Trade to consider of an Application to Parliament for such Alterations or Amendments in the Act as they shall think necessary and when that is done the Committee will conform (as they think they do now) to the Sense and Meaning of it.

233. Committee of the Company of Merchants to Thomas Melvil.[1]

Oct. 17, 1753.

. . . In your last Letter we observe you mention that the Paths have not been shut some Months. by the Paths, we suppose you mean the Ashantee Paths which you formerly attempted to get opened by Cudjoe's means and from whence you represented a Prospect of a very considerable Trade. But since we find that tho' the Paths are not shut, the Trade is not so much encreased as we could wish, we should be glad [if] you would give us as perfect an Account of the Nature of the Ashantee Trade as you can and the Means of extending it.

234. William Mackinen to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Sir, . . . Pray let me take upon [myself] to advise you about buying negros, which is, to buy negro[es] at least of the best countrys. there are some other countrys [from whi]ch young women and girls do well enough, but it is not the [case wi]th the men; of some countrys they are not worth the [expe]nce I would likewise advise that you would buy some [women] or girls with your men and boys, by which means you [ha]ve your estate stock't with creoles for your children, the [advant]age of which my friend Jonas Langford now reaps the [benefit] I should be glad if you would advise with Capt. Jepson, on [the] article of the negros. I think your estate would make near [as] much sugar as Mr. Langford's, if it was equally slaved, where[as] now, it does not make above half so much, and your expence [for] task work last year was within a trifle of five hundred [po]unds. . . .

Antigua, Octr. 18th 1753.[2]

[233] [1] T 70: 143, p. 265. From the minutes of committee, Nov. 21, 1753.

[234] [1] Newport Historical Society, Redwood Letter-Book, no. 646. The manuscript is badly torn. In following the procedure of the company in London and the officials on the coast one is prone to lose sight of the planter and his policy in purchasing negroes. Redwood was the owner of a large sugar plantation in Antigua, managed by Mackinen and Stephen Blizard. For further knowledge of him see this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

[2] On the same day Mackinen wrote: "You direct the buying Slaves with Country produce; the best Slaves can not be bought but for Bills of Exchange or Gold and [sil]ver money; indeed we can seldom buy any Slaves for Country produce; [be]fore you would have your plantation well slaved you must part with some of your Sterling money; and when a good opportunity offers we [ ] you may put on twenty in a year". *Ibid.*, p. 61, 4th sheet.

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235. Committee of the Company of Merchants to Thomas Melvil.[1]

London, the 21st November, 1753.

. . . Since our last Letter we have had Complaints from some of the Merch'ts of Bristol and Liverpoole and Mr. Roberts etc. of the bad Effects produced to the Trade of the Ships, and the private Merchants settled upon the Coast by the Permission granted to the Servants of the Company to trade in Slaves a Copy of which is enclosed together with their Reasons and Proposals for restraining that Permission, and having examined the Evidence we do believe Mr. Brew's Conduct at Tantumquerry has been very blameable, it having been insisted upon by several Persons, that he not only bid upon the Ships and private Traders, but publickly declared that they should have no Trade there for if they gave 8. he would give 8½ oz. and so on—a Proceeding so contrary to the Orders given to assist the Ships and private Traders, that we direct you to suspend him, and let him know that unless he can prove himself innocent of the Charge laid against him, to the entire Satisfaction of the Committee, he must not expect any future Employ in their Service; let Mr. Farquhar have the Care of the Fort till we have received Mr. Brew's Defence and considered what will be proper to do upon the Occasion.

You will see in the 10th Article a Charge against one of the Chiefs of the Out-Forts for threatening to whip a Linguist for bringing Goods on Shore to sell for an English Commander. This is said to be Mr. Hippisley who we are surprised to hear has been guilty of such an Indiscretion as We have heretofore had a good Account of his Behavior, but we direct you to enquire into the Fact and if it should appear to be true to inform him that the Committee are very much displeased at it and shall dismiss him the Service if he continues so imprudent.

With Regard to the other Charges as they relate to the Advantages which the Servants have over the private Traders, the Committee having taken them into Consideration resolv'd to send the inclosed Resolutions,[2] a Copy of which we direct you to deliver to the Chief of each Out-Fort and acquaint him that the least Disobedience to these Orders will be punished with immediate Dismission. The Merchants not being satisfied with these Instructions laid their Complaints before the Board of Trade, upon which their Lordships were pleased to give the inclosed Opinion; and if we were not fully convinced that the Liberty allowed the Servants of the Company to trade in Negroes would if properly conducted be at all Times ad-

[235] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 262-263.

[2] The resolutions are those contained in the minutes of May 10, 1753. See *ante*, no. 226.

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vantageous to the Nation and very frequently beneficial to the Trade of the Ships, and that a strict Observance of the enclosed Instructions would remove the Cause of these Complaints, we should be entirely of their Lordships Opinion. You see therefore the Necessity the Servants are under of conducting their Trade in such a manner as neither to interfere with the Trade of the Ships, nor to raise the Price of Slaves upon them, for if these two Points cannot be obtained, the Merchants will certainly apply to Parliament for a total Restriction.

236. MR. POWNAL'S ACCOUNT OF THE SLAVE TRADE.[1]

. . . The African Company say, in a Representation in 1744, that the French then [when they held Anamabo] carried off the Coast ten times as many Slaves as we did. This I apprehend however is an exaggerated account.

The Clearings in 1753,

London	13	Chester	1
Liverpool	64	Plymouth	1
Bristol	27	Glasgow	4
Lancaster	7		
			117

To which must be added those trading upon the Coast from different parts of No. America which, at a reasonable Computation, might amount to about 20 Sail. . . .

Before the War Gold Coast Slaves were bought upon the Coast at £12 per head and Windward Slaves at 9/10 [9 *l.* 10 s.] to £10.

Since the war the price for Gold Coast Slaves upon the Coast has been at £16 at an average, and Windward Slaves at 12 to £14.

Before the War the average price of a Gold Coast Slave in the Colonies was from £28 to 30 and a windward Slave from £20 to £25. Since the war, the price of the former has risen to from £35 to £40 and the latter to from £28 to £30.

I speak now of the Price given by the English for it is certain that the French gave upon the Coast before the War near 20 p Cent more than you did, and consequently their slaves came proportionally dearer to the market, a good Slave being sold in the french Colonies from 12 to 1300 Livres which at 10 the Livre is £54. 3. 4. per head.[2]

[236] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, f. 221, "Answers to queries". Endorsed: "Mr. Pownals Account of the Slave Trade". Possibly John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade.

[2] Of the 34,250 annually purchased, 16,000 were supplied to the English colonies, the rest to Spaniards, French, and Portuguese: Jamaica, 6000, Barbados, 3500, Leeward Islands, 3500, North America, 4000, total "16,000" [17,000]. From 25,000 to 30,000 were annually imported into the French islands, a part of whom, especially those to Santo Domingo, were furnished by the English, the rest by their own trade and that of the Dutch. The Whydah trade was almost entirely destroyed, partly because of the depopulation of the coast, partly because of the obstruction of the "paths of trade" caused by native wars. *Ibid.*, ff. 223, 224.

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237. Samuel Poirier to John Cleveland.[1]

Cowpers Court, Cornhill, 1754, Oct. 8 [28].[2]

Two Black Boys the Sons of Two Caboceers of Anamaboo and Aga, who came home with Capt. Cockburne, being at their Friends Request to be immediately sent back to Africa: and the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa being desirous of their Return in a King's Ship they have directed me to request the Favour of the Right Hon'ble The Lords of the Admiralty for an Order for their being taken on board the *Gosport* Capt. Edwards and carried to Mr. Melvil at Cape Coast Castle. As the Company intend writing by this Man of War, they would be glad to know.

238. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minutes of Committee.[1]

Oct. 16, 1754.

Read a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Read to the Secretary dated Wombwell Hall, 8ber 14th, 1754, relating to the Two Black Boys at Rochester.

Ordered. That a Lodging be provided for the said Two Black Boys, and order'd up to Town. . . .

Oct. 23, 1754.

Order'd That a Letter be wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty to procure an Order for the Two Black Boys, now come from Rochester: to be taken on board the *Gosport* Capt: Edwards to be carried to Africa.

Order'd That the Two Black Boys, Agna and Suckee,[2] be supply'd with the following Apparel, *Vizt:*

12 Rufled Shirts, 1 Blue Coat and Breeches for each lin'd with white, lac'd with Silver and Silver Buttons, 1 Scarlet Cloth Wast coat for each trim'd with Silver, 2 Frocks and Breeches, 2 Scarlet worsted Wast coats, 2 Silver laid [laced] Hatts, 2 Bag Wiggs, 8 pr. of white stockings, 4 pr. of worsted Do., 8 pr. of Pumps, 2 pr. of strong shoes, 2 pr of Silver Buckles.

And that Mr. Peregrine Cust be desir'd to provide the same. . . .

Agreed with Mr. Waters for the Board and Lodging of the Two Black Boys, at one Guinea per Week each; Washing, and other Expences, attending, and shewing them the Town, to be allowed him.

[237] [1] Admiralty Papers, 1, 1754, Oct. 8. Samuel Poirier was secretary of the committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa; Cleveland was secretary to the Admiralty.

[2] See minute of Oct. 30, in no. 238.

[238] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 314-316, 321.

[2] These names later appear as John Aqua and George Sackee.

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Oct. 30, 1754.

Read a Letter from John Cleveland Esqr. to the Secretary, dated Admiralty Office 8ber 28th 1754 advising, that the Lords of the Admiralty had given the necessary Directions for taking the Two Black Boys on board the *Gosport*, Capt. Edwards, to be carried to Mr. Melvil, at Cape Coast Castle: that the *Gosport* was now in the Downs, and after her geting to Spithead, she would sail with the first fair Wind.

Order'd That the Secretary do wait upon My Lord Halifax with the Two Black Boys. . . .

Nov. 6, 1754.

Read an Account deliver'd in by Mr. Peregrine Cust for the Cloathing of the Two Black Boys, John Agna and Geo. Suckee; amounting to fifty Three Pounds Fifteen Shillings and Ten Pence.

Feb. 26, 1755.[3]

Mr. Peregrine Cust deliver'd to the Committee several Bills on Account of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua and George Sackee *vizt.*

	£	s.	d.
The Rev'd Mr. John Moore's Bill, for Board, Schooling and Necessaries	40.	8	6
Mr. Richard Walter's, for Board, nursing etc.	17.	11	
Mr. Thos. Thornley Apothecary, for Physick for Mr. Sackee in the small Pox	2.	4.	2
Mr. Thos. Thornley's Bill, for Doctor's Fees, and Physick for Mr. Aqua in small Pox	18.	5.	8
Mr. Peregrine Cust's for Two Suits of Cloaths for the Two Gentlemen	14.	10	
	£92.	19.	4

That Ninety Two Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Four Pence be paid to Mr. Peregrine Cust to pay the above Bills.

March 5, 1755.

Bill for Capt. Geo. Cockburne for the Maintainance and Education of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua, and George Sackee, from the 23d of July 1754, to the 21st of 8ber following, amounting to sixteen Pounds, Twelve shillings.

Order'd That the said Bill be paid.

May 28, 1755.[4]

Paid the Revd. Mr. John Moore £42. 6. 2 for a Quarter's Education and Maintenance of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua, and George Sackee.

[3] T 70: 143, pp. 335, 336. The items in the minutes of the committee which deal with these two boys have been brought together even though this interferes with strict chronological order.

[4] T 70: 143, p. 346.

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Ordered Letter to Cleveland for permission of Admiralty for *Humber* man of War, to carry them to Africa.[5]

239. James Skinner to the Committee of the Company of Merchants.[1]

Gambia, Apr. 2, 1755.

. . . as for Shipping off Slaves on my own Account, I have done it to my loss by the villainy of Masters of Ships; at Present am under Contract with some Merchants in London, to sell them what slaves I can purchase while in the River, so that will be no loss to me, but should not choose to be oblig'd to do it more than any other British subject. . . .

As to complaints of Masters of Ships there is no end of them to their owners especially when they make a bad voyage, must blame somebody for it, and think what they tell them will never be heard of more, so have very little regard to truth. Therefore beg you will for the future make all Masters of Ships sign their complaints.

240. William Mackinen and Stephen Blizard to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Antigua, 20 February, 1755.

Sir, . . . In December we bought from Blizard and Banister Twenty three Gold coast slaves Eighteen men at Thirty five pounds Sterling and five women at Thirty four pounds Sterling, amounting to Eight hundred pounds Sterling; they prove well hitherto, and will always answer better than any Slaves from Africa except Papaws, and those are very seldom brought hither. The same Gentlemen have advice of another ship from the same place (Anamabon)[2] about June next, but we shall not care to take any of them for fear of drawing out too much of your Sterling money, unless you will consent to give us derections to take some of them. The bills to be given for what we have already brought will not be given till the first or perhaps the latter end of March nor paid till the latter end of June probably, so you will have Six months use of the slaves without paying any interest for the purchase money. If you are inclined to take ten or a dozen out [of] the cargoe expected in June, and your money in England not hold out, you need not draw for above half their value

[5] On June 2 Samuel Poirier wrote the letter here ordered, and the Admiralty granted the permission. About this time Cleveland was invited to dine with them. They were still in England on July 2, for on that date Lord Halifax asked that they stay longer in England. T 70: 143, p. 352.

[239] [1] C. O. 388: 46, Ee.

[240] [1] Newport Historical Society, no. 646, pp. 68-69.

[2] This is probably intended for Anamabo, not the island of Annobon.

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this year, and the other half in the year 1756; or possibly we may get credit for the whole till next year, but then you must allow interest from the time we make the purchase upon as much as shall not be paid by the departure of the vessel. . . .

241. William Mackinen and Stephen Blizard to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Antigua, June 13: 1755.

Sir, . . . Another very fine cargoe of Gold coast slaves having been imported in the last month, we have ventured, without waiting for an answer to what we wrote [you] in our last, to take ten of them, We we[re] induced to do this from the goodness of the slaves and their country; from [the pro]spect, we might say the certainty, of a good crop; from the great want of them, for we are now obliged to hire by [the da]y, and to open ground too; and because it is conformable to your orders to a good crop to take 20 and in a bad [one] ten till your plantation is well hand[l'd]. now for the last year which was a bad one, and for this w'ch will prove [a ver]y good one, we shall have purchased thirty three; more than you directed by three only; besides there is [litt]le prospect of having any more suc[h very] soon, and if we have a French war wch: is thought unavoidable, the[y will] for that reason be much scarcer, and consequently dearer; tho these cannot be said to be cheap yet 23 of [the]m sold in three hours; we are paying [for] them in sugar. . . .

242. Captain Baillie to the Owners of the *Carter*.[1]

Bonny, January 31, 1757.

. . . We arrived here the 6th of December, and found the *Hector,* with about 100 slaves on board, also the *Marquis of Lothian,* of Bristol, Capt. Jones (by whom I now write), who was half slaved, and then paying 50 Barrs, notwithstanding he had been there 3 months before our arrival. I have only yet purchased 15 slaves at 30 and 35 Barrs;[2] but as soon as the bearer sails, I propose giving more; for at present there is a dozen of our people sick, besides the two mates, some of whom are very bad, and I have been for these last 8 days in a strong fever, and frequently insensible. Yesterday morning I buried Thomas Hodge, and on the 13th James Barton. Capt. Nobler of the *Phoenix* arrived here the 3d, and on the 19th our trade was stopt (as it had often been before);

[241] [1] Newport Historical Society, no. 646, p. 69.
[242] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 481-482.
[2] This would amount to £9 or £10 stg. On Nov. 27, 1756, Captain Jenkinson, of the *Fanny,* wrote from Jamaica to his Liverpool owners that he had sold 110 slaves for from £48 to £50 per head. *Ibid.,* p. 480.

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upon which we all marched on shore to know the reason and applied to the King thrice, though he constantly ordered himself to be denied, and wou'd not admit us. However, we heard his voice in doors, and as he used us so ill, we went on board, and determined (after having held a Council), to fire upon the town next morning, which we accordingly did, in order to bring them to reason, but found that our shot had little effect from the river, upon which we agreed that the *Phoenix* and the *Hector* shou'd go into the Creek, it being nigher the town, whilst Captain Jones and I fired from the river. The *Phoenix* being the headmost vessel went in, and the *Hector* followed about a cable's length astern. The *Phoenix* had scarce entred the Creek before they received a volley of small arms from the bushes, which were about 20 yards distant from the ship, and at the same time several shot from the town went through him, upon which they came to anchor, and plied their carriage guns for some time; but finding there was no possibility of standing the decks, or saving the ship, he struck his colours, but that did not avail, for they kept a continued fire upon him, both of great and small arms. His people were thrown into the utmost confusion, some went down below, whilst others jumpt into the yaul which lay under the ship's quarter, who (on seeing a number of canoes coming down to board them) desired Capt. Nobler to come down to them, which he at last did, as he found the vessel in such a shattered condition, and that it was impossible for him to get her out of the Creek before the next ebb tide, in case he cou'd keep the canoes from boarding him. With much difficulty they got on board the *Hector,* but not without receiving a number of shot into the boat. The natives soon after boarded the *Phoenix,* cut her cables, and let her drive opposite the town, when they began to cut her up, and get out her loading, which they accomplished in a very short time. But at night in drawing off some brandy, they set her on fire, by which accident a great many of them perished in the flames. The *Phoenix's* hands are distributed amongst the other three ships, and all things are made up, and trade open, but very slow, and provisions scarce and dear.[3]

243. William Mackinen and Stephen Blizard to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Antigua March 24th 1757.

Sir . . . We have lately received letters from your Sons relating to two vessels they have a part in on th[e coa]st of Africa. . . .

[3] Williams adds that the *Marquis of Lothian* was afterwards taken by the French and carried into Martinique.

[243] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., no. 647, p. 3. On Jan. 15, 1758, Mackinen and Blizard wrote: "on the 28th June last we bought of [*torn*] Mr. John Martin seventeen Windward

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We have bought . . . only the nine slaves charged in your Plantation account. if Your [two] Vessels arrive safe we will take some out of them for you, but I am afraid they will [fall] to the hands of the French who have sent four sail of Men of war to sweep the [coast?] and we have had some account that they had mastered all our places in the river [Gam]bia.[2]

244. Capture of Senegal.[1]

London, July 21 [1758].

The Number of Ships employed in the Expedition to Senegal, were six; and the Number of Forces that landed were upwards of 6000. Whether the Fort be ever restored to the French, or not, they may date from this Time, the entire Loss of their Slave Trade, for the English have agreed for them, with the People of the Country, at a considerable advanced Price; which has not only hurt the French in this main Article of their Trade, but has likewise had the good Effect to ingratiate the English with the Moors of the Country, who seem very fond of their new Masters. . . . The French African Trade, under the Title of the Senegal Company, in the Year 1758 [1718], was incorporated with the India Company. This Company had then six Departments, or distinct Factories, *viz.* Those of Senegal, Galam, Goree, Joal, Gambia, and Bisseaux. The Senegal Factory, at this Time, supplies annually about 500 Slaves, 4000 Hides, 1200 Quintals of Gum, and 20 Quintals of Elephants Teeth, and 50 Marks of Gold; Goree, 400 Slaves, and 2400 Hides; Joal, 100 Slaves, 40 Hides, and 10 Quintals of Wax, and 200 Quintals of Teeth; Bisseaux, 250 Slaves, 250 Quintals of Wax, and the like Quantity of Teeth.[2]

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and Gold coast Slaves and put them upon your Plantation [*torn*] £33 sterling per head." On the next page of the letter-book are the following items: "new negroes bought July 30th, 1757, 17 new negroe Men, May 5th, 1758 [*torn*] new negroe men from George Walker and 3 women ditto."

[2] The French had sent a squadron to the Gambia coast in November, 1756. In April, 1757, word reached England that James Fort had been taken, as well as many English vessels trading in or near the Gambia River (*London Magazine,* XXVI. 202, April, 1757). Not long after came news of the English capture of Senegal. It is surprising that the French attacks had not raised the price of slaves above that cited in the preceding note. A year later one writer was predicting that the increase in the price of slaves on the coast of Africa would soon lessen the "inhuman trade". *Ibid.,* XXVII. 625.

[244] [1] *Boston News-Letter,* Oct. 12, 1758; see also *Boston Evening Post,* Oct. 9, 1758. The capture took place May 2, 1758. The *London Magazine,* XXVII. 302 (June, 1758), and the *Boston News-Letter,* July 20 and Aug. 3, 1758, all recorded the fall of Fort Louis as a great triumph for the English.

[2] Goree, the second French stronghold on the African coast, was captured Dec. 27, 1758. The colonial papers contained frequent references to the French loss of these two forts, which it was supposed would deprive them of any hand in the slave trade. The English at once began shipping slaves from the Senegal (*Boston News Letter,* Apr. 6, June 14, 1759). In 1761 it was stated that the effects of the two forts had yielded £20,000 prize money. *Ibid.,* Aug. 20, 27, 1761.

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245. Memorial of the Merchants of Liverpool trading to Africa.[1]

[November 3, 1762.]

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, etc. The memorial of the merchants of Liverpool trading to and in Africa and the West Indies, whose names are hereunto subscribed.

Humbly sheweth, That the West-Indian and African trade is by far the largest branch of the great and extensive commerce of this town.

That this is also the most beneficial commerce, not only to themselves, but to the whole kingdom, as the export is chiefly of the manufactures of this kingdom, British ships and seamen solely employed, and the returns made in the produce of the colonies belonging to Great Britain.

Your memorialists further beg leave to represent to your lordship, that though they possessed this commerce in a very great and extensive manner before the reduction of Guadalupe and its dependencies, yet the possession of that island has increased their trade beyond all comparison with its former state, in the demand of British manufactures for slaves, and for the produce of that island (at foreign markets) purchased with British manufactures.

And your memorialists have all possible reason to believe and be assured, that in succeeding years this demand will be prodigously increased, and in this hope your memorialists conceive they are well grounded from the single circumstance of that island not being yet much more than half cultivated to reasonable, not to say possible, advantage.

That your memorialists, not presuming to trouble your lordship with a minute detail of their general export to Guadalupe, submit to your lordship's consideration the single article of the numbers and value of the negroes sold there by the merchants of this town only: this your lordship will perceive, by the annexed list, to form by itself alone a most extraordinary and interesting object in the national commerce.

But your memorialists must not omit representing to your lordship, that the export of British manufactures for this town, directly

[245] [1] *London Magazine*, XXXI. 602-603 (November, 1762); also printed in John Entick, *The General History of the Late War* (third ed., 1772), V. 434-435. By the terms of the treaty of Paris, Great Britain restored to France Guadeloupe, Martinique, Belleisle, Desirade, and Mariegalante in the West Indies, and Goree on the African coast. France ceded her rights and property in the Senegal to Great Britain. Of the smaller West India islands, France retained St. Lucia, the others went to Great Britain (Jenkinson, III. 183, 184-185). This memorial is probably a fair statement of the feeling of the mercantile class over the terms of the treaty and its effect on the slave trade.

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to Guadalupe, is of a prodigious value, and very little, if at all, inferior to their export, to all other his majesty's leeward West-Indian Islands.

Prompted by these considerations of particular and national advantage, your memorialists intreat your lordship to lay before his majesty their humble but earnest hopes, that the possession of Guadalupe, and its dependencies, so valuable at present, and so constantly and greatly increasing, may if not incompatible with the general scheme of affairs, be deemed an object worthy of his majesty's attention in the negociation of a peace.

Your memorialists have the greatest confidence to lay this their humble and dutiful request before his majesty, being imprest with the deepest sense of his majesty's care and attention to the welfare of all his subjects, so apparent in every measure of his government.[2]

246. Considerations on the Present Peace, 1763.[1]

. . . Their [the French] field labourers, sugar boilers, distillers, coopers, mill-wrights, carpenters, masons, builders, smiths, and house servants, are blacks; therefore it is not the number of islands, but the greatest number of the best Negroes that benefit the mother-country, which sort we can make appear, the French since the year 1729, in times of peace, to the commencement of the present war, have been constantly supplied with. That is one of the true causes why they have produced such quantities of sugar, and other plantation-product;[2] that for several years before the war, they were become our rivals at foreign markets, so far as to draw from thence a great annual balance of trade in favour of France. But this effect would have been prevented, if proper measures had been pursued by us for the preservation of the African trade, to that part of Africa

[2] "Signed by 145 of the principal merchants. The list referred to in the above memorial, and annexed to it, contains an account of 41 ships, the cargoes of which amount to 12,347 slaves, and were sold for 334,605 *l.* 11 *s.* 2 *d.* sterling. The memorial was not, we are informed, however, presented to the secretary of state" (*London Magazine,* XXXI. 603; Entick, V. 435). Entick gives as the reason why it was not presented the fact that it was completed too late to influence the outcome.

[246] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace, as far as it is relative to the Colonies and the African Trade* (London, 1763). The writer of this tract had apparently two purposes: to demonstrate the danger to the English sugar plantations from the rapid advance of the French colonies, but more than that, to attack the legislation of 1750 and the way in which it had been carried out. Much of the material has small bearing on the peace of 1763, but relates to complaints against the African committee of 1753. The affidavits which he cites have been printed under the date of their origin. See *ante,* nos. 227-229.

[2] Note in the original: "For several years before the war, the French received from foreign nations above 1,000,000 *l.* sterling for the article of sugar only; besides a large sum for indigo, and other West India products; the loss of which will induce them, without delay, to push on their trade to Africa with the utmost vigour, which, we know, they are making great preparations to do, that sufficiently points out the necessity for some measures to be speedily taken to prevent their succeeding."

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where the hardy Negroes, who are inured to labour in their own country, were to be purchased.

The French, from the year 1729, to the end of the year 1738, carried from the Gold Coast, Popo and Whydah, fifteen or seventeen thousand of those valuable people annually; when four thousand, in any one year during that period, were not carried to the British plantations; which is the truest reason that can be assigned for the prosperity of the French colonies, and the main spring of the great increase of their product. For they do not understand the cultivation and management of a plantation in any degree equal to the British planters: therefore their advantage and success has been owing, in a great measure, to the good and hardy labourers they have had to till their land, and manufacture the product of it.

We doubt not but the merchants trading to Africa will say, they have imported since the year 1729, more Negroes into the British sugar islands, than the French have to theirs in time of peace (to the commencement of the present war). We admit they have, of Negroes from Gambia, Calabar, Bony, Benin, the windward coast, and Angola. But we take upon us to assert, they cannot with truth say, they have imported to the colonies as many Negroes from the Gold Coast, Popo, and Whidah, which are the most valuable for the laborious cultivation of the sugar-cane, and other plantation-product, and manufacturing it into sugar and rum, for the following reasons.

The Gold Coast, Popo, and Whidah Negroes are born in a part of Africa which is very barren; a small bullock carried thither from another part, when fatted, will sell for near 32 *l.* a sheep for 20 *s.* four small fowls for 4 *s.* sterling, and all other provisions in proportion, except fish; and their coarse kind of bread, which is their chief food. On that account, when able to take the hoe in hand, they are obliged to go and cultivate the land for their subsistance. They also live hardily; so that when they are carried to our plantations (as they have been used to hard labour from their infancy) they become a strong, robust people, and can live upon the sort of food the planters allow them; which is, bread made of Indian corn, and fish, such as herrings and pilchards sent from Britain, and dried fish from the North America, being such food as they lived upon in their own country. Indeed they live better in general in our plantations; and they are always ready, on the arrival there, to go to the hard work necessary in planting and manufacturing the sugar cane.

On the other hand, the Gambia, Calabar, Boney, and Angola Negroes are brought from those parts of Africa, that are extremely fertile, where everything grows almost spontaneously; and where a bullock may be bought for less than 20 *s.* a sheep for 1 *s.* and a dozen

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of fowls for the same. They have every other necessary of life in great plenty. On that account, the men never work, but lead an indolent life, and are in general of a lazy disposition and tender constitution; for the necessary work among them is done by the women, which is little more than fetching wood to dress their victuals; so that when those people are carried to our sugar islands, they are obliged to be nursed, to be taken great care of, and brought to work by degrees.

The planters, when the Gold Coast and Whidah Negroes were carried to the sugar colonies, before the French interfered in that trade, found there was not a sufficient number to extend their cultivation, by carrying on all the different planting business, and therefore were accustomed to purchase those tender (the worst sort of) Negroes, and employ them for houshold servants, to raise corn, aloes, look after cattle, bring them up to trades and easy labour, knowing them unfit for the hard work necessary in sugar-plantations.

The Negroes of the river Gambia are better than the last-mentioned; both of which are much more proper for the North American planters, as they have plenty of provisions at a small expence, and, on that account, can use them to gentle labour, and inure them, by degrees, to work with the same sort of food they were accustomed to in their own country.

But that is not the case of the planters in the sugar islands; which sufficiently proves how disadvantageous it must be to have such imported there, in preference to those that would be so immediately useful and serviceable, or to let the French purchase the better sort.

Yet such has been the case, it being for the interest of the African merchants to supply the British planters with the inferior sort, as each Negro costs much less on the coast of Angola, etc. than those from the Gold Coast,[8] etc. which saves a great deal in the outset of the cargoes sent to Africa, and consequently greatly encreases the net profits on the voyages, as the tender and worst sort of Negroes will sell in the sugar islands for near as great a price each as the best, provided there is none of the latter at market; and a greater number of the former being subject to die, must encrease the demand.

This I thought proper to take notice of, to shew how necessary it will be for the interest of this country, that the French should not for the future be allowed to trade in Africa, at cape Appolonia, or between it and the river Volta, where, and at Popo and Whidah, to the eastward of that river, the valuable Negroes beforementioned,

[8] Later in the argument the author asserts that a cargo of 300 can be purchased on the Benin, Calabar, and Angola coasts for £3600; on the Gold Coast it would require £4950. His prediction was that if the French were allowed to trade on the Gold Coast the price of 300 negroes would soon go above £6000 (*Considerations*, p. 28 n.). Similar sentiments were expressed by the author of *Cursory Observations on the Trade to Africa* (1778), who characterized the negroes that the separate traders were accustomed to deliver as "effeminate and unequal to the toil of the sugar plantations".

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adapted by their natural constitution for cultivating the sugar plantations, are to be purchased; otherwise, in times of peace, they will be constantly making encroachments as heretofore (pp. 16-20). . . .

It is also necessary to remark, that the French should not be permitted to re-settle a factory they had before the war at Abreda [Albreda], about a league below James Fort, in the river Gambia, which was destroyed by that gallant sea officer, and brave commander Sir George Pocock, in the year 1744, but settled again after the peace; and again destroyed this war by Capt. Marsh, commander of his majesty's ship *Harwich* (p. 22). . . .[4]

The African merchants, to vindicate themselves in carrying on the trade for the worst Negroes in preference to the other, give out, that the better sort are not to be come at. But there is no other grounds for such assertions, than that the roads to those great and populous inland countries lying at the back of the forts and settlements on the Gold Coast, have been stopt since the year 1738, which has prevented all intercourse with the natives, except those who live within about fifty miles of the sea-coast; whereby a stop was put to that great trade which came down, when the roads were kept open by the power and influence of the company's officers, and by their alliance and friendship with the several princes and people in power, living in the different countries near, and in the towns on the said roads, that were opened and settled by the late company's officers at a very great expence (pp. 23-24). . . .

For it is a mistaken notion, that the company's officers (during their command) created wars between the African chiefs, in order to purchase the prisoners, which should be made on either side. This falsehood was propagated also at a certain time, to serve particular purposes. On the contrary, slaves are bred in the inland parts of Africa, and sent for sale, according to the want those people are in for European manufactures; the same as an ox or horse is taken to market, when a farmer in England wants money to pay his rent, or for other purposes. Every man in Africa is looked upon to be

[4] Senegal, acquired by the English, the author regarded as a valuable addition to English possessions, since it not only gave to them the gum trade which France had heretofore controlled, but also the slave trade of the interior, which the French had directed to the mouth of the Senegal by means of their factory at Galam. This new territory was, by act of Parliament, Apr. 19, 1764, placed under the control of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa (Martin, *British West African Settlements*, pp. 60-61). This disposition of the territory proved unsatisfactory and by an act of May 25, 1765, it was transferred from the Company of Merchants to the crown (*ibid.*, pp. 62-66). If one accepts the evidence of the casual items in newspapers and periodicals during the years subsequent to this adjustment, one must conclude that the slave trade from this section was less lucrative than had been hoped. The French were charged with inciting the natives against the English (*Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVIII. 585), and widespread illness among the negroes was said to have increased the price of slaves some twenty per cent. *Boston News Letter*, Dec. 8, 1768.

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a man of property and power in proportion to the number of Negroes he is possessed of.

When such disputes as above glanced at happen, the consequence is an immediate stoppage of the roads by those people nearest the sea-side, to prevent their adversaries getting guns, powder, or any other necessaries for war; which in 1738 occasioned the king of Warsaw, and his allies, to draw a discriminating line along the Gold Coast for that intent; and this hath ever since prevented all intercourse and trade with the inland natives in the direct way; as also any gold or slaves for sale coming from them, except a few stolen away by the king of Warsaw's soldiers, with a little gold; and an inconsiderable number of slaves brought from the great kingdom of Ashantee, in a very difficult and dangerous way, by the traders of that country, in order to purchase guns and powder at the British, Dutch, and Danish forts at Acra.

These traders are obliged to come and return in arm'd bodies, many miles round about through strange countries, where they are afraid of being plundered by the natives of the European goods, and are themselves in danger of being seized upon, and sold as slaves, which prevents their bringing the trade down as usual (pp. 24-25). . . .[5]

That by an act of parliament, passed in the 23d year of the reign of his late majesty, the trade to Africa was intended to be made free and open to all his majesty's subjects, without distinction or preference. But contrary to the intentions of the said act, that trade has been engrossed and monopolized by the officers of the committee on the Gold Coast and Whydah, by their entering into a confederacy or joint stock, and intermixing the government supplies with their own merchandize, and by that means asserted themselves so as to command said traffic.

Those officers have many other great advantages over free merchants and traders, such as having a considerable part of their private merchandize sent to them freight free, their extraordinary influence over the natives, by the command of the several castles to deposit their effects in, salaries, maintenance, European servants, artificers, doctors, castle-slaves, canoe-men, canoes, medicines, stores and necessaries of all sorts, being under their management and direction. Besides the presents to princes, caboceers and great men of the countries, being defrayed by the public, together with the said benefits arising from the Government supplies: and many other advantages

[5] Holland, Denmark, and Portugal all need negroes. The future will see a contest for the control of the sources of supply. The old African company was better fitted for such a struggle than is the new system. By letters and affidavits, a few of which have already been printed (*ante*, nos. 227-229), the author demonstrates the righteousness of the earlier organization and the iniquities of the existing system. The paragraphs which follow the omission are extracts from a certificate of Dec. 28, 1753, attested by seven masters who had traded to Africa before 1750.

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which they have taken, whereby they acquired such a superiority over the free traders, as obliged the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool to apply by memorial in the year 1753, stating therein the foregoing facts to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations for redress, which will appear by said memorial, supported by the following affidavits (pp. 43-44). . . .

The committee paid no regard to their lordships' opinion,[6] consequently we conjecture, no regulation or orders has since been given by them to their servants; or if there has, the execution of such orders have not been enforced; for it is a truth which cannot be contradicted, that governor Melvil to his death, and the other officers of the committee, during his command, carried on the Negroe trade, and sent them from Africa to America for their own accounts, without the least reserve or restraint; also that Governor Senior,[7] and the officers under his command, did the same, and that Governor Bell who commanded at cape Coast Castle, when the last advice came from thence, did carry on a trade for Negroes, and continues to send the Negroes so purchased, to America, in the same manner his predecessors had done; which the gentlemen of the African committee must know was, and is the practice; and also that it is most certainly contrary to the true spirit, meaning, and intention of the act of parliament, passed in the 23d year of his late majesty's reign, for extending and improving the trade to Africa (by which the African committee was established) and the opinion of the lords of trade and plantation; for the legislative power could mean no other than to put all his majesty's subjects upon an equal footing.

But lest the gentlemen of the African committee's memories should fail, we will remind them of some things that surely could not have happened without their knowledge; (to wit) the committee appointed Mr. Richard Brew in the year 1761, to the command of the Annamaboa fortress; although at the same time they could not but know that he had fitted out the *Brew,* a large ship at Liverpool, and another in the river Thames; the former with a large cargo for Africa; the latter went to Holland for Dutch merchandize, to compleat her cargo, to the manifest disadvantage of this country, because it prevents so much of our manufactures and East India goods being exported; and the Dutch brandy and Geneva interfere with the exportation of British Spirits, besides being of great disadvantage to the rum trade from the British Colonies to Africa. Said ship

[6] For the opinion of the Board of Trade to which reference is here made see *ante,* no. 230, n. 3.

[7] Melvil died in 1756. He was succeeded by William Tymewell, who died in less than a month after his appointment; Charles Bell was acting governor Feb. 17, 1756–Oct. 15, 1757. At that date Nassau Senior became acting governor, to be displaced May 10, 1761, by Charles Bell. Bell was replaced by William Mutter on Aug. 15, 1763. Claridge, *Gold Coast,* II. 582.

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returned from Holland, and arrived at Portsmouth in or about the month of July, 1761, when Mr. Brew went on board; and also Messrs. Westgate and Flemming, who had been in the committee's service upon the coast of Africa; but, as we have been informed, they are now gone out in partnership with said Brew. We have also been informed, that the cargoes of the said ships were landed in Africa, and deposited in the fort of Annamaboa; and that Negroes were purchased with said cargoes, and sent from thence to Jamaica for the account of Mr. Brew, and those concerned with him.

It is also as true that Mr. Samuel Smith,[8] merchant, in the Old Jury in London, one of the committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa was the acting agent for Messrs. Brew, Westgate and Flemming, during their residence in Africa; that he received their consignments from thence, and acted for them by commission after their arrival in England; likewise during their stay there, and since their arrival in Africa; and also that Mr. Smith lately fitted in the river Thames a large ship with a great cargo: we have reason to believe from good authority, that said ship and cargo was fitted out for the account of Mr. Brew, and others concerned with him: which ship is now on a voyage to Annamaboa: but whether any of the African committee are concerned or interested in said ship, besides Mr. Smith we can not take upon us to say.

We conjecture it was never intended by those gentlemen who prepared the act of parliament, which appointed there should be a committee of nine persons, who were to have the care of the forts in Africa, with the charge and application of the monies granted by parliament for their support, that any one of those persons should supply merchandize to be paid for with the public money under their care and management. However, such has been the case, as appears by the committee's accounts laid before parliament. The following is an abstract of their last account for the year 1761, so far as it relates to any of the committee-men furnishing merchandize, by that our readers form a judgment on their annual accounts they being nearly the same as to the amount of what the African committee supplied the public with. Abstract of the before mentioned accounts as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Messrs. Touchett and company[9] for Manchester goods	1774	14	9
Messrs. Smith and company for Irish linen and provisions	796	12	11
Messrs. Aufere and company for East India goods	349	1	6
Cust and company for ditto	250	2	6
Mr. William Boden for tobacco	39	0	6
	3209	12	2

[8] See *post*, no. 260, n. 2.

[9] Samuel Touchett, Liverpool merchant, was a member of the Liverpool committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa in 1753 and 1755. He was an applicant for a monopoly of trading rights in the Senegal, when the disposition of that

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. . . By the foregoing clauses [10] it was most certainly intended that the election for committee-men should be free and uninfluenced, but that has not happened; for there was great interest made by those who were chosen committee-men the first year after the act passed, for establishing the company of merchants trading to Africa. After which, the several tradesmen employed by the African committee in London, and by their friends in Bristol and Liverpool, took up their freedom of the new company, in order to vote for committee-men; so that, at the expiration of the first year, when the committee-men that had been chosen for London, Bristol and Liverpool for the preceding year, could act no longer, then, or at the expiration of the three years (which we cannot now take upon us to say) three new committee-men were chosen instead of three that went out, which nine committee-men so chosen, continued to act for three years, when the three other were again elected; by which means there are twelve persons who take it by rotation alternatively, to be of the committee or not, as they agree among themselves; on which account it is a folly for any person, not being one of the twelve, to attempt getting elected a committee-man for either London, Bristol, or Liverpool; there having been as great interest made against such persons who have offered themselves, as hath happened on some occasions preceding the election of a member of parliament; therefore we have the greatest reason to believe, there is not any person who will again attempt to stand a candidate in opposition to one of the twelve persons who have had the direction and management so long, of which number those gentlemen are, we have mentioned in the account of the merchandize supplied by the committee-men (pp. 48-53). . . .[11]

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territory was under consideration (Martin, *British West African Settlements*, p. 59), maintaining that in return for fitting out an expedition against French Senegal Pitt had promised him monopoly rights. Against this claim the Bristol merchants protested sharply. *A Letter to a Merchant at Bristol concerning a Petition of S—T—Esq. to the King* (1762).

[10] The author has quoted article VII. and the first sentence of article XIX. of the act of 1750, which bear upon the election of the African committee. See *ante*, no. 217.

[11] The London committeemen elected in 1757 were William Bowden, Ronjat Lehook, and Robert Scott; those from Liverpool, Samuel Touchett, Richard Gildart, and Nathaniel Basnet; from Bristol, Joseph Champion, Samuel Smith, and Vincent Biscoe (*London Magazine*, XXVI. 362). In 1758 Henry Douglas took the place of Bowden, Charles Pole that of Touchett, and Peregrine Cust that of Champion (*ibid.*, XXVII. 368). An investigation of the activities of the committee began in 1758. Add. MSS. 14034, ff. 182-201.

From this point on the author demonstrates the difficulties of the private trader if he is obliged to compete with the company officials, who are freed from all customs and warehouse charges. They must live in mud cottages, in which their goods are in such danger that they cannot insure them for 25 per cent. They receive no assistance from the forts and officers. The methods of bookkeeping used by the old company were greatly superior to those of the new, and the trade was actually more open than it is under the new system (pp. 55-66). Richard Miles, governor of Tantumquerry, was deep in private trade during much of his term of office. He was accused of trading with Schoolbird, Ross

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It is to be hoped that the British forts will be put upon such an establishment, that the officers commanding them will be sufficiently empowered to hinder the Dutch officers from exercising that arbitrary power they have done and continued to do, over the Portugueze upon the Gold Coast of Africa, to prevent their trading at the British settlements, in open violation of a treaty concluded between the English and Dutch principal officers in Africa, and ratified by both companies in Europe.[12]

If the African committee has not represented that affair in a true light to the government, we are surprized they have neglected it as it is a very valuable commerce now wholly engrossed by the Dutch; who will not suffer the master or super cargo of any Portugueze vessel to trade at the English forts, or with the British subjects, not withstanding the beforementioned treaty, which, perhaps, might be deemed obsolete, since the dissolution of the late company. If that should be the case, then, in our humble opinion, it ought to be renewed, as well as many other regulations made between the English and Dutch in Africa. . . .

We think it necessary here to observe, that notwithstanding almost all the trade had been for some years before, and at that time, carried on by the French on that part of the coast where the most valuable Negroes were to be got; the separate British traders made no application to the legislative power to prevent such pernicious commerce, though several remonstrances were made for that purpose by the late royal African company to the government; who also did lay before the public, in several letters inserted in the daily papers, as well as by pamphlets the danger of the French incroachments.[13]

Yet as soon as the private traders found the said company applying to parliament for money, to put their forts upon a proper and respectable footing, to prevent foreign innovations upon the terri-

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and Mill, Burton and Cockburn, and the French, and was said in six years to have sent 3000 slaves off the coast (Martin, "The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", unpublished MS., pp. 158-161). In 1789, Miles was a witness against the abolition of the trade.

[12] Note in the original: "That such Portugueze ships as shall come to anchor in any of the English roads belonging to any of the English forts or factories, shall not be molested by any Dutch ship or ships belonging to the said company, nor be blocked up by them in the said English roads, nor attacked and seized at their going out of the said roads; neither shall they offer to seize any ship or ships that have first put themselves under the protection of any British fort, or being in possession of any English vessel, they having one of the said royal African company's servants on board certifying the same.

"That on the other side, none of the English forts, or company's ships, shall attack, or seize, any Portugueze which were first in possession of any Dutch West India company's ships; neither shall the English general, or chief director for the time being, grant passports to any Portugueze ships, going to or from Brazil, or any of the Portugueze islands."

[13] The number of items relating to French aggression in Africa, to be found in colonial newspapers about this time, is noticeable. See *South Carolina Gazette*, Apr. 13, May 25, 1765; *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, Feb. 7, 28, Oct. 24, Supp., Nov. 28, 1765.

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tory and trade under their care, they took the alarm, awakened from their lethargy, strained every nerve, and put every scheme in execution their invention pointed out, to prevent the company's succeeding, and to obtain their dissolution, which they compleated in the year 1750. But how far the African trade has been improved thereby, in upwards of twelve years that the African committee have had it under their direction and management, will appear from the facts and truths we have before stated, to which we beg leave to refer, and to the judgment of our readers (pp. 57-59). . . .

247. Samuel Poirier to Richard Farr.[1]

London, May 17th 1763.

Sir, I am directed by the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa to acquaint you, and the other Gentlemen concern'd in that Trade, that they have some Suspicion Mr. Brew, the Governor of Anamaboo, and other Officers on the Coast, are carrying on a Trade, in sending Slaves upon their own Account from Africa to the West Indies, or North America, not only against the Instructions of the Committee, but to the Detriment of the free and open Trade to Africa, of which they Look upon themselves as the Guardians. The Committee therefore desire you will acquaint them whether the Merchants at Bristol have received any authentick Information of a Trade carrying on by any of their Servants, to the Prejudice of the free Trade to Africa; they being determined, as far as in them lies, to support their own Instructions, and to fulfill the Intentions of the Legislature in passing the Act of Parliament relative to the African Forts.

248. Account of Sales, Kingston, Jamaica.[1]

Sales of 268 Negro slaves imported in the ship "African," Captain Thomas Trader, from Malemba, on the acct. and risque of

[247] [1] Bristol, Archives of the Merchant Venturers, Running Letters.

[248] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 530. The newer island of Dominica was absorbing a large number of slaves at this time. See "Account of number of Slaves sold by Kender Mason and Company at the following Islands in the West Indies":

	Dominica	Porto Rico		Dominica	Jamaica
1767	1826	1321	1773	1275	
1768	3710	1713	1774	1157	
1769	3351	817	1775	2069	
1770	3099		1776	959	
1771	4467		1784		464
1772	5003		1786	404	
		2851		27,320	464
		[3851]			

Note: "The greater part of the Slaves sold at Dominica were purchased by the French and Spaniards, who paid for them in specie, Bills of Exchange, Cotton, and Coffee." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 178.

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Messrs. John Cole and Co., owners of the said ship, merchants in Liverpool.

To whom Sold	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total	Price	£	s.	d.
By James Fisher			1		1		35	0	0
" John Miller			1		1		35	0	0
" Augustus Valtette			1		1		40	0	0
" George Richards			1		1		35	0	0
" Ditto			1		1		35	0	0
" Papley and Wade	103	26	67	34	230		7820	0	0
" Chambers and Mead	5		2	1	8		296	0	0
" Sloop *Two Brothers*			6		6		204	0	0
" Monsr. Fontanelle				2	2	@ £36	72	0	0
" John Darey			2		2	@ £30	60	0	0
" Ditto	4	3	2	3	12	@ £35	420	0	0
" Alexan. Forceton		1		1	2	Sickly	30	0	0
" Sold at Vendue			1		1	C'pt to a/c for			
	112	30	85	41	268		£9082	0	0

Charges, *viz.:*	£	s.	d.			
To Cash paid Import Duty on 268 Slaves at 10/ and Bond 5/	134	5	0			
To ditto paid the Dr. his head money on ditto at 12 *d.*	13	8	0			
To ditto paid Captain Trader, his Coast Commission, at £4 per 104 on £9082 gross sales	349	6	2			
To my Commission, at 5 per cent. on the gross sales	454	2	0	951	1	2
To Messrs. John Cole and Co., owners of the *African*, in account current for				£8130	18	10

Errors excepted.

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 19th September, 1764 Per WM. BOYD.

Messrs. John Cole and Co., Owners of the Ship *African*, in Acct. Current

Dr. with Wm. Boyd and Co.	£	s.	d.		Cr. £	s.	d.
To Amount of Sundries shipped in the *African*, per Invoice	6384	16	5¼	By Nt. Proceeds of the *African's* sales	8130	18	10
To Balance of the *African's* a/c of disbursements, per Capt. receipt	269	7	3½				
To my draft on Snell and Co., of London, for £1054 16 *s.* 6 *d.* sterling, Exc. at 40 per cent., payable at 60 days' sight	1476	15	1¼				
	£8130	18	10		£8130	18	10[2]

Errors excepted.

KINGSTON in JAMAICA, 20th September, 1764 Per WM. BOYD.

[2] Captain Simmons, *Vine*, returned to Liverpool in 1766, from a voyage to Bonny and Dominica, which had consumed seven months and ten days. His cargo of 400 slaves Gomer Williams reckons as worth not less than £13,000, which assumes as an average price about £33, a little less than the negroes of the *African* sold for. If Captain Simmons's expenses were proportionate to his larger cargo, the proceeds of his voyage would be about £11,600. *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 529.

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249. News Items relating to the Slave Trade.

April 11, [1765.][1]

European intelligence. Comercial treaty between France and Spain completed. France engages to furnish Spanish-American provinces with 40,000 negroes from Africa, in a certain number of years, which naturally accounts for their extraordinary solicitude to extend their settlement on the coast of Guinea.

New York, June 24, [1765.][2]

Commodore Graves, in his Majesty's Ship the *Edgar*, and the *Shannon* Frigate and *Hound* Sloop of War, were at Gambia the 1st of May.[3]

Captain Richards left a number of Vessels on the Coast, and among them the following, *viz*: Captains Allen, White, Lenox, Williams, Miller, Robertson, Smith, Priest, Reed, Tallow, Addison and Woodbarn, belonging to England, Captains Carr, Mumford, Carpender and Towman of Rhode Island, Logan and Hammond of Philadelphia, Easton of New London, and Mackey and Harrison of this Port.

Wednesday last Capt. Roger Richards arrived here from the Coast of Africa: He left Searalone the 2d of May, and says there was not the least Account of any Disturbance by the French in that Part of the World, nor of their effecting any new Settlements on that Coast, as has been lately mentioned in the London news, when he came away.[4]

250. Letters from Anamabo.[1]

July 10, 1765.

Our trade here has strangely altered within these six weeks. The long-talked of Shanty [Ashanti] expedition was at last effected in the following manner:

Sea Cooma, who succeeded Quishy, King of Ashanty, mustered an army (by the best intelligence we can get) of 60 [50] or 60,000 men, with which he marched against the Warsaws and Akims in

[249] [1] *Georgia Gazette*, Apr. 11, 1765.
[2] *Boston News-Letter*, July 4, 1765.
[3] It was reported that the *Edgar*, the *Shannon*, and the *Hound* had been sent to destroy the French fort at Albreda. *Georgia Gazette*, Mar. 28, 1765.
[4] Fear of French aggression had already led the Board of Trade to investigate the strength of the English possessions on the West Coast and to recommend that the Senegal and Gambia region be taken from the company and vested in the crown. An act carrying into effect this recommendation was passed May 25, 1765 (5 Geo. III. c. 44). This greatly diminished the amount of territory controlled by the company. Martin, *British West African Settlements*, pp. 62-65.

[250] [1] *Newport Mercury*, Mar. 10, 1766, from a London item of Nov. 27, 1765. The subject of the difficulties between Ashanti and Fanti peoples, which concerns the writer of this letter, occupies considerable space in official papers of this period. A memorial and a number of letters are to be found in Admiralty Papers, 1: 3810, 1767.

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April last, and drove them all down to the Fanty country: Here they have been skirmishing all the months of May and June, and on the 25th ult. after three or four days fighting, the Akims submitted to him, by which he immediately got possession of their camp, in which were all their women and children, and the greatest part of their men, to the number of about 15 or 20,000 in all: Two of the principal Akim Caboceers shot themselves; the one was carried to Sea Cooma ally, and Poby the King of Akim, is secreted some where about Abrador Murrum. A day or two before this great revolution, Enimber, at the head of the Warsaws, escaped to Shinpoora, where they expect to be visited by the Shanty King. When the Akims and Shanties were fighting, the worthy Fanties were very busy, pillaging and stealing the Akims, who were so reduced by famine, that they gave themselves up in great numbers to any body that would promise them victuals, so that slaves became very plenty among these gentry, but they have not yet offered them for sale. Neither did they confine themselves to stealing the Akims only: For the Shanties began to pillage the Fanty Crooms (towns) and plantations, by which conduct the Fanties picked up about 1000 of them, 300 of which we purchased in eight or nine days, in Castle Brew.[2] Yan Woortman, who is chief of Cormantine[3] purchased about 250 or 300 more; the remainder was bought by the ships at Cape Coast and Moore [Mouree]; we got ours at six ounces men, and four ounces women.[4] The King of Shanty was greatly exasperated on losing so many of his people, especially as he had no thoughts of injuring the Fanties; and those last gentry being flushed with their success, formed a camp, and for four or five days had frequent skirmishes with parties of the Shanties, who made frequent visits to their plantations in search of food, being almost famished as well as the Akims.

These skirmishes obliged Sea Cooma to call in all his people, and both parties are at present very quiet, and sick of fighting. The Shanties are encamped within three hours walk of Annamabo, waiting to have a conference with the principal people of Fantin; when, it is imagined they will open the paths once more, and a flourishing trade will be carried on to Ashanty. . . .

The Fanties will not allow the King of Shanty to send a slave to the water side before every thing is amicably adjusted: Besides,

[2] Castle Brew, not far from Anamabo, was the headquarters of the private company of which Richard Brew was the head.

[3] The Dutch Fort Amsterdam was here.

[4] An item in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Feb. 28, 1765, illustrates the wide publicity given to African news. It was taken from a London item of Nov. 29, 1764, which in turn had been taken from French information that, owing to the native wars, blacks were to be had very cheap on the Gold Coast.

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Burrora Burra Wigo (their god) must, you are sensible be very often consulted, during these conferences. I forgot, however, to tell you that the King of Shanty took fetish (solemn oath) to the Fanties, immediately upon his entering their country, and gave them his cousin german, a fine young fellow of about 20, as an hostage for their good and peaceable behaviour: This young man the Fanty Caboceers and Punins (chiefs and councellors) have deposited in Castle Brew, in preference to Cape Coast or Elmina: As for Annamabo fort it was never thought of. I have the extreme pleasure to inform you, my friend, that Castle Brew is so well established, that if six slaves are to be sold we get four of them; and altho' there are 25 sail in this road, mostly capital ships, we buy more slaves than they do all together. Trade, for these many months, has been miserable indeed; so very bad, that poor old Miller (who you know, always brings good cargoes) has been here six months, and has not purchased 20 slaves, Crump has been here upwards of five months, and has not got 15; Grimshaw (whose abilities you are no stranger to) has been eleven months out of England, and has not bought thirty slaves; so that if their palavers are not amicably settled with the King of Shanty, all the ships now here must make ruinous voyages.[5]

CASTLE BREW, ANNAMABOA, June 20, 1766.[6]

Sir, you'l be good enough to acquaint the Merchants trading to this Place, that the Coast is very much infested with Pirates, and that one, in particular, is a Schooner, copper sheathed, commanded by one Hide, has on board thirty four Men, and is extremely well fitted with Swivels, and Small Arms. She cruises between the River Settra-Crue and Cape Three Points, and has taken between 12 and 14 Shaloops, one of which belonged to Governor Brew, and had on board 1200 *l.* Sterling in Goods, and 50 Ounces of Gold Dust: After taking from her a Cable and Anchor, for which they gave the Master a Receipt, they permitted him to go about his Business. These Fellows neither murder or force any into their Services; but on the

[5] The influence of the Ashantis and the Fantis on the trade, to which reference has already been made, continued throughout the century. Captain Cotton of H. M. S. *Pallas*, in his report made in 1777, included a statement relating to the trade of Accra: "some few Months ago there was the greatest prospect of the Ashantee Trade being totally opened here, as a large body of them were down, and the Le[ew]ard Fanteens had sworn not to molest them in the Paths but now on account of War between the Dutch and the Danish Forts, it is much to be feared the Ashantees will be fearfull of coming Down as the Dutch have hired the Fanteens to stop the Paths to distress the Danes and their allies at Prampram: the Trade was in as flourishing condition as it has been for many Years past." Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 227.

[6] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Oct. 16, 1766, headed, "Newport, October 6. A Letter from Castle Brew, at Annamaboa, on the Coast of Africa, to a Gentleman in this Town, dated June 20, 1766". The letter was copied by the *Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 30, and by the *Georgia Gazette*, Dec. 17. It also appeared as an item of news in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVI. 546 (November, 1766).

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contrary, one of their Crew complaining that he was weary of that life, they put him on Shore and allowed him a Sufficiency to bear his Expences to the first English Factory.[7]

251. Accounts of the *Edgar* with Calabar Traders.[1]

An Acc't of Goods and Slaves Owing to the Ship "Edgar" from the Traders of Old Town as under:

Archibong Robin John five slaves Goods — Dr

	Co[2]	
20 Iron 5 Nicconees 5 Brawels	155	
4 Romales 3 Cushtaes 2 Photes	106	
8 B. Pipes 5 Flagons 50 Rods	102	Recd. Nothing
3 Basons 4 Guinea Stuffs	25	
3 Blunderbus's 8 Kegs	112	
	500	

24th July 1767 Goods for 5 slaves.
Received a further trust 10 rods 1 Nicconee 20

Orrock Robin John — Dr

	Co	
23rd July 1767 To 1 Keg of Powder	8	
By a boy left on board name Asuqu not stoped by me as Orrok says nor was Orrock's son		

Ambo Robin John — Dr

August 7. 1767 To Goods for two men slaves

	Co	
2 Blunderbs's 3 Kegs 8 Iron 1 Nicconee	98	
2 Brawels 1 Cushtae 2 Romales	44	Recd. Nothing
1 Photae 2 Flagons 2 basons 3 Pipe bds	44	
10 Rods 8 Chints	18	
	204	

Ephraim Robin John — Dr

	Co	
July 23rd 1767 To 20 Rods 1 Romale 4 Basons 4 L. Meneles	48	
1 Neganepaut 1 Blunderbus 20 Rods 1 Baft 12 Knives	74	Recd. Nothing
	122	

[7] Pirates were not the only difficulties threatening the traders. Early in the year a report reached the colonies by way of London that a serious epidemic among the negroes of the Gold Coast was impeding the trade. *Virginia Gazette,* Mar. 4, 1766.

[251] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 539-541.

[2] Cowries. East India cottons still form a considerable part of this list. Of these Anderson writes: "For the better supply of our export trade to Africa, with such coarse printed callicoes and other goods, being the product or manufacture of the East Indies, or other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, as are prohibited to be worn in Great Britain, the East India Company were permitted to import the same from any part of Europe not within the British dominions, under proper limitations" (Feb. 16, 1765, *Origins of Commerce,* V. 102). It is noticeable that English vessels up to this time carried little liquor to the coast. In 1765 it is said that two distilleries were established at Liverpool to supply "Guineymen". *Georgia Gazette,* May 23, 1765.

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	Co	Dr
24th to Goods for 2 men slaves under		
4 Kegs 8 Iron 2 Nicconees 2 Brawels 1 Cushtae	104	
1 Romale 1 Photae 16 Chello 4 bg Pipe bds	60	
2 b'g Red 2 G. Stuffs 1 Flagon 14 rods	36	Recd. Nothing
	200	

John Robin John	Co	Dr
July 7th 1767 To 10 rods 1 Nicconee 6 Romale	26	
Augt 2 To 8 Chello 1 hatt 1 Jug brandy	16	Recd. Nothing
	42	

	Co	Dr
Augt 1 1767 Otto Rob. John To 5 Rords	5	
do Tom Andrew Honesty, do	5	Recd. Nothing
July 30 Robin John 6 L Meneles 1 Rom	18	
Augt 1st Rob. Rob. Jno. 1 Keg 2 Caps 1 Shenda 1 Br.	20	

All Coppers makes 240 and 9 slaves makes 11 slaves and 20 Copers Tom Robin had makes near 12 slaves

OLD CALABAR, August 22, 1776 [1767?]

This is to certify whom it doth or may concern that the within is a True List of Debts owing by the Natives of Old Town to Captain Lace of Liverpoole,[3] and that the Boy named Assogua was not stoped by Captain Lace as has been Reported, but was put on board by Orrock Robin John unto whom he belonged, and that Captain Lace carried him of for the within debts, because we made no application for him nor did we even offer to Redeem him whilst the ship staid in the River, as Witness our hands

Witness
JOHN RICHARDS
JAMES HARGRAVES

his
KING X GEORGE
mark
his
JNO. X ROBIN JOHN
mark
OTTO EPHRAIM
his
ORROCK ROBIN X JOHN[4]
mark

[3] It was to Capt. William Lace, a son of Ambrose Lace, that William Roscoe once wrote: "To have the unlimited direction and controul of several hundreds of people who are to rely upon your care and management for their protection and support, places you in a situation of great responsibility, not only to your owners, but to the poor creatures committed to your charge, and to your own conscience. That you will discharge this serious duty with fidelity, and with as much humanity as is consistent with the nature of this business, I make no doubt. I have observed with pleasure, that your

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252. Customs imposed at Whydah.[1]

State of the Customs which the ships that make their whole trade at Whydah pay to the King of Dahomey:

Eight Slaves for Permission of Trade, gongon Beater and Broakers	These slaves paid to the Caborkees after which he gives you two small children of 7 or 8 years old which the King sends as a return for the Customs.
1 Slave for Water and washerwoman 2 Do. for the Factory house 7 Do. for the Conoe	These slaves paid to whom supplies you These to the Fort

The above Slaves are Valued as under:

6 Anchors Brandy is	1 Slave	And if any other good must be in proportion but you must observe to pass the Goods Least in Demand.
20 Cabess of Cowries is	1 Do	
40 Sililees	1 Do	
200 lb. Gunpowder	1 Do	
25 Guns	1 Do	
10 Long Cloths	1 Do	
10 Blue Bafts	1 Do	
10 Patten Chints	1 Do	
40 Iron Barrs	1 Do	

After the Customs are paid which should be done as soon as possable for the traders dare not trade till the Kings Customs are paid, the Vice Roy gives you the nine following Servants *viz.* one Conducter to take care of the goods that comes and go's to and from the waterside which you deliver him in count and he's obliged to answer for things delivred him he's paid 2 Gallinas of Cowries every time he conducts any thing whether coming or going and one flask of brandy every Sunday.

Two Brokers which are obliged to go to the traders houses to look for slaves and stand Interpiter for the Purchas the[y] are paid to each two Tokes of Coweres per day and one flask of brandy every Sunday and at the end of your trade you give to each of them one Anchor of Brandy and one p's of Cloth.

Two Boys to serve in the house the[y] are paid each two tokees per day at the end of your trade per p's of cloth.

One Boy to Serve at the tent water side 2 Tokees per day.

One Doorkeeper paid 2 Tokees per day 1 p's Cloth for him and the above.

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natural disposition is kind and liberal and you can never have a fitter opportunity of exerting these qualities than your present situation affords. I need not, I am sure, remark that any warmth or hastiness of temper (which, if ever you had it, is, I think, now well corrected by experiences) might be productive of consequences which you might ever have to repent. Coolness, vigilance, compassion, attention to the necessities of all under your charge are essential requisites. Let these never be forgotten, and let the poor imprisoned African find that in all his distresses he is not without a friend." Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 615.

[4] A fifth signature was undecipherable.

[252] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 550-553. Williams's suggestion is that this list of customs was drawn up by Capt. Ambrose Lace for one of his captains.

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One Waterwoman for the factory 2 Tokees per day at the end of trade. One p's of Cloth.

One Washer Woman 2 Tokees per day and six Tokees everytime you give her any Linnen to Wash and one p's of Cloth at the end of trade.

N. B. the two last Servants are sometimes one if so you only pay one.

To the Cannoe men for bringing the Captain on shore one Anchor Brandy and to each man a hatt and a fathom Cloth. To the Boatswain a hat ½ p's Cloth one Cabes Cowrees a flask of brandy every Sunday and a bottle every time the[y] cross the Barr with goods or Slaves and every time the[y] pass a white man and at the end of trade for carring the Capt'n on board one anchor of Brandy and four Cabeses Cowrees.

N. B. The above Bottles flasks etc. was usely given to the Conoemen but now the Capt'n gives them one Anchor of Brandy and one Cabese of Cowrees every Sunday for the weeks work. To the Gong Gong Beater for anouncing trade 10 Gellinas of Cowrees and one flask of Brandy.

To the Kings Messenger for Carring News of the ships Arrivell and Capt'n's Compliments to the King ten Gallinas.

To the Trunk keeper a bottle brandy every Sunday and a peice of Cloth when you go away if you are satisfied with his service.

To the Capt'n of the Waterside on you[r] arrivell one anchor of brandy and at your Dept. one p's Cloth and one anchor of brandy.

To the six Waterrowlers two tokees per day each and two Bottles Brandy besides which you pay them 2, 3 or 4 tokees of cowrees each Cask according to the size, at the end of trade two p's Cloth and one anchor Brandy.

To the Vice Roy who go's with his people to Compliment the Capt. at his arrivell and Conduct him to the Fort one Anchor Brandy and two flasks but if Coke be their four flasks Brandy.

To the Vice Roy for his owne Custom 1 p's Silk 15 yards 1 Cask of Flower one of Beef but if you are short of these you may give him some thing else in Lew of them.

To making the Ten one Anchor Brandy 2 Cabess Cowrees.

To the Cap'tn Gong Gong that looks after the house at night one bottle per day and one p's Cloth if your content.

You pay 3 Tokees of Cowrees for every load such as one Anchor 20 Sililees 10 p's Cloth and so in proportion for small goods but when loads are very heavy you pay more as ten Gallinas for a Chest of pipes etc.

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The Tokee is	40	Cowrees
The Gallina is	200	"
The Cabess is	4000	"

N. B. their go's five tokees to one Gallina and twenty Gallinas makes one Cabess.

253. Extract of a Letter from Captain Colley of the *Latham*.[1]

Old Town, Old Calabar, July 20, 1768.

Our purchase here at present is very small, owing to a hot and troublesome war amongst the natives, which the day I came here was hotly contested between the people of the New Town and those of the Old Town,[2] wherein the latter (though the others were ten to one) killed and wounded upwards of 300, and totally routed them: However, hope it will be quite subsided, as they seem to be pretty quiet at present. The battle was all in sight, not above a gun shot from the ship, and by that have received the thanks of the New Town people, for not firing at them, as it was Ephraim's particular desire, not to interfere, but to let them fight it out themselves.

254. The Case of the *Africa*.[1]

March 27, 1769.

[Reference to the Committee of the petition of Jasper Hall, merchant of Kingston, Jamaica, for a day for hearing his appeal from a judgment of the Court of Appeals, 18 Aug., 1766, reversing a judgment of July, 1763, in his action against Malcolm Laing, the Receiver General, for 836 *l.* currency, alleged to have been received by him for the use of the Petitioner.]

[253] [1] *Virginia Gazette,* Mar. 9, 1769, taken from a Liverpool item.

[2] Captain Colley does not refer to a massacre of negroes of Old Calabar in 1767, in which the *Indian Queen,* the *Duke of York,* the *Nancy,* and the *Concord* of Bristol, the *Edgar* of Liverpool, and the *Canterbury* of London shared. The details of the treachery of the English commanders are to be found in Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 535-539. Thomas Clarkson, in his *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, I.* 245-248, 307-308, tells something of the episode. Clarkson had been introduced to Captain Lace, who, having been long in the slave trade, it was supposed could give him much information: "As soon as he mentioned Calabar", says Mr. Clarkson, "a kind of horror came over me. His name became directly associated in my mind with the place. It almost instantly occurred to me that he commanded the *Edgar* out of Liverpool, when the dreadful massacre there took place. Indeed I seemed to be so confident of it, that, attending more to my feelings than to my reason at this moment, I accused him with being concerned in it. This produced great confusion among us. For he looked incensed at Captain Chaffers, as if he had introduced me to him for this purpose. Captain Chaffers again seemed to be all astonishment that I should have known of this circumstance, and to be vexed that I should have mentioned it in such a manner. I was also in a state of trembling myself. Captain Lace could only say it was a bad business. But he never defended himself nor those concerned in it. And we soon parted, to the great joy of us all."

[254] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* V. 52-55.

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[On the Committee report of 7 July, the judgment of 1766 is reversed and that of 1763 affirmed. The Petition set forth] That in the Year 1762, the Appellant Jasper Hall ordered his Correspondent in Great Britain, to fit out a ship on his account, for the Coast of Affrica, for a Cargo of Slaves which in her return was to touch at the Island of Jamaica there to receive the Appellants Direction as to the Disposition of the Cargo, which the Appellant Informed his Correspondent was not Intended for Sale in that Island:—That the Appellants Correspondent according fitted out a Vessell called the *Africa,* on the Appellants Account, and sent her under the Care of Robert Cowie Master, to the Coast of Affrica for a Cargo of Slaves, to be carried to the West Indies, and to touch at the Island of Jamaica for receiving the Appellants Instructions where to proceed.

That the Ship having taken in a Cargo of 630 Slaves sailed from [for] the West Indies, and about the Middle of October, 1762, arrived off the East End of Jamaica; but being in want of water and provisions, and the Slaves of Refreshment, Cowie the Master, wrote to the Appellant, acquainting him of his arrival and the State of the Ship and Cargo, whereupon the Appellant Immediately sent the necessary water and Provisions to bring the Ship into Kingston Harbour, where she arrived the 24th of that Month—That the Ship Proving Leaky, and unfit to Proceed further without Repair, the Appellant for avoiding all Question as to her Destination, the very Day after her Arrival in Kingston Harbour, had her and her Cargo Reported in the Registers Office, in Jamaica, as bound for the Havannah, whither he had Determined to send the Cargo on having received Information, of its Reduction,[2] and as well for Repair of the Vessell, as refreshment of the many sickly Negroes, who wanted Landing for Recovery of their Health, he a few days after the Ships arrival in the Harbour, landed them to the Number of 630, many of whom being taken with the small Pox, and 400 Innoculated, they necessarily continued in the Island until the January following, when all that remained alive, being but 521, were by the Appellant and on his Account, reshipped on Board the *Affrica,* and cleared out for the Havannah their Original and real Destination. That the Respondent Malcolm Laing then Receiver General of the Island was well apprized of the *Affrica's* Arrival in Kingston Harbour with a Cargo of Negroes the Appellants Property; but the Appellant having on her Arrival Reported both Ship and Cargo as bound for the Havannah and the Landing of Negroes being evidently for the Purpose of Refreshment only, and giving time for Repair of the Vessell,

[2] Havana had fallen in the summer of 1762.

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Cowie the Master was therefore never called upon to Repair to the Receiver Generals Office, there to give in the account, and take the Oath required by an Act of Assembly Passed in Jamaica the 31st of October 1761, nor was the Appellant as Owner of the Cargo, ever required to Enter into Bond for not delivering the Slaves without the Certificate directed by an Act in Case of Negroes Imported for Sale, nor, notwithstanding the Omission of such Account, Oath and Bond, was any forfeiture or Penalty charged or attempted to be levied either upon the Master of the Ship or the Appellant as Owner of the Cargo, as by the Act Imposed upon Non-Performance of those requisites where Negroes are Imported for Sale; which was Indeed so far from the Appellants Intent that he had notoriously refused applications for Selling any of these Negroes in Jamaica as intended for a far better Market. That the Respondent, however upon the Appellants attempting in January 1763, to reship the remaining part of his Negroes for the Havannah, thought fit to Demand of him and insist upon the payment of 315 *l.* Currency as the Duty of 10 *s.* per Head on the 630 Slaves that had been so Landed. And Likewise 521 *l.* as the Duty of 20 *s.* per Head on the 521 Slaves then remaining alive, and to be reshipped and Cleared out for the Havannah, which the Appellant refused . . . but the Respondent still Insisting on his Demand, without which he would not clear out the Ship and Slaves from his Office, the Appellant for fear of loosing the opportunity found himself under a necessity of Complying, and accordingly paid the Respondent the several Sums of 315 *l.*, and 521, making together 836 *l.* Currency, as the Import and Export Duties on Negroes, but Protesting at the same time against the Exaction, and declaring to the Respondent that he would bring an Action against him for Repayment of the Money. That the Ship and the remaining part of the Negroes were cleared out from the Receiver Generals Office 31st January 1763, as bound for the Havannah for which they were then Actually Destined, but just as the Ship was going to Sail, the Appellant received Advice from his Agent at the Havannah to whose Care he had in the Preceding October Sent a Cargo of two hundred Slaves for Sale, that it would not be Prudent or Adviseable for him to send this Cargo thither on Account of the Governor of the Havannah's Grant to a person resident there of an Exclusive Right of Importing and Vending Slaves, whereby this Correspondent had been prevented from Selling such Cargo in Open Market, and laid under the necessity of selling the whole Cargo thereof at an under price, and great loss to the above mentioned person; so the Appellant finding his Scheme of selling the Negroes at the Havannah frustrated, sent the *Affrica* and her Cargo to His-

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paniola where the Negroes were Sold for his Account and Ship never after returned to Jamaica.

That the Appellant in pursuance of his Declaration to the Respondent, brought an Action against him for Recovery of the 315 *l.*, and 521. . . .

255. Liverpool Exports to Africa, 1770.[1]

Beans	1318 quarters.	Linen coloured	42 pieces.
Brass wrought	134 tons and a half.	Lead	833 C. 2 qr. 3
Beer	132 barrels 942 doz.	Looking Glasses	114 doz.
Checks, Cotton and Linen	67545 pieces.	Linen, square printed	1208 yards.
Caps, Worsted	2714 doz.	Millinery Ware	5 Cwt.
Caps, Woollen	401 doz.	Molasses	2 C. 0 qr. 21 lb.
Copper wrought	672 cwt.	Pewter wrought	751 Cwt.
Cottons, square printed	4130 yards.	Pipes	1791 groce.
Candles	5348 lb.	Paper, printed	280 yards.
Callicoes	500 pieces.	Peas split	60 Cwt.
Chairs	7 doz.	Rice	1515: 2: 21
Cyder	quarter of a ton.	Rum	
Cardivines	241 doz.	Stockings, Thread	6 doz.
Cordage	55 C. 2 qr. 5 lb.	Do. Worsted	330 doz.
Drums	2 doz.	Silver wrought	25 lb.
Earthen Ware	14,524 pieces.	Sail Cloth	5148 ells.
Gun Powder	618,500 lb.	Stuffs	833 pieces.
Gun Flints	126,000.	Silk Stuffs	70 pieces.
Glass, Green	1944: 2: 6	Silk only	151 lb. and a half.
Glass, Flint	42: 0: 3	Silk and Cotton mixed	680 lb. and 3-quarters.
Garments made up	3418.	Silk and Inkle mixed	512 lb. 3-quarters.
Haberdashery	1 Cwt.	Stationary Ware	14 Cwt.
Hats, Felt and Carolina	2408 doz.	Sugar refined	516: 2: 11
Handkerchiefs, Linen, square printed	1456 yards.	Spirits, Malt	122,876 gallons.
Do. Silk, Do.	3815 yards.	Salt, Rock	3680 bushels.
	Tons C. qr. lb.	Salt, White	8651 bushels.
Iron wrought	205: 13: 0: 0	Tin Kettles	8 doz.
Iron cast	146: 2: 0	Woollen Cloth	6819 pieces.
Linen, Irish	18,076 yards.	Demi Cambricks	522.
Linen, British	27,586 yards.	Guinea Stuffs	660

256. Richard Brew to Merchants of Liverpool.[1]

Castle Brew [Anamabo], August 25, 1771.

Gentlemen: . . . In one of my former letters to Mr. Barber,[2] I mentioned what the committee, nor any of their servants will dare to deny, and what is perfectly well known to every master of a ship, and settler on this Coast, *viz.* that every servant of the committee,

[255] [1] William Enfield, *An Essay towards the History of Liverpool* (1773), pp. 84-85.

[256] [1] *A Treatise upon the Trade from Great-Britain to Africa, humbly recommended to the Attention of Government.* By an African Merchant (London, 1772), app. H, pp. 101-103. The treatise was written to demonstrate the failure of the existing method of administration of the African trade and to suggest desirable terms for a new act. The appendixes contain various documents intended to add force to the points made in the text. Appendix G is a reprint of an article appearing in the *Public Ledger,* Apr. 20, 1772, on the abuses of the African committee, with letters called forth by that article, and a petition from the "Merchants and Traders to Africa from the Port of London to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations", Mar. 17, 1772. This petition charged an illegal increase in the voting members of the committee of merchants, and an agree-

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who has made any money on the Coast since the commencement of this system, has realized and shipped off the whole of their effects in slaves,[3] and that it is of no signification to the British merchants, whether those slaves are shipped off in June or January, this year or the next, so as they are permitted to ship them off at all; but it seems, if you cannot ascertain the particular time these slaves are sent off, you prove nothing.

The greatest part of the slaves sent off this Coast in a clandestine manner for these five years past, have been sent by the *Africa,* late Capt. Stephens, in the three voyages he made here. Capt. Stephens kept a book which contained all his transactions on the Coast, and at the same time served as a log book: this book he called his church bible; and as I am certain every slave he carried off on freight, and the shippers names are to be found in this book, I would humbly propose when African affairs are brought before the House of Commons, that Mr. Michael Herries (procurator for Richard Oswald, Esq;)[4] be summoned to the bar of the House and ordered to produce this book, which if he does I am pretty confident all your doubts will be cleared up; and if it is not forthcoming, depend upon it it has

ment among the committee members from London, by means of which they retained office (see app. G, pp. 35-53). App. H, pp. 53-123, is devoted to proving misconduct on the part of the servants of the committee on the coast, probably with the connivance of the committee at home. It contains a few extracts from a pamphlet by one Mr. Tweed, who had been on the coast fifteen years (pp. 53-65), but the letters of Richard Brew to Liverpool merchants constitute the largest part of the evidence on this point. Brew states that from 1750 to October, 1763, 13,000 slaves were sold from Cape Coast Castle, that from 1763 to July, 1770, not 500 had been sold (pp. 66-68). Brew, now a private trader at Anamabo, had been suspended from the service of the company, at Tantumquerry in 1753, and from Anamabo in 1764, in both cases the charge being private trading. At the time of the second suspension he was accused of shipping on his own account 512 slaves in the *Duke of Marlborough* in 1761, to which he replied that the act of Parliament forbidding company servants to trade had not yet been passed when this was done (pp. 99-100). He is probably that employee of the company referred to by John Hippisley, as having been dismissed on the affidavit of one captain that he had sent a cargo of slaves to the West Indies (*Essays,* p. 65), though he was by no means the only company official to be dismissed for private trade. Richard Stockwell, thus dismissed, had set up a factory at Appolonia. Over such establishments as his and that of Richard Brew the company had no control.

[3] Miles Barber, a Liverpool merchant, who had petitioned on Feb. 26, 1767, to be allowed to complete a contract made with the French to deliver slaves in the River Gambia (C. O. 5: 223, p. 12). He owned a factory on the Isle de Los in 1779, which was said to have been destroyed later by "Bostonians". J. Machat, *Documents sur les Établissements Français de l'Afrique Occidentale au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1906), p. 128, n. 2.

[4] In a letter of July 1, 1770, Brew writes that the governor of Whydah is "realizing his fortune in slaves, and has sent the surgeon of the fort up to Annamaboe to agree with a captain of a ship to go down there and carry him and his slaves to the West Indies". His slaves, 150 in number, were being procured, while Captain Norris of the *Unity,* Liverpool, lay by, waiting for a cargo. *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. 4, pp. 68-69.

[5] Richard Oswald, a contractor for army supplies in the Seven Years' War, and a London merchant with many interests in America, was for years a large dealer in slaves, owning his own factory on Bence Island. For accounts of his shipments of slave cargoes to America see this work, vol. III., South Carolina.

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been destroyed to prevent a discovery; but as I said before, what does it signify to you if a governor who is worth five hundred slaves ship fifty or one hundred every year, or if the whole are sent off at once?

The trade for many months past has been so very bad, and the opposition from Cape Coast Castle and Annamaboe Fort has been so very great, that the shipping and private traders have suffered inconceiveably; the ship *Ingram,* Capt. James Paisley, has been here now seven months, and has not purchased half her cargoe of slaves, though her complement is but three hundred and twenty; the *Corsican Hero,* late Smith, has been here upwards of four months; and has not purchased sixty slaves; the *Africa,* Capt. Smith of Bristol, has been here four months and has not purchased twenty; and the *Greenwich,* Capt. Harwood of Bristol, has been here upwards of three months, and has not purchased one slave from the natives; Capt. Brown, of the *Kitty,* of Liverpool, and Capt. Fleetwood, of the *Swallow,* from same port, have been each nine months at Annamaboe, and one for three hundred and thirty five, the other for two hundred and fifty slaves; indeed the trade is now so totally ruined, that we have been obliged to barter away two Gold Coast cargoes, amounting to eight hundred and fifty slaves, for Leeward goods, and to send the ships *Albany* and *Pembroke* down there, as we saw no prospect of getting them slaved off in any reasonable time at this place; yet the *Peggy,* Capt. Mill, was here and at Cape Coast no longer than four months, and carried off from between three hundred and fifty and four hundred slaves; and the *Richmond,* Capt. Rogers of London, a ship of three hundred tons, chartered and sent out by Mess. Ross and Mill, has been at Cape Coast little more than three months, and sails this day with four hundred slaves; this ship was sent out here with a cargoe of goods for Mess. Mill [5] and Bell, another cargoe for the general of Elmina, a fourth for the fiscal of Elmina, a fifth for the chiefs of Cormantyne and a sixth for the Dutch chief at Accra.

Our opposition from the Dutch for some years past has been very great; their home manufactures, if not quite so good, are infinitely cheaper, and go off to the full as well as ours,[6] and their slaves sell higher by twenty-five or thirty per cent. in their colonies than ours;

[5] The recurrence of the name Mill is not pure coincidence. James Mill was at this time one of the London committeemen; the firm Mill and Ross was doing a considerable business in slaves for South Carolina, and probably for other colonies as well; the governor of Cape Coast was David Mill; and Captain Mill of the *Peggy* was one of the favored captains on the coast. Three of these men were brothers, and it is probable that the fourth belonged to the same family, which was said to have made a fortune in private trade in slaves under cover of official position.

[6] The popularity of Dutch goods on the coast finds occasional mention throughout the century. Even the company recognized it by ordering that the committee on goods buy in Holland what could not be obtained in England, to complete a trading cargo. July 14, 1720, T 70: 131, pp. 19, 27.

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from these advantages they are enabled to over-bid us on the Coast, and if they once get into the method of being supplied with English goods to mix with their own, we shall be assuredly cut out of this trade in a very little time; for it is well known that a mixture of Dutch and English goods is preferable on the Gold Coast to either English or Dutch singly; it will therefore be highly necessary to put a timely stop to these practices; at least members of the committee should be restrained from having any concern directly or indirectly in them. . . .

The council at Cape Coast is composed of Mr. Mill, governor; Mr. Bell, chief of Annamaboe, Mr. Trinder, chief of Winnebah; and Mr. Drew, chief of Accra, all of whom I have accused of mal practices, the three last in particular.[7] . . .

257. Richard Brew to Miles Barber (?)[1]

Castle Brew, August 25, 1771.

Dear Sir, . . . About seven months ago a gentleman, who is now a chief of one of the forts, acquainted me, that he was told by Mr. Alleyn, Captain Stephens's clerk, and who is now a writer in the service, that when the ship *Africa* went down to Accra, last voyage, after burying Capt. Stephens, Mr. Mill (who was Stephens's executor) took ashore the log book or church bible beforementioned, and that he had tore out several leaves in which were particularized the slaves he had sent on freight the preceding voyage or voyages; you will therefore please to observe when this book is produced, whether or not any such thing has been done, and if it has, I think you need no farther proofs, and dare to say that Mr. Bell, Mr. Petrie, and Mr. Grossle [2] will be found also to have shipped off a good many slaves in the same ship.

As I have given a sketch of the times here in the publick letter, there remains only to tell you that gold commands the trade; there is no buying a slave without one ounce of gold at least on it,[3] and the windward Coast has been so ransacked, that there is no such thing as getting gold, even though you sell your goods from forty to fifty per cent. under prime cost; the next best article is fine broad striped taffats, flowered cuttanees, Patna chintz, with small black flowers,

[7] Brew expresses the belief that the only hope for redress for the private traders is for Parliament to do away with the committee altogether.

[257] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, p. 104. This private letter accompanied that of the same date addressed to the merchants. If the recipient was not Miles Barber, he may have been Arthur Haywood.

[2] Gilbert Petrie was governor from Aug. 11, 1766, to Apr. 21, 1769; John Grossle, from that date until Aug. 11, 1770. Charles Bell's two terms were in 1756 and 1761. Claridge, *Hist. of the Gold Coast,* II. 582.

[3] Mistakes in the printing of this letter are corrected in a list of *errata.* The sentence is here printed in its corrected form.

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fine white grounds, well chose printed linens and cottons, very large brass pans, fine Silesias, Danish and birdling guns, plain taffatys, fine mixed Romauls, sattin stripes, half pint tankards. Goods not in demand as follows; powder, pewter, knives, ells of no·kind, halfsays, Negannepauls, Bejutapauls, checks, cherryderries, and blue bandanoes; there is at present no Ashantee trade, which is the reason powder and pewter are not called for; however it will not be prudent to send ships without these articles. . . .

Mr. Wallace, who now commands the *Africa,* was Capt. Stephens's chief mate all the three voyages he made to the Gold Coast; he should therefore be certainly brought before the bar of the house, and sworn whether he ever knew or heard of any slaves being shipped on freight on board the *Africa.* . . .[4]

258. Richard Brew to Merchants of Liverpool.[1]

Castle Brew, October 1st, 1771.

Gentlemen, I Did myself the honour to write to you the 25th of last August, copy of which goes herewith, but through hurry to get my letter on board the *Richmond,* I forgot to mention a common practice of the committee's governors, Messrs. Mill and Bell in particular, which is their selling great number of slaves to the general and fiscal of Elmina, for Portuguese tobacco, whenever that article is in great demand, the consequence of which is extremely prejudicial to the shipping; first, by getting supplied with a commodity which commands the trade from the natives, and secondly, by disposing of such a number of slaves to our natural rivals the Dutch, which should certainly circulate amongst the British shipping; to this it will be objected, that the captains of ships are at liberty to purchase tobacco as well as the governors; which is very true, but then parting with prime slaves, and slaves that are perhaps seasoned and used to the ships, would not only lengthen their voyages, but dishearten the rest of their cargoes; and it happens but seldom that the captains can barter goods for tobacco with the Portuguese, as our wary and industrious neighbours the Dutch take care either to send convoys down with the Portuguese, or dispatch them away in the night, with orders to stretch out to sea, to prevent the English ships from dealing with them. . . .

I am informed the excuse these gentlemen give for selling slaves to the Dutch is, to procure tobacco for the payment of the committee's slaves and other expences; but it is a known truth that not above one

[4] This must have been the *Africa,* Captain Wallace, consigned by Richard Oswald to John Lewis Gervais of South Carolina. See this work, vol. III., South Carolina, 1772.

[258] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, pp. 105-110.

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tenth of what they purchase is consumed, otherwise than in the purchase of slaves. . . .[2]

A most pernicious practice has of late crept into the trade of the Gold Coast, which is the giving gold upon slaves; and it is greatly to be wished that some methods may be fallen upon to put a timely stop to it, otherwise it will be impossible for any man to continue to trade here with any prospect of success; Appolonia, the only place from which the shipping used to be supplied with gold, you are effectually shut out from; that fort, Dixcove, Succondee, and Commenda being factories to the governor of Cape Coast, who is so plentifully supplied with gold from these places, that he carries everything before him; for the truth of which I appeal to all the Liverpool and Bristol captains that have been here this year.

Formerly owners of ships used to send out double cargoes of goods, one for slaves, the other for gold; if slaves happened to be dearer than usual, the cargoe for gold was thrown into the slave cargoe in order to fill the ship; on the other hand, if slaves were reasonable the gold cargoe was disposed of for gold and ivory, at a profit of thirty, forty, or fifty per cent. which went a great way towards paying the portlidge bill in the West Indies; as I have frequently known from five to fifteen hundred pounds sterling in gold and ivory carried off from this coast, over and above a compleat cargoe of slaves. How strangely things are reversed now, you have experienced; we scarce see a ship go off with her complement of slaves, notwithstanding her cargoe is laid in from eighteen to twenty pounds sterling per head on an average, reckoning goods at prime cost, without a shilling charges on them; a great part of which they are obliged to sell where they can for gold, greatly under prime cost, or lie here till their provisions are all expended, and their bottoms eat out with the worms.

As the committee do not appear inclinable to make any regulations in favour of the private trader, I imagine you will be under the necessity of laying your grievances before parliament this next sessions. I have therefore only to add once more, gentlemen, that I am ready and willing to depose upon oath (before any person deputed for that purpose) to the truth of the following charges exhibited by me against the committee and their servants.

I. and principally, That every governor of Cape Coast since the year 1763, to the present governor (mr. Hippisley excepted) have shipped off great numbers of slaves on their accounts, contrary to the act of parliament, and restrictions of the committee. . . .

[2] Other methods whereby tobacco can be obtained are here enumerated. This commodity had become an important one upon the coast. Most of it was vended by the Portuguese, who, in addition to selling 400 or 500 rolls for gold, paid the customs demanded by the Dutch at Elmina in tobacco. Hippisley, chief of Cape Coast Castle in 1766, asserted that this payment maintained the Dutch settlement. *Essays*, p. 41.

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III. That the governors of the forts, particularly Messrs. Mill and Bell, make a practice of selling considerable numbers of slaves annually to the Dutch, contrary to the laws and regulations of the service.

IV. That several of the governors continue to employ floating factories, to the great detriment of the shipping and free traders.

V. That the governors of the forts carry on an extensive trade with each other, contrary to act of Parliament, and greatly to the prejudice of the British fair trader; as the governor of Cape Coast (over and above the other advantages he reaps from the publick supplies) is so abundantly stocked with cargoes from England, that he can give the chiefs far better assortments than any ship whatsoever, and can afford a much better price, being complimented with the freight of his goods out, and not being saddled with any expences incidental to the private and fair trader. . . .[3]

By this opportunity, I expect to send you such proofs of Mr. Mill's having shipped off between sixty and seventy slaves on freight by the *Africa,* late Captain Stephens, the last time he left the Coast, as will clear up all your doubts.[4] . . .

259. Richard Brew to Miles Barber (?).[1]

Castle Brew, October 15, 1771.

Dear Sir . . . The articles in demand are the same as when I wrote to you last; gold is still the greatest of all articles in this golden country; the prohibition on powder, pewter, etc. as by my last, still continues. Slaves are exceeding scarce, price ten ounces men, and eight ounces women, to the blacks, and an ounce advance to the whites. Goods wanted by vessels in this road at present: the *Ingram* wants one hundred and twenty slaves, the *Corsican Hero* fifty or sixty, the *Nancy,* Cazneau, forty or fifty, the *Greenwich* one hundred and thirty, the *Africa* taken up. The *N*——— Ritchie; the *Barbara,* Culshaw; the *Venus,* Goodwin; the *Friendship,* Cummings;[2] the *Hannah,* Hughes; the *Charlotte,* Blundell; all new comers; and the *John,* Bold; the *Union,* Pole; the *Austin,* Wilcox, and Captain Price, soon expected, besides rum vessels;[3] I therefore leave you to judge of the shocking state of the trade here, and what reason you have to expect any alteration for the better; had the eight hundred slaves,

[3] Other charges relate to the governors' use of committee servants for private purposes.

[4] Brew's personal estimates of the character of Mill, Bell, Drew, and Trinder follow.

[259] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, pp. 111-112.

[2] Captain Cummings, or Cuming, delivered a cargo in Charleston in July, 1772. See this work, vol. III., South Carolina, 1772.

[3] *I. e.,* New England vessels.

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that were sent off in the *Peggy,* Captain Mill, and the *Richmond,* chartered ship, circulated amongst the shipping, the *Ingram, Corsican Hero, Nancy, Greenwich* and *Africa,* would have been off the Coast, and would have left a fine opening for these new comers; besides, the price would have continued at nine and seven ounces.

Captain Culshaw has had great success in the time he has been down; he tells me, he has purchased fifty-seven slaves: he is a very industrious man, and I dare say, will make a voyage, if any man makes one this year. . . .

Indeed the disadvantages trade labours under just now are incredible, and I am much mistaken if any ship this year will get interest for her money, except the prices are very high in the West-Indies, and little or no mortality amongst the slaves; be assured, I will acquaint you with every material alteration in the trade, should any happen.

The letter by Captain Gold (which I fear you have not received) contained a certificate signed by thirteen captains of ships, relative to the risque [to] merchants in England, by the committee's not allowing private traders to lodge their effects in the forts in common with their servants.[4] . . .

260. Certificate of Isaac Garrick.[1]

Annamaboe, October 1st, 1771.

These are to certify all whom it may concern, that I (Isaac Garrick) was employed upwards of three years on the Coast, by David Mill, Esq; governor of Cape Coast Castle, in the following stations; first, as a factor at Shadoe, an English town three miles to the eastward of Barracoe, and afterwards as master of a shallop in the Gaboon trade; that during the time of my keeping the factory at the abovementioned place, there was a private trader, called John Hyde, came to settle at Shadoe also, of which I acquainted Mr. Mill, who immediately wrote me for answer, that I must endeavour to get him turned out of the town if possible, or trade in such a manner that it would be impossible for him to continue there without a very great

[4] The signatures were: "Master of the ship *Marlborough,* of Bristol, John Marshall, Ditto of the ship *John,* of Liverpool, Arthur Bold, Ditto of the ship *Maisguin,* of Bristol, Robert Howe, Ditto of the ship *Roebuck,* of ditto, Tho. Gullan, Ditto of the ship *Friendship,* of Barbadoes, Robert Erskine, Ditto of the ship *Swallow,* of Liverpool, Geo. Fleetwood, Ditto of the snow *Dispatch,* of ditto, John Ritchie, Ditto of the ship *Kitty,* of ditto, James Brown, Ditto of the ship *Sally,* of Boston, Dan. M'Carthy, Ditto of the ship *Sultan,* of Rhode Island, Silas Cook, Ditto of the brig *Othello,* of ditto, John Duncan, Ditto of the brig *Peggy,* of ditto, Charles Moore, Ditto of the sloop *Adventure,* of ditto, Thomas Rogers, N. B. Fourteen sail in the road of Annamaboe this day", Nov. 3, 1770. *Treatise,* p. 118.

[260] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, pp. 116-117. Brew accompanied his letters with a number of certificates testifying to the truth of his accusations, one of which is here printed.

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loss; upon which I followed his instructions and soon got him turned out of the town.

And I also declare that on or about the month of September in the year 1769, the abovementioned David Mill, Esq; sent me off the Coast, a passenger in the ship *Africa,* commanded by the late Capt. John Stephens, in order to purchase a vessel for him in America, and he told me, he had shipped upwards of sixty slaves, which were marked, M S, upon his account and risque, to answer this purpose; that I accordingly did proceed in the said ship for the West Indies, having first settled my accounts with the said Mr. Mill, and received a note from him for fifteen pounds sterling, the balance due to me on leaving the Coast; that upon our arrival in the West Indies, I found it was impossible for me to go on with the plan of purchasing a vessel, owing to the great mortality amongst his slaves; that I then proceeded to America, and from thence to London; when I applied to Mess. Ross and Mill for the aforesaid balance due to me from Mr. Mill, produced to them my instructions, and note from Mr. Mill, which they refusing to pay, I drew up a petition to the committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa, in which I set forth the whole of my connections and transactions with Mr. Mill, which I shewed to his brother Capt. Hercules Mill, who told me, if I would make out my accounts, and suppress the petition, I should be immediately paid; which I accordingly did, and the next day waited upon Capt. Mill, at the Edinburgh coffee house, when he told me he was ready to pay me if I would deliver up my instructions and papers to him, which through necessity I was obliged to do, and then received from Capt. Mill, a bill on Mess. Ross and Mill, for my balance, which bill they accepted and paid me.

And I do further certify, and declare, that when I drew up the aforementioned petition to the committee, I shewed it to Samuel Smith, Esq;[2] of the old Jewry, London, who perused it more than once; for the truth of which I appeal to that gentleman, and also declare that I am ready and willing to make oath on the Holy Evangelists to the truth of what is set forth in every part of this certificate.

[2] Samuel Smith had in a letter to the *Public Advertiser,* June 30, 1771, renounced his support of the London committee and its friends. The committee was James Johnson, James Mill, and Samuel Bean (*Treatise,* pp. 50-53). This committee had been the centre of the attack on the conduct of the trade. Here, while there were said to be but fifty active traders, there were 1425 registered freemen, in contrast to Liverpool's 88 freemen. Of this large number, 194 were said to have been admitted in a single day, to influence the committee election of 1771. Among the 274 admitted in the year 1771, twenty were members of the House of Commons, eighteen were directors of the East India Company, attorneys, physicians, stock jobbers, or tradesmen, not ten were African traders (*ibid.,* app. G, pp. 37-38). Another specific charge against the London group was that five men had agreed to combine their strength in such a way that three of the five would always constitute the committee (*ibid.,* pp. 43-46). There was pending at the time these charges were published a bill to "regulate the admission of freemen into the company of merchants trading to Africa and the election of committee men thereof". *Ibid.,* app. G, p. 35; *C. J.,* XXXIII. 630-776, *passim.*

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261. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1771.[1]

When clear'd		Ships	Where bound	No. of Slaves
January	17	*Agnes*	Windward Coast	200
	19	*Nancy*	Gold Coast	300
	22	*Corsican Hero*	Do.	300
	24	*John*	Windward Coast	200
	25	*Violet*	Do.	300
February	6	*Lord Cassills*	Old Calabar	400
	9	*Industry*	Windward Coast	200
	15	*Friendship*	Gambia	200
		Lively	Do.	200
		Jelliwar	Do.	100
	28	*Lark*	Windward Coast	100
March	6	*Providence*	Bonny	350
		Two Brothers	Gambia	300
	7	*Juno*	Senegal	100
		Dove	Windward Coast	100
	9	*Warren*	Do.	150
	20	*Hare*	Benin	400
	21	*Sam*	Senegal	100
	26	*Peggy*	Windward Coast	250
		Benin	Benin	450
	28	*Hector*	Old Calabar	400
April	6	*Hawk*	Windward Coast	300
	9	*Ferret*	Windward Coast	250
	15	*May*	Old Calabar	200
	18	*Tom*	Bonny	450
	20	*Mary*	Sirralone	300
	26	*Polly*	New Calabar	350
	29	*Gregson*	Bonny	500
May	3	*Edgar*	Do.	400
		Elizabeth	New Calabar	350
	7	*King of Prussia*	Cammeroons	250
	13	*St. John*	Gambia	300
	15	*Betty*	Bonny	450
	16	*Whim*	Cammeroons	200
		John	Windward Coast	250
	22	*Essex*	Do.	200
	24	*Mercury*	Gold Coast	200
		Jenny	Windward Coast	100
June	1	*Dalrymple*	Old Calabar	400
	6	*Rumbold*	Bonny	450
	8	*Tom*	Windward Coast	250
	13	*Lancashire Witch*	Do.	300
	15	*Prince George*	Do.	200
	17	*Little Will*	Windward Coast	300
		Andromache	Old Calabar	200
	18	*Hazard*	Windward Coast	200
		Nancy	Bonny	350
	19	*Molly*	Windward Coast	200
	20	*Sportsman*	Old Calabar	400
	21	*Aston*	Gambia	300
	25	*Apollo*	Windward Coast	200
	29	*Jenny*	New Calabar	350
July	2	*Nanny*	Bonny	450
	4	*Ellis*	Bonny	500
		Charlotte	Gold Coast	100
		Juba	Old Calabar	400
		Plumper	Bonny	450

[261] [1] Enfield, *History of Liverpool*, p. 68.

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[*Liverpool Vessels*—continued:]

When clear'd		Ships	Where bound	No. of Slaves
July	8	*Harriet*	Windward Coast	200
	9	*Corker*	Do.	300
	12	*Carrick*	Do.	100
		Ann	Bonny	350
	13	*Little Ben*	Windward Coast	100
	19	*Rose*	Do.	250
	23	*Jack*	Gold Coast	250
	24	*Nancy*	Bonny	400
	31	*Hannah*	Gold Coast	300
August	3	*Peggy*	Gold Coast	100
	7	*Sisters*	Do.	100
	13	*Society*	Do.	300
		Unity	Do.	300
	14	*Liberty*	Bonny	400
	15	*Lord North*	Do.	400
		Barbadoes Packet	Windward Coast	200
	16	*Mentor*	Gold Coast	300
		Townside	Windward Coast	200
	22	*Union*	Gold Coast	300
	23	*Captain*	Windward Coast	300
	26	*Bess*	Gold Coast	250
	27	*Pearle*	Windward Coast	200
	28	*Swift*	Old Calabar	200
	30	*President*	Do.	200
September	4	*Fox*	Cammeroons	200
	5	*Prince of Wales*	Bonny	600
		Patty	Windward Coast	250
		Renown	Do.	200
	17	*Nancy*	Do.	200
		Myrtle	Do.	300
	23	*Molly*	Gambia	300
	27	*Meredith*	Sirralone	250
		Portland	Windward Coast	250
	28	*Marcia*	Old Calabar	200
		John	Gold Coast	300
October	1	*William*	Windward Coast	150
	17	*Matty*	Do.	250
		Hannah	Angola	wood
	20	*Integrity*	Old Calabar	250
November	2	*Austin*	Bonny	350
	8	*Saville*	Windward Coast	250
		Camaranca	Do.	200
	20	*Dispatch*	Gold Coast	300
	21	*Ferret*	Windward Coast	150
	23	*Sally*	Do.	300
	25	*Lilly*	Do.	200
December	9	*Mars*	Do.	250
	9	*Bella*	Cammeroons	250
				Total 28,200[2]

[2] One estimate of the total number of negroes carried from Africa in 1771, in 195 vessels, gives (Add. MSS. 38416, f. 3):

"From Gum Coast	43 Ships carried	3310	Negroes
the Windward Coast	56 Do	11960	"
Gold Coast	29 Do	7525	"
Bite of Benin	63 Do	23301	"
Ivory Coast	4 Do	1051	"
	195 Vessels	47147"	

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262. Richard Brew (?) to a Liverpool Merchant.[1]

Gold Coast, 30th March, 1772.

. . . The times since the *Ingram* sailed are infinitely worse than when she lay here; for these three months, I will take upon me to say, there has not been three hundred slaves sold amongst all the shipping in this road of Annamaboe, and we have seldom had less than from twelve to eighteen sail of topsail vessels in it. They have at last got the price of the slaves up to eleven ounces for men, and nine ounces for women;[2] therefore, I would not have you, by any means, be concerned to Annamaboe for some time. There is no buying slaves now without you give two ounces of gold on each; to procure which, you must sell your goods 20 per cent. under prime cost, and you may think yourself happy to get it even at that rate. The black traders are now got to such a pass, they will not take the primest smoak taffty, as they call it, but will oblige you to give seven ackies of gold in its stead, and they will have gold also for any article that is not ready sale in the market; in short, the nature of the trade is so much altered, that a man who was here but two years ago would be at his wit's end to make a purchase.

The figures used by Pitman for this year give approximately the same result. To Liverpool he attributes 107 vessels and 29,250 negroes; to London, 58, and 8136 blacks; Bristol, 23, and 8810; Lancaster, 4, carrying 950 (*Development of the British West Indies*, p. 67). These figures, which are to be found in Edward Long's *History of Jamaica* (I. 492), in Bryan Edwards's *History of the West Indies* (II. 65), and in the *Treatise upon the Trade* (app. A, p. 1), and which reappear frequently in subsequent writing on the slave trade, make no allowance for American vessels, of which the *Treatise upon the Trade* (app. A, p. 2) states that there were at this time between 60 and 70.

[262] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade*, app. H, p. 122.

[2] The matter of price is frequently reverted to in the *Treatise*. Slaves from the Windward Coast were said to have doubled in price since 1756; those which could be purchased in 1763 for from 60 to 70 bars were in 1771 bringing 120 bars (*ibid.*, pp. 60-62). To the subject of price and profit Brew makes some contribution in a letter of Apr. 10, 1771: "I never can be brought to think that Mr. Mill, Mr. Bell, or any other gentlemen in the service, are so simple as to sell a prime Gold Coast man slave (as no other would be accepted) for a bill of 20 *l.* when there is a moral certainty, that such a slave would fetch 36 *l.* sterling in the West Indies; allowing then a man slave to fetch in the West Indies 36 *l.*

"From which deduct 10 per cent. commission	£ 3.	12.	0
Freight 5 *l.* mortality 1 *l.* 16 *s.*	6	16	0
Doctors' head money		1	
London bill	20		
	£30.	9.	0

"There appears to be a loss on every man slave of 5 *l.* 11. 0 and as women are said to be sold for only 16 *l.* in bills, and differ only 40 *s.* from the price of men in the West Indies, it will appear that those gentlemen will lose 7 *l.* 11 *s.* sterling on every woman; to this it will be objected that they are prohibited by the Committee instructions from shipping slaves on freight, and have no alternative but to sell them for goods or bills; which last method they tell you they are obliged to take, in order to support their credit and pay for the goods sent them out by their friends" (*ibid.*, app. H, p. 97). In 1776 the price was said to be 13 oz. and 11 oz., £32 2 *s.* Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 236.

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Another great disadvantage every vessel must labour under, that comes here is, that Mr. Mill, governor of Cape Coast Castle, and Mr. Bell, governor of Annamaboe, are both determined to go home with the next annual store ship, and till then you may be assured, They will not only sell the shipping no slaves, but all the forts will be kept employed in purchasing slaves for them, and, I dare say, will carry off between them at least one thousand slaves: I therefore leave you to judge what prospect a ship can have, till those two gentlemen are gone; for slaves they must and will have in spite of Fate.

263. Liverpool Riot over Wages.[1]

[Liverpool, September 4, 1775.]

I have scarce time to inform you of the most dreadful thing that ever happened here, last Friday evening. The crew of the *Derby*, Captain Yates, for Africa, unrigged the vessel, owing to the owners only offering them twenty shillings per month, after they had promised them thirty shillings, a month ago: taking advantage of the great plenty of sailors; however, nine were apprehended and sent to goal; the same evening three thousand assembled, broke the goal open, and took their companions out; they have since paraded the docks, etc, stopping all vessels ready for sailing. On Monday they in a body waited on the magistrates, praying redress and support; they came to no terms, and were to meet next day, which they did, and the merchants agreed to give the wages they demanded: on this they dispersed, and spent the day in the greatest festivity. In the meantime 300 able bodied men were hired at 10 *s.* per day, to apprehend those who had been most forward in the riot. The sailors discovering this, again met at nine o'clock the same evening, unarmed, and went to the 'Change, where some straggler of their party unfortunately broke a pane; on this the new appointed constables fired upon them from the 'Change, (no Riot Act being read,)[2] and seven were killed and about forty wounded; and then a general attack was made with stones, etc. at the windows, when they dispersed: but the cries and groans of the wounded were dismal. The sailors, this morning, again assembled to upwards of 1000, all with red ribbons in their hats; they went to Paris;[3] the gunsmith, took near 300 musquets, half of which are burst, also powder, balls, etc. from other places, and about one o'clock assailed the 'Change with two large cannon, and their small arms. In this attack four persons were killed; they have since entirely destroyed the house, furniture,

[263] [1] *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Sept. 4, 1775, printed in Richard Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 330 n.

[2] Other accounts speak of the reading of the Riot Act.

[3] Note in Brooke, "Parr's."

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etc. of Mr. Ratcliffe, a Guinea merchant, who was active against them, and they are at this moment battering Mr. James house, which is fortified.[4]

P. S. The soldiery who are sent for, are arrived, and are now in engagement with the rioters.[5]

264. The Trade of Loango.[1]

The principal trade of these people is that in slaves, whom they sell to the Europeans, that is to say, to the French, the English, and the Dutch, who transport them to their American Colonies. The slaves taken from Loango and other neighbouring kingdoms, pass for the blackest and most robust in Africa. They are taken in war by those who sell them. . . .

Those who have made captives sell them to merchants of that country, or bring them to the coasts, but they are not allowed themselves to sell them to the Europeans: they are obliged to address themselves to brokers, nominated by the minister of commerce, who treat with the captains of ships. These slaves are estimated according to their age, sex, and strength; they pay for them in European goods.

Though the different kingdoms of which we are speaking be not far distant from each other; the manner of valuing goods and turning slaves to account is not uniform among them. On the coasts of Malimba and Cabinda, that is to say, in the kingdoms of Kakongo and n'Goio, they reckon by goods; and in Loango by pieces; what

[4] Thomas Ratcliffe. Another account speaks of the destruction of the houses of two other Guinea merchants, Thomas Yates and John Simmons. The damage done to the property of Mr. James was estimated at £1000.

[5] For a complete account of this conflict over wages on slaving vessels see Brooke, pp. 328-347, and notes. That author has there printed such accounts of the riot as appeared in the London and Liverpool papers, and in the *Annual Register*, with references to other contemporary accounts. The struggle illustrates one of the effects on the trade brought about by the approach of the American Revolution:

"The inability of purchasing, and providing for, Negroes, which the present disputes had occasioned in our West-India Islands, together with the loss of the American market for slaves, and the impediments caused by the proclamations of council against the exportation of arms and ammunition, had, all together nearly extinguished our African trade. This loss was more particularly felt in the port of Liverpoole, which had possessed a much greater part of that commerce than any other in the kingdom. As the Guinea ships now arrived they were laid up, in an uncertainty of their future disposition, whilst their crews looked in vain for other employment. As other branches of commerce were also slackened in a great degree . . . the number of seamen out of employ in that town became very great, and according to some accounts amounted to about 3000." *Annual Register*, 1776, p. 44. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLV. 450, Sept., 1775, contains a brief account of the riot:

"About forty sail of Guinea ships are now laid up, and all that may arrive will be laid up also, for the embargo upon arms prevents any from sailing, even admitting there was encouragement for the sale of negroes in the West Indies, and the payment good." *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Sept. 8, 1775.

[264] [1] Abbé Proyart, "History of Loango, Kakongo, and other Kingdoms in Africa", 1776, in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages* (London, 1814), XVI. 548-597.

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they call goods, is a piece of cotton or Indian cloth ten or fourteen ells long. The negroes before striking a bargain go and mark off at the captain's store, which is on the sea side, the pieces of stuffs they choose to take; and he who has sold four slaves at fifteen goods a head, goes to receive sixty pieces of the stuffs marked off. In the kingdoms where they buy by goods it is customary to give for each slave what is called "the over and above", which commonly consists of three or four guns and as many swords; fifteen pots of brandy, fifteen pounds of gunpowder, and some dozens of knives. If these articles be not always given them, others are substituted as an equivalent.

At Loango they reckon by pieces, and every sort of goods is entered in a line of the account with the stuffs to form the piece; thus, when they say a slave costs thirty pieces, it does not mean he costs thirty pieces of stuffs, but thirty times the ideal value which they think fit to fix on, and call a piece; so that a single piece of stuff is sometimes estimated at two or three pieces, as sometimes several objects must form a single piece. This difference in the manner of reckoning is nothing at bottom, and the price of slaves is nearly the same in all the kingdoms bordering on Loango.

It is possible by inspecting the following account to estimate the real value of the piece, and to see what are the goods which commonly pass among the negroes in exchange for slaves.

I have paid at Ma-nboukou, for the slave Makviota, twenty-two years of age, whom he has sold me at thirty pieces,

An indienne of fourteen ells valued at two and a half pieces	2½
Two guineas (they are cotton cloths dyed deep blue) each valued at two and a half pieces	5
A chaffelat (white grape), and a bajutapeau (hog's cheek), fourteen ells each (they are cotton cloths) estimated at four pieces	4
A neganopeau of 14 ells and a great nicané of 9½ ells (other cotton cloths), estimated at three and a half pieces	3½
A piece of handkerchiefs of 9 ells, estimated at a piece and a half	1½
A rod (about an ell and a quarter of thick woollen stuff) estimated at a piece	1
A girdle of red cloth (an ell long by a foot broad) estimated at a piece	1
Two common guns, valued at two pieces	2
Two barrels of gunpowder (about 5 lbs. each) valued at two pieces	2
Two bags of leaden musket balls, (weight 3 lbs. each) valued at half a piece	0½
Two swords, valued at each a quarter of a piece	0½
Two dozens of common sheath knives, estimated at half a piece	0½
Two bars of iron (weight both together 20 lb.) valued at a piece	1
Five pots of Dutch ware, valued at half a piece	0½
Four barrels of brandy, each containing five pots, valued at four pieces	4
Ten strings of bugles (glass beads, of which chaplets are made) valued at half a piece	0½
Total	30 pieces.
I have paid moreover to the broker for his trouble the value of six pieces in guns, powder, swords, and brandy	6 pieces.
	36 pieces.

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Besides the pieces determined on for each slave, the captain must also, ere the bargain be closed, make a present to the Mafouka and the brokers who have served him best, and whom he is very glad to attach to himself: these presents are made in coral, services of plate, carpets, and other moveables, more or less precious.

Slaves are at present much dearer than formerly, at least to the French; for they may be dear with respect to one nation and not to another; the French, English and Dutch alike make their exchanges with goods, but these goods differ; so that the dearth of slaves to one nation depends on the price which she herself puts on the goods she carries to the negroes, and this price, as it may be imagined, must vary by reason of the better or worse understanding which reigns among individuals engaged in the same commerce. It would be easy for them not to pay for slaves more than their just value, or even below it, if it were moreover allowable to exercise monopoly and be more unjust towards the barbarian and the stranger than to the citizen, but through want of good understanding among the captains the reverse always takes place; the slaves are bought as it were by auction, and at more than their value. A reasonable price however is sometimes fixed, which they agree not to exceed in their purchases; but even then, every one for himself, desiring to make a ready bargain, renders this convention illusory, by a tacit agreement with the brokers, to pay them in secret a higher price for him whom they have publicly bargained for, to save appearances. The matter at present has come to this pitch, that the negroes are themselves afraid lest the French should in the end make up their minds to renounce a commerce which becomes daily more and more expensive to them. An old Mafouka one day came to see a missionary respecting this subject, and imagining that the king of France was to be treated with in the same way as the king of Kakongo, and that a missionary could indiscriminately preside over commerce or announce the gospel; thou must, says he, "write to the king of France, and advise him, for his own advantage and ours, to establish thee here to see that the captains of ships do not buy any more of our slaves below the reasonable price, for we see very well, that after having bought them of us too dear they will finish by buying no more of us at all."

The function of the brokers is not limited to facilitating the slave trade; they are also charged with superintending the execution of the regulations established by the king or the Mafouka, the most important of which is, that there shall not be sold any slaves to the Europeans except those which have been taken in war or purchased from abroad. Every slave born in the kingdom is under the protection of the Mafouka, and may appeal against his master, should he be inclined to sell him to the Europeans, unless he have given him

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that right through his own misconduct; for the law authorises a master to rid himself of a slave, who may have been guilty of bad faith, rebellion, or any other crime. The Mafouka of Kakongo, to prevent the violences and frauds which might be exercised in this trade, has issued prohibitions against the brokers from trafficking in slaves during the night time, or even from introducing them into the stores of the Europeans, under pretext of shewing them to the captains. They are equally forbidden to receive, without an express permission, advance or earnest for the price of the slaves who have not as yet been delivered up (pp. 584-587). . . .

265. Edmund Burke to Harry Garnet, 1777.[1]

. . . I shall only trouble you with one point more, which is to recommend to your very serious consideration the consequences which will probably attend any project for altering the present constitution of the African Company. The act upon which it stands was made by the most experienced men upon the most mature deliberation. It contains more checks and controls, and more effectual means to prevent abuses than attend any official Establishment at present known. No Establishment of that extent, in this, or in any Country, is maintained at so moderate a charge. It is not every man who is loud in complaint of grievance, that is equally zealous for redressing it; and nothing is more usual than for men to decry an establishment on account of some lesser Evils, in order to introduce Systems productive of much greater. At any rate, I trust you will have the foresight not to take any part in overturning the present mode of Administration until you are made to see dis-

[265] [1] Archives, Merchant Venturers of Bristol, closing portion of a holograph letter of Edmund Burke, M. P. for Bristol, to the Master of Merchants Hall, Bristol. From 1772 or 1773 until this time the organization of the trade was receiving much attention and there is a large amount of material on the form it should take as well as on the state of the forts on the African coast. In all this there is little which throws light on the trade itself (see House of Lords MSS., for each year; Eg. MSS. 1162 A; Add. MSS. 14034, ff. 245-273). The Board of Trade and the Privy Council had had under consideration, in 1774, an additional duty of 40*s.* laid by Jamaica on slaves imported. On this the board had reported that the legislature had no power to lay a duty on commerce, but that it was unnecessary to disavow the act since it had but a year to run. The governor was to be instructed to allow no further increase of the duty. The Jamaica merchants in their hearing before the board testified that the duty on twenty-six cargoes had amounted to £15,000 (*Acts P. C. C.*, 1766-1783, pp. 407-408; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III. 574-575). In November, 1774, Jamaica laid a duty of £5 on every negro imported, the reason offered for the act being the excessive size of the importation. Burke at that time notified the master of the Merchant Venturers of this threat to the interests of Bristol traders, and the society petitioned against the measure. P. R. O., B. T. 6 : 2, B 31, 33, 34; Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, p. 184.

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tinctly what is proposed to be substituted in its place.[2] If this precaution had been used on other occasions many mischievous designs would have been nipped in the bud, and the impatience of present inconveniences, often slight and curable, would not be made the means of bringing upon men the heaviest and most lasting Evils.[3]

[2] The Bristol Merchant Venturers were following the London hearings on the trade and were supplied by the friends of the trade with copious information. On Apr. 16, 1777, Richard Camplin, secretary to the London committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa sent to Harry Garnet, for the information of the Bristol freemen of the African Company, copies of petitions, resolutions, and reports which were then under consideration by the Lords of Trade. Archives, Merchant Venturers, box V., African Trade.

[3] Parliament had been regularly granting £13,000 a year for the upkeep of the African establishments. On Jan. 29, 1777, the committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa petitioned for greater financial aid for the upkeep and repair of the West Coast forts (the parliamentary grants from 1750 to 1776 equalled £343,400). This petition was placed upon the table while the Board of Trade, at the request of the House of Commons, examined the state of the African trade. Its report was made on Apr. 30, 1777, and for a month a committee considered the subject (*C. J.*, XXXVI. 94, 456). On May 30 two resolutions were brought in by the committee and accepted by the House:

"Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Words following, in the Return from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, namely, 'That a private Trade, directly tending to a Monopoly, hath been set up and established by the Governors and Chiefs of the Forts in Africa; and that this Private Trade, so injurious to the Interests of the Public, hath been carried on by them in Conjunction with Persons at Home, some one or more of whom have, at the same Time, been Members of the Committee above mentioned', do not relate to any of the Nine Members who constitute the present Committee of Merchants trading to Africa.

"Resolved, That (it appearing to this Committee, as well from the Return of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as from the Evidence produced in Support thereof, that several Abuses are alledged to prevail in the Manner of carrying on the Trade of the Gold Coast and Whydah) it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the same may Deserve the Attention and future Consideration of Parliament".

A motion to request his Majesty to ask the Board of Trade for a plan for supporting the forts was superseded by a motion to adjourn. A summary of the evidence presented to the Board of Trade is to be found in Macpherson, *Annals*, III. 603-606. The complaints were: excessive increase in the price of slaves; development of a monopoly of trade in the hands of the company's servants; carrying of foreign manufactures to the coast instead of English goods; substitution of inferior slaves for those of the Gold Coast; neglect to keep the forts in repair. The company was also accused of delivering an insufficient number to the colonies: "During the last two years, the colonies did not receive 16,000 annually from all parts of Africa, even when any of those purchased there escaped being taken by the American privateers on their passage to the West Indies."

The profits of the trade were said to be absorbed between company officials and native traders. It was also charged that the African traders were not men of large property, and when deprived of the advantage of procuring articles on trust they were obliged to drop out of the business. John Roberts, "Cursory Observations on the Trade to Africa", Eg. MSS. 1162 A (also in print as a pamphlet, B. M.), ff. 222-225, p. 5.

The method of credit in the colonies was likewise a subject of complaint at this time. Planters gave their own bonds for five years instead of bills of exchange for twelve or eighteen months. The bills of exchange could be used to make payments, but now the British merchant had nothing but the planters' bonds, and "many of the African merchants have been obliged to stop payment leaving great sums owing to the merchants of London, and the manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham for goods." Eg. MSS., 1162 A, f. 231.

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266. Committee of the Company of Merchants to the Board of Trade.[1]

[April 15, 1777.]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, The Memorial of the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa.

Sheweth, That the Number of Negroes exported from the Gold Coast of Africa, commencing with the Year 1758, according to the Return made to the Committee, has been as follows

1758	2203	1764	4520	1770	7203
1759	3819	5	2360	1	5770
1760	4241	6	2375	2	3725
1761	3483	7	4002	3	6820
1762	4087	8	5781	4	8156
1763	4145	9	5905	5	8108
6 Years	21,978	6 Years	24,903	6 Years	39,782[2]

Therefore it appears to the Committee the annual exportation has increased to almost double in the last six Years what it was in the first six Years, instead of Having Decreased as is asserted.

[266] [1] Archives, Merchant Venturers of Bristol, box V., African Trade, bundle S, no. 4.

[2] Latimer states that after the outbreak of the American Revolution the trade was virtually suspended (*Bristol, Eighteenth Century,* p. 416), but there was no hint of this in the reports from the coast in the spring of 1776. On Apr. 12 David Mill wrote from Cape Coast Castle: "The Trade has rather fallen off within these six weeks, attributed in a great measure to the Fantees being down to Leeward settling a dispute between the Accras and Akims, it is however likely to be equally as good as the last year; a good number of Slaves having already been shipp'd for the West India". John Dixon from Commenda, Thomas Trinder from James Fort, Accra, and Lionel Alson from Fort William, Whydah, all reported at this time that the trade was for the moment bad because of disputes among the natives; though Richard Miles reported from Tantumquerry that a greater number of slaves had been purchased there the preceding year than ever before, and that the present year promised to be as good (House of Lords MSS., 1776, Apr. 12-19). The reports of 1777 record poor trade at Appolonia, James Fort, Accra, Cape Coast Castle, and Fort William, Whydah. This is largely attributed to the troubles between the Ashantis and the Fantis (H. of L. MSS., 1777, Feb. 26-28). In 1778 Richard Miles wrote from Cape Coast that after a period of good trade it had fallen off because of an attempt to reduce the prices paid for negroes. This attempt the arrival of a French vessel had defeated. The trade from Accra was now hampered, not by trouble between Fantis and Ashantis but between Dutch and Danes (H. of L. MSS., 1778, Feb. 14-19). According to Macpherson (III. 617) 58 vessels were sent from England to Africa in 1777.

The information about the price of slaves during the early years of the Revolution is curiously conflicting. Clarkson (*Impolicy of the Slave Trade,* 1788, p. 25) stated that the price on the West Coast fell to £7, while in the colonies a slave would bring from £45 to £48. Yet in the island of Martinique negroes were said to be cheaper than in Africa (June 20, 1777, C. O. 5: 249, p. 86). John Roberts, in "Cursory Observations on the Trade to Africa", May 4, 1778, argued that the war against America had worked no great hardship to African traders, since their vessels, though often seized by privateers, were adequately insured, and the amounts paid for the negroes in Africa were so much smaller than in earlier years. Eg. MSS. 1162 A, ff. 222-224.

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267. The Case of the *Zong*, 1783.[1]

The ship *Zong,* or *Zung,* Luke Collingwood master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, the 6th September, 1781, with four hundred and forty slaves (or four hundred and forty-two) and seventeen Whites on board, for Jamaica; and on the 27th November following she fell in with that island; but, instead of proceeding to some port, the master, either through ignorance or a sinister intention, ran the ship to leeward, alleging that he mistook Jamaica for Hispaniola.

Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place, which is almost constantly the case on board slave-ships, through the avarice of those most detestable traders, which induces them to crowd, or rather to pack, too many slaves together in the holds of their ships; so that on board the *Zong,* between the time of her leaving the coast of Africa and the 29th of November 1781, sixty slaves and upwards, and seven White people, died; and a great number of the remaining slaves, on the day last mentioned, were sick of some disorder or disorders, and likely to die, or not to live long.

These circumstances of sickness and mortality are necessary to be remarked, and also the consequences of them—*viz.* that the dead and dying slaves would have been a dead loss to the owners, and, in some proportion, a loss also to the persons employed by the owners, unless some pretence or expedient had been found to throw the loss upon the insurers, as in the case of Jetsam or Jetson—*i.e.* a plea of necessity to cast overboard some part of a cargo to save the rest. These circumstances, I say, are necessary to be remarked, because they point out the most probable inducement to this enormous wickedness.

The sickness and mortality on board the *Zong,* previous to the 29th November 1781 (the time when they began to throw the poor Negroes overboard alive), was not occasioned by the want of water; for it was proved that they did not discover till that very day, the

[267] [1] Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp,* app. VIII., pp. xvii-xviii, "An Account of the Murder of One Hundred and Thirty-two Negro Slaves on Board the Ship *Zong,* or *Zung,* with some Remarks on the Arguments of an eminent Lawyer in Defence of that inhuman Transaction, enclosed in the Letter of the 2d July, 1783, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty." The case (Gregson *et al. v.* Gilbert *et al.*) was heard in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield and Justices Wills and Buller. The counsel for the owners were John Lee and Mr. Chambre, for the insurers, Messrs. Davenport, Pigot, and Heywood (*Substances of Debates on a Resolution for Abolishing the Slave Trade . . . 10th June, 1806,* p. 177). This account, sent to the Lords of the Admiralty by Granville Sharp, was accompanied by a letter in which he added further details, by a petition from the insurers of the *Zong,* plaintiffs, against Messrs. William, John, and James Gregson and others, Liverpool merchants and owners of the vessel, and by the minutes of court proceedings, May 22, 23, 1783 (*ibid.,* pp. 242-244). Much of the publicity which this case received was owing to Sharp's activity. A copy of his account to the Admiralty was also sent to the Duke of Portland and to the newspapers.

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29th November (or the preceding day) that the stock of fresh water was reduced to two hundred gallons: yet the same day, or in the evening of it, "before any soul had been put to short allowance", and before there was any present or real want of water, "the master of the ship called together a few of the officers, and told them to the following effect:—that, if the slaves died a natural death, it would be the loss of the owners of the ship; but if they were thrown alive into the sea, it would be the loss of the underwriters":[2] and, to palliate the inhuman proposal, he the said Collingwood pretended, that "it would not be so cruel to throw the poor sick wretches (meaning such slaves) into the sea, as to suffer them to linger out a few days under the disorders with which they were afflicted, or expressed himself to the like effect." To which proposal the mate (whose name is Colonel James Kelsal) objected, it seems, at the first, and said "there was no present want of water to justify such a measure": But "the said Luke Collingwood prevailed upon the crew, or the rest of them, to listen to his said proposal; and the same evening, and two or three or some few following days, the said Luke Collingwood picked, or caused to be picked out, from the cargo of the same ship, one hundred and thirty-three slaves, all or most of whom were sick or weak, and not likely to live; and ordered the crew by turns to throw them into the sea; which most inhuman order was cruelly complied with." I am informed, by a memorandum from the deposition of Kelsal the chief mate (one of the murderers), that fifty-four persons were actually thrown overboard alive on the 29th of November; and that forty-two more were also thrown overboard on the 1st December. And on this very day, 1st December, 1781, before the stock of water was consumed, there fell a plentiful rain, which, by the confession of one of their own advocates, "continued a day or two, and enabled them to collect six casks of water, which was full allowance for eleven days, or for twenty-three days at half-allowance"; whereas the ship actually arrived at Jamaica in twenty-one days afterwards—*viz.* on the 22d December, 1781. They seem also to have had an opportunity of sending their boat for water no less than thirteen days sooner, *viz.* on the 9th December, when they "made the west end of Jamaica, distant two or three leagues only," as I am informed by a

[2] The affair came to the courts and thence to public knowledge through the refusal of the underwriters to pay the insurance. The owners brought suit for the slaves at 30*l.* each, and were given a verdict in the Court of King's Bench, whereupon, the underwriters petitioned the Court of Exchequer for a review of the evidence. Lord Mansfield, in allowing a second trial on behalf of the underwriters, said: "The matter left to the jury, was, whether it was from necessity; for they had no doubt (though it shocks one very much) that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard" (*Memoirs of Sharp*, p. 241). This made excellent material for the campaign for abolition which was inaugurated shortly after this, with Sharp as chairman of the committee which directed the work. See introduction, p. liv.

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person who was on board: and yet, notwithstanding this proof of a possibility that they might perhaps obtain further supplies by rain, or that they might be able to hold out with their new-increased stock of water till they might chance to meet with some ship, or be able to send to some island for a further supply, they nevertheless cast twenty-six more human persons alive into the sea, even after the rain, whose hands were also fettered or bound; and which was done, it seems, in the sight of many other unhappy sufferers that were brought up upon deck for the same detestable purpose, whereby ten of these miserable human creatures were driven to the lamentable necessity of jumping overboard, to avoid the fettering or binding of their hands, and were likewise drowned. . . .[3]

268. SALE OF NEGROES, THE *BLOOM*, ROBERT BOSTOCK, 1784.[1]

Sales of 307 slaves (103 men, 51 women, 99 boys, 54 girls), the lowest price being £21 for a woman and £40 each for man, a boy, and 2 girls, £9858 2 10

[3] Sharp goes on to relate that the lack of water was not the motive for this wholesale slaughter, since the vessel had at least two hundred gallons of fresh water and neither crew nor slaves had been put on short allowance. The remainder of the letter is an argument for bringing a charge of murder against the mate and any of the crew involved. The captain, Collingwood, was dead. Sharp quotes John Lee, advocate for the owners, as saying, "so far from the charge of murder lying against these people, there is not the least imputation—of cruelty I will not say, but—of impropriety." *Memoirs*, p. xx.

Two years later another insurance case brought forth an interesting decision from Lord Mansfield. The underwriters of a Bristol vessel were "not to pay any loss that may happen in boats during the voyage (mortality of negroes by natural death excepted); and not to pay for mortality by mutiny, unless the same amount to 10*l.* per cent. to be computed upon the first cost of the ship, outfit and cargo, valuing negroes so lost as 35*l.* per head". The negroes, 225 in number, mutinied twice. Fifty-five died on the Middle Passage. The underwriters paid for 19 who had been killed in the mutiny or had died of their wounds. The plaintiff contended that all 55 died as a result of the mutiny. He also contended that the negroes had sold for less in the West Indies because of the mutiny and that he should be recompensed for that loss also. Lord Mansfield dismissed this loss as outside the insurance. He also ruled that those negroes who died from jumping overboard or swallowing salt water had not died from injuries received in the mutiny and therefore the underwriters were not responsible. Mrs. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, I. 19-20; see also p. 22 for other cases concerned with problems of insurance.

[268] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 606. In 1777 there were 58 vessels sent from England to the African coast, 31 of which came from Liverpool; in 1778, there were 41, of which 26 came from Liverpool; in 1779, there were 28, of which 11 were Liverpool vessels (Clarkson, *Impolicy of the Slave Trade*, p. 125). After 1780 the trade revived and even exceeded in amount the traffic before 1777 (Africanus, *Remarks on the Slave Trade*, 1788, p. 84 n.). While the war lessened the trade to Africa and imperilled the cargoes carried to the West Indies, it opened another source of supply. Dutch and French slavers were not infrequently captured by the English and their cargoes disposed of in the West Indies. One such capture was made by the *Sally* in 1781, when 350 negroes were removed from a Dutch Guineaman. These were at the time reckoned at £50 each in Jamaica (Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 564). Williams says (p. 566) that in 1783 eighty-five vessels with a capacity of 39,170 slaves sailed from Liverpool. The author of *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool* (pp. 240-242) adds that one Liverpool house, designated by him as "T.I.B.", sent out seven slave vessels; twenty houses sent one vessel each. In 1784 five was the largest number despatched by a single firm ("B.D."); in 1785 the same house sent seven vessels to the coast. All evidence points to a rapid revival of the

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Charges:				
To 6 slaves at the average £32 2*s.* 2½ *d.* freight for Captain Bostock	£ 192	13	3	
To 1 slave for James Oddie the second mate, sold by desire of Captain B.	30	0	0	
To Captain Bostock's privilege on £9635 9*s.* 7*d.* at 2 per cent.	192	14	2	
Ditto on extra privilege one average	32	2	2½	
To Mr. Wm. Cockerill's one privilege	32	2	2½	
To Capt. Bostock's coast commission on £9378 11*s.* @ 4 per 10£	360	14	3	
To Factors' (Taylor and Kerr), Commission on do. 5%	465	1	8	
To Mr. John McCulloch, surgeon, for head money on 300 slaves @ 1 currency[2] is £15 @ 82½ per cent.	8	4	4	
To store rent, advertising, liquor, etc.	15	0	0	
To sugar, rum, etc. shipped and cash advanced	918	4	8	
" Drafts at 15 mos' sight	2401	14	2	
" " 18 " "	2401	14	2	
" " 21 " "	2401	14	2	
" Factors' Commission on remittances, etc., 5%	406	3	7	
				£9858 2 10[3]

269. Articles of Agreement of the *Sally*.[1]

July 22, 1785.

SHIP *SALLY'S* ARTICLES, BOUND FOR AFRICA.

Received from the Trustees for the Relief and Support of Sick and Disabled Seamen.

Articles of Agreement made, concluded, and agreed upon, the Twenty-second Day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty-five, between the Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, whose Names or Marks are hereunto subscribed, and Seals put, belonging to the Ship or Vessel called the

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trade after the Revolution. In 1785 British slavers were disposing of cargoes in the Spanish island of Trinidad (*S. C. Gazette*, July 18, 1785), and Limerick, Ireland, was projecting an African Company which should send six vessels annually to Guinea and the West Indies. *Ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1785.

[2] Island currency.

[3] Thomas Foxcroft and Company were the owners of the *Bloom*, the shares being distributed as follows: Thomas Foxcroft 5/16, William Rice 2/16, A. Wharton 2/16, Felix Doran 2/16, James Welsh 2/16, Robert Bostock 2/16, and George Welch 1/16. The reference library of Liverpool contains a journal of the voyages of the *Bloom*, Robert Bostock, 1783-1788, with correspondence and accounts.

[269] [1] *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations; submitting to His Majesty's Consideration the Evidence and Information they have collected in Consequence of his Majesty's Order in Council, dated the 11th of February 1788, concerning the Present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and concerning the Effects and Consequences of this Trade, as well in Africa and the West Indies, as to the general Commerce of this Kingdom* (1789), pt. II. For comment on this report, see p. 593 n. Much of section II. of the report, prepared at the beginning of the parliamentary struggle for the abolition of the slave trade, deals with the agreements of seamen and the muster-rolls of slave vessels. These were secured by Thomas Clarkson, whose painstaking investigation of the muster-rolls of 88 vessels, in order to discover the effect of the trade

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"Sally," whereof Alexander Robe is appointed to go Master, now lying within the Port of Bristol, of the First Part; the said Alexander Robe, of the Second Part; and James Cross, of the City of Bristol, Merchant, and Part Owner of the said Ship "Sally," for and on Behalf of himself and the other Owners of the said Ship, of the Third Part.

First, The said Officers, Seamen, Mariners, Landsmen, and Boys, in Consideration of One, Two, or Three Months Pay, now in Hand paid and advanced to them by the said James Cross, and set opposite to their respective Names, each and every of them do covenant, promise, and agree to oblige themselves, each for himself only, to and with the said James Cross, that each and every of them shall and will proceed in the said Ship, in the several Capacities and Stations set next opposite their several and respective Names, on the now intended Voyage from the said Port of Bristol to the Coast of Africa, from thence to some Port or Ports of Discharge of the said Vessel's Cargo in America, and from thence back again to the said Port of Bristol, or some other Port of Discharge in Great Britain, for the End of the Voyage.

Secondly, Each and every of them the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, do hereby severally and apart for themselves, and for their several and respective Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said James Cross, his Executors and Administrators, that the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, and each and every of them, shall and will proceed in the said Ship *Sally*, and faithfully and truly perform and do their several Stations and Services during the whole Voyage as above, without any Manner of Denial, Mutiny, or Resistance whatsoever; and that each and every of them will honestly and faithfully perform the said Voyage, without any ways embezzling the Goods or Merchandize shipped on Board the said Ship, or any other the Stores thereof; and that each and every of them shall and will in all Things observe, perform, and obey the Orders, Commands, and Directions of the Master or Commander of the said Ship, for the Time being, without any Manner of Denial, Mutiny, or Resistance, whatsoever. And it is agreed by and between

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on the mariners engaged in it, demonstrated beyond cavil the excessive mortality rate in this branch of the mercantile service (*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, I. 238-331, 341-351). Clarkson's results also yielded much incidental information, *e. g.*, a vessel to the Windward Coast of West Africa carried a larger crew than one to the Leeward Coast, because the Windward trade was carried on by boats manned from the vessel. Of this crew one-half was made up of experienced seamen; three-eighths of inexperienced; one-sixteenth of green men; one-sixteenth of apprentices and boys not yet indentured. A vessel of 150 tons carried about 30 men. The wages of the experienced seamen were 40*s.* a month, those of the inexperienced 30*s.*

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the said Parties to these Presents, that in case the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, or any or either of them, do ship, or cause to be shipped, on Board the said Ship *Sally*, on his or their own Accounts, any Goods or Merchandizes, it shall and may be lawful for the Master or Commander of the said Ship to detain the same for the Use of the Owners of the said Ship; any Laws, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Thirdly, It is mutually agreed by and between the said James Cross, and the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, That the Wages, or Monthly Pay, to grow due to each and every of them, for their Services on Board the said Ship *Sally*, for this present Voyage, be paid, *viz.* One Half Part at the Port of Delivery of the said Vessel's Negroes in America, in the Currency there,[2] to wit, every Twenty Shillings of such Currency to be accounted equal, and upon a Par with Twenty Shillings Sterling Money of Great Britain; and in case such Port of Delivery of the said Negroes should happen to be at South Carolina, or any other Port of America, where the common Course of Exchange should happen to be Five hundred Pounds per Cent. that then such Half Wages as aforesaid, shall be paid according to the Currency of the Island of Barbadoes, computing every Twenty Shillings of such Currency equal, and upon a Par, with Twenty Shillings Sterling Money of Great Britain, and the remaining Part of such Wages, or Monthly Pay as aforesaid, shall be paid within Thirty Days after the said Ship's Arrival at her Port of Discharge in Great Britain, in Sterling Money. And in case of Mortality of either Captain, Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, or Boys, or if any or either of them be discharged during the whole Voyage as above, the whole Wages then due to such Person deceased or discharged, shall be paid in the Currency of the Port of Delivery of the Negroes in America. And the said Wages, or Monthly Pay, shall not commence before the Departure of the said Ship from the said Port of Bristol; and that the Advance Money, now by them respectively received, be deducted and allowed to the said Alexander Robe, or unto the Owners of the said Ship, wheresoever the Payment be made.

Fourthly, That each and every of them the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, do further covenant and agree, each for himself only, That they are duly qualified and capable to per-

[2] On Mar. 5 and 15, 1788, Henry Wilkins wrote to Lord Hawkesbury that one of the great abuses of the trade was the payment of half the wage of the seamen in island currency rather than in sterling. The money thus received the seamen often lost through drink, illness, or robbery, before they returned to England. Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 51-53.

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form their respective Duties and Qualities in the several Stations they are and shall be shipped in: And that they, and each of them, do further covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said James Cross, his Executors and Administrators, that if either of them shall, during the whole Voyage as above, quit the Service of the said Ship, by voluntarily going on Board any of his Majesty's Ships of War, or otherwise desert the Service of the said Ship, then, and in such Case, the whole of the Wages then due to any so quitting or voluntarily deserting as aforesaid, shall be forfeited to the said James Cross, his Executors and Administrators; any Law, Usage, or Custom, to the contrary notwithstanding. And it is further agreed by and between the said Parties to these Presents, That in case any or either of them the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, or Boys, whose Names or Marks are hereunto subscribed, shall at any Time, during the whole Voyage as above, appear, by Judgment of the said Alexander Robe, Master of the said Ship *Sally*, or any Master for the Time being, and Two or more of the principal Officers belonging to the said Ship, to be incapable of acting agreeable to the Capacity in which they and each of them do ship themselves, which is set opposite their several and respective Names, then, and in such Case, they do agree to and make such Abatement in their Wages as the said Master, and Two or more of the principal Officers belonging to the said Ship, for the Time being, shall adjudge and determine any or either of them ought of Right to have and receive in Proportion to their respective Abilities and Understandings; which Sum, to be adjudged and allowed by such Master and Officers as aforesaid, they and each of them do agree to accept and take in full Consideration, Satisfaction, and Payment.

And Lastly, It is agreed and declared, by all the Parties to these Presents, That for the due Performance of these Articles, and every Clause herein contained, that all and every the Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, do hereby respectively bind themselves to the Owners of the said Ship *Sally* in the penal Sum of Fifty Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain. In Witness whereof they have hereunto severally subscribed their Names or Marks, and affixed their Seals, the Day and Year first above written.

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No.	Names.	Stations.	Wages per Month.	Money advanced.
1	Alexander Robe — (L. S.)	Master — —	5 — —	10 — —
2	James Steele — — (L. S.)	First Mate —	4 — —	8 — —
3	William Craggs — — (L. S.)	Second Mate —	3 — —	6 — —
4	Wm Francis — — (L. S.)	Surgeon — —	4 — —	8 — —
5	Edward Bullock — — (L. S.)	Third Mate —	2 — —	4 — —
6	Edward Mintor's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Boatswain — —	2 15 —	5 10 —
7	Benjn Tedball's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Carpenter — —	4 — —	8 — —
8	James Dally — — (L. S.)	Cooper — —	3 10 —	7 — —
9	Dennis Spellissy — — (L. S.)	Surgeon's Mate —	2 10 —	5 — —
10	George Reece's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Steward — —	1 15 —	3 10 —
11	Thomas Hall's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Gunner — —	1 15 —	3 10 —
12	Thomas Stockwell — (L. S.)	Cooper's Mate —	2 — —	4 — —
13	Charles Clark — — (L. S.)	Carpenter's Mate —	2 2 —	4 4 —
14	Mostough McCarthy — (L. S.)	Cook — —	2 — —	4 — —
15	James Holland — (L. S.)	Armourer — —	1 15 —	3 10 —
16	Arthur Harvey — (L. S.)	Seaman — —	1 10 —	3 — —
17	Francis Reed — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
18	William Christie — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
19	John Bickley's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
20	William Windmill — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
21	Ambrose Gingell's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
22	Rowland Bynon — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
23	Joseph Jackson — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
24	James Nicholson — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
25	Thomas Hawke's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
26	John Grinny — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
27	John Douglass — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
28	Timothy Ryan — (L. S.)	Taylor — —	1 10 —	3 — —
29	Anthony Green's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Ord'y Seaman —	1 5 —	2 10 —
30	Robert Flood — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 3 —	2 6 —
31	Michael Looby's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Seaman Ordinary —	1 5 —	2 10 —
32	James Grove's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
33	William Bevan's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 1 —	2 2 —
34	Isaac Stephenson — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
35	William Poulston's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
36	James Hooper's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 1 —	2 2 —
37	Martin Jones's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
38	John Wray's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
39	Thomas James — (L. S.)	D° — —	— 15 —	1 10 —
40	Christopher Bennett's Mark ⋈ (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
41	William Lovegrove — (L. S.)	D° — —	— 15 —	1 10 —
42	James Olive's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
43	William Brittain's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
44	Zackryer Mullineux — (L. S.)	Boy — —	1 — —	2 — —
45	Isaac Bowen — — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
46	William Miller's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	— 15 —	1 10 —

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the above Forty-six Persons, in the Presence of me,

JOHN BARLOW.

270. GOLBÉRY'S TRAVELS IN AFRICA.[1]

I shall not give a description of the number of vessels, magazines, warehouses, and docks, which compose the mercantile establishment

[270] [1] *Travels in Africa, performed during the Years 1785, 1786, and 1787, in the Western Countries of that Continent,* etc., by Silv. Meinard Xavier Golbéry (London, 1802, trans. by Francis Blagdon). France, by the peace of 1783, had regained the Senegal, of which she had been deprived by the treaty of 1763. Golbéry, eager to restore and to extend French influence in Africa, went out in 1785 as aide to De Boufflers, governor of the Senegal. He visited twenty native tribes, and made himself familiar with English methods of trade during his three years of service.

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of Liverpool at Sierra Leone; but I shall merely state, that nothing was forgotten that could render this factory as wholesome as it was commodious and agreeable, and that it might serve as a model of its kind. The person who was the chief or director of this establishment, held appointments which produced him a regular income of eight hundred guineas per year: he resided at Sierra Leone, but he made frequent voyages to the isles of Los Idolos,[2] and to the other parts dependent on his government. The society of Liverpool allowing two per cent. on every slave delivered healthy and well conditioned in the English colonies, and the other advantages that were attached to his place, were sufficient to ensure him in a few years a very respectable fortune.

He had under his orders a principal agent, who resided at the isle of Los Idolos, and received a salary of four hundred guineas per year, with a premium upon every head of slaves; the other principal persons employed also received very good appointments, and had a proportionate interest in the affairs of this society.

I have already said, that the English factories had almost always at their disposal a great number of boats and light vessels; that of Sierra Leone possessed, besides, a very fine vessel of eight hundred tons burthen, which generally remained at anchor at the mouth of the creek; it carried twenty-four guns, and was on the whole as well armed as a ship of war.

The most valuable merchandizes and the principal effects and ammunition, remained on board this vessel, where the chief of the factory slept every night: it also served as an infirmary, because experience had proved that the freshness of the sea air was beneficial to the sick.

The factory of Sierra Leone received every year at least ten vessels, that were dispatched from England with an ample supply of all kinds of provisions, and necessaries for the trade; and it constantly had merchandizes in its magazine, to the amount of nearly two millions. . . .

Proceedings of a Society from Havre with the Society of Liverpool, or Sierra Leone. We found, in the anchorage of the creek of Sierra Leone, five English vessels, and a French ship of three masts, commanded by Captain Rousseau, which had been dispatched to execute a treaty concluded in January 1785, between the Liverpool society and a society from Havre.

According to the conditions of this treaty, the factory of the creek of Sierra Leone was to deliver to captain Rousseau, in the course of

[2] Islands near the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. They were known in the American colonies as the islands of Delos. See this work, vol. III., index.

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a year, three thousand slaves, chosen by him, of both sexes and all ages, at the rate of six hundred francs per head. The half of the price agreed upon was to be paid in cash on the day of delivery, and the other half in bills of exchange at ten months.

Captain Rousseau arrived in the river of Sierra Leone on the 25th of September 1785, and by the 1st of May following he had sent off two thousand slaves to our sugar colonies, in transport vessels provided for the purpose, and he expected ships for a thousand more, which were ready to be delivered.

Political Disadvantages of this Trade. This trade was inimical to the political principles of the commerce of a great state, because it took out of the country a sum of eighteen hundred thousand francs: besides this first disadvantage, we also experienced that of paying the English at the rate of six hundred francs per head, for slaves, which would have cost us only three hundred francs, if we had traded for them ourselves, either in the river Sierra Leone, or in the neighbouring roads; and the proof of this assertion will shortly appear.

Similar treaties were again concluded in 1787 and 1788, between the society of Sierra Leone and some houses at Nantes, but on condition of paying in ready money for the slaves, at the rate of thirty guineas per head. Thus were turned to the advantage of foreigners, those great commercial operations which prevented the disposal of our own goods, and paralysed our industry.

It cannot be denied that some compensation for these disadvantages was derived from the acquisition of a great number of slaves, who were then of advantage in the rich culture of our Antilles, and by the profits of the French societies, who had made these speculations, though they terminated in the course of a year. . . .

But by our carelessness, the commerce was entirely left in the hands of the English, and the operations of their factory at the creek of Sierra Leone, were increased during the year 1785 and the first months of 1786, to a sum upwards of eight millions. It will be seen, that the affairs of the English society established at the fort and isle of Bence, in the river Mitombo,[3] were likewise nearly as advantageous (pp. 238-243). . . .

The agents, merchants, and clerks of the society of Bence,[4] spread

[3] Also called the Sierra Leone River. The extent of the Liverpool trade with France here described is somewhat surprising. "Africanus" says in *Remarks on the Slave Trade*, written in 1788 (p. 19), that two-thirds of the slaves purchased on the Slave Coast by English traders were sold to the French and other foreigners.

[4] Golbéry may be referring here to the mercantile house which had its headquarters on Bence Island, though it is difficult to adapt all that he says to the establishment on that island. There were in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River several small islands, on one of which, Bance, Bence, or Bences, the Royal African Company erected a fort. This was abandoned by the company in 1728 and was not again occupied until 1744, when George Fryer restored it, fitted it for defense, and in 1748 sold it to

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themselves over the upper countries along the course of the Mitombo, by which they procured nearly two thousand slaves per annum, as well as a quantity of ivory, and other valuable articles.

By means of the light boats and vessels that composed their little, though well organized maritime establishment, which was almost entirely manned by blacks, this factory kept up a very active trade on the coasts comprised between Cape Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, from which they derived a considerable advantage. In 1785, and during the first five months of 1786, they delivered to the Danes more than three thousand blacks, besides which, they had sent to the English colonies nearly four thousand. The general operations of this factory produced a much larger sum than that of the affairs of the factory of the creek of Sierra Leone.

Proceedings of a Brig dispatched to Martinique on the Slave Trade. On arriving at the mouth of the river of Mitombo, we found at anchor a brig, commanded by a captain in the merchant-service, named Basteresse. He had accidentally put into the bay of Sierra Leone during the summer of 1785. It appeared that he had been dispatched by the planters of Martinique, and his vessel was prepared for receiving a hundred and fifty slaves. Captain Basteresse, who had the politeness to give me an account of his proceedings, declared, that till now he had no knowledge of these roads, nor of the river of Sierra Leone; but his intelligence and activity soon made him acquainted with the negro traders. With a cargo calculated for a trade of a hundred and fifty slaves, M. Basteresse procured three hundred. In 1785, he could only carry two hundred to Martinique, because the capacity of the little vessel that he then commanded, was not sufficient to carry a more considerable number: he was therefore compelled to leave a hundred slaves in the hands of the negro brokers, and it was to convey this second detachment, and to continue his proceedings, which had met with great success, that he had anchored in the bay of Sierra Leone, where he entered on the 25th of February 1786, in a larger and more convenient vessel, and with a more considerable quantity of merchandize.

On the 15th of May the hundred slaves purchased in the preceding year, and left in the hands of the negro brokers, had been delivered,

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Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald, and Company (*C. J.*, XXVI. 360). In the enumeration of property to be transferred from the Royal African Company to the Company of Merchants this island was included, whereupon the purchasers petitioned for recognition of their title or reimbursement for their expenditure. The title of Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald, and John Sargent was confirmed by act of Parliament (25 Geo. II. c. 40, sect. 3), and the company by treaties with native chiefs also obtained control of a number of neighboring islands. In 1785 this house sold its establishment to John and Alexander Anderson (Claude George, *British West Africa*, pp. 284-286; see also this work, vol. III., South Carolina). Golbéry may be describing the Andersons' property.

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and were embarked on board his vessel: he had already procured fifty others, and he reckoned upon sailing in the month of July with two hundred slaves.

According to his journal, which he was willing to lay before me, his captives cost him only at the rate of two hundred and twenty francs in money per head; and his employers at Martinique derived from these two expeditions a profit of three hundred thousand francs. . . .

Operations of M. Ancel, a French Merchant, established in the Isle of Gambra in 1786.

The proceedings of M. Ancel, a French merchant, established in the year 1786 in the isle of Gambra, are an additional proof of the observations that I have just made.

A Frenchman named Hannibal, who had been brought by chance in a Danish ship into the river of Sierra Leone in 1772, formed the resolution of making an attempt to trade on his own account: in short, without assistance or protection, and by his industry alone, he succeeded in forming an establishment in the isle of Gambra, and of trading for thirty or forty slaves per year.

In 1780 M. Ancel, another Frenchman, also arrived at Sierra Leone, and entered into partnership with his countryman Hannibal. In 1781 Hannibal died, and left his establishment and commerce to M. Ancel, who, in 1785, and in the first months of 1786, had, as appeared by his journals, purchased one hundred and forty-two slaves, at the average price of two hundred francs per head (pp. 249-252).[5] . . .

This commerce was not quite so active during the war for the independence of America, but at the peace of 1783, it was resumed with insatiable ardor. Whole chains of captives arrived from all parts, at the market for the trade, and we were astonished to learn, that many of these caravans of slaves did not arrive at Galam in the Senegal, at Barraconda, in the Gambra, and at the factories of the rivers of Sherbroo, Gabon, Volte, Benin, and the river Zaira, before they had performed marches of sixty, seventy, and eighty

[5] Golbéry's summary of the slave trade, without the other commodities which he includes, is:

	Slaves	Value in francs
The English factory at Sierra Leone to British colonies	3200	7,440,000
To Capt. Rousseau	3000	
The English factory of Bence to the British colonies and to the Danes	7000	8,400,000
Capt. Basteresse	300	360,000
M. Ancel the French merchant of Gambia	142	170,400
	13,642	16,370,400

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days; and by calculating the extent of these routes, it was evident that they must have come from the most central regions of Africa. We may therefore be convinced, that the interior of this Continent is not so desert a space as has long been imagined.

According to the results of the slave-trade on the coasts of Africa, from the year 1765 to 1785, the exportation of blacks, bought by the European factories along the coasts, was estimated at sixty thousand captives per annum, and in 1786 and 1787, the number exceeded seventy thousand head in each year.

There was reason to be astonished at such a prodigious increase in a commerce, the fall of which had been predicted by the Abbé Raynal, as well as at the abundance of a merchandize, of which he had likewise predicted, though, perhaps, too rashly, the approaching scarcity.

During my stay in Africa, I pursued with great application, the study of this part of the world; all the accounts that I collected, convinced me that the services of the slave-trade were far from being on the decline; and I ventured to assert in a notice relative to the Western part of Africa, which I presented to government in the year 1788, that this Continent was capable of supporting far more numerous exportations, without its population experiencing any sensible effect. In short, we saw the number of exported blacks increase, and by a report made on the slave trade in 1790, by the Privy Council of the king of England, and afterwards by the House of Commons, we learned that during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, the Europeans had exported from Africa nearly eighty thousand negroes per annum (pp. 294-296).[6] . . .

271. Voyage of John Matthews to the River Sierra Leone.[1]

Sierra-Leone, February 15, 1787.

. . . When the adventurer arrives upon the coast with a suitable cargo—which for this place consists of European and Indian cotton and linen goods, silk handkerchiefs, taffities, coarse blue and red woollen cloths, scarlet cloth in grain, coarse and fine hats, worsted caps, guns, powder, shot, sabres, lead bars, iron bars, pewter

[6] Robert Norris estimated the total exportation at 74,200. B. T. 6 (Africa): 9, f. 137.

[271] [1] *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone, on the Coast of Africa, containing an Account of the Trade and Production of the Country . . . a Series of Letters,* by John Matthews, lieutenant in the Royal Navy; during his Residence in that Country in the Years 1785, 1786, and 1787 (London, 1791). The volume contains seven letters written from Sierra Leone and one from Liverpool. Matthews was one of those witnesses in the investigation of the committee of the Privy Council who received the thanks of the Liverpool council for his testimony (see *post,* no. 275). In that testimony, as in his published letters, he denied that native wars were instigated or crimes falsely charged in order to supply the British traders with slaves.

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basons, copper kettles and pans, iron pots, hardware of various kinds, earthen and glass ware, hair and gilt leather trunks, beads of various kinds, silver and gold rings and ornaments, paper, coarse and fine check, and linen ruffled shirts and caps, British and foreign spirits and tobacco—he dispatches his boats properly equipped to the different rivers. On their arrival at the place of trade they immediately apply to the head man of the town, inform him of their business, and request his protection; desiring he will either be himself their landlord, or appoint a respectable person, who becomes security for the person and goods of the stranger, and also for the recovery of all money lent, provided it is done with his knowledge and approbation. This business finished, and proper presents made, (for nothing is done without) they proceed to trade either by lending their goods to the natives, who carry them up into the country, or by waiting till trade is brought to them. The former is the most expeditious way, when they fall into good hands; but the latter is always the safest.

When the country people come down themselves to trade with the whites, they are obliged to apply to the inhabitants of the villages where the factories are kept, to serve as brokers and interpreters.

When a slave is brought to be sold he is first carefully examined, to see that there is no blemish or defect in him; if approved, you then agree upon the price at so many bars, and give the dealer so many flints or stones to count with; the goods are then delivered to him piece by piece, for which he returns so many stones for each, agreeably to their denominated value; and they always take care to begin with those articles which they judge most essentially necessary.

Exclusive of this method of dealing directly with the natives, transient ships, or those who only come for a small number, generally barter with the white traders resident on the coast, or with the factories established there, who take their whole cargo at once, and deliver them slaves, camwood, ivory, etc. according to their agreement, in a certain time.

From the great number of slaves which are annually exported, and which, from this place and the parts adjacent, including Sherbro' and the Riomoonas,[2] amounts to about three thousand annually, one would be led to imagine the country would, in time, be depopulated; instead of which no diminution of their numbers is perceived; and, from every account we have been able to acquire from the natives themselves, who travel into the interior country, it is extraordinarily populous: but how such a number of slaves are procured, is a circumstance which I believe no European was ever fully acquainted with.

[2] Rio Nuñez.

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The best information I have been able to collect is, that great numbers are prisoners taken in war, and are brought down, fifty or a hundred together, by the black slave merchants; that many are sold for witchcraft, and other real, or imputed, crimes; and are purchased in the country with European goods and salt; which is an article so highly valued, and so eagerly sought after, by the natives, that they will part with their wives and children, and every thing dear to them, to obtain it, when they have not slaves to dispose of; and it always makes a part of the merchandize for the purchase of slaves in the interior country; yet, notwithstanding salt is in such great demand, the natives of the sea-coast will not permit the import of it in European vessels, because it would interfere with the only article of their own manufacture, which they have for inland trade. . . . Death or slavery were, and still are, the punishments for almost every offence. And every prisoner taken in battle was either put to death or kept as a slave. The fate of prisoners was also in a great measure determined by the season of the year, and the occasion they had for their services. If they were taken after the harvest was over, they were seldom spared; but those who were captured before the commencement of the rice season, experienced a different fate, as they were reserved to cultivate the rice-ground; and sold, after the harvest, to those tribes bordering on the sea, who had no other means of acquiring slaves than by purchase; or were kept as labouring slaves, and for ever fixed to the spot. This was the ancient custom of the country, and the modern practice is nearly similar, as they seldom dispose of their new slaves till the rice is in the ground, or until it is cut. Hence, though the Europeans by the eagerness with which they push this trade may be censurable so far, as they may some times, by their competition with each other, excite the avarice of individuals to procure slaves, by means as repugnant to their own laws as any act of dishonesty is to ours; yet I believe we may safely conclude, that slavery can never be abolished in a country like Africa, consisting of a prodigious number of small independent states, perpetually at variance, and under no restraining form of government, where the people are of a vindictive and revengeful spirit, and where the laws make every man a slave who is convicted of the most trifling offence. During the late war in which England was engaged with France, when the ships did not visit the coast as usual, and there were no goods to purchase the slaves which were brought down, the black merchants suffered many of them to perish for want of food, and said they should not come down again till the ships arrived. When questioned what the inland people would do with their

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slaves? they replied "cut their throats, as they used to do before white men came to their country" (pp. 142-149). . . .

LIVERPOOL, Feb. 20, 1788.

. . . A description of the method of procuring slaves in the part of Africa where I resided, I have, in some measure, anticipated in my former letters from Sierra-Leone, which were written at a time when I had no idea of a design to abolish that trade being formed, or I should have applied myself with greater industry to have acquired a more particular knowledge of the manners and customs of the natives of the interior countries; I shall however endeavour to combat such assertions as are made use of by the advocates for the abolition of this commerce, as my own knowledge and information may suggest. That slaves are often captives taken in war, is a position I readily accede to; but that those wars are undertaken merely for the purpose of procuring slaves is by no means the case; for it is necessary to observe, the king, or chief of a tribe, has not power to make war upon any other tribe without the consent and approbation of the principal people of his nation; and it can scarcely be conceived that such consent could be obtained to a measure that would draw down upon them the resentment of the neighbouring states. Neither is it (as is alledged) in any instance which has occurred to my observation or inquiries, by the instigation of the European traders; for, whenever the people on the sea-coast are at war, it puts an entire stop to trade; and I always found it to my interest, as well as my inclination, to reconcile their differences, and to preserve peace. . . .

In answer to the charge of kidnapping slaves, I can only say that I never heard of such a practice, nor do I know a word in their language expressive of such a custom ever having had existence. . . .

The nations which inhabit the interior parts of Africa, east of Sierra-Leone, profess the Mahometan religion; and, following the means prescribed by their prophet, are perpetually at war with the surrounding nations who refuse to embrace their religious doctrines (and I have before shewn the zeal with which the Mandingoes inculcate their faith).

The prisoners made in these religious wars furnish a great part of the slaves which are sold to the Europeans; and would, I have reason to believe, from the concurring testimony of many of the most intelligent natives, be put to death if they had not the means of disposing of them.

That death would be the fate of their prisoners, the example of the inhabitants of Madagascar, is sufficient proof; for since the

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Portuguese have declined dealing with them they put all their prisoners to death. . . .

It is also given as a reason for the abolishing this traffic; that the distinctions of crimes are multiplied, and every transgression punished with slavery, in consequence of their intercourse with Europeans.

Upon this head I shall observe, that the crimes of murder, poison, witchcraft, adultery, and theft, are always considered as capital, and have been punished with either death or slavery from time immemorial.

That the punishment of death, for the commission of these crimes, is remitted by their becoming slaves, I believe, in many instances, to be the case; yet, surely no one would adduce this circumstance as a proof of its inhumanity (pp. 163-169). . . .

272. Thomas Clarkson's Efficiency of Regulation of the Slave Trade.[1]

Goree, *Oct. 17, 1787.* On making inquiries to day, relative to the history of a certain negro woman, I found that she came from the country about Cape Rouge, and that in the absence of her husband she had been stolen and forcibly dragged away. Her case was attended with this additional circumstance of cruelty, that she was torn from her children, who, being too young to undergo the fatigue of the journey, were left behind.

Oct. 19th 1787. Inquiring to day of a negroe lad, how he came into the situation of a slave, he informed me, that he had been stolen from his parents, in the interior country above Cape Rouge; that the inhabitants of the shore usually came up in bodies for this purpose, and that they unfortunately met with him, and brought him to

[272] [1] Thomas Clarkson, *Essay on the Efficiency of Regulation or Abolition* (1789). The excerpts are given their place by their own dates, not by the date of Clarkson's writing. In the preface to this essay Clarkson stated that he was writing because of the rumor which had reached him that the merchants of Liverpool were preparing a bill which should obviate every reasonable complaint against the slave trade. What these complaints were he thought should be explicitly pointed out. By an accumulation of evidence he attempted to demonstrate: (1) how large a part violence played in the acquisition of slaves, and (2) how great was the mortality of the Middle Passage. Of the scores of illustrations which he gave but a few are here printed. The first group he describes as "Taken from the Journal of the relator on this Subject". The conflict between the testimony collected by Clarkson and that of such witnesses as Lieutenant Matthews admirably illustrates not only the difficulty experienced during the controversy over abolition in getting at the truth as to the abuses of the trade but also the problems confronting the present-day student in attempting to discover what proportion of the negroes sold in the New World were enslaved solely for the purposes of the trade. Such testimony also illustrates the ease with which an observer sees that which he wishes to see. Many of the witnesses for the defense in the struggle over abolition were men who had been intimately connected with the trade, yet they reported that they knew of few abuses, while Clarkson's picture, built up from a mass of evidence, is one of unmitigated horror. In most cases prudence prevented Clarkson from naming his informant, and we know only in a general way that he took pains to obtain his material from men who had been witnesses of that which they related.

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Goree, in company with others, whom they had taken in the same manner.

JOAL, *Nov. 5th 1787*. Since our arrival here, the king of Barbasin has twice sent out his military to attack his own villages in the night. They have been very unsuccessful, having taken but three children. They had no better fortune last night, having brought in but one girl.

I had two opportunities of seeing how slaves were procured in the River of Old Calabar. I resided with the king of New Town for four months, and he allowed me to go up the river with him to trade for slaves. I went with him twice within that time. In the first expedition, there was a fleet consisting of from ten to twelve canoes, which were properly manned and armed. With this fleet we set out to trade. In the day time we called at the villages as we passed, and purchased our slaves fairly; but in the night we made several excursions on the banks of the river. The canoes were usually left with an armed force: the rest, when landed, broke into the villages, and, rushing into the huts of the inhabitants, seized men, women, and children promiscuously. We obtained about fifty negroes in this manner, in our first expedition.

In our second, the same practices were in force; for we traded fairly by day, and became robbers in the night. We were more successful, in points of the number procured in the second, than in the first expedition. . . .

I was resident for seven months at a factory in Mossula Bay, in the kingdom of Angola. I know of no other way of making slaves there, than by robbery. Our factory was supplied by four traders, one of whom, with his party, was always out. These parties consisted usually of forty or fifty in number. They were always armed when they went out. They took no goods with them, but yet returned with slaves. Their time of staying out was sometimes a month, and sometimes less. It depended on circumstances, for if in a previous expedition they had brought off a few from the skirts of a town, they were obliged to go much farther for the remainder the next. For the negroes, when so attacked, immediately leave their habitations, and go farther inland. They are continually in a wandering, uncertain state, on account of these frequent depredations.

In the year 1787, I was lying at Cape Palmas. I was told by the natives there, that they intended to attack a village on the third night. I asked them if the inhabitants had done them any injury. They replied, no; but that there was a considerable number of fine stout young men belonging to it, who were good for trade. This was their only reason. On the same day, on the evening of which

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their attack was to commence, I had occasion to go to another village, which was within about two miles from that which was marked for pillage, and lay in the same track. I slept at a trader's house that night. At about two in the morning he awakened me to see the fire. I jumped up instantly from a chest on which I lay, and saw the village in flames. The next day more than fifty young men were brought down, all of whom had been taken during the conflagration (pp. 4-6). . . .

The misery, which the slaves endure in consequence of too close a stowage, is not easily to be described.[2] I have heard them frequently complaining of heat, and have seen them fainting, and almost dying for want of water. Their situation is worst in rainy weather. We do every thing for them in our power. In all the vessels in which I have sailed in the slave-trade, we never covered the gratings with a tarpawling, but made a tarpawling awning over the booms. Notwithstanding which, I have seen the slaves after a rain, panting for breath, and in such a situation, that the seamen have been obliged to get them immediately upon deck, fearing lest they would otherwise have fainted away, and died. In one of my voyages, which was particularly unhealthy, we have found eight or ten dead in a morning. In the —— we purchased 350 slaves, and buried 6; in a second voyage, in the same ship, we purchased 350, and buried 200; and in the —— we purchased about 370, and buried about 100. . . .

The slaves frequently complain of heat on a calm night, but much more so when it rains, as we are then obliged to spread a tarpawling over them; and notwithstanding that it is kept at a considerable height from the gratings by means of a ridge rope, and stretched out by means of nettles to give them every advantage in point of air, they are still in a miserable state. I have been in their rooms to see them on these occasions and have found them in a violent perspiration. I have wiped them with cloths myself, and have seen that others have wiped them also. I have no doubt but that in full slave-vessels their sufferings must be inconceivably great. In the —— we purchased about 700 slaves, and lost 250. In the ship —— we purchased about 300, out of which we buried about 17. In the sloop —— 25 were bought, and 2 buried. In the —— we bought 180, and lost about 25. In the —— 350 were purchased, and 25 were lost as before. In the —— about 500 were purchased, and 150 buried; and out of 250 bought in the —— 5 died (pp. 29-30).[3] . . .

[2] Clarkson has here passed to the second serious complaint against the slave trade, the mortality of the Middle Passage.

[3] One of Clarkson's accounts comes from a witness who had served on two French and two English Guineamen. In the first, from Bordeaux, 500 slaves were purchased, 200 were buried; in the second, from Brest, 20 were lost out of 400; in the third, from London, 50 out of 370; and in service on "an old man of war" he saw 1115 purchased and 845 buried (*Essay*, p. 31).

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273. Petition of Liverpool to the House of Commons.[1]

February 14, 1788 [9 ?].

To the honourable the House of Commons, The humble petition of the Mayor etc.

Sheweth, That your petitioners as Trustees of the Corporate fund of the ancient and loyal town of Liverpool have always been ready not only to give every encouragement in their power to the commercial interests of that part of the Community more immediately under their care, but as much as possible to strengthen the reins of Government and to promote the public welfare.

That the trade of Liverpool having met with the countenance of this honourable House in many Acts of Parliament, which have been granted at different times during the present century, for the constructing of proper and convenient wet docks for shipping, and more especially for the African ships, which from their form require to be constantly afloat, your Petitioners have been emboldened to lay out considerable sums of money and to pledge their Corporate Seal for other sums to a very large amount for effectuating these goods and laudable purposes.

That your Petitioners have also been happy to see the great increase and different resources of trade which has flowed in upon their town by the numerous canals and other communications from the interior parts of this kingdom, in which many individuals, as well as public bodies of proprietors are materially interested.

And that from these causes, particularly the convenience of the docks, and some other local advantages, added to the enterprizing spirit of the people, which has enabled them to carry on the African Slave Trade with vigour, the town of Liverpool has arrived at a pitch of mercantile consequence which cannot but affect and improve the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom at large.

Your Petitioners therefore contemplate with real concern the attempts now making by the petitions lately preferred to your honourable House to obtain a total abolition of the African Slave trade, which has hitherto received the sanction of Parliament, and for a long series of years has constituted and still continues to form a very extensive branch of the commerce of Liverpool, and in effect gives strength and energy to the whole; but confiding in the wisdom and justice of the British Senate, Your Petitioners humbly pray to be heard by their Counsel against the abolition of this source of

[273] [1] Sir James Picton, *City of Liverpool: Municipal Archives and Records, from A.D. 1700 to the Passing of the Municipal Reform Act, 1835* (Liverpool, 1886), pp. 214-215. The petition here printed was presented to the Commons on May 20, 1789, along with many similar requests. *C. J.*, XLIV. 383.

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wealth before the Honourable House shall proceed to determine upon a point which so essentially concerns the welfare of the town and port of Liverpool in particular, and the landed interest of the kingdom in general, and which in their judgment must also tend to the prejudice of the British manufacturers, must ruin the property of the English merchants in the West Indies, diminish the public revenue and impair the maritime strength of Great Britain.[2] . . .

274. William Walton to Lord Hawkesbury.[1]

Liverpool, Feb. 24, 1788.

[The Spaniards are studying the best method of conducting the slave trade. Five arrived in London three months ago from Cadiz, two natives of Havana, the others, planters in Santo Domingo],[2] these Gentlemen wishing to be concern'd in the Slave Trade from Cadiz, have been down at Manchester to look at the kinds of Goods and their Prices as usually sold to the English African Merchants, since that they have been at Liverpool to view the Town and Ships employ'd in the Slave Trade. I attended them in both places and found their enquiries to be as follows. With regard to the expence of the outfits, how many hands each Vessell carried out, Lists of the Cargoes necessary to purchase Slaves on different parts of the Coast of Africa, which Goods might be procur'd in Spain, which must be purchas'd in England, and which were East India Goods; whether the Slave Trade had been profitable to the Town of Liverpool at

[2] Gomer Williams characterizes this petition as "cunningly framed to propitiate the government, to implicate the Commons for having encouraged the corporation in its outlay on wet docks for the African ships, and to alarm the landed interests and the capitalists". *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 609-610.

Clarkson had contended in the *Impolicy of the Slave Trade* (pp. 119-120) that it was a mistake to ascribe Liverpool's wealth to the slave trade. It ought instead to be attributed: (1) to her admission of strangers to her trade; (2) to the salt trade which flourished there; (3) to the great increase in the population of Lancashire; (4) to the flourishing manufactures of Manchester; (5) to the canals of the district. His opponents would certainly have responded that (3) and (4) were in large measure the result of the slave trade.

[274] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 29-30. Lord Hawkesbury, one of the committee of the Privy Council to whom the consideration of the slave trade was referred, was regarded by Liverpool interests as a bulwark of their cause (see *post,* no. 279, n. 1). His papers contain much material presented to him for use in opposing abolition. On Feb. 14, 1788, James Jones wrote to him: "The Returns made to this nation for negroes amount annually to Upwards of One million Eight Hundred thousand Pounds. I compute that full two-thirds of the Negroes purchased by the British Ships, go to the French, Spanish, and Dutch Settlements." Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 20-21.

[2] The implication here is that England is in danger of losing her Spanish market, which was regarded as unusually profitable, since the Spaniards paid in silver bullion. Contracts with the French were less remunerative, as they generally called for "Delivery upon the Coast of Africa, that their Ships may obtain the French Bounties by which means they not only deprive Us of the Freights but from their Knowledge and Superior Encouragement must in a little time become Masters of the Trade". Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 24-27.

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large, whether the English manufacturers had been Gainers by suppiying the Merchants with Goods, they likewise particularly enquir'd whether Captains and Doctors experienc'd in the Slave Trade might not be prevail'd upon by proper encouragement and great advantages given them, to go out to Cadiz and undertake the purchasing of the Cargo, Navigation of their Vessells and management of their Slaves whilst on board the Vessells. They told me that the Court of Spain purpos'd to have a Slave Trade of her own as well as to be carried on by her Merchants; under such Regulations as they might hereafter judge necessary, amongst the rest they had fix'd, No Vessell to carry Slaves between the Coast of Africa and their Settlements of a Less burthen than Two Hundred Tons. Every Vessell of 200 Tons burden must carry out a Captain, a Pilate, Two Doctors and Forty hands, if larger, hands in proportion to her size. The number of Slaves sent from the Coast of Africa to be regulated by the size of the Vessells, which they think will prevent Mortality amongst the whites as well as the Blacks. No Vessell to sail from old Spain to Africa for Slaves without first obtaining a License from the Court. To oblige her Merchants to purchase Spanish Wines, Brandies, Woollen Goods, Silk Goods, Cotton Goods, Arms, Fruits, East India Goods, etc. and in short every article that Spain can produce as well as bring to Spain from the East Indies in Spanish Vessells: and they were to be oblig'd to make these purchases even if the Commodities were dearer than what were procur'd by the African Merchants of other Nations, the Spanish Merchants to be compensated by the Privilege of their Slaves being admitted into and sold in the Spanish Ports free of Duties; whilst the Slaves brought by the Ships of other Nations were to have heavy Duties laid upon them; and that every encouragment was to be given in future to the manufacturing in old Spain, all Goods proper for the African Trade All East India Goods to pay 12½ per cent Duties which remain'd if for the Consumption of old Spain, but the whole Duties were to be return'd back if ship'd for the Slave Trade.

As these gentlemen applied to me in the way of Trade, and cou'd have no motive whatever but to come at the knowledge of a Trade which they are going to undertake, I can't help thinking that their information may be depended upon; I was the more particular in my Enquiries as the Slave Trade has been the general Topick amongst us in Manchester and Liverpool; they left with me Samples of Cotton of their own growing which are equally as good as rais'd by the French, they have propos'd to me to send all their Cotton by way of Cadiz to Liverpool, I am to sell it for them and send them such Goods in return as they may direct: the way they came at their

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Intelligence was from the Administrador (Collector) of Cadiz, who sent for them repeatedly to consult with them on the best mode of carrying on the Slave Trade and the Administrador read to them the Letters which he had receiv'd on that Subject from the Spanish Minister of the Indies at Madrid.

There's a Spaniard now living in Liverpool who calls himself Harris but his real Name is Don Raymondo Hormaza, he was born at Bilboa, is an Ex jesuit, was sent from Spain when the Jesuits were expell'd [from] that Country, since which he has liv'd in Italy, Germany, Holland and Portugal; has resided about ten Years in Liverpool, but having had a Quarrell with the Catholic Bishop and Clergy with whom he's now at variance, he's suspended by the Bishop and does not officiate as a Clergyman but keeps a School for young Gentlemen. . . . about six weeks ago this Gentleman was sent for up to London where he remain'd about a Month, during which Time (as I am inform'd) he was very frequently with a Spanish Nobleman in high office, who has given him a Commission of some kind, which from inquiries made since his return appear to be in regard to the Slave Trade; I have employ'd a Person very intimate with him to get Intelligence as to the nature of his Commission but have not as yet succeeded.[3]

Have inclos'd your Lordship the Liverpool Paper in which my Letter of Feb. 4th is answer'd by the Chairman of the Manchester Committee, the great Mr. Walker himself with his usual warmth; if the Slave Trade is abolished the East India Trade will be the next attack'd.

N.B. As I believe that Mr. Harris is known to the Liverpool Delegates now in London, your Lordship (please not mention my Name) may know from them their opinion about him.[4]

275. Minutes of the Liverpool Council.[1]

1788, June 4. It having been reported to the Council that attempts have been lately made in Parliament to abolish the African Slave

[3] Harris was the author of a pamphlet highly regarded by the slave traders, *Scriptural Researches in the Licitness of the Slave Trade, showing its Conformity with the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion delineated in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God* (1788). One of his opponents described him as a "clerk in a slave house in Bristol", implying that he was the tool of the slave trading interests.

[4] The next folios contain extracts copied from this letter; f. 34 is a list of undated and anonymous queries, among which is the following: "Does the contract with Baker and Dawson still exist, as the Philippines Company have obtained the contract to supply all South America with slaves?" An undated memorandum among the papers, apparently summarizing information received from James Jones, contained further information: "Mr. Dawson's Contract with the Spaniards is for 3000 Slaves certain and he may import as many as 7000 . . . Mr. Tarlet [Tarleton?] and Co. have a similar contract with the Spaniards for an equal Number, and that they purchase nearly 4/5ths of the Slaves that are sold at Bonny and New Calabar." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 216; see also *post*, no. 298, n. 7.

[275] [1] Picton, *Liverpool: Archives and Records*, pp. 215-216.

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Trade, and Messrs. John Tarleton, Robert Norris,[2] James Penny, John Matthews and Archibald Dalzell having been deputed by the Committee of the Liverpool African Merchants to attend in London on this business, Ordered that the thanks of this Council be given to the above mentioned gentlemen for the important service rendered by them to the town of Liverpool on this occasion, and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same to them.

Ordered that the freedom of this borough be granted to the above-named gentlemen for the very essential advantages derived to the trade of Liverpool from their evidence in support of the African Slave Trade and for the public spirit they have manifested on this occasion. . . .

Ordered that the Mayor be desired to communicate the thanks of this Council to the Reverend Raymond Harris for his late excellent publication on the subject of the Slave Trade; and that he be requested to accept the sum of One hundred Pounds as a mark of the high sense this Council entertains of the advantages resulting to the town and trade of Liverpool from the said publication, and that the Treasurer pay the said sum.[3]

Ordered that the Board of Trade[4] have power to defray the expenses attending the opposition to the measures now pursuing in Parliament relative to the Slave Trade.

276. Estimates of Profits under Regulated Trade.[1]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Loss on Estimate at 1 Man per Ton	583	6	.....
Do. 3 Men to 2 Tons	201	.....	9
Profit on an Estimate at 2 Men per Ton	181	4	6
Do. 5 Men to 2 Tons	763	5	6
Amount of the Cargo for 150 Negroes	4415	7	6
Interest on Do.	220	12	6

[2] Clarkson's earliest visit to Liverpool to obtain first-hand material concerning the trade was made in 1787. At this time Robert Norris gave him much information and even submitted to him a plan for curtailing the traffic. He was subsequently greatly disappointed to find that Norris was one of the Liverpool witnesses defending the trade before the committee of the Privy Council (*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, I. 378-383, 477-481, 535). The testimony of the men here named is to be found in the *Report of the . . . Committee of the Privy Council* (1789); see also Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 11 *et seq.*, for accounts of the agitation for abolition.

[3] The publication of Harris's *Scriptural Researches* brought forth a number of rejoinders, among which were James Ramsay's *Examination of the Rev. Mr. Harris' Scriptural Researches*, Henry Dannett's *A Particular Examination of Mr. Harris' Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade*, and William Roscoe's *A Scriptural Refutation of a Pamphlet lately published by the Reverend Raymond Harris*, etc. See Jean Trepp, "The Liverpool Movement for Abolition", *Jour. Negro History*, XIII. 276.

[4] A local committee of the council. While the official opinion of Liverpool was strongly in favor of the trade, there was some expression of a contrary opinion. See Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 37-42; also Trepp, *op. cit.*

[276] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 107-109. Endorsed: "In Mr. Tarleton's June 9th 1788". When it became evident that no bill for the abolition of the slave trade was to be con-

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Estimate of an African Voyage upon the principle of limiting the Number of Negroes to be carried in each Vessel to 2 per Ton.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
A Ship of 100 Tons first cost building, at £7	700	....	....			
Expence of Outfit including all her Furniture	700	....	....			
Extra Do fitting for the African Trade	350	....	....			
Amount of Cargo for 200 Negroes, including Insurance on the Ship and Cargo at £17. 17	3570	....	....			
Insurance on the Ship from the West Indies Valued at £1500—at 2½ per Ct.	37	17	6	5357	17	6
Deduct for the common average of Mortality 5 per Ct. makes 190 each Av'g £34 Stg.	.....	....	....	6460	....	....
Agents Commissions at 10 per Ct. on £6460	646	....	....			
Captain's Do..... 6 per Ct. on Do.	402	....	....			
Mates privelege 1 Slave on the Neat proceeds	30	12	....			
Surgeons Do.	30	12	....			
Surgeons head Money 1 s. per head on each Slave sold	9	10	....			
Ship's Disbursements in the West Indies	100	....	....			
Wages for 20 Men, Officers and Seamen included at 50/ per Month for 12 Mo's is	600	....	....			
Interest on the Amo't of Cargo and Outfit for 12 Mo's.	267	18	....	2086	12	....
Add Total Amo't of Ships Cargo and Outfit				5357	17	6
				7444	9	6
Gross Sales of 190 Negroes at £34	6460					
Value of the Ship on her Return 1/3d. less	1166	14	....			
	7626	14	....			
	7444	9	6			
Neat Profit on the Voyage	.....	....		181	4	6

sidered by the House of Commons in the session of 1788, Sir William Dolben, who had visited a slave ship lying in the Thames and had been appalled at the manner of carrying the negroes, introduced a bill intended to regulate the number carried by the tonnage of the carrier (Coupland, *Wilberforce*, p. 108). Samuel Green, secretary of the African Committee of Liverpool, wrote to Tarleton, the Liverpool delegate in London and a member of the Liverpool firm of Tarleton and Backhouse, that he was to be joined by Norris, Dalzell, and Matthews, and that they were to fight Dolben's sudden attack. Tarleton in a letter to Lord Hawkesbury May 25, 1788, wrote that he was opposed to the bill, though his house, under its terms, could engross the largest share of the trade (Add MSS. 38416, ff. 90-93). In preparation for the struggle over this measure the estimates which are here printed were prepared and sent by Tarleton to Lord Hawkesbury with a letter on the subject of the bill. After pointing out that though the bill concerned tonnage the debate had shifted to space between decks, Tarleton continued, "for the purpose of measuring which Mr. Parry has been dispatched to Liverpool by Mr. Pitt and Sir Charles Middleton, who do not appear disposed to give the credit which is due to Mr. Norris's Evidence at the bar of the House of Commons". He adds that too minute regulation would put an end to the part taken in the trade by small vessels. "They remain a shorter time upon an unhealthy Coast, the Passage is performed with more expedition, and they in fact arrive at their destination with less loss, and with healthier cargoes . . . a Vessel of 100 Tons which at the present rate of about five Negroes to 2 Tons, should produce to the Merchant by every Voyage a neat profit of £763. 5. 6, little more than 10 per Cent. upon the Capital employed; and a very moderate profit indeed when compared with the risks to which the African Adventurer is peculiarly

[continued on p. 581]

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Estimate on the principle of limiting the Number of Slaves to One Ton to each Negro.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
First Cost of Ship and Furniture	1400	....	....			
Extra Outfit for 100 Negroes	250	....	....			
Amo't of Cargo for 100 Do at £17. 17.	1785	....	....			
Insurance on the Ship from the West Indies valued at 1400 £ @ 2½ per Ct.	35	....	....	3470	....	....
Deduct 5 per Ct. Mortality makes 95 sold at £34	.....	....	....	3230	....	....
Agents Commission on the gross Sale at 10 per Ct.	323	....	....			
Captains Do. 6 per Ct.	201	....	....			
Mates priveleges	30	12	....			
Surgeon's Do. and head money	35	7	....			
Ships Disbursements in the W. Indies	80	....	....			
Officers and Seamen's Wages for 12 Months	600	....	....			
Interest on the Amount of the Cargo etc.	173	7	....	1443	6	....
Add Total Amo't of Ship Cargo and Outfit				3470	....	....
				4913	6	....
Gross Sale of 95 Negroes at £34	3230	....	....			
Value of the Ship on her Return	1100	....	....	4330	....	....
Loss on the Voyage	.....	....		583	6	....

Estimate of an African Voyage upon the principle it is and has been carried on vizt., at 5 Men for 2 Tons.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
A Ship of 100 Tons fitted for the African Trade Costs to Sea	1750	....	....			
Cargo for 250 Negroes at £17. 17. per head	4257	....	....			
Insurance on the Ship from the West Indies	37	17	6	6044	17	6
Deducting 5 per Ct. mortality makes 238 Sold at £34	.....	....	....	8092	....	....
Agents Comm'n on £8092 a 10 per Ct.	809	4	....			
Captains Do. 6 per Ct.	485	11	....			
Mates privelege	30	12	....			
Doctors Do. and head Money	42	10	....			
Ships Disbursements in the West Indies	120	....	....			
Wages for 20 Men, Officers and Seamen included at 50/ per Month for 12 Months	600	....	....			
Interest on the Amo't of Cargo and Outfit for 12 Mo's.	362	14	....	2450	11	....
Add Total Amo't of Ships Cargo and Outfit	.....	....	....	6044	17	6
				8495	8	6
Gross Sales of 238 Negroes at £34	8092	....	....			
Value of the Ship on her Return 1/3d. less	1166	14	....			
	9258	14	....			
	8495	8	6			
Neat Profit on the Voyage				763	5	6

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Under 100 Tons, 5 Slaves to every 2 Tons, 100 Tons to carry 250 Slaves, for every Ton between 100 and 110, 2 Slaves for each Ton, by which Rule

	110	Tons will carry.....	270 Slaves
	120	.....	290 Do.
	130	.....	310 Do.
	140	.....	330 Do.
	150	.....	350 Do.
	160	.....	370 Do.
	170	.....	390 Do.
	180	.....	410 Do.
	190	.....	430 Do.
	200	.....	450 Do.
above	200	to 225 Tons.....	450 Do.
above	225	Tons.....2 Slaves for each Ton[2].....	

277. Petition of Liverpool to the House of Lords.[1]

1788, June 20. That your Petitioners are informed that a Bill has passed the Honourable House of Commons, and is now submitted to

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exposed: when it is considered that the very Cargo is often uncertain: that when the Market does not absolutely fail, the health of the Cargoe a point of equal moment to the inseperable interests of the Trader and of humanity is often hazarded by delay, that the middle Passage is subject to danger from insurrection, as well as sickness; finally and principally, that the whole expectation of the enterprise, the whole security of the Capital and return of the Commerce, are in a great degree, at the mercy of the Planter, to whom an unexampled credit is extended by the persons who are to be aggrieved by the depending Bill." At one negro to one ton, which was the allowance in the bill as then framed, the loss on a vessel of 100 tons would be £583 6 0. He suggests a bounty on tonnage and on the imports of slaves after the French practice. "The cause of Humanity would be ill served by an entire transfer of the African Trade to the French or Spaniards." June 9, 1788, Tarleton to Lord Hawkesbury, Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 103-106.

[2] In later folios (204-205) appears an estimate of the possible profits on a 200-ton vessel:

"200 ton ship carrying 2 slaves per ton		400
Profit at £5 per slave		£2000
Loss of 5 slaves in every 100 at £35		700
	Net profit	£1300
200 ton ship, 5 slaves to every 3 tons		333
Profit at £5 per slave		£1665
Loss of 5 slaves in every 100 at £35		583
	Net profit	1082
If two-fifths of the slaves are saved because of the regulation		233.18
	Profit	£1315.18"

"By the Accounts of Profit and Loss in this Trade that have been given in, it does not appear that they ever gain more than in the proportion of £2 or £3 per Slave, and their Profits appear in consequence of this to be very small, and such as would certainly not bear any Reduction . . . though single Ships may sometimes carry more than 2 Slaves per Ton, and that they generally clear out with a view of obtaining something more than this Proportion, yet, upon averaging many Accounts, that have been produced, of nine or Ten different Ships, it does not appear that they ever obtain, or carry, so many as 2 per Ton. Lord H[awkesbury] is on this Account very much inclined to doubt the truth of the Calculations of Profit and Loss that have been given in and to think that £5 per Slave is about the Profit they usually make, especially as he knows, that very considerable Fortunes have of late been made in this Trade." . . . Endorsed, "Calculations concerning the Slave Trade by L. H." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 206.

[277] [1] Picton, *Liverpool: Municipal Archives and Records*, pp. 216-217. The council also formulated petitions in April and July, 1789, and in 1792 and 1799. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-219.

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your Lordships' consideration, imposing a variety of unnecessary and grievous restrictions upon the African Slave Trade.

That the trade has been legally and uninterruptedly carried on for centuries past by many of his Majesty's subjects with advantages to the country both important and extensive; but has lately been unjustly reprobated as impolitic and inhuman.

That a Resolution has been passed in another House of Parliament to institute a very strict inquiry into the nature of this trade, in the ensuing session; and your Petitioners therefore were little aware of any attempts being intended hastily and injudiciously to force upon the African merchant such a train of crude and indigested restrictions and alterations as those contained in the Bill now before your Lordships, which if passed into a law cannot fail of indirectly amounting to a direct abolition of the African trade.

That the importance of the subject to the revenues, navigation and commerce of the country, does as is very humbly conceived deserve a more serious and deliberate consideration than can possibly be bestowed on it in the present expiring session of Parliament, during which your Petitioners cannot fairly be expected to prepare themselves with such counsel and evidence to prove the allegations they have here set forth, as are suited to the dignity of your Lordship's proceedings, and consistent with their own interests, upon an occasion of so much consequence to them and to their posterity.

They therefore, relying upon your Lordships acknowledged wisdom and justice, do, on behalf of themselves and the freemen and traders of Liverpool whom they have the honour here to represent, humbly implore your Lordships that the Bill now complained of may not pass into a law, or that they may be heard by themselves or counsel against it.[2] . . .

278. An Act to regulate the Carrying of Slaves.[1]

An act to regulate, for a limited time, the shipping and carrying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.

[2] Arguments of many sorts were used against the bill. Samuel Taylor on June 3, 1788, wrote to George Chalmers that should the bill pass, 2000 men, women, and children of Manchester would be thrown out of work. He himself was preparing to establish a house in Rouen in order to transfer his business there (Add. MSS. 38416, f. 101). Not only was the threat of loss of English business used against the bill, but the Bristol delegate was informed that Bristol had fitted out vessels with a capacity of 10,070 slaves, for Spanish and French markets, sometimes masking them under French names, in order to obtain the French bounty. Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 88-89.

[278] [1] 28 Geo. III. c. 54; Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, XXXVI. 543-550. The bill reached its second reading May 26. The Liverpool members spoke against regulation and gloomily predicted that the limitations imposed would ruin the trade, but the facts brought forward concerning the mortality incident to the Middle Passage were not to be gainsaid, and the bill passed by a vote of 56 to 5. In the House of Lords the opposition to the measure was stronger, and only Pitt's personal influence, exerted to the utmost, succeeded in obtaining its passage, on June 30, by a vote of 14 to 12 (Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 110-111). The debate on the bill can be followed in *Parliamentary History*, XXVII. 573-599, 638-650.

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Whereas it is expedient to regulate the shipping and carrying of slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa; be it therefore enacted; and it is hereby enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall not be lawful for any master, or other person taking or having the charge or command of any British ship or vessel whatever, which shall clear out from any port of this kingdom from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, to have on board, at any one time, or to convey, carry, bring, or transport slaves from the coast of Africa to any parts beyond sea, in any such ship or vessel, in any greater number than in the proportion of five such slaves for every three tons of the burthen of such ship or vessel, over and above the said burthen of such ship or vessel, so far as the said ship or vessel shall not exceed two hundred and one tons; and moreover, of one such slave for every additional ton of such ship or vessel, over and above the said burthen of two hundred and one tons, or male slaves who shall exceed four feet four inches in height, in any greater number than in the proportion of one such male slave to every one ton of the burthen of such ship or vessel, so far as the said ship or vessel shall not exceed two hundred and one tons, and (moreover) of three such male slaves (who shall exceed the said height of four feet four inches) for every additional five tons of such ship or vessel, over and above the said burthen of two hundred and one tons;[2] and every such ship or vessel shall be deemed and taken to be of such tonnage or burthen as is described and set forth in the respective certificate of the registry of each and every such ship or vessel, granted in pursuance of an act made and passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, (intituled, An act for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation) and if any such master, or other person taking or having the charge or command of any such ship or vessel, shall act contrary hereto, such master, or other person as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, for each and every such slave exceeding in number the proportions herein-before limited; one moiety whereof shall go to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, and the other moiety thereof shall go to any person or persons who shall first sue for the same.

[2] The allotment proposed during the committee consideration was, 5 men to every 3 tons in vessels of 150 tons burden, with 5 feet between decks and a cabin; 3 men to 2 tons in larger vessels with equal accommodations; and one man to a ton in other vessels. Bamber Gascoyne and Lord Penrhyn, the Liverpool members, asserted that anything less than two men to one ton would ruin the trade. *Parl. History*, XXVII. 589.

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II. Provided always, That if there shall be, in any such ship or vessel, any more than two fifth parts of the slaves who shall be children, and who shall not exceed four feet four inches in height, then every five such children (over and above the aforesaid proportion of two fifths) shall be deemed and taken to be equal to four of the said slaves within the true intent and meaning of this act.

III. [On the arrival of the vessel in the West Indies, the master shall declare on oath the tonnage of his vessel and the number and height of his negroes.]

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for the master, or other person taking or having the charge or command of any such ship or vessel as aforesaid, which shall be cleared out from any port in Great Britain after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, to take or have on board such ship or vessel, or convey, carry, bring, or transport any slaves from the coast of Africa to any parts beyond sea, in any such ship or vessel as aforesaid unless such ship or vessel shall, at the time of her so clearing out, have been entered for such purpose at the custom-house of the port from whence she cleared out; and unless the surgeon of or belonging to such ship or vessel shall have given bond to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and shall have left the same in the hands of the collector or comptroller of the customs in the port from whence such ship or vessel shall depart for such voyage to the coast of Africa, in the penal sum of one hundred pounds, with condition, that such surgeon shall keep a regular and true journal, containing an account of the greatest number of slaves which shall have been, at any time during such voyage, on board such ship or vessel, from the time of the arrival of such ship or vessel on the coast of Africa as aforesaid, until her arrival at the port of her delivery, and of the deaths of any such slaves or crew of the said ship or vessel, and of the cause thereof, during the voyage, from the first departure of the said ship or vessel, to her arrival on the coast of Africa, during her stay on the said coast, and after her departure from thence to the said port of delivery, or during such time as such surgeon shall have been on board such ship; and that the said surgeon shall deliver such journal to the collector, or other officer as aforesaid, at the first British port where such ship or vessel shall arrive after leaving the coast of Africa, and shall make oath to the truth of such journal, to the best of his knowledge and belief, before such collector or other officer as aforesaid, who is hereby authorised and required to administer the said oath; and such collector, or other officer as aforesaid, shall deliver to such master, or other person as aforesaid, and to such surgeon re-

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spectively, copies of the oath of such master, or other person as aforesaid, and also of the said journal, which copies shall severally be attested (as true copies) by such collector or other officer as aforesaid, under his hand and seal, and duplicates of the said copies, attested in like manner, shall be transmitted by the said collector, or other chief officer, to the commissioners of his Majesty's customs in London; and if such master or surgeon shall act contrary hereto, such master or surgeon shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds; one moiety whereof shall go to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, and the other moiety thereof shall go to any person or persons who shall sue for the same.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the several provisions contained in this act shall extend and be in force, with respect to such British ships as aforesaid as shall have sailed before the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, from any port of Great Britain, and shall on the coast of Africa take on board and convey any slaves to any parts beyond sea, in all cases where a printed copy thereof shall be delivered to the commander or principal officer of any such ship, before such ship shall have taken in a greater number of slaves than in the proportions herein-before limited.

VI. Provided always, That if any such British ship as aforesaid shall have on board a greater number of the said slaves, of any description, than in such proportions as aforesaid, at the time the copy of this act is delivered to such commander or principal officer, or other person having charge of the same as aforesaid, it shall not be lawful for such commander or principal officer as aforesaid, or any other person having charge of the same, to receive on board any more of the said description of slaves than shall have been on board at the time of the said copy of this act being delivered, or of any other description of slaves, so as to exceed in the whole the proportions herein-before prescribed, reckoning five children who shall not exceed four feet four inches in height as equal to four grown slaves, as aforesaid, and if any such master, or other person as aforesaid, shall act contrary hereto, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, for every such slave so taken on board; and one moiety of the said forfeiture shall go to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the other moiety to any person or persons who shall first sue for the same.

VII. [The admiralty to appoint persons to deliver copies of this act to commanders who have sailed before Aug. 1, and to muster the slaves on board such vessels and to deliver a list of such ships to the collectors of customs in the British West Indies.]

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VIII. [Any person hindering the process of ascertaining the number of negroes in any vessel to be fined £100.]

IX. [A vessel may take on board any number of negroes from a vessel in distress.]

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in every such ship or vessel the upper as well as lower cabin, and the space between decks, shall be allotted and properly prepared for the reception of the said slaves; and that after any such ship or vessel shall have taken two thirds of her complement of slaves on board, in the proportions herein-before directed, no goods, wares, or merchandize, shall ever be stowed or put in any such cabin or place in which any such slaves shall be.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, it shall not be lawful for any person to become a master, or to take or have the command or charge of any such ship or vessel at the time she shall clear out from any port of Great Britain, for purchasing and carrying slaves from the coast of Africa, unless such master, or person taking or having the charge or command of any such ship or vessel, shall have already served in such capacity during one voyage, or shall have served as chief mate or surgeon during the whole of two voyages, or either as chief or other mate, during three voyages, in purchasing and carrying slaves from the coast of Africa; under pain that such master, or person taking or having charge or command of any such ship or vessel, and also the owner or owners, who shall hire or employ such person, shall, for every such offence respectively, forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, it shall not be lawful for any owner or owners of any such ship or vessel to insure any cargo of slaves, or any part thereof, on board the same, against any loss or damage, save and except the perils of the sea, piracy, insurrection, or capture by the King's enemies, barratry of the master and crew, and destruction by fire; and that all and every policy of insurance, hereafter made contrary to this act, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.[3]

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no such ship or vessel shall be allowed to clear out, unless it shall

[3] On July 5, 1788, Norris, Matthews, and Dalzell wrote to Hawkesbury: "What is called Barratry of the Master or Mariners is not provided for in the said clause . . . [We] submit to your Lordship whether it would not fully answer your Lordship's purpose to except insuring against mortality, instead of enumerating the disasters against which it shall be lawful to insure." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 143.

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appear to the collector or other principal officer of the customs at the port, that there is one surgeon at least engaged to proceed on board such ship or vessel; and unless such surgeon shall have produced, to such collector or other principal officer of the customs, a certificate of his having passed his examination at surgeons hall.

XIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if it shall be made appear, to the satisfaction of the collector, or other principal officer of the port where such ship or vessel shall be discharged, that there shall not have died more than in the proportion of two slaves in the hundred, from the time of the arrival of such ship or vessel on the coast of Africa, to the time of her arrival at her port of discharge in any of the islands in the West Indies, belonging to or under the dominion of his Majesty, in such case, the collector or other principal officer as aforesaid shall, and he is hereby authorised and required to make out certificates, specifying the number of slaves that appear to have been taken on board the said ship or vessel, and the number that have died within the period abovementioned; one of which certificates shall be delivered to the master, and the other to the surgeon of such ship or vessel; and on production of such certificates, the commissioners of his Majesty's customs in England and Scotland respectively shall, and they are hereby authorised and required to direct the sum of one hundred pounds to be paid to the master, and the sum of fifty pounds to be paid to the surgeon of such ship or vessel, out of any money that shall be in the hands of the receiver general of the customs of England and Scotland respectively; or if it shall be made appear to the collector, or other principal officer as aforesaid, that there shall not have died more than in the proportion of three slaves in the hundred, from the time of the arrival of such ship or vessel on the coast of Africa, to the time of her arrival at her port of discharge in any of the said West India islands, in such case the collector or other principal officer as aforesaid shall, and he is hereby authorised and required to make out like certificates, and to deliver one to the master, and the other to the surgeon of such ship or vessel; and the commissioners of the customs in England and Scotland respectively shall, and they are hereby authorised and required, on production of such certificates, to direct the sum of fifty pounds to be paid to the master, and the sum of twenty five pounds to be paid to the surgeon of such ship or vessel.

XV. And whereas cases may occur in which it may be just and warrantable that compensation should be made to individuals who may sustain losses in consequence of this act; be it further enacted, That Brook Watson, esquire, Samuel Beachcroft esquire, and Wil-

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liam Roe esquire, shall be, and they are hereby appointed commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into any losses which may be sustained, in consequence of this act, by any merchants or owners of any ships or vessels engaged in the African trade, who shall make application to the said commissioners before the first day of September next ensuing; and that all persons making such application shall, as soon as they are enabled so to do, lay before the said commissioners full statements of the grounds of their respective claims, specifying the particulars of all the expences, net proceeds, profits or losses attending the voyage or adventure, in respect of which such application shall be made, together with all such circumstances as shall appear to the said commissioners necessary for their information, in order to ascertain the losses of the persons so applying; and the said commissioners shall have the power to examine upon oath, touching the matters of the said claims, all persons whom the said commissioners shall think fit; and all persons are hereby directed and required punctually to attend the said commissioners at such time and place as they shall appoint; and the said commissioners, as soon as they shall have completed the examination of the several claims laid before them, shall determine the amount of the losses which *bona fide* have been sustained by any of the said claimants in consequence of this act, and which the said claimants shall not have been able to avoid, and shall report, as soon as conveniently may be, to both houses of parliament, what compensation shall appear to the said commissioners to be reasonable to be made to such claimants: and the said commissioners, before they proceed to take any step in pursuance of this act, shall take an oath before the master of the rolls for the time being, or one of his Majesty's justices of the court of King's bench, or common pleas, or one of the barons of the exchequer, which they or either of them are hereby authorised and required to administer, in the form following; that is to say,

I, *A.B.* do swear, That, according to the best of my skill and knowledge, I will faithfully and impartially execute the several powers and trusts vested in me by virtue of an act, intituled, An act to regulate, for a limited time, the shipping and carrying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.[4] . . .

XVII. [In case of vacancies among the commissioners during a recess of Parliament, the place is to be filled by the king.] . . .

XX. And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force till the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, and no longer, except for the purpose of trying or

[4] Art. XVI. provides for the necessary payment of a staff to administer this act; arts. XVIII. and XIX. outline court procedure and the punishment for perjury.

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suing any person in consequence of any offence or offences committed in breach or violation of this act.[5]

279. James Jones to Lord Hawkesbury.[1]

[July 26, 1788.]

The Vessells to this part[2] are small, from 100 to 200 Tons, and notwithstanding they are a long while (four to Nine Months) making their Purchases yet they are in general Healthy, the People there are hardy, their Country high and healthy and their Food (Rice and Millett) also contributes to it, The Trade to this part is Advantageous to the Manufactories of this Kingdom. At Bonny and New Callabar it will take off a Quarter and a fifth, the Trade there will suffer more than at any other part, the Dutys paid there being very high much more than at any other part of the Coast, and on every Ship alike without distinction as to size. The chief of the Ships to these Parts are from 200 to 250 Tons except those that have Contracts they are all larger, purchases are made much quicker there than at any other place. The Natives there are not so hardy, the Country being low and swampy, their Food, Vegetables, principally Yams, and a little Fish which makes some of them weakly, and more liable to disorders, under which their Constitutions will not bear them up: but by degrees, as they are used to a different and more Nutritious Food they get hardy, and when purchased Young

[5] This act, with some modification, was continued in 1789. During the years in which abolition of the trade was under discussion many measures were proposed as possible substitutes for complete abolition. Among these was the following:

"6th. All Ships in the Negroe Trade shall report their Ships and Cargo to the Collector of the Port and to the Protector of Negroes and one of his Inspectors who shall jointly Examine or cause to be diligently Examined the State of the Ship and the Negroes, and on proof of Contravention of this Act or Cruelty or other Malversation shall jointly have Power in a Summary manner to fine a Captain according to the offence in a Sum not exceeding ——, an Appeal reserved over to the Supreme Court of Justice in the Island.

"7. That there shall be no Sale of Negroes except in the presence of an Inspector and no Sale by Scramble as it is called, shall be permitted; and the name, State and description of the Negroes shall be taken and registered; and if it be found that any Slave shall have in the same or any other Ship at the same time entered, a wife or Husband, or Brother or Sister or Child, the persons so related shall not be sold separately at that or any other future Sale." Add. MSS. 33124, f. 16.

[279] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 154-155. On June 20, 1788, the council of Liverpool "Ordered that the Freedom of this borough be presented to the Right Hon. Charles Lord Hawkesbury in consideration of the important advantages resulting to the nation at large from his Lordship's great attention to its commercial interests, and more particularly in gratitude for the essential services rendered to the town of Liverpool by his Lordship's late exertion in Parliament in support of the African Slave Trade and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same by letter to Lord Hawkesbury" (Picton, *Archives and Records*, p. 191). When in May, 1796, Lord Hawkesbury was created Earl of Liverpool, the corporation invited him to quarter the arms of Liverpool with his own. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 611.

[2] This may have been the Grain Coast. On June 27 Jones had written to Lord Hawkesbury opposing the restriction, one of his arguments being that vessels of from 170 to 250 tons burden were best adapted to the trade but would be driven from it if the bill under consideration were passed. Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 130-131.

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make very usefull Servants; more Females are had there and better than on any other part of the Coast: they are in general small, more than one third Females and a great many Boys and Girls. I consider the Trade there most Advantageous to this Country both as to Our Manufacturies and the Number had from thence. Ships of about 200 Tons Accomodated rather more than two Slaves to a Ton very well and without Crowding them, and from experience I have found the Trade carried on by this rule as Successful as any; and to restrict them under that Number, Ships nine times in ten would not get Money. The mere Expence of Transporting them, in Ships of this Burthen and with that Number, is as near Nine Pounds each as can be, I confine Myself to the Expences of Outfitt and weare and tare of the Ship only, Insurance ther[e]on, the Captains Commissions, Officers Priviledges, and Wages to the Crew, Dutys and presents paid for the Ship to the King etc. These Expenses cannot be reduced, altho the Number of Slaves are lessened nearly one Quarter, therefore on a Ship of 200 Tons, the loss by the restriction must be about £900 . . . and the Merchants expected profitt considering he is on an Average two Years out of his Money, should not be estimated at less than Six Pounds for each, which is about £600 more; thus do these restrictions make a difference of about £1400 or £1500 on Vessells of this discription, a difference too great I fear not to ruin the Trade, and I really do not think the Negroes will be more healthy or that there will be less Mortality in proportion to the Number. It is a very uncertain and precarious Trade, and if there is not a probable prospect of considerable Profit no Man of Property who hath any Knowledge of it would embark or continue in it. I think it unnecessary to say much of the Trade to the Gold Coast, as the Number purchased there to go to the Brittish Islands are not great in proportion to the other parts, the Restrictions will affect it rather less than on the Windward Coast, but will be the Cause of fewer of those Slaves going to Our Islands than ever, they are a hardy Robust people, not often Sickly, Altho they are from 6 to 10 Months Slaving. As to Old Callabar and the Camaroons, I have allways declined sending to those two Rivers, as they are Sickly, and the Slaves inferior to any other, very Weakly and liable to great Mortality. . . . The Regulations should be as near to the Practice and Usage of the Trade as possible, particularly as it was drooping, from the powerful Competition of Our Rivals, who were incouraged by Bountys from their Government, equal to the Expences of Transporting the Slaves; and those incouragements were tempting to the Merchants of this Kingdom to embark their Capitals out of it, with those Rivals, and thereby discovering to them Our manner

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of Conducting the Trade, (which is much superior to theirs) and the best Marts for carrying it on. It was not 'till within these few Years the French had any footing at Bonny and New Callabar, and was ocasiond from these temptations. The Bill pass'd it's true, has continuance only one Year, but considering the period it takes date from, it has effect on two Years, as there are particular Seasons, in which to do well near two thirds of the Ships should be fitted out. It is so unfavorable that it has already determined some Men of Property to retire from it; and it appears to Me, that many others who have been long in it will do the same. I am of Opinion but few Ships will be sent whilst this Act is in force, Unless Administration should grant some relief in the restrictions. Connections are formed and forming in France, and other Measures taking, that will prove very Injurious to the Trade of this Country, and particularly to any Ships that may be intended to Supply our Islands. The retrospective Clause extending this Bill to Attach on Ships on the Coast makes a very unfavorable impression on every One, and allmost all are fearfull of continuing the Trade, not knowing what may follow; it is consider'd so unprecedented a Circumstance. Notwithstanding Compensation is intended, I fear very fatal consequences may be occasioned by this Clause which did not Occur to Me 'till lately. these Ships were fitted out at a great expence had regular assorted Cargoes, all of them large quantities of Gunpowder; many from 200 to 300 Barrels each; and large quantities of Brittish Spirits and Rum; many of them will be obligd to bring back a fifth to quarter of their Cargoes, and of Course a great deal of Powder; the rooms made for that Article are allways Cieled and well secured to prevent Accidents, and these rooms when the purchase is completed are allways used for stowing the Slaves dry provisions, there being no other part in the Ship proper for that purpose, and to which the Cooks, and other persons, must have constant access with Lights, an Accident by a Spark of Fire when there are a Number of Slaves on Board, may happen; the Spirits must be kept in the hold where the water is stowed, and of course open to the Crew, the Danger from thence, is very Alarming. The Cotton and Linnen Cloth from the nature of their packages, must Unavoidably, be rotten, from the heat and Steam of the Hold, when the Slaves are on Board; as it must be stowed on the top of the Water Casks, this must be the Case with all the other Goods, so that the loss from Damage on all that is returned must be much greater than was at first imagined. in justice therefore to the Merchant, all the Goods, the Ships are oblig'd to bring home should be Sold for the Account of Government and He should be paid for the Number of Slaves those Goods would have

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purchased, at the Average price the Cargoe sells for in the West Indies, after making the proper Allowance for expected Mortality; indeed I do not think it would be fit, or prudent to risque it another Voyage, on any Terms. This Trade is certainly of great Value in itself (and it is evident our Rivals think so by the encouragement they give it) as well as of the Utmost Importance to another great Branch of our Commerce. By the inclosed list of Ships Surveyd by Capt Parry at Liverpool; and my own that are Sailed and on the Coast the difference the restrictions make will Appear, and from your Lordships knowledge of Commerce, you will judge whether the Trade can be Continued under this Act with prospect of Advantage.[8]

280. The Plan of the *Brookes*.[1]

[See opposite page.]

[8] Mr. Jones's own recommendation had been that five females be reckoned as four males, and three boys or girls as equal to two grown persons. Add. MSS. 38416, f. 216.

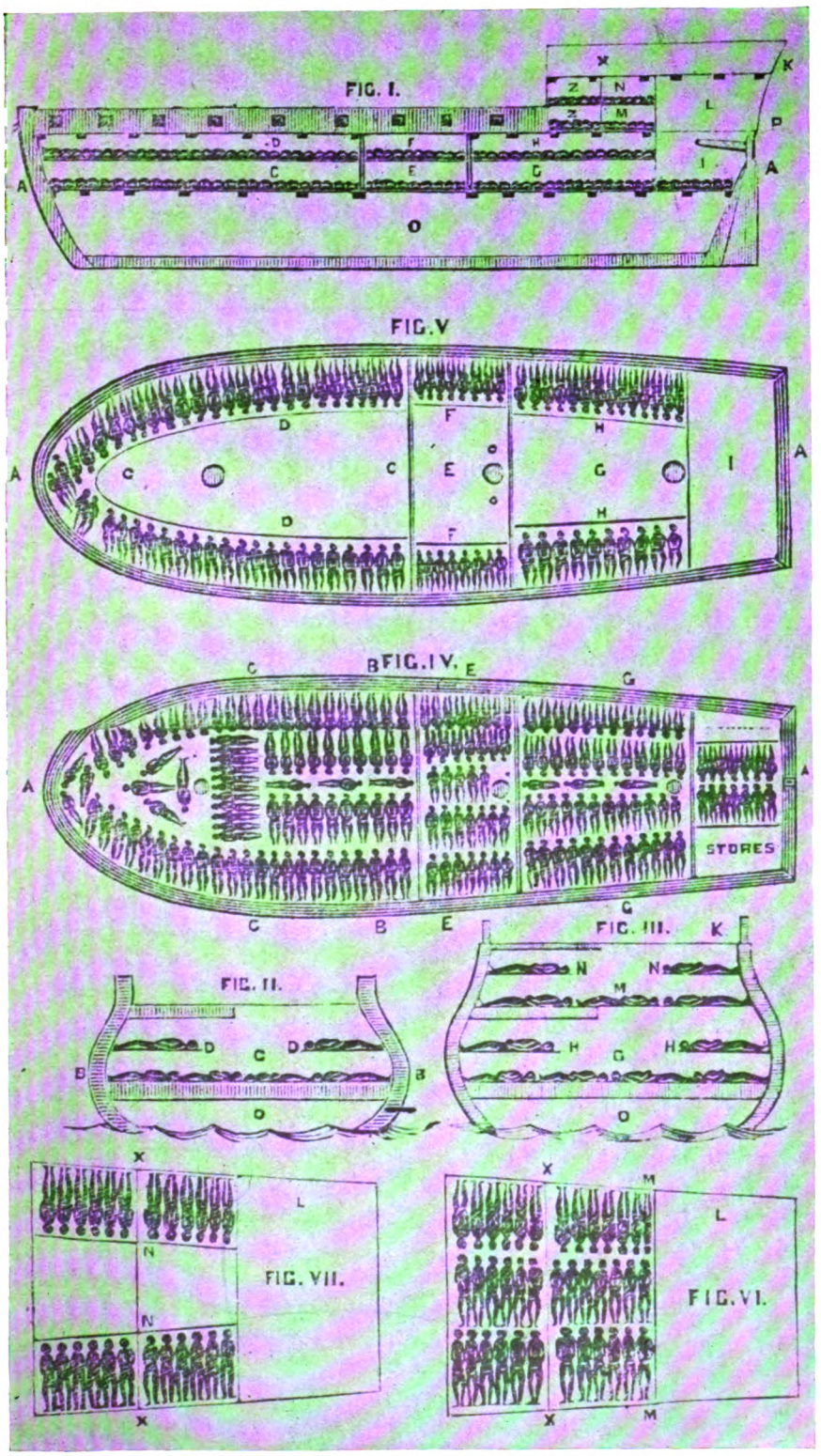
[280] [1] During the discussion of the possible regulation of slave vessels, Captain Perry visited Liverpool and examined eighteen vessels, nine of which belonged to James Jones (see *ante*, no. 279). His report on their measurements is to be found in Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 208-212. The dimensions of the *Brookes*, one of the vessels examined, were: "Length of the lower deck, gratings and bulkheads included, at A A, 100 feet, breadth of beam on lower deck inside, B B, 25 feet 4 inches, depth of Hold, O O O, from ceiling to ceiling, 10 feet, height between decks, from deck to deck, 5 feet 8 inches, length of the men's room, C C, on the lower deck, 46 feet, breadth of the men's room, C C, on the lower deck, 25 feet 4 inches, length of the platforms, D D, in the men's room, 46 feet, breadth of the platforms in the men's room on each side, 6 feet, length of the boy's room, E E, 13 feet 9 inches, breadth of the boy's room, 25 feet, breadth of platforms, F F, in boy's room, 6 feet, length of women's room, G G, 28 feet 6 inches, breadth of women's room, 23 feet 6 inches, length of platforms, H H, in women's room, 28 feet 6 inches, breadth of platforms in women's room, 6 feet, length of the gun-room, I I, on the lower deck, 10 feet 6 inches, breadth of the gun-room on the lower deck, 12 feet, length of the quarter-deck, K K, 33 feet 6 inches, breadth of the quarter-deck, 19 feet 6 inches, length of the cabin, L L, 14 feet, height of the cabin, 6 feet 2 inches, length of the half-deck, M M, 16 feet 6 inches, height of the half-deck, 6 feet 2 inches, length of the platforms, N N, on the half-deck, 16 feet, 6 inches, breadth of the platforms on the half-deck, 6 feet, upper deck, P P.

"Let it now be supposed that the above are the real dimensions of the ship *Brookes*, and further, that every man slave is to be allowed six feet by one foot four inches for room, every woman five feet ten by one foot four, every boy five feet by one foot two, and every girl four feet six by one foot, it will follow that the annexed plan of a slave vessel will be precisely the representation of the ship *Brookes*, and of the exact number of persons neither more nor less, that could be stowed in the different rooms of it upon these data. These, if counted, (* deducting the women stowed in Z, of figures VI and VII,) will be found to amount to *four hundred and fifty-one*. Now, if it be considered that the ship *Brookes* is of three hundred and twenty tons, and that she is allowed to carry by act of Parliament *four hundred and fifty-four persons*, it is evident that if three more could be wedged among the number represented in the plan, this plan would contain precisely the number which the act directs.

"* By the late act of Parliament the space Z, which is half of the half-deck, M Z, is appropriated to the seamen."

For an account of Captain Perry's results see Clarkson, *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, II. 90-92. Extensive use was made of this diagram in carrying forward the work for abolition. Clarkson took it to Paris with him, where Mirabeau had a small model made from it, which he placed in his dining-room; copies of it were sent to Philadelphia, where 3700 were circulated. It was published in the *Museum* (V. 429-430, May, 1789), with extracts from a descriptive pamphlet published by an abolition society of Plymouth. Here the statement is made that the *Brookes* on one of her voyages carried 609 slaves, double the number shown in this diagram. This was said to have been accomplished by inserting additional shelves between decks.

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THE PLAN OF THE *BROOKES*

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281. From the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, 1789.[1]

Testimony of Captain Heatley. . . . When a Ship arrives in the River Gambia she comes to an Anchor at Gillofree Port, in the Kingdom of Barra, opposite James Fort on James's Island, Nine or Ten Leagues from the Entrance. You send your Boat on Shore to acquaint the Alkaide or Mayor of the Town of your Arrival; he in common returns with the Boat, and receives from you Anchorage-money, Ten Gallons of Liquor for the King, Value 30 *s.* and Two Iron Bars for himself, Value 7 *s.* and perhaps Presents, a few Bottles of Wine, Beer, Cyder, etc. He immediately dispatches Messengers with the Liquor as above to the King, informing that such Vessel is arrived, and only waits to pay his Customs, intending to proceed up the River. The King consults his Councillors for a proper Day to receive the same, and sends Word to the Alcaide accordingly. After a Detention of Four, Five, Six, and Seven Days, he sends his People to receive his Custom, 140 Bars in Merchandize, Amount Sterling on an Average £16. An English Ship seldom or ever meets with Trade here; the French (who have their King's Residence at Albreda, a Town in the Kingdom of Barra, about 17 Miles West of Gillofree) engross most or all of the Trade of the lower Parts of this River. At Gillofree the Ship is supplied with First and Second Linguists, Two Messengers, Six Butlers or more.

Wages	First Linguist	10 Bars per Month,		Value 20 *s.*	1 Bar per Slave, Commission.
	Second Linguist	8 Ditto	ditto	ditto 16 *s.*	no Commission
	Messengers	4 Ditto	ditto	ditto 8 *s.*	
	Butlers	3 Ditto	ditto	ditto 6 *s.*	

and all are found in Provision.

The First Linguist's Employment is in the Ship; he interprets between the Broker (who in general sells the Slaves for the Owner) and the Factor, Trader, or Master of the Ship. The Second Linguist is employed as the First, with an Officer of the Ship, either in the Tender, Long Boat, or Factory on Shore. Messengers are employed looking for Trade on Shore, Slaves, Ivory, Gold, Wax, Provisions,

[281] [1] *Report of the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council* (1789), pt. I. The committee of the Privy Council, to which numerous references have already been made, obtained the information for its voluminous report by means of seventy questions put to the witnesses that appeared before it (Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 13-18). Among these witnesses were the committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, captains who had taken part in the trade, surgeons, and naval officers (see Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 116-118). The mass of testimony thus gathered was presented under five headings: (1) the civilization of Africa and the manner in which slaves were made; (2) the manner of carrying slaves to the West Indies; (3) the treatment of slaves on the plantations; (4) the extent of the trade and of the black population, slave and free, of the West Indies; (5) the slave trade and slavery as practised by other nations. Captain Heatley had been in the traffic between 1763 and 1773, during which time he had made several voyages to South Carolina.

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etc.; also for carrying Letters to and from Vessels, Factories, etc. Butlers are employed to row in Boats, cut Wood, water the Ship, etc. and are hired purposely to preserve the Health of your Ship's Crew; with such People on Board, you have no Occasion to expose your White People to the Sun on Board, nor to the Damps on Shore, by cutting Wood and Fetching Water.

Thus provided at Gillofree, we proceed up the River, and after a Passage of Six, Seven, or Eight Days, arrive at Yanamaroo, in the Kingdom of Yancy, 90 or 100 Leagues from the Entrance of the River, paying Anchorage Five Gallons of Liquor and One Iron Bar. We send Messengers to the principal People Twenty or Thirty Miles round, acquainting of the Arrival of the Ship, and soliciting their Assistance for Dispatch. Our Tender or Long-Boat is dispatched up the River to the different Ports of Trade, with a regular Assortment of Merchandise. It is at this Port that Ships from Europe in general begin and finish their Trade.

We in common begin with single Trade, that is, One, Two, or Three Slaves, bought from One Broker, called by the Natives a Slattee; Coffil Trade (but from what Language the Word Coffil is derived Capt. Heatley is at a Loss), is called by the Natives *Seton*, and may be better understood in Europe as a Caravan, or large Bodies of Slaves, from 200 to 300, marched down from the interior Parts of the Country.

The Broker or Slattee is the Person who collects the Slaves together in the interior Parts of the Country; he perhaps gives a small Premium to the Slave Owners, and engages to convey them and their Slaves down to the Banks of the River, clear of all Incumbrance; that is, he discharges all Duties, Fees etc. he is subject to in passing through the different Kingdoms. He finds them Provision on their Journey down; on their Return, they are to find themselves Provision; but he is bound by Engagements to return with them, and keep them free from every Demand as above: For the Performance of his Engagements, he receives a Custom or Brokerage on each Slave from the European Trader, which is (or more properly was originally) deducted out of the Price of the Slave. The Price varies according to the Scarcity and Demand for them.

		Bars.	
From the Year 1783 to 1787, though it often varies;	To the Owner of a Slave	80	
	Customs and Brokerage	20	
		100	Value 10 *l.* Sterling
the same in the Course of Six or Twelve Months;	To the Owner of a Slave	160	
	Custom or Brokerage	70	
		230	Value 23 *l.* Sterling.

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The Slave Trade of Gambia has declined much these 15 or 20 Years past. In the Year 1771, 2500 Slaves may have been exported; in 1775, 2000; but from the Year 1778 to 1788, he knows of no Instance where more than 900 or 1200 have been exported in Twelve Months. The Gambia may produce about 30 Tons of Bees Wax, and 8 to 10 Tons of Ivory. Gold is of such Value about the Sea Coast, we cannot purchase it to bring to Europe with any Prospect of Advantage, the Quantity very small that comes to European Traders Hands. Ivory is purchased from 5 *l.* to 7 *l.* 10 *s.* Sterling per 112 lb. according to Quantity. Bees Wax is purchased from 30 *s.* per 112 lb. to 80.

We are now entering on Trade. The Linguist brings the Broker on Board, or to your Factory, who gives Notice that he has a Slave to sell, enquires the Price you mean to give the Master of the Slave, and the Custom he is to have; this is very seldom settled until he has visited all the Ships and Factories at the Port. When he finds he has no better Offer, he brings the Slave Owner on Board, who examines the Quantity of your Merchandize, fixes upon the principal Articles of the Assortment, and sends for the Slave; the Surgeon examines the Slave; if approved of, we immediately pay the Owner from 10 *l.* to 20 *l.* Value in Merchandize, stopping One Bar Duty for the King, Prince, etc. The Man that collects the Duty is called by the Natives Tabob Manson, in English, the White Man's King, and to whom the European Traders pay Half a Bar, or One Shilling, for every Slave they purchase. The Slave Owner having received his Goods as agreed on, he calls for *Courit a Curt,* (which signifies, in the English Language, loosing the Slaves from their Rope), and is done by presenting him Trading Knives, Half a Bar of Tobacco, Paper, etc.; without this, his Deed of Delivery is not perfect; with it, he finally concludes his Part of the Bargain, and carries his Merchandize on Shore. The Slave, if a Man, is put in Irons on the Main Deck; if a Boy, he is put on the Main Deck loose; if a Woman or Girl, they are placed (without Irons) on the Quarter Deck.

The Broker or Slattee now receives his Custom or Brokerage for the One Slave bought, which finishes the Purchase of a single Slave. The Coffil Trade differs very little from the single, having the same Ceremony, shewing the Goods, fixing the Price to the Owner, and the Custom to the Broker or Slattee. Price and principal Articles once fixed upon, it seldom varies, purchasing 30, 40, or 50 Slaves of a Day. When the Coffil is finished, we pay the Slattee all his Brokerage Dues, the King his Duty Bars, and Tabob Manson his Dues; And it is in the foregoing Mode, and no other, that the European Trader can obtain a Cargo of Slaves in the River Gambia.

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Testimony of Mr. Archibald Dalzell.[2] Mr. Dalzell laid before the Committee the following Account of the Expences attending the Purchase of a Cargo of Slaves at Whydah, *viz.*

To the King of Dahomey for Permission to trade:

For a Ship	14½ Slaves	3	The King gives in Return
A Snow or Brig	7	2	Boys of 7 or 8 Years.
A Sloop	3½	1	

These Slaves are valued at about 5 Oz. or £10 each, as follows:

6 Ankers of Spirits	20 Cabess Cowries	40 Silesias.
4½ Barrels of Gunpowder	25 Guns	10 Pieces of Cloth.
40 Bars of Iron	6 Brass or 12 Iron Blunderbusses.	
Other Goods in Proportion.		

Say Expences for a Ship:

	Oz.	*Ac.*
To the King 14½ Slaves, at 5 Oz. each	72	8
For the Factory House 2 Slaves	10	
Canoe and Canoe Men's Hire	35	

After paying the Customs, which ought to be done as soon as possible, for the Traders dare not receive Goods till the King has got his Dues, the Viceroy gives the following Servants, *viz.*

	Oz.	*Ac.*
One Conductor, whose Office is to take Care of Goods coming from, and Slaves going to the Beach, and ought to be answerable for Deficiency; he is paid Two Galinas Cowries, equal to One Shilling, every Time he takes Charge of any Thing going or coming; and a Flask of Brandy every Sunday. His Pay may be valued at	7	8
Two Brokers or Interpreters, at Two Tokies per Day (3 *d.*) each, and at the End of the Trade, One Anker of Brandy, and One Piece of Cloth each; all which may amount to	5	0
Two Boys for Servants, at Two Tokies and a Piece of Cloth between them	3	0
One Door Keeper, and a Boy to serve at the Tent at the same	3	0
To a Messenger for carrying the News of the Ship's Arrival, and the Captain's Compliments to the King, Ten Galinas and One Flask of Brandy	0	3
To the Gong Gong Beater, for announcing the Opening of Trade, Ten Galinas and One Flask	0	3
To the Trunk Keeper, who takes Care of the Slaves while on Shore, a Bottle every Sunday, and a Cloth at the End of the Trade: This may amount to about	1	0
To the Captain of the Water-side, at the Ship's Departure, One Piece of Cloth and One Anker of Brandy	1	8
To Six Water Rollers, at Two Tokies per Day each, besides which they have Two Tokies for each Cask they roll, and at the End of the Purchase Two Pieces of Cloth and One Anker of Brandy. The whole may be about	10	0
One Woman to bring Water, and One Washerwoman, at Two Tokies per Day each, and a Cloth at the end of the Trade. The Washerwoman has Six Tokies to buy Soap each Time she washes. Their Pay may amount to	5	0
To the Viceroy, who goes with his People to receive the Captain and conduct him to the Fort, One Anker and Two Flasks Brandy	1	2

[2] Dalzell, the author of *The History of Dahomey* (London, 1793), had been a surgeon on the coast in 1763, and later, governor of the fort at Whydah. In another section of the report is his testimony that from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves are annually exported from Dahomey, 700 or 800 of which are taken by the English, 3000 by the Portuguese, and the remainder by the French.

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To the said Viceroy for his particular Customs:

	Oz.	Ac.
One Point d'Espagne Hat, One Piece of Silk, One Cask Flour, and One Cask of Beef or Pork; valued at	7	0
The customary Allowance for making a Tent on the Beach, one Anker of Brandy and One Ounce Cowries	2	0
Porters are paid at the Rate of Three Tokies per Load, unless very heavy, in which Case they have more in Proportion, as Ten Galinas for a Puncheon of Liquor or a Chest of Pipes. The whole of their Pay may be about	20	0
Equal to 368 £. Sterling. Total Ounces	184	0

40 Cowries, 5 Tokies, 20 Galinas, 4 Cabess } make { 1 Tokie, 1 Galina, 1 Cabess, 1 Ounce Trade, or 40 *s.* Sterling.

Testimony of James Penny.[3] . . . At Bonny Slaves are purchased of the King, who is the principal Trader, and of other Traders; at New Calabar, of the before-mentioned Amachree, and of other Traders. These Traders go up into the Country to purchase Slaves. They go up the Rivers to the Distance of about Eighty Miles from Bonny, and the same from New Calabar, in large Canoes with Two or Three principal Persons, and about Forty Men in each. The Canoes go in a Body all together to defend themselves if attacked. At the Head of these Two Rivers there is a Mart for Trade, where the Black Traders purchase these Slaves of other Black Traders, who bring them from the interior Country. Mr. Penny being asked, if he had ever observed that these Slaves had Marks of any fresh Wounds? replied, Not often; but he has sometimes observed such Marks.[4]

[3] Penny, one of the witnesses from Liverpool, had made eleven voyages to Africa. He testified that 14,000 slaves were annually exported from the region of Bonny and Calabar. Of these, 3000 were purchased by the French, the remainder by the English. From the Congo and Angola district the annual exportation he thought to be from 13,000 to 14,000, and from the Windward Coast, 25,000; of the latter, the English exported two-thirds. See Add. MSS. 18272, pp. 21-23.

[4] Two of the hotly contested points at issue between the advocates of the slave trade and its opponents were, whether the natives made war for the purpose of obtaining slaves for the European market, and whether a wholesale kidnapping of free negroes went on. In William Fox's *Summary of the Evidence produced before a Committee of the House of Commons* (1792), prepared to show the unfairness of previous abridgments, the testimony of John Barnes, governor of Senegambia, and of an officer of the African corps, was cited to prove that no wars were made for the purpose of gaining slaves, and that kidnapping was impossible. The so-called wars were instead the collection of delinquent taxes. The evidence of Governor Weuves, Captains Ganby, Heatley, Penny, Norris, and Dalzell, Lieutenant Matthews, Governor Miles, and Admiral Edwards was adduced to prove this, and also the further point that the tardy tax-payers would be murdered if the Europeans did not buy them. In the same way, according to Fox's *Summary*, arrest had unfortunately come to be called kidnapping. To prove that there was no ill treatment of the negroes in the West Indies, the summarizer cited the testimony of Lord Rodney, Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Admiral Barrington, Sir Joshua Rowley, Admirals Hotham, Arbuthnot, and Edwards, as well as that of lesser members of the Navy, governors of the islands, and members of the legislative bodies. *Summary*, pp. 6-8, 10-13.

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The Slaves are purchased with the Manufactures of this Country, India Goods, Spirits, Brass Pans, Arms, etc. etc. and with a Sort of Copper Wreath or Bandage, which are called Manilles, and are considered as the Money of that Country. The People hoard them in great Quantities against Times of Distress. They always carry the Goods up the Country, and a few of the Manilles.

Testimony of Mr. William James[5] . . . The Black Traders of Bonny and Calabar, who are very expert at reckoning and talking the different Languages of their own Country and those of the Europeans, come down about once a Fortnight with Slaves; Thursday or Friday is generally their Trading Day. Twenty or Thirty Canoes, sometimes more and sometimes less, come down at a Time. In each Canoe may be Twenty or Thirty Slaves. The Arms of some of them are tied behind their Backs with Twigs, Canes, Grass Rope, or other Ligaments of the Country; and if they happen to be stronger than common, they are pinioned above the Knee also. In this Situation they are thrown into the Bottom of the Canoe, where they lie in great Pain, and often almost covered with Water. On their landing, they are taken to the Traders Houses, where they are oiled, fed, and made up for Sale.

When they have been sufficiently prepared, the Captain and Doctor generally go together to examine them, and to make their Purchases there. No sickly Slave is ever purchased; at least in the Three Voyages which Mr. James made it was never done. When the Bargain is made they are brought away. This is generally in the Close of the Evening. Forty or Fifty of them are brought away at a Time; sometimes in the Canoes of the Traders, and at other Times in the Ships Boats. They appear to be very dejected when brought on board. The Men are put into Irons, in which Situation they remain during the whole of the Middle Passage, unless when they are sick; but not the Boys and Women.[6]

[5] James, a Bristol captain, had made three voyages to the coast, in 1764, 1766, and 1768.

[6] To any student of the nature of the slave trade or of the abolition movement the entire report of the committee of the Privy Council is of the greatest interest. It furnished much of the material for the speeches on the trade delivered in the House of Commons, and was abridged or summarized by both sides to the controversy. Among the most interesting of the witnesses were Robert Norris, a Liverpool trader already mentioned; James Arnold, who had been a surgeon in the Bristol trade; and John Newton. Norris, who had carried slaves to Carolina, attempted an estimate of the numbers carried from different places on the coast, annually: Gambia 700, Isles de Los 1500, from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount 2000, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas 3000, from Cape Palmas to Cape Appolonia 1000, the Gold Coast 10,000, from Quittah to Popo 1000, Whydah 4500, Porta Nova and Bidagry 3500, Lagos and Benin 3500, Bonny and New Calabar 14,500, Old Calabar and the Kamaruns 7000, Gabon and Cape Lopez 500, Loango, Malimba, and Cabenda 13,500, Mayumba, Ambris, and Missoula 1000, Loando St. Pauls, and Benguella 7000—a total of 74,200. Of these he believed that the English purchased 38,000, the French 20,000, the Dutch 4000, the Danes 2000, the Portuguese 10,000. The Americans

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282. Observations on the Slave Trade.[1]

[1789.]

On the Mode of procuring Slaves: I. *War.* Among the various sources, from whence the Europeans are supplied with slaves on the coast of Africa, I shall first reckon that of War.

The Wars which the inhabitants of the interior parts of the country, beyond Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, carry on with each other, are chiefly of a predatory nature, and owe their origin to the yearly number of slaves, which the Mandingoes, or the inland traders suppose will be wanted by the vessels that will arrive on the coast. Indeed these predatory incursions depend so much on the demand for slaves, that if in any one year there be a greater concourse of European ships than usual, it is observed that a much greater number of captives from the interior parts of the country is brought to market the next.

The unhappy captives, many of whom are people of distinction, such as princes, priests, and persons high in office, are conducted by the Mandingoes in droves of twenty, thirty, and forty, chained together, either to Fort St. Joseph on the river Senegal, or Niger, in the country of Gallam, or to places near the river Gambia. But when the trade with the French on the river Senegal happens to be stopped, (which was the case in 1787) they bring all their captives to the mouth of the Gambia, Sierra Leona, and other places down the coast. These Mandingoes perform the whole journey, except at certain seasons of the year, when they are met by the traders belonging to the coast, who receive the slaves from them, and give them the usual articles of merchandize in exchange.

What I have hitherto said, was taken from the best accounts I could collect both from the black and white traders, during my residence upon the coast. It is proper, however, that I should state something on this head, that has come within my own knowledge.

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were said to purchase "a few". James Arnold, whose acquaintance Clarkson had made in his first visit to Bristol (*Abolition of the Slave Trade*, I. 270-275, 280-281), gave a long account of the voyages of the *Ruby* and the *Little Pearl*, slavers on which he had served as surgeon's mate and surgeon. John Newton was at this time rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. See *ante*, no. 224, n. 2.

[282] [1] C. B. Wadström, *Observations on the Slave Trade and a Description of some Part of the Coast of Guinea during a Voyage made in 1787 and 1788 in Company with Dr. A. Spaarman and Captain Arrehensius* (1789). At the time when Clarkson was casting about for the most telling witnesses that he could present to the committee of the Privy Council he learned that the Swedish scientists Wadström and Spaarman were in London on their journey home after an expedition to Africa. He seized upon them as witnesses whose evidence would be entirely uncolored by material interests, and induced the committee to hear them. Wadström's pamphlet is, in part at least, an expansion of his testimony. Dr. Spaarman's testimony was quoted by Wilberforce in his speech of May 12, 1789.

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The Moors, who inhabit the countries on the north of the River Senegal, are particularly infamous for their predatory Wars. They cross the river, and attacking the negroes, bring many of them off. There are not a few who subsist by means of these unprovoked excursions. The French, to encourage them in it, make annual presents to the Moorish kings. These are given them under certain conditions, first, that their subjects shall not carry any of their gum to the English at Portendic; and, secondly, that they shall be ready on all occasions, to furnish slaves. To enable them to fulfil this last article, they never fail to supply them with ammunition, guns, and other instruments of War.

To confirm what I have now said, I shall put down the following example:

The king of Almammy had, in the year 1787, very much to his honour, enacted a law, that no slave whatever should be marched through his territories. At this time several French vessels lay at anchor in the Senegal, waiting for slaves. The route of the black traders in consequence of this edict of the king, was stopped, and the slaves carried to other parts. The French, unable on this account to complete their cargoes, remonstrated with the king. He was, however, very unpropitious to their representations, for he returned the presents which had been sent him by the Senegal company, of which I myself was a witness; declaring, at the same time, that all the riches of that company should not divert him from his design. In this situation of affairs, the French were obliged to have recourse to their old friends, the Moors. These, who had before shewn themselves so ready on such occasions, were no less ready and active on this. They set off in parties to surprise the unoffending negroes, and to carry among them all the calamities of War. Many unfortunate prisoners were sent, and for some time continued to be sent in. I was once curious enough to wish to see some of those that had just arrived. I applied to the Director of the company, who conducted me to the slave-prisons. I there saw the unfortunate captives, chained two and two together, by the foot. The mangled bodies of several of them, whose wounds were still bleeding, exhibited a most shocking spectacle; and their situation may be much easier conceived than described. The Director of the company, however, used his best endeavours to console them (pp. 1-5). . . .

II. *Pillage.* A second source, from whence the Europeans are supplied with slaves on the coast of Africa, is Pillage, which is of two kinds; publick and private. It is publick, when practised by the direction of the kings, private when practised by individuals. I must also make a further distinction, namely, as it is practised by the

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blacks and the whites. This last I call Robbery, which will be the subject of the next article.

The publick Pillage is, of all others, the most plentiful source, from which the slave trade derives its continuance and support. The kings of Africa (I mean in that part of the country which I have visited) incited by the merchandize shewn them, which consists principally of strong liquors, give orders to their military to attack their own villages in the night (p. 7). . . .

I come now to the private Pillage. This is practised by individuals, who, tempted by the merchandize brought by the Europeans, lie in wait for one another. For this purpose they beset the roads, and other places, so that a travelling negro can hardly ever escape them. To enumerate the many instances of this private depredation that happen, would be an endless task. I shall therefore select but one, which, on account of the circumstances that followed, may strike the reader as singular.

A Moor had seized a free negro, and, having secured him, he brought him to Senegal, and sold him to the company. A few days afterwards this moor was taken by some negroes in the same manner, and brought to be sold in his turn. The company seldom buy moors: but as they were obliged, in consequence of their privileges, to supply the colony of Cayenne with a certain number of slaves, and as several ships then in the road, in consequence of the king of Almammy's edict, as before related, could not complete their cargoes, they made the less scruple to buy him on this occasion. Chance so directed, that the moor, after he had been purchased, was carried on board the same ship, in which the negro lay. They no sooner met, than a quarrel took place between them, which occasioned, for some days, a great tumult in the vessel. Such rencounters frequently happen in the slave-ships, and the uproars occasioned by them, are seldom or never quieted, till some mischief has been done.

III. *Of Robbery.* I have been hitherto describing the Pillage, as it is either publick or private. I have also considered it as practised by the blacks upon one another. I come now to speak of it, as it is practised upon these by the whites; and this I call Robbery. . . .

When I was at Goree, in the year 1787, accounts came down by some French merchantmen from the Gambia of the following particulars.

The captain of an English ship, which had been some time in that river, had enticed several of the natives on board, and, finding a favourable opportunity, sailed away with them. His vessel however was, by the direction of Providence, driven back to the coast from whence it had set sail, and was obliged to cast anchor on the very

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spot where this act of treachery had been committed. At this time two other English vessels were lying in the same river. The natives, ever since the transaction, had determined to retaliate. They happened, at this juncture, to be prepared. They accordingly boarded the three vessels, and, having made themselves masters of them, they killed most of their crews. The few who escaped to tell the tale, were obliged to take refuge in a neighbouring French factory. Thus did the innocent suffer the same punishment as the guilty; for it did not appear that the crews of the other two vessels had been at all concerned in this villainous measure (pp. 16-17, 19-20).[8] . . .

283. Petitions to the House of Commons.[1]

May 12, 1789.

A Petition of the West India Planters, West India Merchants, and others residing within the City of Bristol, and its Vicinity, who have adventured their Property on West India Securities, either on Mortgage, Bond, Annuity, or otherwise, and of the Sugar Refiners in the said City of Bristol, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, that the Petitioners learn with serious Alarm that, on the proposed Investigation in the Committee of the House of Commons of the Petitions against the Slave Trade, a Motion will be made for its entire Abolition, on which Trade, the Petitioners conceive, the Welfare and Prosperity, if not the actual Existence, of the West India Islands depend: That it has been found by recent Enquiries, conducted with the greatest Exactness, that the African and West India Trade constitute at least Three-fifths of the Commerce of the Port of Bristol, and that, if upon such Motion a Bill should pass into a Law, the Decline of the Trade of the City of Bristol must in-

[8] Sect. II. recounts the tricks used by the whites in trading with the negroes, by means of which short measure is allotted to them, and inferior goods substituted for that which they expect to receive. Chap. II. of this section relates some of the cruelties of the Middle Passage.

[283] [1] *C. J.*, XLIV. 353-354. The report of the committee of the Privy Council had come to the House in April. On May 12, 1789, Wilberforce brought the subject of the slave trade to the front by a long and moving speech, in which he summed up the findings of the committee and ended by presenting twelve resolutions which set forth the evils of the traffic. Both sides to the controversy had been preparing for the struggle during the year that had elapsed since Pitt made his preliminary motion in the House, and the opponents of abolition were ready with petitions on the very day that Wilberforce presented his resolutions. In addition to the one here printed came others from the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Bristol, the master warden and commonalty of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, and the African merchants and traders of Bristol. The first of these maintained that the West India commerce and the manufactures dependent on it were responsible for the greatest part of the opulence of Bristol, and begged that only those measures required by the interests of humanity be imposed on the trade. The petition of the Merchant Venturers pointed out that planters, merchants, and creditors, in the event of abolition, would have a claim for compensation which would increase the burdens of the state at the same time that its resources were diminished. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353; earlier petitions are to be found on pp. 97-98.

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evitably follow, as the African Trade and the great West India Commerce, connected therewith and dependent thereon, form so considerable a Part of it, and this to the very great Loss of the Petitioners, and to the Ruin of Thousands of Individuals who are maintained thereby, but who are not sensible of the impending Danger; and that the Petitioners, many of them from their own Experience, and all of them from the Reports of judicious People conversant with the West Indies, on whose Representations they can rely, are fully convinced that the Cultivation of the West India Colonies cannot be carried on to any Degree of Advantage, should that Trade be abolished by which they have hitherto been supplied with Negro Labourers from Africa, by the Subjects of this Country; and that, as the West India Islands are the great Market for the British Herrings, that Fishery, which has ever been considered as the Nursery of our Seamen, and the Source of Wealth and Employment to Numbers of the Subjects of this Kingdom, must be materially affected by any Diminution of the Consumption in those Islands; and the Petitioners beg Leave to represent the Hardships to which the intended Measure will expose the British Planter, in putting him on a worse Footing than the Subjects of our great Rivals in Trade and Colonization, the French, Spaniards, Dutch and Danes, especially the Two former, who have unbounded Tracts of rich Land, which yield Tropical Productions with little Labour and Skill: To these natural Advantages must be added the very great Encouragement which the Spanish Government in particular gives at this Moment to its own Subjects, and the Invitation which it holds out to Strangers: On the other Hand, the major Part of the British Adventurers have to contend with a sterile Soil and unseasonable Situations, requiring the utmost Industry and Skill to make them in any Degree productive, so that without a Continuance of the African Slave Trade, and the fostering Helps of the Mother Country, so far from being able to meet Foreign Colonies at any European Market, they will scarcely be in a State to supply even this Country, where they have now an exclusive Right of Trade for some of their Products; and that the Petitioners consider the Abolition of the Slave Trade as putting an absolute and immediate Stop to all Improvements or Attempts of new Settlements in the British Colonies; that even the major Part of the old settled Estates must decline Daily in their Produce, under the Effects of such a Measure; so that many will inevitably sink under Losses and Disappointments which they have it not in their Power to prevent, and the Merchant, Annuitant, Mortgagee, and other Creditors, instead of contributing largely, as at present, to the Burthens of the State, must look up to the Public for Relief; and that, having

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the increasing Rivalship of other Nations to contend with, they presume to say, they should rather be considered as entitled to Public Help and Countenance, than be put under Restraints which must terminate in their Ruin, and ultimately prove fatal to the Commercial Interests of this Country; and that on the Cession of the Island of Saint Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago, to the Crown of Great Britain, the Lands were sold at Public Auction, under the Direction of Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament, and the Money arising therefrom paid into the Treasury; that, relying upon the Faith of Government, some of the Petitioners purchased the said Lands at a great Expence, upon the express or implied Terms of cultivating and improving them by Negro Slaves, and the Purchasers have since expended very large Sums in clearing those Lands, and erecting Buildings and Works for the Manufacture of Sugars, but which will be useless and lost to the Adventurers, unless the African Trade is continued, whereby only they can procure Labourers to work the same; and that others of the Petitioners, being Merchants and Mortgagees of West India Estates, under the Sanction and Authority of different Acts of Parliament (and particularly that of the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, passed for the Purpose of encouraging the Settlement of the British Colonies and Plantations, and to induce People in Great Britain to lend Money on the Security of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Slaves, Cattle, and other Things) have been induced to advance very considerable Sums on the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Slaves, Cattle, and other Things, forming what is generally styled a Sugar Plantation, many of which Plantations being still in their Infancy, never can be brought to Perfection, or the Proprietors be enabled to repay the Sums so advanced by the Petitioners, without further Supplies of new Negroes from Africa, to enable them to complete the Settlement of those Plantations, and, should this Supply be withheld, the very large Sums so lent by the Petitioners, as Merchants and Mortgagees, under the Sanction and Authority of Parliament, will, in a great Number of Instances, be wholly lost, and, in those where it is not, the Security will be rendered extremely hazardous, and the Time of Repayment (if ever) will be so remote, that it may be almost as injurious to the Petitioners as if they had suffered a total Loss; and that the Trade of Sugar Refining has, for many Years, been a very considerable Branch of Manufacture in the City of Bristol, and the Buildings, Utensils, and Dead Stock, employed therein to a very great Amount, are not convertible to any other Purpose, and any Check to the ample Supply of this Article, which is become in various Shapes a Necessary of Life, would not

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only be ruinous in the Extreme to the Petitioners engaged in the Manufacture, but the Mischief would extend most widely, throwing many Hundreds of Common Labouring People, brought up to this Business, wholly out of Employment, and of course reducing them to the Necessity of emigrating to Foreign Countries, or becoming with their Families burthensome to their own; and that the Petitioners do not presume to deny that some Regulations may have been necessary in the Manner of carrying on the African Slave Trade; they are willing to believe that those already adopted have been serviceable, not only to the Adventurers themselves, but to the Cause of Humanity; they may still, as the Petitioners think, be followed up by others, equally advantageous to the Interests of both: It is with peculiar Satisfaction the Petitioners observe, that the principal Colonial Legislatures have anticipated the Wishes of the House, in passing such Laws for the internal Government of their Negro Slaves as they conceived to be consonant to their Situations, and fully to meet the Expectations of the People of this Country; and, the Petitioners doubt not the other Islands will soon follow this laudable Example, and the Petitioners trust, that the House will not hastily establish a System by which the most valuable Dependencies of the British Empire may be hazarded, and that in an Experiment only by no Means, in the Petitioners Opinion, likely to serve those it is intended to relieve: And therefore praying, That the Bill about to be brought in, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, may not pass into a Law, and that the Petitioners may be heard, by their Counsel, against the same Bill, but, should it be adopted, they hope the House will see the Necessity of suspending its Operation to some remote and distant Periods, previous to which a System may be devised that may, without Violence or the Operation of the intended Bill, produce the desired Effect; but if, on the other Hand, the Bill should pass, and it is deemed expedient, by the House, that its Operation should be immediate, the Petitioners look up to the Justice of the British Legislature for a suitable Compensation for the Losses they must inevitably sustain, and they trust that Commissioners will be authorized to enquire into the Amount, and provision made for their immediate Relief.

A Petition of the principal Manufacturers, Ship Builders, Ship Holders, and Traders, of the City of Bristol, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, . . . that the Petitioners have large Capitals, expensive Works, Docks, Ships, Buildings, and Warehouses, together with a great Number of People, employed in their several Trades and Manufactures, and their chief Support and Dependance for carrying on their different Occupations, are the

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Trade to Africa, and the Exports and Imports to and from the West India Islands, which have been found, by recent and very accurate Enquiries, to constitute full Three-fifths of the Trade of the Port of Bristol, both with respect to the Tonnage of the Shipping, and the Capitals employed; and that whatever Regulations lessen either of these Branches of Commerce, will tend, in a great Degree, to annihilate the Trade of Bristol, and materially injure the neighbouring Country Towns, whose Manufactures are principally supported by the Exports from the said City; and that the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with the Effects it will necessarily have on the Trade and Credit of the West India Islands, will deprive the Port of Bristol of so great a Share of its present Commerce, Shipping and Advantages, that the other general Branches of its Trade will necessarily sink with it, and altogether will be attended with such ruinous Consequences to the Petitioners, and the People employed under them, that it will involve Thousands in the utmost Difficulty and Distress, who, with their Families, ought not to be the last Objects of Regard to those who are actuated by Motives of true Humanity; and that, since the Restrictions lately laid on the Trade to Africa by the British Legislature, no less than Forty Sail of Vessels have been fitted out for that Coast in the States of New England; and that the Trade is also carrying on to a considerable Extent by the Ships and Manufactures of France, with the Capitals and on Account of Merchants residing in Great Britain, to the Emolument of the French, the Injury of this Country, and in Proof that, whatever may be the Restrictions in these Kingdoms, the Slave Trade cannot be abolished: And therefore praying, That the said Motion, for the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, may not pass into a Law, but that such Regulations may, after mature Consideration, be adopted, as will not be destructive of the greater Part of the Trade of the Petitioners, and of the Wealth, the Shipping, and the Manufactures, of the City of Bristol.

A Petition of the Merchants, Adventurers, and Traders, of the City of Bristol, to the Islands of Newfoundland, was likewise presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners are much alarmed at a Motion, they hear is intended to be made in the House, for the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, and are thereby induced to represent, that, among the many other Injuries this Kingdom would sustain therefrom, that most valuable Branch of Commerce and great Nursery of Seamen, the Fishery of Newfoundland, would be most materially affected, as the Annual Export of dry Fish from thence to the West India Islands is very considerable, and, if stopped, would prove fatal to the said Fishery: And

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therefore praying, That the House will not suffer any Bill to be brought in for the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, but only for such Regulations as the House shall deem right.

A Petition of Charles Spooner,[2] Agent for the Island of Saint Christopher, in Behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the said Island, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioner. . . . begs Leave to represent, that a considerable Part of the Lands in the Island of Saint Christopher having been ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, the House of Commons, on the 21st of June, 1717, came to the following Resolution, "Resolved, That the Lands in the Island of Saint Christopher, yielded by France to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, should be sold to the best Advantage, and the Produce of the same should be applied to the Use of the Public:" and, in Consequence of the said Resolution, his then Majesty, George the First, on the 4th of June, 1726, caused a Commission to be issued to certain Persons therein-named, to contract and agree with any of his Subjects for the absolute Purchase of that Part of the said Island, formerly belonging to the French, which Commission was afterwards confirmed by King George the Second, on the 1st Day of May, in the Fifth Year of his Reign; and, under the said Commission, Lands in the said Island were sold for a considerable Sum of Money to sundry Persons, under whom the Petitioner's Constituents claim, and the Money arising from the Sales was actually applied to the Use of the Public; and that the Value of the Lands purchased did then, and still does, depend on the Cultivation of them by Means of Negro Labourers, insomuch that any Measure which tends to deprive the Planter of a necessary Supply of Negroes for that Purpose, must necessarily sink and depreciate the Value of his Lands; and that it was then, and still continues to be, the universal Practice of all the Nations of Europe who have Colonies in the West Indies, to employ Negroes only in the Cultivation of their Lands, founded on the Experience of a great Length of Time, that Europeans must soon sink under the Inclemency of the Climate, and the Petitioner conceives, that, in this Practice, the British Subject has been supported and encouraged by the Sanction of many Royal Charters, Royal Proclamations, and Acts of Parliament, which have passed, from Time to Time, for above a Century, for promoting and extending the Trade to Africa, with a View chiefly to supplying the Sugar Colonies with a sufficient Importation of Slaves at reasonable Rates, under the Faith of which the Petitioner's Constituents were

[2] *C. J.*, XLIV. 355-356. Charles Spooner, who had appeared as a witness for the trade, also presented a petition on behalf of the island of Grenada and the Grenadines. On the same day (May 12, 1789) a petition was presented from the council and assembly of Nevis, which argued that the necessary supply of negroes could not be kept up by the West India birth-rate. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356-358.

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originally induced to purchase the said Lands, and have since proceeded in the Settlement of them, being fully convinced, in their own Minds, that the Parent State would never impede or check them in their Cultivation by prohibiting the Importation of Negroes from Africa, and have, in Consequence, erected very extensive Works, and invested a great Capital in the Purchase of Negroes for carrying on the Manufacture of Sugar and Rum, insomuch that the said Island, which at the Time of the said Sales was of little Value, is now become, in Proportion to its Size and Extent, as valuable a Sugar Colony as any belonging to great Britain, but, should the Planters in future be prevented from receiving the necessary Supplies of Negroes, the Petitioner's Constituents are firmly persuaded that the Cultivation must languish, and with it the Value of their Property must decline, and, in Process of Time, be totally destroyed: Under the foregoing Considerations, the Petitioner submits to the House, whether it is consistent with that Degree of substantial Justice and good Faith, which has ever distinguished the Conduct of the British Government, that they, who have been induced to become Purchasers under the Sanction of a Royal Commission, founded on a Parliamentary Resolution, and under a justifiable Confidence that Parliament would not break through an established System, to which it had, for a Length of Time, given its Sanction and Support, should now be deprived of the Means of cultivating those Lands for which they have paid a valuable Consideration to the Public, and whether that System ought to be abandoned, under which the Sugar Colonies in general, and the said Island in particular, have thriven and prospered, to the great Emolument of the Mother Country, in order to substitute in its Stead a speculative untried Experiment, which, should it fail in the Ends proposed, must be attended with Consequences ruinous to them, and injurious to the Nation; but if however the House shall, notwithstanding, in Conjunction with the other Branches of the Legislature, see Cause to abolish the said Trade, and shall consent to hazard all the Consequences to the Commerce, Navigation, Revenue, and Manufactures of this Kingdom, as well as to the private Property of the Subject, the Petitioner begs Leave to represent that it is essential to the Justice of such a Measure, that those, whose whole Fortunes are to be exposed to Risques which fill them with the most alarming Apprehension, and who, on a very uncertain Theory, in a Matter of private Property, are to be deprived of the Liberty of judging for themselves, contrary to a fixed Principle of the Law of the Land, should receive a previous Consideration, and consequently that the Petitioner's Constituents will be deemed by the House to have a fair and equitable Right to receive a just Compensa-

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tion from the State: And therefore praying, That he may be indulged with a sufficient Time to be heard, by his Counsel, in Behalf of his Constituents, and to produce such Evidence, and give such Reasons, at the Bar of the House, as he shall think necessary in Support of the Allegations in this his Petition.[3]

May 20, 1789.[4]

A Petition of the Manufacturers of Goods, calculated for the Trade to Africa, in the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham, was presented to the House, and read: Setting forth, That the Petitioners observe, by the Votes, a Resolution of the House to take into Consideration the Circumstances of the African Slave Trade, complained of in certain Petitions presented to the House for an Abolition of the said Trade; and that a very considerable Part of the various Manufactures in which the Petitioners are engaged, are adapted to and disposed of for the African Trade, and are not saleable at any other Market; and that several Thousands are employed in, and maintained by, such Manufactures, and, the Petitioners are fully persuaded, should the said Trade be abolished, the Petitioners will be injured in their Fortunes and Property, to a very alarming Extent, and many Thousands, who depend on them for Employment and Subsistence, be brought into Poverty and Distress: And therefore praying the House to take the Premises into their most serious Consideration, and to adopt such Measures for the Preservation of the said Trade as to the House shall seem expedient.

A Petition of the Merchants, Ship Owners, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and others, directly concerned or otherwise interested in the African Slave Trade, from the Port of London, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Slave Trade to Africa is of very great Importance to the Commerce, Navigation, and Manufactures of this Country, and to the Revenues of the same, and any Law for the Abolition thereof would be attended with infinite Injury, not only to Individuals, but to the Nation at large, and would tend greatly to the Aggrandizement of the French, Spaniards, Dutch, Portuguese, Danes, and others, who are giving every Encouragement for the Promotion and Improvement of that Branch of Commerce; and that many of the Petitioners not only employ the whole of their own Capital, but have adventured very considerable Sums upon their Credit in carrying on the Slave Trade, encouraged

[3] The council and assembly of Antigua instructed their agent to ask for recompense for the value of their property in case a "mistaken tenderness for the negro" caused Parliament to pass legislation which would ruin the Sugar Islands. *No Abolition* (1789), pp. 32-33.

[4] *C. J.*, XLIV. 380-383. The planters of the British Sugar Colonies also petitioned to be heard by themselves or by counsel against the bill. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

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thereto by the several Acts in Force for that express Purpose, but more especially that of the Twenty-third of King George the Second, for extending and improving the Trade to Africa;[5] and that many other of the Petitioners, though not immediate Adventurers to Africa, are Individually interested in the Welfare of that Trade, the principal Part of their Manufactures, and other Commodities, being solely calculated for the African Market, and such as would suit no other, and others of the Petitioners are employed in the Equipment of Shipping for the said Trade, and in making and manufacturing Materials for the same, whereby they in a great Measure derive a Maintenance for themselves and Families: That the Petitioners, justly alarmed at a Bill proposed to be brought into Parliament to abolish the Slave Trade, beg Leave to represent to the House the fatal Consequences which must inevitably attend such a Measure—1st, to the Nation at large, by lopping off a very large Portion of its Commerce, its Navigation, and its Revenues, and transferring the same to other Countries—2dly, to the Merchants immediately adventuring to Africa, whose Fortunes are embarked therein, under the repeated Sanction and Encouragement of the Legislature, and whose Shipping (which, from their peculiar Construction and Equipment, are very expensive) will in a great Measure be rendered useless, being almost wholly unfit for any other Trade; and, 3dly, in the Ruin of many Thousands, who now live almost wholly by the Commerce, and various other branches of Employment, which the African Trade gives Rise to: And therefore praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration, to allow them to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against any Bill that may be brought into Parliament for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to grant them such Relief as to the House shall seem meet.

A Petition of the Manufacturers of and Dealers in Iron, Copper, Brass, and Lead in the Borough of Liverpool,[6] for themselves and others, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners, and their immediate Dependants, form a large Body, all of whom in their various Branches of Manufacture are so connected with the building of and supplying the Outset and Cargoes of the many Ships employed in the African Trade from the said Port, that they may be justly considered as relying upon that Trade only for their Success and Support; and that, in this precarious Situation, the Petitioners, with the utmost Anxiety and Concern, have received Information that the total Abolition of the African Slave

[5] 23 Geo. II. c. 31, 1750; see *ante*, no. 217.

[6] The planters, merchants, mortgagees, annuitants, and others, creditors of the Sugar Colonies resident in Liverpool, and the merchants trading to Africa and resident in Liverpool, also petitioned to be heard against abolition. *C. J.*, XLIV. 381.

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Trade will shortly become a Matter of Consideration in the House, and should a Measure so impolitic be unhappily adopted, as the Abolition of a Commerce which has been for some Centuries carried on, not only without Interruption, but under the immediate Protection of the Legislature, and encouraged by various Bounties and Annual pecuniary Grants, many of the Petitioners, and Thousands of industrious honest Artificers, will thereby be reduced to a most distressing Situation, perhaps be sent forth solitary Wanderers into the World, to seek Employment in Foreign Climes: And therefore praying, That they may be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the Abolition of the African Slave Trade.

A Petition of the Sailmakers of Liverpool, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners form a useful and necessary Body of Men in the fitting out and supporting the Naval Power of Britain, and their principal Dependance in the Port of Liverpool is upon the Outset and Repairs of the Shipping employed in the African Trade, which, when that Trade meets with Encouragement and Success, amounts annually to One hundred Sail, or upwards; and that Petitioners are greatly alarmed upon being informed that the House will shortly take the Slave Trade under their Consideration, with the avowed Intention of totally abolishing that important Branch of Commerce, and the chief Support of the Petitioners Occupation in particular; and that, should so fatal a Measure as the Abolition of that Trade be unhappily adopted, the Petitioners, with their Dependants and dearest Connections, will be reduced to great and unavoidable Distress, if some adequate Compensation be not provided by Parliament: And therefore praying to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, or that such Relief may be granted them by the House as they shall think proper and needful.[7]

A Petition of the Bakers in Liverpool, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners, who compose a very numerous Body in the said Borough, depend chiefly for Employment upon the great Number of Ships fitted out in that Port to supply the West India Islands with Negro Slaves from the Coast of Africa, and, from the great Number of People, Whites and Blacks, to be fed on board each of those Ships during a long Voyage, that Commerce is rendered the Petitioners principal Dependance, and to

[7] This was accompanied by petitions from the joiners of Liverpool, the shipwrights, the ropemakers, the coopers, the gunmakers, the blockmakers, and the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of that city. In all, twelve petitions from Liverpool interests were presented on May 20, along with one from the Manchester manufacturers of African goods, two from the creditors of the Sugar Islands, and one from the agent from Antigua (*ibid.*, pp. 381-384). For an account of the further progress of the abolition movement see *ante*, pp. lvii-lxii.

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deprive them of that Source would take from the Petitioners the Means of providing for themselves and Families, and reduce them to the utmost Distress; and that the Petitioners are therefore much alarmed and deeply concerned to find, that the African Slave Trade will shortly be taken into Consideration by the House, with the avowed Intention of totally abolishing that important Branch of Commerce, which for Centuries past has been established, protected, and encouraged by the Legislature, and, should so fatal a Measure as the Abolition of the said Trade be unhappily adopted, Numbers amongst the Petitioners will be reduced to great and unavoidable Distress, if some adequate Compensation be not provided by Parliament: And therefore praying to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, or that such Relief may be granted them by the House as shall be judged proper and needful.

284. Accounts of John Johnston.[1]

Slave Trade at Quashies Town in August, 1789.

			Oz.	Ac.	Oz.	Ac.
Aug.	*18.*	No. 1 a Prime Man Slave for				
		4 Dane Guns	1	8		
		2 Half Barrells powder	2			
		2 fine Chintss	1	4		
		2 Patna Do	1			
		4 Bajudepants	2	8		
		2 Necanees	1			
		6 Romauls	2	4		
		3 Hlf Cottons		12		
		3 Two Blues		12		
		1 Half Taffaty		10		
		4 Lead Barrs		2		
		2 Small Brass panns		2	13	14
	19th	No. 2 A Man Slave for				
		4 Dane Guns 2½ Barrells powder	4			
		2 fine Chintz	1	4		
		2 Patna Do.	1			
		2 Nicanees	1			
		6 Romauls	2	4		
		2 Half Cottons		8		
		3 Two Blues		12		
		4 Bajudepants	2	8		
		1 Half Taffaty		10		
		2 Brass panns		2	14	
		Carried forward			27	14

[284] [1] From a "Manuscript Account Book kept by one John Johnston, while on a Slave Trading Expedition in Africa in 1792, 84 pages, 1792". This neat account book, owned by Mr. George Plimpton and printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (n. s.), vol. 39, pp. 379-465, contains, in addition to the accounts of 1792, records of earlier trading on the West Coast, perhaps copied into this book for the sake of comparison. But a few pages are here printed, to provide some means of comparing the prices of slaves at this time with the prices paid by the *Judith* in 1727 (see *ante*, no. 168). Quashies Town was not far from Dixcove.

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[*Slave Trade at Quashies*—continued]

		Oz.	Ac.	Oz.	Ac.
	Brought forward			27	14
August 21st	No. 3 a Stout Man for *Vizt*				
	5 Half Barrells powder	5			
	6 Guns	2	4		
	2 Bajudepants	1	4		
	2 Necanees	1			
	2 Green Ells	1			
	2 Romauls		12		
	1 Two Blue and 1 Half Cotton		8		
	1 Patch 3 Kegs Tallow		14		
	3 lbs Pewter Basons[2]		2	12	12
				40	10

Abstract for 300 Slaves or upwards for the Annamaboe Trade in 1790 and 1791 vizt.[3]

No.		
51	300	Hlf Says
48	100	Green Ells
49	100	Yellow Do
4	350	Bonny Blue or Tape Check Romauls ½ of them Red Borderd
6	300	Broad Blue Do.
12	200	Abang Do.
13	200	Abaphotaes
14	200	Plod [plaid] Do.
14	200	fine mixd or Caspie Romauls
15	300	Turkey Red Handkerchiefs 12 in a peice
16	300	India Red Danes or Cotton Pullicats
23d	600	fine Col'd Chints 12 yds.
22	300	Patna chints 12 yds. of the Pattern of the long bonny Chints's
44	300	Deep Blue Ground chints Patches
25	300	Madder Ground Chints
31	300	Blue Alijard Do.
30	50	Striped Taffatys Deep Shaded
29	100	Plain Red Do
36	50	Cuttanees plain and flowered
35	100	Red Silk Pullicats
39	50	Blue Bandannoes in Single spots
40	300	Sustracundies Blue Borderd
84	60	Neganepants
28	150	Red and Blue Bajudepants
45	150	Alijard Chillows
47	1000	Silesias 200 of them Brown
32	100	Yards Scarlet 25 yds. Blue Cloth
43	50	Hoo hoos
89	250	Tapseals Necanees or any other cheap 8 ak. pieces
86	50	Sastracundie Romauls
87	300	Kegs Powder 40 lbs each
81	200	Do. Do. 33⅓
80	100	Do. Do. 16 ⅔
75	2000	Real Dane Guns
90	50	Short English Dane Guns
78	300	Iron Barrs
77	2000	Lead Barrs
65	1200	Brass panns, 19 to 22 Inch
68	1800	lbs Pewter Basons assorted

[2] Johnston records 1 oz., 12½ ackies as "dashes" given to slave traders, most of whom were Warsaws. His expenses for landing his goods at Quashies Town were 4 oz. 6½ ackies. *Ibid.*, pp. 461-462.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 439-440.

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[*Abstract for 300 Slaves*—continued]

79	300	Kegs Tallow
83	600	Single Cases Gin
76	5	Hhds Tobacco
64	10	Gross Pipes

Assortment paid Mr. Sachse of Cormantyne

for 6 men Slaves at 12 oz		72	Sterlg
6 Women Do. at 10 oz		60	Coast
12	Oz	132	
		Oz.	*Ak.*
24 Brankar Chints		12	
24 Red Dane Romauls		12	
3 Taffatys 3 Cuttanees		6	
4 Pollicats		4	
12 Sastracundies		7	8
40 Silesias		5	
24 Hlf Cottons		6	
12 Half Sayes		7	8
12 Chilloes		7	8
12 Neganepants		7	8
12 Tapseals		6	
72 lbs Pewter Basons		4	8
12 Bajutepants		7	8
48 Brass Panns		3	
24 Iron Barrs		3	
12 half Barrels Powder		12	
24 Kegs Tallow		4	8
12 Guinea Stuffs		1	8
49 Romauls in Sort		15	
	oz	132	

Inferior Assortments we paid oz. 13 for Men and oz. 11 for women But to have an Equal Number of Each

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Slave Trade at Padeora in the "Swallow", 1791.[4]

Date	No. Slave	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total no.		Oz	Ak	Oz	Ak
Mar. 9	1	1					Quaqua By 1 Man for *vist.*				
							" 2 Guns ½ Bar'l Powder 1 anker Gin	2.	12		
							" 1 Case Gin. 1 chillow 2 Hoohoos 3 Romls.	3.	4		
							" 1 Patna Chints. 1 Bajudept. ⅓ d pullicats	1.	12		
							" ½ Cuttanee 1 Jamedarry 1 R. D. Roml	1.	12		
							1 Sestracundee. 4 Siliceas. 4 Lead and 2 I. Bars	1.	8	11.	
	2	1					Quaqua By 1 Man for *Vist.*				
							" 2 D Guns ½ B Powder 1 Anker Gin	2.	12		
							" 1 Bajudepant 1 chillow	1.	4		
							" 5 Romauls 1 Sestracundie	2.	8		
							" ½ Cuttanee ⅓ pullicat 1 Patna chints	1.	12		
							" 5 Silicias 4 l. Barrs. 400 flints	1.			
							" 1 R. D. Roml. 1 Jamedarry 1 Alijar	1.	12	11	
	3		1				Caboseer By 1 Woman for *Vist.*				
							½ B. Powder 4 Danes Guns	2.	8		
							1 Case Gin 1 chillow	1.	2		
							½ Stript Taffaty 5 B. B. Romauls	2.	8		
							1 Col'd chints 1 Sestracundie	1.	6		
							½ Cuttanee 1 Red Dane Romaul	1.	4		
							1 Iron Barr 200 Gunflints		4	9	
13	4			1			Caboseer By 1 Boy for *vist.*	4	3½		
							4 Dane Guns. 3 B. b. Romauls	2.	10		
							1 Blue chintz. 2 Patna chints	1.	12		
							½ B Powder 2 Iron Barrs	1.	4		
							4 Lead Bars 4 Silicas		10		
							1 Chillow ½ Case Gin	1.	2		
							½ Taffaty		10	8	
											39
	10	2	1	1		4					

Price of a man Slave at Popoe in 1791/92.

	Oz.	Ak.
2 Hlf Barrels Powder 4 Guns	4	
1 Ankor Rum 3 Casses Gin	1	12
1 Hlf Say 1 Bajudepant	1	4
1 Chintz 1 Chilloe	1	4
1 Sastracundi 1 Dane Romaul	1	2
1 Hoo'hoo 1 Jamedarry	1	
2 Sorted Rom'ls ½ Cuttanee	1	12
Traders dash included	12	2
A Woman Slave including Dash	10	

[4] The *Swallow* traded at Prampram and Whydah as well as at Padeora. The majority of the slave cargo was taken on at Fort William, Whydah. For further details see *Proceedings*, pp. 389-434.

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285. Ordinance of the King of Denmark relative to the Slave Trade.[1]

Palace of Christiansborg, March 16, 1792.

We, Christian the VIIth, by the Grace of God King of Denmark and Norway, etc., make known by these Presents, that, considering the Circumstances which occur in the Slave-Trade, on the Coast of Guinea, and in the Transportation of the Negroes from thence to our West-India Islands, and impressed with the Idea that it would, in every Respect, be beneficial and profitable, if the Importation of new Negroes, from the Coast of Guinea, could be avoided, and our West-India Islands, in Process of Time, cultivated by Negroes, born and bred in the Islands, accustomed, from their Youth, to the Manner of Labour, the Climate, and the Disposition of their Masters: We, in Consequence, have made serious Enquiries how far and when it might be possible to accomplish the Abolition of the said Trade: From the Result of these Enquiries, we are convinced that it is possible, and will be advantageous to our West-India Islands, to desist from the farther Purchase of new Negroes, when once the Plantations are stocked with a sufficient Number for Propagation, and the Cultivation of the Lands; when pecuniary Assistance can be given to those who want to purchase Negroes for their Estates, and if proper Encouragement were to be given to Marriage amongst the Negroes, and due Attention paid to their Instruction and Morals.

In order, therefore, to withdraw our West-India Possessions from the State of Dependence, under which they have hitherto been and now are, with Respect to the Importation of Negroes, and to make the Importation of Negroes unnecessary in future, we declare our most gracious Will on this Subject and order as follows:

I. From the Commencement of the Year 1803, we forbid any of our Subjects to carry on the Slave-Trade, from the Coast of Africa or any other Place, except in our West-India Islands; so that, after that Period, no Negro Men or Women, either from that Coast or other foreign Places, will be allowed to be purchased by or for our Subjects, or to be transported in our Subjects Ships; neither must they be brought to our West-India Islands for Sale; and every Transaction, contrary to this Prohibition, shall, after that Period, be deemed unlawful.

II. In the mean Time, from the present until the End of the Year 1802, it is permitted to all foreign Nations, without Exception and

[285] [1] *Slavery Pamphlets*, vol. I., no. 8. Sir William Young, in his speech of Apr. 19, 1791, had named Denmark among the countries endeavoring to extend their slave trade, giving as his authority evidence presented to the House by Captain Frazer and Mr. James Baillie. *Speech of Sir William Young* (1791), pp. 17-18.

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under all Flags, to import Negro Men and Women from the Coast to our West-India Islands.

III. For every healthy and stout Negro Man or Woman, which, during that Period, is thus imported to our West-India Islands, we permit the following Quantities of raw Sugar to be exported from our Islands to foreign Places, either in our own or foreign Ships, within a Year after the Importation of such Negroes; *viz.* for every full-grown Negro Man or Woman, 2,000 lb. Weight may be exported, and for every half-grown Negro, the Half of that Quantity, or 1,000 lb. Weight, without any Difference with regard to Sex; but Nothing is allowed for the Importation of Children.

IV. The Duty which is fixed by the Ordinances of the 9th of April, 1764, and 12th of May, 1777, (which Ordinances in every other Respect, that regards the Slave-Trade, are hereby repealed,) on the Importation of Slaves, we most graciously take off, with regard to the Negro-Women which may be hereafter imported; but, on the other Hand, we impose a Duty of ½ per Cent. more than what is already stipulated on the Sugars, which shall be exported to foreign Places, for the Purchase of such Negro Men or Women as are imported.

V. It is moreover our Will, in order to establish an exact Proportion among the different Sexes, that, from the beginning of 1795 and after, the Negro Women and Girls, who work in the Field and are not House-Negroes, shall pay no Poll-Tax; but, on the contrary, from the above-mentioned Period, a double Poll-Tax shall be exacted for every Negro-Man.

VI. From the present Period, we forbid, in the strongest Manner, all Exportation of Negro Men or Women from our West-India Islands, they alone being excepted from this Prohibition, who are expelled by Law; or, such as our Governor-General and Council in the West Indies may upon very extraordinary Occasions think proper, according to Circumstances, to permit to depart.

Wherefore this our Royal Will being made known, we order all and every one to conform to it.

Given at our Palace of Christiansborg, in our Royal Place of Residence, Copenhagen, the 16th of March, 1792.

286. An Essay on African Colonization.[1]

To the farther credit of that nation [Portuguese] it ought to be noted, that they carry on the slave-trade from the countries just

[286] [1] C. B. Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, particularly applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce* (1794). This work embodies further results of Wadström's African travels. In the sections immediately preceding those here printed he describes the missionary work of the Portuguese in Congo and Angola; he is here discussing the Portuguese trade from East Africa.

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mentioned, with as much humanity as it is possible to unite with such a traffic. Great numbers of slaves who come from the remote inland countries, are shipped from Congo, Angola, etc. None, however, who belong to these last countries, are sent as slaves to the Brazils, except black convicts; and even these, before they are put on board, are catechised and receive baptism, a rite which has been found to console their minds under their unhappy circumstances. The Portuguese slave-ships are never over crowded, and the sailors are chiefly blacks, called Negros Ladinos, who speak their language, and whose business it is to comfort and attend the poor people on the voyage. The consequences are, that they have little or no occasion for fetters, so constantly used in the other European slave-ships, and that they perform their voyage from Angola, etc. to Brazil with very little mortality (pt. I., pp. 125-126). . . .[2]

287. Report of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.[1]

345. The slave-trade is decreasing very much at Sierra Leona, the price of slaves having risen to 25 or £30 ster. each; and not above 1000 are now annually exported from this river. They are chiefly brought down through a chain of factories, but not through the company's ground, and a great many are children. The kings and chiefs trade in slaves; but the principal traders are the French and English factors. It is customary to credit the black factors who either travel themselves, or deal with other factors still farther up, with European goods (chiefly gun-powder and spirits) and, if they fail in bringing the stipulated slaves, they are made slaves themselves; or, if they do not return in a certain time, any one of their families are taken. King Naimbanna's son [2] mentions this as a prevailing custom. The

[2] "The Portuguese, however, do not appear entirely to exclude other nations from a participation in some parts of the trade of the eastern parts of Africa. For, when I was at Havre de Grace in 1787, some slave-merchants in that city were sending a few ships to Mosambique for slaves. They told me, that, although, in the long, cold and stormy voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, many more of the slaves died, than even in the passage from the coast of Guinea to the West Indies; yet that their cheapness at Mosambique fully compensated for their increased mortality. So cooly do merchants talk of sacrificing the lives of mankind, at the shrine of the 'Mammon of unrighteousness!!'" Note in Wadström, pt. I., p. 126.

[287] [1] A large portion of pt. II. of Wadström's *Essay* (1795), taken from the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, Feb. 26, 1795, is devoted to showing the injuries inflicted on the struggling colony by the slave trader. For this purpose the author quotes the testimony of many witnesses as to violence in the taking of slaves. The wording of the report published in *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors* (1795, pp. 96 ff.) differs slightly from that in Wadström's *Essay*, from which the following selections are taken.

[2] King Naimbanna's son, after eighteen months in England, was recalled to Africa by the death of his father. He was taken ill on the voyage and died but a few hours after landing in Africa. To the Sierra Leone Company this was a great loss, since he and his father were staunch friends of the company (Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and*

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sudden, vindictive temper of the natives seems also to promote this traffic. If a domestic slave is impertinent, he is sold. The children of such are occasionally sold also. But, with rich traders, this is not common: for domestic slaves are distinct from those for trade, doing little, and being much indulged. King Naimbanna has 120 of these, who give him half their earnings, and are much attached to him. It is a point of honour never to forgive injuries; so that families will seize one another for slaves, as opportunity offers, for many generations. This practice, however, though partly owing to revenge, may be chiefly ascribed to the want of efficient government. The offences, real or imputed, which are punished with slavery, are chiefly adultery and witchcraft. . . .

347. That kidnapping prevails at Sierra Leona, the directors have received undeniable proofs; and, if they had not, several circumstances clearly imply that the practice is not uncommon. The inhabitants, to a great distance up the country, all go armed with guns and large knives. The very women are armed with knives. When King Naimbanna's son has gone up to Scaffus, he dared not go to rest, unless in a secure place, lest he should be surprised in his sleep. The people in the little towns on the river, leave the wood growing close to the houses, for refuge, in case of attack, as they told Mr. Falconbridge,[3] who has seen the ruins of two towns, which, among others, were broken up by Cleveland, a great mulatto slave-trader who was educated at Liverpool.[4] . . .

351. King Naimbanna, in his letter to Mr. Sharp, after mentioning "the horrid depredations committed here by all the countries that come here to trade", says, "There are three distant relations of mine now in the West Indies, carried away by one Capt. Cox, captain of a Danish ship. Their names are Corpro, Banna and Mor-

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Letters of Zachary Macaulay, pp. 36-38; *Substance of Report of the Directors,* pp. 213-221; for American dealings with King Naimbanna see L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family,* I. 391). Wadström, in his *Essay on Colonization* (p. 94), says that "owing to the desire of the Africans to have their children educated in Europe, there were generally from fifty to seventy of these children in Liverpool, besides those who came to London and Bristol".

[3] Alexander Falconbridge, author of *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London, 1788), a surgeon in the trade, had made four voyages to the West Coast. He was one of the witnesses before the committee of the Privy Council (Clarkson, *Abolition of the Slave Trade,* I. 366, 380). In his testimony before the committee he told of buying 380 slaves at Bonny on one voyage; 420 on another. These negroes, purchased from black traders who had brought them from the interior, were unable to understand each other. From Angola he had once purchased 150, all but one of whom had been brought from the interior. Kidnapping he believed common on the part of the black traders who gathered up these slaves. In 1789 he (Falconbridge) went to Sierra Leone to re-establish the settlement, scattered by a native attack. Knutsford, *Macaulay,* pp. 19-20.

[4] Cleveland's factory was located on the Banana Islands. His activities are frequently mentioned in the letters of Macaulay.

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bour. These were taken out of my river Sierra Leona. I know not how to get them back. I never hurt or deprived any person of their right or property, or withheld from them what is their due. So I only let you know of these lads, that there will be an account taken of them, one day or another."

352. King Naimbanna's son relates, that a cousin of his father's, named Jack Rodney, was asked to pilot a slave-ship down from Bance island. He begged to be put on shore at Robanna; but the captain refused, saying he would land him at the river's mouth, instead of which, he carried him to Jamaica. As he spoke good English, he obtained several interviews with the governor of that island, and was recovered by a ship which brought a letter concerning him from Sierra Leona (pt. II., pp. 13-17). . . .

475. Another proof of the danger, with which the slave-trade threatens any neighbouring colony, is afforded by the annexed relation.[5]

Some time before the establishment of the present Company, a British slave-factor, then in S. Leona river, but lately removed, seized five of the first colonists, on the ground of his having been wronged by one of their body, somewhere at a distance on the coast, where he was navigating a vessel belonging to this slave-factor, who said the country law warranted this mode of redress. But he afterwards was induced to release three of them, thinking the other two, on consideration, afforded that recompence for his loss which was proper, on the principles of African justice. These two men, it was admitted, had no connection with the defaulter, nor any means of catching him (for he had run from the ship, when she was some hundred miles from the colony) and whose only crime was that they had formerly lived in the same town with him. Yet they were kept in chains, by this British slave-trader, and then sold to a slave-captain, who was on the point of sailing; when a Mahometan chief, who happened to come from the interior country, took compassion on them, advanced about £50 ster. for their redemption, and sent them home. The same chief having lately sent a favourite free boy, with a message to a factor to whom he was in debt, the boy was seized by way of payment. The chief, half distracted, came to S. Leona, and endeavoured to trace the child from factory to factory. At length he called at Freetown, mentioned his present poverty, and the affliction which had brought him to the coast, and modestly asked for the £50 which he had formerly paid for the redemption of the two freemen of Granville town. The governor and council very carefully investigated the case, and found the main facts were pre-

[5] Wadström has taken the following paragraph from *Substance of the Report*, pp. 144-148.

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cisely as has been stated. The £50 was repaid to the chief, by the Company, in consequence of this investigation (pp. 90-91). . . .

488. To the following incident, it is necessary to premise, that the legislatures of the Northern States of America have prohibited the slave-trade, in certain cases, under heavy penalties.[6]

An American ship arriving in S. Leona river, the supercargo, who seems to have known little of the Company's principles, went hastily to the governor and council and offered them his cargo, for a cargo of slaves, saying he would take no other articles, and hoped they would soon favour him with the slaves he wanted. A counsellor asked him how the American laws stood, respecting this trade. He said that, where he came from, it was prohibited, under forfeiture of the ship and £1000 penalty on the captain.[7] "But, added he, no body will inform." Indeed Sir, replied the counsellor, I myself shall inform, if none else will. I hope, Sir, you will not do so unfriendly a thing. I would rather prevent evil than punish it, (said the counsellor) and I warn you, that if you carry a single slave from this coast, you shall find an information lodged against you in America. The supercargo then said, he was not in earnest, and that he really abhorred the slave-trade.

489. This ship quitted the river, immediately, to the obvious prejudice of the slave-factories there. The Directors have received from S. Leona, a list of all the American ships, which have transgressed the laws of that country, and are taking measures for conveying to the several legislatures, whose authority hath been insulted, sufficient evidence of the circumstances tending to the conviction and punishment of the offenders (pp. 101-102).[8] . . .

508. The declension of the slave-trade near S. Leona, appears to have been very great. The governor and council suppose that not above 1/5 of the usual number of slaves are now carried off the adjacent coast. The French slave-factory, and an individual British slave-factor, have removed from S. Leona river. The slave-factory in the Isle de Los, is on the point of being given up; and that on Bance Island, the only one remaining either in or near S. Leona river, is thought to apply more than formerly to the collection of produce, and has begun a cotton plantation, worked by natives, and which the Company's institution appears to have suggested. A slave-factor, of the name of Wilkinson, declared that he would quit the trade, and transfer his property (amounting to about £2000) to Freetown, of-

[6] This paragraph has also been taken from *Substance of the Report*, p. 166.

[7] See Knutsford, *Macaulay*, p. 52. This is doubtless a reference to the Massachusetts law, since Macaulay calls this a Boston vessel. Donnan, "The New England Slave Trade after the Revolution", *New England Quar.*, III. 253.

[8] See this work, vol. III., for a portion of this list.

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fering to conform to the laws, if permitted to settle there. But he is since dead. . . .

784. . . . In April, 1781, I was informed, that a young African was going to be conveyed on board a vessel bound for Sierra Leona. Curiosity induced me to inquire in what capacity he was to be sent there; as the grand question, respecting the abolition of the Slave-trade, had then become a merited object of universal investigation, particularly in this Island. I soon discovered that the master of this poor negro had no other intention in conveying him out of the country, than to dispose of him afterwards with the greater facility, for the West India market, in order to reinstate his expences with profit. On closer enquiry, I found that this youth, whose name was Peter Panah, was really a son of the present Peter, King of Mesurado, who had himself been educated at Liverpool, by the slave-traders. I discovered farther, that he had been basely kidnapped from his father, conveyed to a Mr. Hammer at Sierra Leona, by an English slave-vessel (Capt. Fraser) and sold there to a Capt. Cambeby, who carried him to the W. Indies, where he met with other slaves from his own country, who immediately recognized him to be their king's son. This fact was moreover proved by the mark he bore on his breast, which is inscribed on all the king's children, to distinguish them from others.

785. One Johnson, a mulatto dealer at Grenada, being acquainted with this circumstance, conceived that such a deed committed against the King of Mesurado, in the person of one of his children, could not but injure the commerce carried on by the English in that country. Making this therefore his plea, he combined it with his own interest, and supposed that if he brought this young prince to England, it might turn out greatly to his advantage, provided the public could be interested in his redemption. But this mere mercantile speculation failing, Johnson resolved to return with him to the West-Indies, to sell him there for the 60 *l.* he had paid for him. Some papers, which I received from Johnson himself, clearly prove these facts: but as his return directly to the W. Indies was likely to be expensive, he was cunning enough to obtain permission of Mr. Sharp,[9] under pretence of establishing himself at the new colony, to get a free passage for himself and his negro to S. Leona, whence his passage to the West Indies was easy.

786. The compassion I felt for the situation of this unfortunate youth, and the prospect, by restoring him to his father, of furthering my favourite plan of civilizing Africa, the most effectual means for abolishing the Slave-trade, made me the less hesitate to rescue him

[9] Granville Sharp.

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from his base shackles: I therefore redeemed him: this was done in presence of the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, Mr. T. Clarkson, and Mr. R. Phillips, on the 6th of May, 1788, for 20 *l.* ster. I then placed him at Mr. Dempster's academy, at Mitcham in Surry, to be instructed in the first rudiments of Christianity, into which he was regularly baptized on the 25th Dec. 1788. At this school he likewise had such education as his faculties were capable of receiving. He indeed proved obedient and pliable, but he was not gifted by nature with any extraordinary parts. He made, however, a tolerable proficiency in reading and writing, and shewed a great desire for agriculture. Though pretty much accustomed to European manners, he seemed to retain an unconquerable propensity to return to his former habits of simplicity, in his native country, where he knew he would find a mode of life more suitable to his taste.

787. Mr. G. Sharp promised to use his endeavours to procure him a free passage to his own country, but various incidents retarded and prevented this gentleman's kind intentions, till he was taken ill, at Mr. Dempster's school, by sleeping one evening on the damp grass. This indisposition soon ended in a galloping consumption, which baffled the powers of medicine, and he died, in Oct. 1790, in my own house, aged, as near as I could guess, about 18 or 20 (app., pp. 269-270). . . .

288. Policy on Slaves, 1794.[1]

In the Name of God, Amen. *Fermin de Tastet Esq. and Co.* as well in *their* own Name, as for and in the Name and Names of all and every other Person or Persons to whom the same doth, may, or shall appertain, in Part or in All, doth make Assurance, and cause *themselves* and them, and every of them to be Insured, lost or not lost, at and from *Liverpool to the Coast of Africa, during her stay of trade there and at and from thence to her port or ports of discharge in the Island of Cuba,* Upon any Kind of Goods and Merchandizes, and also upon the Body, Tackle, Apparel, Ordnance, Munition, Artillery, Boat, and other Furniture, of and in the good Ship or Vessel called the *Guipuzcoa* whereof is Master, under God, for this present Voyage, *P. La Croix Du Fresne* or whosoever else shall go for Master in the said Ship, or by whatsoever other Name or Names the same Ship, or the Master thereof, is or shall be named or called; beginning the Adventure upon the said Goods and Merchandizes from the Loading thereof aboard the said Ship, *at Liverpool and Africa* upon the said

[288] [1] Charles Wright and C. Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's* (1928), facsimile opposite p. 148. The words in italics are written in, the remainder is a printed form. In the margin: "S. G. Printed according to the Form revised and confirmed at New Lloyd's, on the 12th of January, 1779. Free from particular average by insurrection under 5 per Cent, trading in boats 10 per Cent."

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Ship, etc. *at and from Liverpool and Africa,* and so shall continue and endure, during her Abode there, upon the said Ship, etc. And further, until the said Ship, with all her Ordnance, Tackle, Apparel, etc. and Goods and Merchandizes whatsoever shall be arrived at *Africa* and her *port or ports of discharge* upon the said Ship, etc. until she hath moor'd at Anchor Twenty-four Hours in good Safety; and upon the Goods and Merchandizes, until the same he there discharged and safely landed. And it shall be lawful for the said Ship, etc. in this Voyage, to proceed and sail to and touch and stay at any Ports or Places whatsoever, Without Prejudice to this Insurance. The said Ship, etc. Goods and Merchandizes, etc. for so much as concerns the Assureds, by Agreement between the Assureds and Assurers in this Policy are and shall be valued at

In case of capture, a declaration of her being carried into port to be deem[ed] a sufficient document to recover the loss

Touching the Adventures and Perils which we the Assurers are contented to bear, and do take upon us in this Voyage; they are of the Seas, Men of War, Fire, Enemies, Pirates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettizons, Letters of Mart and Counter Mart, Surprizals, Takings at Sea, Arrests, Restraints and Detainments of all Kings, Princes and People, of what Nation, Condition or Quality soever: Barretry of the Master and Mariners, and of all other Perils, Losses and Misfortunes, that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment or Damage of the said Goods and Merchandizes and Ship, etc. or any Part thereof. And in Case of any Loss, or Misfortune, it shall be lawful to the Assureds, their Factors, servants and Assigns, to sue, labour and travel for, in and about the Defence, Safeguard and Recovery of the said Goods and Merchandizes and Ship, etc. or any Part thereof, without Prejudice to this Insurance; to the Charges whereof we the Assurers will contribute each one according to the Rate and Quantity of his Sum herein Assured. And it is agreed by us the Insurers, that this Writing or Policy of Assurance shall be of as much Force and Effect as the Surest Writing or Policy of Assurance heretofore made in Lombard-street, or in the Royal-Exchange, or elsewhere in London. And so we the Assurers are contented, and do hereby promise and bind ourselves, each one for his own Part, our Heirs, Executors, and Goods, to the Assureds, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, for the true Performance of the Premises, confessing ourselves paid the Consideration due unto us for this Assurance by the Assured at and after the Rate of *Twenty Guineas per Cent.*

In Witness whereof we the Assurers have subscribed our Names and sums Assured in London. . . . *The Slaves valued at £45 each.*[2]

[2] The shares taken by the assurers are for £200 each. The names have been crossed out in the facsimile.

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289. Account of the Liverpool Slave Trade, 1795.[1]

Summary of the aggregate number of ships employed in the Guinea trade, particularized in the following tables, together with the number of slaves imported in each of the following years, and the amount of each.

Years.	Slave Ships.	Number of Slaves.	Sterling Value.
1783	85	39,170	£ 1,958,500
1784	59	25,320	1,266,000
1785	73	29,490	1,474,500
1786	87	31,690	1,584,500
1787	72	25,520	1,276,000
1788	71	23,200	1,160,000
1789	62	17,631	881,550
1790	89	27,362	1,368,100
1791	101	31,111	1,555,550
1792	133	38,920	1,946,000
1793	46	14,323	716,150
	878	303,737	£15,186,850

. . . The prices of slaves about the year 1730 was £35 per head; in 1750 about £45; and they have been sold at £100 currency at Jamaica.

On these gross sales, the following charges and deductions according to the usual rate of factorage must be made, in order to discover the nett amount returned to the port of Liverpool during the above periods: of these several cargoes a factor's commission is five per cent. on the sales, and five per cent. on the returns, in addition to which ten per cent. will be deducted for contingencies, hence fifteen

[289] [1] "Circumstantial Account of the True Causes of the Liverpool African Slave Trade, by an Eye Witness, Liverpool, 1797", *Liverpool and Slavery: an Historical Account of the Liverpool-African Slave Trade. Was it the Cause of the Prosperity of the Town?* Compiled by a Genuine "Dicky Sam" (Liverpool, 1884), ch. XIII., pp. 100-117. This is taken from *A General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool* (1798), reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* LXVIII. 325-326. The early pages of the account, here omitted, attribute Liverpool's success and Bristol's decline in the trade to Liverpool's attention to smuggling negroes into the Spanish markets, while Bristol was content to supply the British plantations. For the pursuit of the contraband trade Liverpool settled factors in Jamaica, who were presently able to sell negroes to the Jamaica planters for four or five pounds per head less than the Bristol and London prices. So rapidly did this process of underselling advance Liverpool's trade at the expense of her competitors that by 1764 Bristol had but 32 vessels in the African trade to Liverpool's 74. Liverpool's commercial beginnings can be attributed to the demand for her Manchester cottons, which early in the eighteenth century monopolized the West India market, and were purchased in large quantities by the Spanish merchants engaged in contraband trade. About 1730 she began selling slaves as well as cottons to the Spanish smugglers, by this means accumulating a reserve which enabled her to give better terms to English planters than could either Bristol or London (*The Stranger in Liverpool,* 1829, pp. 46-48). This explanation fails to emphasize the less liberal terms of the Liverpool owners.

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per cent. is taken on the gross sales, which will amount to £2,278,072 sterling, which being deducted from £15,186,850, the gross sales, makes the nett proceeds of the whole amount to £12,908,823 [£12,908,778] sterling.

On remittance of these nett proceeds, the factor draws his commission of five per cent. on the real amount remitted, which commission is here £614,707, thereby making the sum remitted £12,294,116: it therefore appears by this calculation, which is too clearly affianced to truth to admit equivocation or doubt, that from the year 1783 to 1793, there has been remitted to the town of Liverpool from the African trade only £12,294,116 sterling, being on the eleven years' average, One Million, one hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred forty-seven pounds per annum.[2]

The nett proceeds arising from the several account sales during the above period being shewn, endeavours will be made to discover the nett gains which must have arisen thereon, and consequently accrued to the adventurers. The nature of a Guinea cargo is known to be such, that it may not be advancing too much to say, that it is impossible even for the merchant to determine the profits thereon, until the return of the vessel with the account sales. In every other species of traffic some general prescription is discovered to guide opinion, but the African commerce holds forward one constant train of uncertainty, the time of slaving is precarious, the length of the middle passage uncertain, a vessel may be in part, or wholly cut off, mortalities may be great, and various other incidents may arise impossible to be foreseen; an attempt, therefore, to determine the gains of an African cargo can only be supported by probable calculation, which is submitted to the opinion of the reader, in the following observations, *viz.*:

An African voyage is generally completed in nine months, but to remove every imputation of an arbitrary conclusion on a subject of this importance, it shall be allowed twelve months, which will make the charter amount to £103,488 sterling, which, show their burthen to have been greatly increased, added to £864,895, will make the first cost of the slaves £968,383 sterling.

The following conclusions on the present state of the trade of Liverpool may be justly allowed by every impartial reader.

The next expenditure is the provision and maintenance of the slaves, on the middle passage, which consisting principally of plantain, bananas, ochro, yams, potatoes, and other ground provision, together with rice, bread, wheat, etc., is so exceedingly moderate, that ten shillings sterling for each slave will be acknowledged a very ample

[2] Williams (*Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 596-599) uses this account as the basis of his analysis of the profits of the trade.

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allowance, from which arises the following Statement, of the gains per cent. on an African export.

The nett proceeds on thirty-one thousand six hundred and ninety slaves, are		£1,282,690
Gross amount of goods exported	£864,895	
Freight of 31,690 slaves, etc.	103,488	
Maintenance of 31,690 slaves at ten shillings each	15,845	
		984,228
Gains on the whole		£ 298,462

This general statement makes the gains upwards of thirty per cent., and if an analysis is made of the above aggregate sums, it will discover,

The nett return, or proceeds of one slave to be				£40	9	6¾
The prime cost on the Coast of one slave	£27	5	10			
The freight of one slave	3	5	3¾			
The maintenance of one slave	0	10	0	31	1	1¾
				£ 9	8	5

This also makes a gain of upwards of thirty per cent., or £9 8 *s.* 5 *d.* on the sale of each slave; and determines the prime cost on the Coast to be £27 5 *s.* 10 *d.* as before mentioned.

This calculation will be allowed by all judges of the African trade to be sufficiently near the truth to justify a conclusion that, in the year 1786, the town of Liverpool returned a nett profit of £298,462 sterling, and that during eleven years the gains on 303,737 slaves, returned in the summary as sold from 1783 to 1793, both inclusive, was £2,361,455 6 *s.* 1 *d.*, or on an average, Two hundred and fourteen thousand six hundred and seventy-seven pounds fifteen shillings and one penny per annum.[3]

This great annual return of wealth may be said to pervade the whole town, increasing the fortunes of the principal adventurers, and contributing to the support of the majority of the inhabitants; almost every man in Liverpool is a merchant, and he who cannot send a bale, will send a bandbox, it will therefore create little astonishment, that the attractive African meteor has from time to time so dazzled their ideas, that almost every order of people is interested in a Guinea cargo;[4] it is to this influenza that so many small ships are seen in

[3] Williams corrects this. The result found by multiplying the author's profit on one slave by the total number of slaves is £2,861,455 13 *s.* 1 *d.*, and the yearly average is £260,132 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *Ibid*, p. 598.

[4] "It is well known that many of the small vessels that import about an hundred slaves, are fitted out by attornies, drapers, ropers, grocers, tallow chandlers, barbers, taylors, etc., some have one-eighth, some a fifteenth [sixteenth], and some a thirty-second." *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool*, p. 229.

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the annexed lists, whose initials do not appear successive, whereas a regular routine of the established African houses is discovered, which yearly and successively hold the main substance of this advantageous trade, in proof whereof an extract is made from the eleven following tables of those established firms that annually import one thousand slaves and upwards, whereby the proportion will be discovered which they hold to that of all the rest of the adventurers.

A List of the houses that have annually imported upwards of one thousand slaves, the number of ships employed, and slaves by them imported from 1783 to 1793, both inclusive, whereby the proportion is seen which they have held to all the vessels that annually sailed from the port of Liverpool during that period.

Years	Houses	Ships	Houses	Ships	Slaves
In 1783 there were	42	and 85	of which 13	employed 47	and imported 26,820
1784	33	59	10	28	13,590
1785	37	73	9	36	18,020
1786	37	87	13	53	21,520
1787	27	72	8	39	17,130
1788	28	71	8	35	13,606
1789	29	62	6	32	10,752
1790	30	89	10	58	19,089
1791	38	101	10	56	19,027
1792	33	133	14	94	29,905
1793	25	46	6	24	7,325
	359	878	107	502	196,784

It will appear from this extract, when comparison is made to the summary before given, that during eleven years the trade has been supported on the average by ten houses, for although in that time three hundred and fifty-nine houses have been engaged in Guinea ships to the amount of eight hundred and seventy-eight, yet ten houses are discovered on the average to have sent out five hundred and two of the number so employed, which is not only more than one half the shipping, but demonstrates that the said shipping must have been of large burthen, by reason the number of slaves imported was nearly four-sixths of the whole number imported during the eleven years before mentioned.

The African trade of Liverpool is therefore clearly affianced to about ten capital houses, who by making regular and annual returns from that commerce, may be supposed to considerably increase their fortunes; but the remainder by reason of their various subdivisions can contribute little to the increase of a fortune, although the returns may sometimes timely arise to prop a tottering credit: the ship G. W. imports one hundred slaves, which by the preceding calcula-

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tion would yield a profit of £942 1 *s.* 8 *d.*, when this is subdivided it is discovered that an eighth is £117 15 *s.* 2 *d.*, a sixteenth £58 17 *s.* 7 *d.*, and a thirty-second £29 8 *s.* 10 *d.*[5] these retailers of blackamoor's teeth may, perhaps, be benefitted from these returns once in two or three years, but such is not the case with the regular African houses, many of which we discover to be uniformly progressive in every table, the advantages of those whose firms are limited to three or four persons are proportionally benefitted; we see the initial B.D. imports two thousand eight hundred and fifty slaves in five ships, which produce a nett gain of £26,849, if this profit is in four shares it will produce to each of the interested parties £6,712 sterling.[6]

It may be advanced, that this return is not regular and successive; it is admitted, that a return cannot be made annually on the same ship with certainty, because in some instances an African voyage may exceed twelve months, but these instances are very few; those capital houses where the vessels appear in the annexed tables, to have been annual and regular, must be allowed to have yearly regular returns, uniform successive annual adventures producing successive annual remittances; this fact the more clearly appears from the modern method of treating and remitting a Guinea cargo: no sooner is an account sales closed than the nett proceeds are remitted by bills, which bills are accepted by what is now termed Guarantee, and instantly circulated on a faith in the acceptor, and endorser only; these bills are notwithstanding established on a credit extensive as they appear precarious, three years is their present average run, which it is said is intended to be still increased one year more. This proceeding, while it benefits the factor and guarantee, appears to place the receiver in a very equivocal situation, when we consider the state of public credit, and the instability which commerce lately experienced in houses of the first eminence and reputation in the kingdom: these bills are numerous in the town of Liverpool, and in general circulation on a discount, therefore answer the purpose of receiver in the first instance, being taken in payment on the faith of acceptor and indorser without hesitation or diffidence.[7]

[5] The initials refer to a list not here preserved; the division, to the fact that it was a very common practice to own one-sixteenth, or even one-thirty-second of a slave ship.

[6] For further figures on profit see *post*, no. 290.

[7] "The factor in the first place avails himself of secure remittance to the guarantee, either by real cash or good bills, for slaves sold to the foreign settlements. The usual custom of the planters giving bond, on the purchasing of slaves for the island plantations, gives him in the next place a douceur of six per cent, until payment is made by produce: which by reason of the long acceptance of the first bill, he is enabled to remit in proper time, to secure his guarantee in the payment, and during the convenient revolution of three years, the produce timely arrives to discharge the remainder. This modern refinement on traffic creates a running availment of six per cent to the factor for three years on every cargo, exclusive of his usual commission; gives an agreeable annual

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The progress and increase of the African trade may be nearly conceived in the following statement.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.		Tons.
In 1730 there were	15 burthen	1,111		
1751	53	5,334	increased	4,223
1772	89	9,124		3,790
1792	136	24,544		15,420

From 1730 to 1792 the African ships have increased one hundred and twenty-one, and in the year 1792, the tonnage is almost five times greater than in the year 1751, which opposed to the difference of the number of ships employed, will shew their burthen to have been greatly increased.

The following conclusions on the present state of the trade of Liverpool may be justly allowed by every impartial reader.

First. That one-fourth of the ships belonging to the port of Liverpool are employed in the African trade.

Second. That it has five-eighths of the African trade of Great Britain.

Third. That it has three-sevenths of the African trade of all Europe.

Such is nearly the state of the general commerce of Liverpool 1795.

douceur to the guarantee on this side of the water, and secures the merchant a timely payment of his outfit at the common discount, or in other words enables him to borrow money at 5 per cent, on the joint security of himself and acceptor." *General and Descriptive History of Liverpool*, p. 229.

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290. Profits on Six Voyages, 1784-1805.[1]

Year	Ships	Captain	Cost of Outfit £	s.	d.	Cost of Cargo £	s.	d.	Destination	No. of Slaves	Net Profits £	s.	d.	Average profit per Slave £	s.	d.	Owners
1784	*Bloom*	Robt. Bostock								307	8123	7	2	26	9	2	Thos. Foxcroft, 5/16, Wm. Rice 3/16, A. Wharton 3/16, Felix Doran 3/16, Jas. Welch 3/16, Robert Bostock 3/16, Geo. Welch 1/16.
1798	*Lottery*	John Whittle	2307	10	0	8326	14	11	Barbados	453	12,091	16	1	26	13	10	Thos. Leyland and Co.
1802	*Lottery*	Chas. Kneal							Jamaica	305	19,021	12	0½	62	7	4	Thos. Leyland ½ R. Bullin ¼ Thos. Molyneux ¼
1803	*Enterprize*	Caesar Lawson	8148	18	8	8896	3	9½	Cuba	392	24,430	8	11	62	6	6	Thos. Leyland ½ R. Bullin ¼ Thos. Molyneux ¼
1																	
1805	*Fortune*	Chas. Watt	4124	18	9	7267	18	7	Nassau	343	9487	10	3	27	13	2	Thos. Leyland ⅔ Wm. Brown ⅓
	Louisa									326	19,133	10	5	58	13	10	Thos. Leyland ½ R. Bullin ¼ Thos. Molyneux ¼

[290] [1] Gomer Williams follows an examination of the account of the profits on the Liverpool traffic, contained in no. 289, by this statement of the profits on six voyages (pp. 599-607). Recent work on the papers of the vessels here named, to be found in the Reference Library relating to Liverpool, Liverpool, England, has shown that the net profits here mentioned are by no means profits, since the costs of the expeditions have not been subtracted from the gross returns. From the income of the *Lottery* on her second voyage costs amounting to £7982 2 *s.* 6½ *d.* should be subtracted, reducing the profit to £11039 9 *s.* 6 *d.* and the average profit to £36 3 *s.* 10 *d.* For the *Enterprize* the £24430 reported by Williams should be diminished by £957, paid to the *Enterprize* for salvaging the *John*, and £17045 2 *s.* 6 *d.*, costs. This leaves a profit of £6428 6 *s.* 5 *d.* and an average of £16 7 *s.* 11 *d.* On the voyage of the *Fortune* the profit was £1878 2 *s.* 9 *d.*, the average £5 9 *s.* 6 *d.* These low returns are accounted for by the fact that the slaves were poor and commanded a slow sale. The profit of the *Louisa* was £8551 3 *s.* 10 *d.* The figures for the *Bloom* cannot be corrected. S. Dumbell, "Profits of the Guinea Trade", *Economic History*, II. 254-257.

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291. Ships clearing for Africa 1795-1804.[1]

Comparative Statement of Ships cleared out from the Ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, to the Coast of Africa, for ten years, from 1795 to 1804 inclusive.

London			Bristol		Liverpool		Total		Each ship M'dium Slaves
Year	Ships	Slaves Allowed	Ships	Slaves Allowed	Ships	Slaves Allowed	Ships	Slaves Allowed	
1795	14	5,149	6	2,402	59	17,647	79	25,198	317
1796	8	2,593	1	393	94	29,425	103	32,411	315
1797	12	4,225	2	801	90	29,958	104	34,984	336
1798	8	2,650	3	1,433	149	53,051	160	57,104	356
1799	17	5,582	5	2,529	134	47,517	156	55,628	356
1800	10	2,231	3	717	120	31,844	133	34,722	261
1801	23	6,347	2	586	122	30,913	147	37,846	259
1802	30	9,011	3	704	122	31,371	155	41,086	266
1803	15	3,616	1	355	83	29,954	99	24,925	253
1804	18	5,001	3	798	126	31,090	147	36,899	244
10 years		46,405		10,718		323,770		380,893	

292. Travels of Mungo Park.[1]

On my arrival at Kamalia, I was conducted to the house of a Bushreen named Karfa Taura, the brother of him to whose hospitality I was indebted at Kinyeto. He was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia, as soon as the rains should be over. I found him sitting in his baloon, surrounded by several Slatees, who proposed to join the coffle. He was reading to them from an Arabic book, and inquired with a smile if I understood it. Being answered in the negative, he desired one of the Slatees to fetch the little curious book, which had been brought from the west country. On opening this small volume, I was surprised and delighted, to find it our *Book of Common Prayer* (p. 187). . . .

As I was one day conversing with the slaves which this Slatee[2]

[291] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 680.

[292] [1] *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, by Mungo Park, Surgeon (New York, 1813). A selection from the *Travels* of Mungo Park, probably one of the best known of African explorers, is here printed because of his account of the journey of a slave coffle across Africa to the West Coast. Park had arrived at the mouth of the Gambia River on June 21, 1795. Until Dec. 2 he remained at the home of one Dr. Laidley, some distance up the river, then set off into the interior. On Sept. 16, 1796, he arrived at Kamalia, which is northeast of the headwaters of the Gambia. The rainy season was not over and the rivers were still so high that Karfa did not set out for three months after Park's arrival, a fortunate circumstance, since Park was at the time too ill to travel.

[2] This trader, called by Park a "Sera Woolli Slatee", had arrived early in December, with five slaves.

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had brought, one of them begged me to give him some victuals. I told him I was a stranger, and had none to give. He replied, "I gave *you* victuals when you was hungry. Have you forgot the man who brought you milk at Karrankalla? But," added he with a sigh, "the irons were not then upon my legs!" I immediately recollected him, and begged some ground-nuts from Karfa to give him, as a return for his former kindness. He told me that he had been taken away by the Bambarrans the day after the battle of Joka, and sent to Sego, where he had been purchased by his present master, who was carrying him down to Kajaaga. Three more of these slaves were from Kaarta, and one from Wassela, all of them prisoners of war. They stopped four days at Kamalia, and were then taken to Bala, where they remained until the river Kokoro was fordable, and the grass burnt.

In the beginning of December, Karfa proposed to complete his purchase of slaves, and for this purpose collected all the debts which were owing to him in his own country, and on the 19th, being accompanied by three Slatees, he departed for Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great slave market. Most of the slaves who are sold at Kancaba come from Bambarra, for Mansong, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Sego, commonly sends them in small parties, to be sold at the different trading towns, and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always supplied with slaves, which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes (pp. 189-190). . . .

But these restrictions on the power of the master[8] extend not to the case of prisoners taken in war, nor to that of slaves purchased with money. All these unfortunate beings are considered as strangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger, according to the pleasure of their owners. There are, indeed, regular markets, where slaves of this description are bought and sold, and the value of a slave, in the eye of an African purchaser, increases in proportion to his distance from his native kingdom; for when slaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their escape, but when one or more kingdoms intervene, escape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their situation. On this account, the unhappy slave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has lost all hopes of returning to his native kingdom. The slaves which are purchased by the Europeans on the coasts, are chiefly of this description; a few of them are col-

[8] The particular restriction to which Park has reference is that forbidding a master to sell one of his domestic slaves.

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lected in the petty wars, hereafter to be described, which take place near the coast; but by far the greater number are brought down in large caravans from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name, to the Europeans. . . .

When a free man is taken prisoner, his friends will sometimes ransom him by giving two slaves in exchange; but when a slave is taken, he has no hopes of such redemption. To these disadvantages it is to be added, that the Slatees, who purchase slaves in the interior countries, and carry them down to the coast for sale, constantly prefer such as have been in that condition of life from their infancy, well knowing that these have been accustomed to hunger and fatigue, and are better able to sustain the hardships of a long and painful journey than free men; and on their reaching the coast, if no opportunity offers of selling them to advantage, they can easily be made to maintain themselves by their labour; neither are they so apt to attempt making their escape, as those who have once tasted the blessings of freedom.

Slaves of the second description [those born free] generally become such by one or other of the following causes; first, Captivity; second, Famine; third, Insolvency; fourth, Crimes (pp. 211-212).[4] . . .

On the 24th of January [1797] Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and thirteen prime slaves which he had purchased. . . .

The slaves which Karfa had brought with him were all of them prisoners of war; they had been taken by the Bambarran army in the kingdoms of Wassela and Kaarta, and carried to Sego, where some of them had remained three years in irons. From Sego they were sent, in company with a number of other captives, up the Niger, in two large canoes, and offered for sale at Yamina, Bammakoo, and Kancaba; at which places the greater number of the captives were bartered for gold dust, and the remainder sent forward to Kankaree.

Eleven of them confessed to me that they had been slaves from their infancy; but the other two refused to give any account of their former condition. They were all very inquisitive; but they viewed me at first with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very desirous to know what became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt water. I told them that they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe me; and one of them putting his hand upon the ground, said with great simplicity, "have you really got such ground as this to set your feet upon?" A deeply rooted idea, that the whites pur-

[4] An exposition of each of these sources of slaves follows.

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chase Negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or of selling them to others that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey towards the coast with great terror; insomuch, that the Slatees are forced to keep them constantly in irons, and watch them very closely, to prevent their escape. They are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks, with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night, an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

Such of them as evince marks of discontent are secured in a different manner. A thick billet of wood is cut, about three feet long, and a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle. All these fetters and bolts are made from native iron; in the present case they were put on by the blacksmith, as soon as the slaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning on which the coffle departed for Gambia.

In other respects, the treatment of the slaves during their stay at Kamalia, was far from being harsh or cruel. They were led out in their fetters every morning to the shade of the tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to play at games of hazard, and sing diverting songs to keep up their spirits; for though some of them sustained the hardships of their situation with amazing fortitude, the greater part were very much dejected, and would sit all day in a sort of sullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. In the evening their irons were examined, and their hand fetters put on; after which they were conducted into two large huts, where they were guarded during the night by Karfa's domestic slaves. . . .

As all the Slatees and slaves belonging to the coffle were now assembled, either at Kamalia, or at some of the neighbouring villages, it might have been expected that we should have set out immediately for Gambia; but though the day of our departure was frequently fixed, it was always found expedient to change it. Some of the people had not prepared their dry provisions; others had gone to visit their relations, or collect some trifling debts, and last of all, it was necessary to consult whether the day would be a lucky one. On account of one of these or other such causes, our departure was put off, day after day, until the month of February was far advanced, after

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which, all the Slatees agreed to remain in their present quarters, until the fast moon was over (pp. 231-233). . . .

April 19th. The long wished-for day of our departure was at length arrived, and the Slatees having taken the irons from their slaves, assembled with them at the door of Karfa's house, where the bundles were all tied up, and every one had his load assigned him. The coffle on its departure from Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other Slatees; but we were afterwards joined by five at Maraboo and three at Bala; making in all thirty-five slaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives, and some domestic slaves, and the schoolmaster, who was now upon his return for Worakoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars; so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three. Among the free men were six Jillakeas (singing men) whose musical talents were frequently exerted, either to divert our fatigue, or obtain us a welcome from strangers. When we departed from Kamalia, we were followed for about half a mile, by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them; and when we had gained a piece of rising ground from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west, and the towns-people were desired to sit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. In this situation, the schoolmaster with two of the principal Slatees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer; after which they walked three times round the coffle, making an impression in the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people belonging to the coffle sprang up, and without taking a formal farewell of their friends set forward. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs, and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle. Here we stopt about two hours, to allow the strangers time to pack up their provisions, and then continued our route to Bala, which town we reached about four in the afternoon (pp. 235-236). . . .

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As this was the first town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than usual was observed. Every person was ordered to keep in his proper station, and we marched towards the town in a sort of procession, nearly as follows. In front, five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffle; these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves fastened in the usual way by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four; after them came the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the Slatees, etc. In this manner we proceeded, until we came within a hundred yards of the gate; when the singing men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their known hospitality to strangers, and their particular friendship for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town we proceeded to the Bentang, where the people gathered round us to hear our *dentegi* (history). This was related publicly by two of the singing men; they enumerated every little circumstance which had happened to the coffle, beginning with the events of the present day, and relating everything in a backward series, until they reached Kamalia. When this history was ended, the master of the town gave them a small present, and all the people of the coffle, both free and enslaved, were invited by some person or other, and accommodated with lodging and provisions for the night. . . .

As soon as we had crossed the river [Wonda] Karfa gave orders, that all the people of the coffle should in future keep close together, and travel in their proper station; the guides and young men were accordingly placed in the van, the women and slaves in the centre, and the free men in the rear. In this order we travelled with uncommon expedition (pp. 237-239). . . .

In the afternoon [Apr. 28] we passed several villages, at none of which could we procure a lodging; and in the twilight we received information, that two hundred Jallonkas had assembled near a town called Melo, with a view to plunder the coffle. This induced us to alter our course, and we travelled with great secrecy until midnight, when we approached a town called Koba. Before we entered the town, the names of all the people belonging to the coffle were called over, and a free man and three slaves were found to be missing. Every person immediately concluded that the slaves had murdered the free man, and made their escape. It was therefore agreed, that six people should go back as far as the last village, and endeavour to find his body, or collect some information concerning the slaves. In the mean time the coffle was ordered to lie concealed in a cotton field, near a large nitta tree, and nobody to speak, except in a

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whisper. It was towards morning before the six men returned, having heard nothing of the man or the slaves. As none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, it was agreed that we should go into Koba, and endeavour to procure some provisions. We accordingly entered the town before it was quite day, and Karfa purchased from the chief man, for three strings of beads, a considerable quantity of ground nuts, which we roasted and eat for breakfast; we were afterwards provided with huts, and rested here for the day.

About eleven o'clock, to our great joy and surprise, the free man and slaves who had departed from the coffle the preceding night, entered the town. One of the slaves, it seems, had hurt his foot, and the night being very dark, they soon lost sight of the coffle. The free man, as soon as he found himself alone with the slaves, was aware of his own danger, and insisted on putting them in irons. The slaves were at first rather unwilling to submit, but when he threatened to stab them one by one with his spear, they made no further resistance, and he remained with them among the bushes until morning, when he let them out of irons, and came to the town in hopes of hearing which route the coffle had taken. The information that we received concerning the Jallonkas, who intended to rob the coffle, was this day confirmed, and we were forced to remain here until the afternoon of the 30th, when Karfa hired a number of people to protect us, and we proceeded to a village called Tinkingtang. Departing from this village on the day following, we crossed a high ridge of mountains to the west of the Black river, and travelled over a rough stony country until sunset, when we arrived at Lingicotta, a small village in the district of Woradoo. Here we shook out the last handful of meal from our dry provision bags, this being the second day since we crossed the Black river, that we had travelled from morning until night, without tasting one morsel of food (pp. 245-246). . . .

May 13th. In the morning, as we were preparing to depart, a coffle of slaves belonging to some Serawoolli traders, crossed the river, and agreed to proceed with us to Baniserile, the capital of Dentila; a very long day's journey from this place. We accordingly set out together, and travelled with great expedition through the woods until noon, when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt a load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced; but he had not proceeded above a mile before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little by a pool of water, the day being remarkably

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hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted, that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli therefore undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town during the cool of the night; in the meanwhile we continued our route, and after a very hard day's travel, arrived at Baniserile late in the evening. . . .

About eight o'clock the same evening, the Serawoolli, who had been left in the woods to take care of the fatigued slave, returned and told us that he was dead; the general opinion, however, was, that he himself had killed him, or left him to perish on the road; for the Serawoollis are said to be infinitely more cruel in their treatment of slaves than the Mandingoes. We remained at Baniserile two days, in order to purchase native iron, shea-butter, and some other articles for sale on the Gambia; and here, the Slatee who had invited me to his house, and who possessed three slaves, part of the coffle, having obtained information that the price on the coast was very low, determined to separate from us and remain with his slaves where he was, until an opportunity should offer of disposing of them to advantage (pp. 250-251). . . .

Departing from Kirwani, on the morning of the 20th we entered the Tenda Wilderness of two days' journey. The woods were very thick, and the country shelved towards the south-west. About ten o'clock we met a coffle of twenty-six people, and seven loaded asses, returning from Gambia. Most of the men were armed with muskets, and had broad belts of scarlet cloth over their shoulders, and European hats upon their heads. They informed us that there was very little demand for slaves on the coast, as no vessel had arrived for some months past. On hearing this, the Serawoollies who had travelled with us from Faleme river, separated themselves and their slaves from the coffle. They had not, they said, the means of maintaining their slaves in Gambia until a vessel should arrive, and were unwilling to sell them to disadvantage; they therefore departed to the northward for Kajaaga. We continued our route through the Wilderness, and travelled all day through a rugged country, covered with extensive thickets of bamboo (pp. 252-253). . . .

Here [Koba Tenda] one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, who had travelled with great difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any farther; his master, a singing man, proposed therefore to exchange him for a young slave girl, belonging to one of the towns-people. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle ready to depart, when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out,

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her master took her by the hand and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress; the terror she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting (p. 255). . . .

Being now [June 2, 1797] arrived within a short distance of Pisania, from whence my journey originally commenced, and learning that my friend Karfa was not likely to meet with an immediate opportunity of selling his slaves on the Gambia, it occurred to me to suggest to him, that he would find it for his interest to leave them at Jindey until a market should offer. Karfa agreed with me in this opinion, and hired, from the chief man of the town, huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them, in raising corn and other provisions for their maintenance. With regard to himself, he declared that he would not quit me until my departure from Africa. We set out accordingly, Karfa, myself, and one of the Foulahs belonging to the coffle, early on the morning of the 9th; but although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part for the last time with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed as I knew most of them to be to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings would commiserate mine, and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the Wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give (pp. 256-257). . . .[5]

On the 15th [June], the ship *Charles-town,* an American vessel, commanded by Mr Charles Harris, entered the river. She came for slaves, intending to touch at Goree to fill up, and to proceed from thence to South-Carolina. As the European merchants on the Gambia had at this time a great many slaves on hand, they agreed with the captain to purchase the whole of his cargo, consisting chiefly of rum and tobacco, and deliver him slaves to the amount in the course of two days. This afforded me such an opportunity of re-

[5] Park had agreed to pay Karfa the value of one prime slave for his food and conduct to the Gambia. This he doubled however, and also added a gift for the schoolmaster.

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turning, as I thought was not to be neglected. I therefore immediately engaged my passage in this vessel for America, and having taken leave of Dr. Laidley, to whose kindness I was so largely indebted, and my other friends on the river, I embarked at Kaye on the 17th day of June.

Our passage down the river was tedious and fatiguing, and the weather was so hot, moist, and unhealthy, that before our arrival at Goree, four of the seamen, the surgeon, and three of the slaves, had died of fevers. At Goree we were detained, for want of provisions, until the beginning of October.

The number of slaves received on board this vessel, both on the Gambia, and at Goree, was one hundred and thirty, of whom about twenty-five had been, I suppose, of free condition in Africa, as most of those, being Bushreens, could write a little Arabic. Nine of them had become captives in the religious war between Abdulkader and Damel, mentioned in the latter part of the preceding chapter. Two of the others had seen me as I passed through Bondou, and many of them had heard of me in the interior countries. My conversation with them, in their native language, gave them great comfort, and as the surgeon was dead, I consented to act in a medical capacity in his room for the remainder of the voyage. They had in truth need of every consolation in my power to bestow; not that I observed any wanton acts of cruelty practised either by the master, or the seamen, towards them; but the mode of confining and securing Negroes in the American slave ships, owing chiefly to the weakness of their crews,[6] being abundantly more rigid and severe than in British vessels employed in the same traffic, made these poor creatures to suffer greatly, and a general sickness prevailed amongst them. Besides the three who died on the Gambia, and six or eight while we remained at Goree, eleven perished at sea, and many of the survivors were reduced to a very weak and emaciated condition.

In the midst of these distresses, the vessel, after having been three weeks at sea, became so extremely leaky, as to require constant exertion at the pumps. It was found necessary, therefore, to take some of the ablest of the Negro men out of irons, and employ them at this labour, in which they were often worked beyond their strength. This produced a complication of miseries not easily to be described. We were, however, relieved much sooner than I expected, for the leak continuing to gain upon us, notwithstanding our utmost exertions to clear the vessel, the seamen insisted on bearing away for the West Indies, as affording the only chance of saving our lives. Accordingly,

[6] The American vessels in the trade frequently carried not more than a third as many men as made up a British crew.

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after some objections on the part of the master, we directed our course for Antigua, and fortunately made that island in about thirty-five days after our departure from Goree. Yet even at this juncture we narrowly escaped destruction, for on approaching the north-west side of the island, we struck on Diamond Rock, and got into St. John's harbour with great difficulty. The vessel was afterwards condemned as unfit for sea, and the slaves, as I have heard, were ordered to be sold for the benefit of the owners (pp. 260-261). . . .[7]

293. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1798.[1]

List of Guineamen belonging to the Port of Liverpool which sailed for Africa, from the 5th of January, 1798, to the 5th of January, 1799, with owners' and commanders' names, and the complement of slaves allowed to each:

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Fair Penitent	John Gardner	Win'd Coast	S. McDowall and Co.	261	Jan. 8
Union	Robert Dowie	Gabon	J. Rackham and Co.	162	
Mercury	John Mill	Win'd Coast	Wm. Begg and Co.	370	9
Pilgrim	Robert Pince	Do.	R. Leigh and Co.	425	18
Mary	P. Henshall	Angola	J. Rackham and Co.	285	Feb. 2
Favourite	H. Bennet	Bonny	Neilson and Heathcote	666	
Kitty	George Walker	Old Calebar	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	505	
Lord Stanley	W. Murdock	Do.	Do.	394	
James	John Miller	New Calebar	W. Dickson and Sons	337	
Thomas	G. Farquhar	Angola	Neilson and Heathcote	442	
Penelope	Luke Mann	Bonny	W. Thompson and Co.	389	
Prince	John Kendall	Angola	J. Smith and Co.	435	
Parr	D. Christian	Bonny	Thos. Parr and Co.	700	5
Fame	Thomas Brade	New Calebar	A. Joseph and Mozely	250	18
Abigail	W. Williams	Angola	J. Tarleton, junr.	302	
Amelia Eleanor	Edward Duncan	Angola	W. Brettargh and Co.	440	Feb. 18
Triton	John Corran	Do.	W. Corran and Co.	448	28
Anne	John Muir	Cameroons	W. Begg and Co.	300	
John	N. Ireland	Do.	Tarleton and Backhouse	265	Mar. 1
Britannia	John Walker	Angola	Do.	238	
Unity	E. Lovelace	Do.	Jos. Greaves and Co.	100	11
Cecilia	James Blake	Do.	W. Thompson and Co.	285	12
Crescent	Thomas Huson	Do.	Do.	389	
King George	S. Hensley	Do.	J. Bolton and Co.	550	20
Betsy	Edward Mossen	Do.	John Bolton	317	
Lune	James Taylor	Do.	Geo. Case and Co.	317	25
Sally and Rebecca	Thomas Harold	Gold Coast	W. Begg and Co.	360	
George	Alex. Hackney	Lagos	F. Ingram and Co.	275	
Resource	Edward Clarke	Angola	Tarleton and Rigg	370	Apr. 2
Joshua	Edward Mentor	New Calebar	S. Lythgoe and Co.	243	
Telegraph	J. Maginnis	Angola	T. and Wm. Earle	140	Apr. 10
Enterprize	John Heron	Do.	J. Leyland and Co.	363	
Adriana	William Hewett	Do.	T. and Wm. Earle	424	
Louisa	William Brown	Do.	T. Leyland and Co.	465	
Fanny	John Adams	Gold Coast	Neilson, Heathcote and Co.	441	12
Margaret	E. Richardson	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	225	22
Indian	R. Pearson	Do.	John Shaw and Co.	344	

[7] Park obtained passage from the Leeward Islands Nov. 24, and reached England Dec. 22, after an absence of two years and seven months.

[293] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, App. XIII., pp. 681-685.

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[*List of Guineamen*—continued:]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Betsy	D. Hayward	Win'd Coast	R. Leigh and Co.	317	Apr. 22
Elliot	J. Parkinson	Angola	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	505	May 2
Augustus	John Smith	Bonny	Titherington and Co.	363	
Friendly Cedar	Wm. Williams	Do.	Do.	245	
Swallow	Robert White	Angola	R. Abram and Co.	341	4
Edward	James Davies	New Calebar	Taylor, Clare and Co.	270	5
Rosamond	John Foulkes	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	323	14
Plumper	J. Corbett	Do.	C. Angus and Co.	143	
Maria	Robert Martin	Win'd Coast	M. Cullen and Co.	230	21
Africa	J. M. Smerdon	Angola	S. McDowall and Co.	146	
Don	H. Hamilton	Do.	Robert Johnson	118	
Mersey	Thos. Molyneux	Do.	Do.	346	
Henry	Matth. Cusack	Gabon	S. McDowall and Co.	165	
Molly	John Tobin	Angola	Geo. Case and Co.	436	27
Adventure	O. Pritchard	Do.	R. Buddicomb and Co.	280	
Sundett	W. Maxwell	Do.	W. Harper and Co.	312	
Diana	J. Ainsworth	Bonny	Moses Benson and Co.	409	
Britannia	Jos. Carshore	Old Calebar	T. and E. L. Hodgson and Co.	340	31
Mary	Thomas Flint	New Calabar	Hardman and Wright	280	
Diana	Robert Hume	Angola	J. and J. Parr and Co.	387	June 8
Annan	Andr. Davidson	Do.	Neilson, Heathcote and Co.	250	
Martha	Thomas Taylor	Angola	R. Fisher and Co.	384	June 8
Iris	John Spencer	Do.	Do.	420	
Polly	J. Ainsworth	Do.	C. Fairclough	296	
Erl of L'pool	Geo. Bernard	Bonny	T. Leyland and Co.	353	10
Amacree	R. Kendall	Do.	W. Harper and Co.	363	
Lottery	John Whittle	Do.	Thos. Leyland	462	
Fly	John Jones	Angola	John Shaw and Co.	615	25
Kingsmill	Thos. Mullion	Bonny	Mullion, Lenox and Co.	650	July 4
Friendship	Miles Booth	Angola	C. Angus and Co.	120	
Agreeable	James Seddon	Bonny	T. Hinde and Co.	300	
Nancy	Thomas Kerkley	Angola	Do.	500	
Arth'r Howe	Henry Booth	Do.	Geo. Case and Co.	314	
Bonwick	Benj. Cuite	Bonny	Flesher, Kelshaw and Co.	330	
Eagle	Michael Mills	Angola	Tarleton and Backhouse	300	July 5
Aurora	James Bowie	Do.	T. Parr and Co.	287	
James	W. Engledeu	New Calebar	W. Dickson and Sons	327	20
Maria	Thos. Phillips	Angola	P. Fairweather and Co.	120	24
Lightning	W. Quarrier	Do.	Tarleton and Rigg	390	
Jane and Sarah	B. Armstrong	Gold Coast	J. and E. L. Hodgson	287	
Annabelle	Thomas Cubben	Gold Coast	J. and E. L. Hodgson	350	July 24
Tarleton	R. Shimmins	Bonny	Tarleton and Rigg	394	30
Christopher	J. Watson	Gold Coast	J. Bolton and Co.	390	
Nelly Anne	John Young	Gabon	W. Lenox and Co.	400	
Will	Hugh Crow	Angola	J. and J. Aspinall and Co.	420	
Ariel	John Guin	Do.	Jonathan Ratcliffe	153	Aug. 7
Windsor Castle	Thomas Jones	Old Calebar	Geo. Case and Co.	450	10
Enterprize	John Bovin	Angola	Do.	355	15
Active	D. Hayward	Old Calebar	Do.	434	
Catherine	W. Kewley	Bonny	France, Pool, and Co.	339	
Bridget	Jos. Threllfall	Do.	Tarleton and Rigg	360	20
Fisher	Thos. Payne	New Calebar	J. Ward and Co.	339	22
Catherine	John Morrison	Bonny	J. Tarleton, junr.	277	
J'hn and S'rah	Thomas Brade	New Calebar	A. Joseph, Mozley and Co.	305	Sep. 7
London	Thomas Briscoe	Bonny	Do.	398	8
Charlotte	William Crow	Do.	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	344	

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[*List of Guineamen*—continued:]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Dart	William Neale	Angola	John Bolton	384	8
Kitty	James Backhope	Bonny	John Smith and Co.	444	
Forbes	John Pince	Do.	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	368	
Sarah	Thomas Rives	Do.	W. Dickson and Sons	520	
Budd	Robert Tyror	Do.	J. Tarleton, junr.	281	
Hamilton	Rd. Durack	Win'd Coast	Robert Johnson	195	
Hannah	James Good	Angola	R. Abram and Co.	325	
Grace	D. McElkeran	Gold Coast	W. Begg and Co.	215	Sep. 9
Mary	Andr. Erskine	Angola	B. Thomas and Co.	293	14
Bess	Caesar Lawson	Win'd Coast	Henderson, Sellar and Co.	208	
Eolus	John L. Neale	Bonny	Staniforth, Sons and Co.	355	20
Betsy and Susan	John Curry	Whydah	P. W. Brancker and Co.	296	
Mona	P. Mawdsley	Angola	J. Penny and Co.	293	Oct. 1
Fanny	James Irvin	Do.	John Shaw	380	4
Princess Augusta	Thomas Oliver	Do.	Jas. Penny and Co.	365	
King Pepple	James Phillips	Bonny	Neilson and Heathcote	476	Oct. 5
Ann	Thomas Lee	Do.	Timperon, Litt and Co.	358	6
Friendship	Robt. Catterall	Angola	Bell, Gibb and Blake	337	21
George	Richard Kellsall	Gold Coast	Jos. Ward and Co.	271	
Alexander	Wm. Cockrall	Angola	T. Sherington and Co.	517	23
Goodrich	H. Kennedy	Do.	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	210	29
Herriot	William Lace	Do.	Do.	313	
Trelawney[2]	James Lake	Do.	T. Parr and Co.	467	
Neptune	James Williams	Old Calebar	Do.	350	
Otter	Alex. Grierson	Angola	W. Molyneux	417	
Beaver	William Murray	Do.	Do.	396	
Blanch	Rd. Andows	Benin	J. Gibbons and Co.	230	Oct. 29
Gascoyne	Jenkin Evans	Angola	Thomas Parr	444	
Perseverance	John Lawson	Benin	J. Gibbons and Co.	526	
Hannah	Andrew Arnold	Angola	Thomas Clare	523	
Bolton	J. Boardman	Bonny	John Bolton	432	Nov. 12
Elizabeth	E. Neale	Do.	Do.	461	
Jack Park	John Little	Do.	J. and J. Aspinall and Co.	416	13
Mary	James Herd	Do.	W. Forbes and Co.	419	20
May	P. Callum	Do.	Do.	364	
Blanchard	Geo. Cormack	Do.	W. Thompson and Co.	419	
Sarah	R. Jones	Win'd Coast	T. and E. L. Hodgson	459	
Princess Amelia	J. Levingston	Bonny	J. Deare and Co.	464	21
Bird	J. Flint	Do.	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	368	
Tonyn	James Towers	Angola	Do.	326	
Harlequin	J. Topping	Do.	T. and W. Earle	275	22
Mary Ann	R. Taylor	New Calebar	Neilson, Heathcote and Co.	329	23
Expedition	W. Murdoch	Do.	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	354	Dec. 6
Hector	W. Stringer	Bonny	Thomas Clare	591	9
Fanny	Thos. Croaker	Gold Coast	Tarleton and Backhouse	300	11
Favourite	N. Evans	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	275	13
Penny	H. Kesack	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	360	Dec. 13
L'd Duncan	John Hudson	Benin	S. McDowall and Co.	242	
Cecilia	John Roach	Angola	Thompson and Co.	285	19
Mary	John Askeu	New Calebar	Pole and Gardner	200	21
Hind	Thomas Nuttal	Angola	Mullion, Lenox and Co.	355	
Adventure	Thomas Warren	Do.	Hardman, Wright and Co.	307	
Mercury	John Mills	Win'd Coast	W. Begg and Co.	376	24
Sarah	John Nerl	Angola	J. Ward and Co.	316	31
Ellis	James Soutar	Win'd Coast	T. and E. L. Hodgson	437	Jan. 2
L'pool Hero	Alex. Hackney	Gold Coast	F. Ingram and Co.	370	4
King George	Jas. Meckleghon	Do.	Do.	360	5

[2] This is probably the vessel on board of which an insurrection took place Aug. 2, 1799. See H. T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, I. 25.

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[*List of Guineamen*—continued:]

Place of Trade	No. of Ships	No. of Slaves
Angola	69	23,303
Bonny	34	14,078
Gold Coast	11	3,587
Windward Coast	10	3,278
New Calebar	10	2,977
Old Calebar	6	2,473
Benin	3	998
Gabon	3	727
Cameroons	2	565
Whydah	1	296
Lagos	1	275
Total	150	52,557[a]

[a] The complement of seamen required by law for this number of slaves was 5255.

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294. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1799.[1]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Tons	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Eliza	George Dodson	Angola	Thomas Clare and Co.	252	366	Jan.
Chance	James Burr	"	John Shaw and Co.	280	414	" 27
Lord Stanley	William Murdock	"	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	259	393	Feb. 5
Penelope	William Farquhar	"	Thompson and Clough	255	389	
Kitty	Richard Rogers	"	John Gibbons and Co.	168	280	Lost
Dartmouth	Charles Hardin	Windward Coast	Thomas Barlow and Co.	80	Wood, etc.	Mar. 4
Brooks	M. Joynson	Bonny	Neilson and Heathcote	319	453	Driven on shore.
Ann Philippa	Andrew McCormick	Angola	" "	148	247	Feb. 20
Lord Duncan	William Kinley	"	Jonas Bold and Co.	101	168	Mar. 7
Lord Nelson	H. Stephens	"	"	237	371	"
William	Richard Hart	"	Thomas Marshall and Co.	451	585	Feb. 20
Benjamin	John Harris	Windward Coast	Henderson and Seller	130	Wood	Mar. 4
Elizabeth	Thomas Knowles	Angola	Thomas Barton and Co.	231	365	" "
Mary	P. Hinshall	"	Robert Ward and Co.	171	285	" "
Amazon	William Graham	Old Calabar	Michael Callin and Co.	446	580	" 10
Anna Bella	Will Gardner	"	"	54	Tender	" "
Shortland	John Hurd	Angola	Robert Johnson	181	302	" 17
Henry	James Frodsham	"	William Forbes and Co.	140	233	May 5
Gudgion	Edward Muster	Cape Mount	John Bolton	240	374	Mar. 17
Friendly Ceder	John Gun	Angola	Telhirington and Smith	147	245	Mar. 30
Nimble	James Blake	"	Bell, Gibb, and Blake	231	365	Apr. 4
Favourite	Richard Bennett	"	Ne[i]lson and Heathcote	531	665	Mar. 10
Margaret	E. Richardson	"	James Penney and Company	135	225	Apr. 6
John	James Hinsley	"	John Bolton	268	402	" "
King George	Ralph Shimmions	"	"	416	550	" 5
Unicorn	Richard Jones	Wind Coast	T. and W. Earle and Co.	163	271	" 4
Goodrich	Josep Purs	Gambia	William Brockbank	91	151	" 6
Julia	Rubin Wright	Bonny	Bailey, Taylor, and Co.	306	436	" 7
Swift	Will Williams	Congou	John Tarleton, junr.	263	397	" 19
Abigail	John Bradley	"	" "	180	300	" "
John	Will Boyle	Gold Coast	Thomas Hurds and Co.	292	426	" 27
Enterprize	Ladrick Carlile	"	John Shaw	222	386	" "
Despatch	John Quay	"		109	181	" "
Kitty	Robert Pence	Bonney	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	366	500	May 5

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Thomas	John Clare	"	Richard Ward and Co.	322	436	May 17
Rebbecca	John Lenghton	Annamaboe	Samuel McDowall and Co.	140	233	" 12
Backhouse	John Harvey	"	Tarleton and Backhouse	168	280	" 5
Susannah	Thomas Houghton	Bassa	John Ward and Co.	172	286	" 20
Carolina	Will Turdlay	Bonny	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	290	426	" 14
Enterprize	John Heron	Angola	Thomas Leyland and Co.	229	363	" 13
Defence	Moses Joynson	Bonny	Nelson and Heathcote	297	401	" 11
Martha	Thomas Taylor	New Calabar	Ralph Fisher and Company	250	384	" 29
Edward	David Dignan	"	Clare and Company	153	255	" 29
Crescent	John Tucker	Angola	W. Thompson and Co.	255	389	" 17
Tuton	James Bannon	"	R. Leigh and Co.	340	474	" 28
St. Geo's Packet	Henry Tynan	"	J. Gibbons and Co.	72	120	" "
Union	Thomas Oiles	Camaroons	Backhouse and Chalmers	97	161	June 2
Prince John	James Hasler	Bassa	John and James Parr and Co.	123	205	May 28
Diana	John Sellars	"	" "	252	386	" "
Britannia	James Owell	Wind Coast	T. and E. L. Hod[g]son and Co.	209	343	June 2
Amphitute [*trite?*]	James Cosmacher	Bonny	R. Johnson and Co.	236	470	" 16
Nanny	John Hod[g]son	"	J. and J. Aspinall and Co.	311	445	" 2
Earl of Liverpool	Charles Watt	Angola	Thomas Leyland and Co.	219	353	" 2
Holly	Tomas Tobin	Bonny	George Case and Co.	302	436	" "
Rodney	Robert Dowie	Gaboon	Begg, Shand, and Co.	144	240	" "
Good Hope	Bryna McDonna	Old Calabar	Michael Cullin and Co.	157	261	" "
Neptune	Robert Fisher	Gaboon	Ebent Slippery and Co.	239	373	" 9
Dutator	Edward Lovelace	Angola	Samuel Went, junr.	275	409	" 10
Maria	Robert Martin	Windward Coast	M. Cullin and Co.	227	361	" 12
Benwick	T. Welloughby	New Calabar	Flischer and Co.	198	330	" 16
Mentor	Gilbert Curry	Bonny	Abraham Jonph and Co.	517	651	" 24
Diana	John Ainsworth	"	Moses Benson and Co.	275	409	July 17
Mersey	John Alderman	Bonny	Robert Johnson and Co.	212	346	July 17
Louisa	William Brown	"	Thomas Leyland and Co.	331	465	"
Bess	William Jenkins	Windward Coast	Henderson and Sefter [Sellar]	128	213	"
Iris	George Cannon	Angola	Ralph Fisher and Co.	285	419	" 3
F. Chas. Hamilton	Thomas Huson	"	William Thompson and Co.	319	450	June 16
Lottery	Robert Leathom	Bonny	Thomas Leyland and Co.	326	460	July 17
Saiter	John Sowerby	"	Samuel Jonph and Co.	506	640	" 4
Mary	Thomas Cannon	Angola	William Dickson and Co.	300	434	" 22
Augustus	Robert Carran	Bonny	Tilhesington and Co.	229	363	" "
Annan [?]	Mathew Sitson	New Calabar	Nelson and Heathcote	196	327	" 21
Fanny	Andrew Davidson	Angola	" "	318	432	" 29

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[*Liverpool Vessels for Africa*—continued:]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Tons	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Amphitute	George Adams	Gold Coast	William Forbes and Co.	194	323	" 21
Anne	Edward Masson	Causacoo	Begg, Shand and Co.	180	300	" 28
Stag	James Davies	Gold Coast	Thomas Haghan and Co.	170	233	" 22
Will	Hugh Crow	Bonny	Thomas Barton	225	359	" 25
Adnana	William Heartt	"	T. and W. Earle and Co.	289	423	" 28
Harlequin	John Maginnis	"	" "	165	275	" "
Kingsmile	Thomas Mullion	"	Mullion and Lenox	516	65	" 27
Aeasto	Richard Pearson	Angola	John Shaw	267	401	Aug. 1
Good Ontail	Hugh Rowland	"	Monkhouse and Co.	82	136	" 11
Hannah	James Good	"	R. Abram and Co.	195	325	" "
Amacue	William Maxwell	"	William Harper	229	363	" 1
G. Wentworth	Caesar Lawson	Bonny	William Harper and Co.	191	318	July 28
Ocean	Richard Martin	"	" "	207	341	Aug. 2
Huntington	Thomas Phillips	Old Calabar	Amas Dale and Co.	212	246	" 26
Young William	James Curshaw	Bonny	John Tobin and Co.	455	589	July 31
Chatian leayo	John Tiddy	Windward	Angus Dale and Co.	132	220	Aug. 26
Royal Edward	Thomas Bushel	Bonny	T. and E. L. Hodson	367	501	Sept. 4
Anna Bella	Thomas Calbin	Windward	" "	212	346	Aug. 26
Elizabeth	John Main	Old Calabar	Begg, Shaw and Co.	457	591	" "
Duke of Clarence	George Walker	Bonny	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	726	860	Sept. 5
Minirvea	H. W. Peek	New Calabar	Angus Dale and Co.	255	389	Aug. 8
Rosalind	Bery Caite	Bonny	Edward Chambry and Co.	218	352	July 20
Hughes	James Bailiff	Gold Coast	Francis Ingram and Co.	209	343	Aug. 26
Kate	Robert White	Angola	Ralph Abram and Co.	241	275	Aug. 30
Angola	William Williams	"	Thomas Chambey	180	300	" 14
Lucy	David Langhan	New Calabar	Bing, Flesher and Co.	216	350	" 7
Thomas	John Adams	Anamaboe	Nelson and Heathcote	307	441	" 8
Pilgrim	Hugh Cowell	Gold Coast	Roga Leigh	291	425	" 2
Hinde	John Knuber	Anamaboe	Alex Hughes and Co.	264	398	" 11
India	Alexander Nicholson	Angola	John Shaw and Co.	210	344	" 26
Hamilton	Robert Barrett	Cha[Cape] Mount	Rt. Johnson	117	195	Sept. 4
Sundet	John Walker	Angola	Will. Harper and Co.	199	331	Aug. 2
Endeavour	James Dickson	Gold Coast	Roga Leigh	Tinder		
Resource	Edward Clarke	Angola	Tarleton and Regg	236	370	Aug. 11
Rosamond	John Foulks	"	Jas. Perney [Penny] and Co.	194	323	" 23
George	Richard Kilsall	Cape Mount	Jos. Ward and Co.	163	272	" 14

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King Pipple	James Phillips	Bonny	Nelson and Heathcote	342	476	Sept. 4
Active	Daniel Hayward	Old Calabar	Geo. Case and Co.	300	434	Aug. 8
Young William	Alexander Steel	"	Begg, Shand and Co.	98	163	" 26
Lord Thurlow	John Jones	New Calabar	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	222	356	returned
London	William Lightfoot	Bonny	A. Joseph and Moyley and Co.	264	398	Aug. 8
John Ball	John Parkinson	"	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	480	614	Sept. 5
Forbes	Cunliffe P. Raine	"	" "	234	368	" "
Charlotte	William Crow	"	Bailey, Thomas and Co.	210	344	Sept. 5
Pilgrim	John White	Whydah	Rd. Woodward	280	420	Aug. 2
Jane	Owen Pritchard	Windward	Rd. Buddieom [Buddicom]	55	91	" 27
Emerald	John Eccles		Jas. Murphy and Co.	281	Wood, etc.	
Astree	Nathanial Ireland	Casnasonis	Mich. Cullin and Co.	244	250	Oct. 11
Sarah	John Bulsford	Bonny	Jas. and Will. Dickson and Co.	386	470	" "
Ellis	James Souter	Windward	T. and E. Hodson	303	273	Feb. 15
Alexander	Joshua Sulfell	Bonny	Suhirengton and Co.	327	323	Oct. 29
Aspinall	Henry Slensudy	"	J. and H. Clarke	187	207	Nov. 17
Ocean	George Jonlack	Gold Coast	Begg, Shand and Co.	35	Tinder	Oct. 26
Harriette	C. McCassock	Sura [Sierra] Lion	Sam. J. McDonald	188	Wood, etc.	Nov. 28
James	William M. Boulde	Bonny	Jas. and Will. Dickson and Co.	181	199	Dec. 7
Vanguard	John Whittle	Bonny	Jas. and Will. Dickson and Co.	353	299	" 7
Princess Amelia	M. Livingston	"	Jas. Dean and Co.	330	297	" 26
Young Ralph	T. L. Royle	Bunby	R. Fisher and Co.	145	176	" "
Two Sisters	John Sinclair	Windward	Begg, Shand and Co.	133	167	" "
Union	Thomas Millett	Anamaboe	T. and E. L. Hodson	447	388	" "
Baron Monla Cambert	William Thomas	Windward	" "	331	319	" "
La Fralesnite	Thomas Rockcliff	New Calabar	Mullion Rowlinson	162	192	" "
Dartmouth	Charles Harden	Windward	M. Fleginson and Co.	80	wood, etc.	" "

[294] [1] *Liverpool and Slavery*, pp. 120-129.

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295. Bill of Lading of the *Byam*, 1803.[1]

Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well-conditioned, by Irving and Fraser, in and upon the good snow called the *Byam*, whereof is master under God for this present voyage George Martin, and now riding at anchor in the Rispongo [Rio Pongo], and by God's grace bound for the West Indies; to say two hundred and eight slaves, being marked and numbered as in the margin; and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of West Indies, the danger of the sea, mortality and insurrection only excepted; unto order or their assigns. Freight for the slaves paid, vessel belonging to the owners, with primage and average accustomed. In witness whereof the master and purser of the said ship hath affirmed to three bills of lading, all of this tenor and date; one of which bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void; and so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety.

Amen. Dated in Kissing, 14th May, 1803.

Geo. Martin.

Men	97
Women	39
Boys	44
Girls	25
	205
Died	3
Shipped	208[2]

296. Thomas Leyland and Company to Captain Caesar Lawson.[1]

Liverpool, 18 July 1803.

Cap. Caesar Lawson,

Sir, Our ship *Enterprize,* to the command of which you are appointed, being now ready for sea, you are immediately to proceed in

[295] [1] J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool* (1875), I. 194-195, from the Binns Collection, Liverpool Reference Library.

[2] This memorandum stands in the margin.

[296] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 601-603. The account book from which Williams took this letter of instructions begins with the following items concerning the *Enterprize:*

"Ship *Enterprize,* 1st Voyage. Sailed from Liverpool, 20 July, 1803.

August 26th detained the Spanish Brig *St. Augustin,* Capt. Josef Anto. de Ytuno, in Lat. 22, 47 North, Long. 26, 14 West; bound from Malaga to Vera Cruz, which vessel arrived at Hoylake on the 25th October.

September 10th Recaptured the *John* of Liverpool in Lat. 4, 20 North, Long. 11, 10 West with 261 Slaves on board, and on the 2nd November she arrived at Dominica.

September 23rd the *Enterprise* arrived at Bonny, and sailed from thence on the

December 6th the *St. Augustin* sailed from Liverpool.

9th January 1804 the *Enterprise* arrived at the Havanna and sold there 392 Negroes.

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her, and make the best of your way to Bonny on the Coast of Africa. You will receive herewith an invoice of the Cargo on board her which you are to Barter at Bonny for prime Negroes,[2] Ivory, and Palm Oil. By Law this vessel is allowed to carry 400 Negroes, and we request that they may all be males, if possible to get them, at any rate buy as few females as in your power, because we look to a Spanish market for the disposal of your cargo, where Females are a very tedious sale. In the choice of the Negroes be very particular, select those that are well formed and strong; and do not buy any above 24 years of Age, as it may happen that you will have to go to Jamaica, where you know any exceeding that age would be liable to a Duty of £10 per head. While the slaves are on board the Ship allow them every indulgence Consistent with your own Safety, and do not suffer any of your officers or Crew to abuse or insult them in any respect. Perhaps you may be able to procure some Palm Oil on reasonable terms, which is likely to bear a great price here, we therefore wish you to purchase as much as you can with any spare cargo you may have. We have taken out Letters of Marque against the French and Batavian Republic, and if you are so fortunate as to fall in with and capture any of their vessels Send the Same direct to this Port, under the care of an active Prize Master, and a sufficient number of men out of your ship; and also put a Copy of the Commission on board her, but do not molest any neutral ship, as it would involve us in expensive Lawsuit and subject us to heavy Damages. A considerable part of our property under your care will not be insured, and we earnestly desire you will keep a particular look out to avoid the Enemy's Cruisers, which are numerous and you may hourly expect to be attacked by some of them. We request you will Keep strict and regular discipline on board the ship; do not suffer Drunkenness among any of your Officers or Crew, for it is sure to be attended with some misfortune, such as Insurrection, Mutiny and Fire. Allow to the ship's Company their regular portion of Provisions etc. and take every care of such as may get sick. You must keep the ship very clean and see that no part of her Stores

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On the 28 March she sailed from the Havannah and arrived at Liverpool 26 April 1805."

For cost of outfit, cargo, and profits of this voyage see *ante*, no. 290. The cargo, 194 men, 32 "men-boys", 66 boys, 42 women, 36 "women-girls", and 42 girls, all Eboes, was delivered to Messrs. Joaquin Perez de Urria at Havana, in January, 1804. Nineteen slaves died; one sick girl could not be sold. Williams, p. 604.

[2] The price of a negro man at Bonny in 1801 was: 1 piece of chintz (18 yds.), 1 piece of baft (18 yds.), 1 piece of chelloe (18 yds.), 1 piece of bandanoe (seven handkerchiefs), 1 piece of niccanee (14 yds.), 1 piece of cushtae [?] (14 yds.), 1 piece of photae (14 yds.), 3 pieces of romalls (45 handkerchiefs), 1 large brass pan, two muskets, 25 kegs of powder, 100 flints, 2 bags of shot, 20 knives, 4 iron pots, 4 hats, 4 caps, 4 cutlasses, 6 bunches of beads, and 14 gals. of brandy, the whole costing about £25. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 680.

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and Materials are embezzled, neglected, or idly wasted. As soon as you have finished your trade and laid in a sufficient quantity of Yams, wood, water, and every other necessary for the Middle Passage, proceed with a press of sail for Barbadoes, and on your arrival there call on Messrs. Barton Higginson and Co. with whom you will find Letters from us by which you are to be govern'd in prosecuting the remainder of the voyage. Do not fail to write to us by every opportunity and always inclose a copy of your preceding Letter.

You are to receive from the House in the West Indies, who may sell your cargo, your Coast Commission of £2 in £102 on the Gross Sales, and when this Sum with your Chief Mates Privilege and your Surgeon's Privilege, Gratuity and head money are deducted, you are then to draw your Commission of £4 in £104 on the remaining amount. Your Chief Mate, Mr. James Cowill, is to receive two Slaves on an average with the Cargo, less the Island and any other duty that may be due or payable thereon at the place where you may sell your Cargo; and your Surgeon, Mr. Gilb't Sinclair, is to receive two Slaves on an average with the Cargo less the Duty beforementioned, and one Shilling S'tg head money on each slave sold. And in consideration of the aforementioned Emoluments, neither you nor your Crew, nor any of them, are directly or indirectly to carry on any private Trade on your or their accounts under a forfeiture to us of the whole of your Commissions arising on this voyage. In case of your Death, your Chief Mate, Mr. Cowill, is to succeed to the Command of the ship, and diligently follow these and all our further orders. Any Prize that you may capture, direct the Prize Master to hoist a white flag at the fore and one at the main top Gallant Mast-heads, on his approach to this Port, which will be answered by a signal at the light House.

We hope you will have a happy and prosperous voyage, and remain

P.S.—Shoud you capture any vessel from the Eastward of Cape of Good Hope, Send her to Falmouth and there wait for our orders. In case of your Capturing a Guineaman with Slaves on board, Send her to the address of Messrs. Bogle, Jopp and Co. of Kingston, Jamaica.

I acknowledge to have received from Messrs. Thomas Leyland and Co. the Orders of which the aforegoing is a true Copy, and I engage to execute them as well as all their further orders, the Dangers of the Seas only excepted, as witness my hand this 18 July 1803.

CAESAR LAWSON.

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297. An Act for regulating the Slave Trade.[1]

An Act to prohibit for Two Years after the Conclusion of the Present Session of Parliament, any Ships to clear out from any Port of Great Britain, for the Coast of Africa, for the purpose of taking on board Negroes, unless such Ships shall have been previously employed in the African Trade, or contracted for, for that Purpose.

Whereas it is expedient that Ships, not hitherto employed in carrying Slaves from the Coast of Africa or contracted for to be employed in such Trade, should not be permitted to be cleared out from Great Britain for such Purpose; May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same, That, from and after the First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and six, no Ship or Vessel shall be permitted to clear out from any Port in Great Britain for the Coast of Africa, for the Purpose of shipping or carrying Slaves from the Coast of Africa, unless such Ship or Vessel shall have been, before the said First Day of August, employed in the said Trade by the same Owner or Owners, or shall have been contracted for before the Tenth day of June One thousand eight hundred and six, for the Purpose of being employed in the said Trade; and the proper Officers of Customs clearing out any Ship or Vessel after the said First Day of August from any Port in Great Britain, for the Purpose of shipping and carrying Slaves from Africa, shall certify that such Ship or Vessel had been so employed or contracted for, and such Certificate shall be annexed to the Clearance.

II. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Collector or Comptroller of any Port from which any Ship or Vessel shall be about to clear out for such Trade, to require Proof on the Oath of the Master, or some one or more of the Owners of such Ship or Vessel (which Oath such Collector and Comptroller is hereby empowered to administer) that such Ship or Vessel has, before the said Day, been employed in the said trade by the same Owner or Owners, or shall have been contracted for before the Tenth day of June One thousand eight hundred and six.

III. And be it further enacted, That no Ship or Vessel shall be deemed or allowed by any Collector or Comptroller to have been contracted for as aforesaid, unless the Owner or Owners of the said

[297] [1] 46 Geo. III. c. 119. The prospect of the speedy passage of a bill abolishing the slave trade threatened an increase in the traffic during the months which should intervene before its prohibition. To prevent this, Wilberforce, after a conference with Fox, pushed this bill through Parliament in the last weeks of the session of 1806. Coupland, p. 333.

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Ship or Vessel shall, on or before the said First Day of August, have made Proof on Oath, to the Satisfaction of Commissioners to be named by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and which Commissioners the said Lords Commisioners of His Majesty's Treasury are hereby authorized and required to appoint (and which Oath the said Commissioners are hereby empowered to administer) that such Ship or Vessel was actually and *bona fide* before the said Tenth Day of June contracted for, for the Purpose of carrying Slaves from the Coast of Africa, and unless a Certificate of such Proof having been made under the Hands and Seals of the said Commissioners, shall be produced to the said Collector or Comptroller.

IV. And be it further enacted, That the Owners of every Ship or Vessel not being so cleared out, and having such Certificate of Clearance as aforesaid, in which any Slave shall be shipped or carried from the Coast of Africa, contrary to the Provisions of this Act, shall forfeit for every Slave so carried the Sum of Fifty Pounds, to be recovered as any like Penalty may be recovered under any Acts of Parliament or Laws for the Regulation of the African Slave Trade.

V. And Whereas since the First Day of January One thousand eight hundred and six, some Vessels employed in the said Trade may either have been captured by the Enemy, or condemned as unfit for the Voyage: And Whereas in some Cases Contracts for Vessels in the Place of those so captured or condemned may not have been made before the Tenth Day of June One thousand eight hundred and six: And Whereas Persons engaged in the African Trade, and having Goods remaining on the Coast, or Debts due them from thence, which, up to the present Time, they have considered as good and recoverable, may be unable to recover their said Property, for want of Vessels to transport it: Be it therefore enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, upon sufficient Proof of the said Premises, made to them on Oath before the First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and six, to grant Licence to such Persons to contract for and employ such Ship or Ships as they shall make appear to be necessary for securing or bringing away the said Debts or Effects, either by the Purchase of Slaves or otherwise, so as that the Ship or Ships so to be contracted for, under such Licence, shall in no Case exceed in Tonnage the Ships captured or condemned, in the Place of which they shall be applied for, and shall be liable to all the Regulations by Law established respecting the carrying of Slaves from Africa.

VI. And be it further enacted, That if any Person, upon any such Examination on Oath, shall wilfully and corruptly give false

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Evidence, or shall wilfully and corruptly swear any Matter or Thing which shall be false or untrue, every such Person so offending, and being thereof duly convicted, shall be and is hereby declared to be subject and liable to such Pains and Penalties, as by Law now in being Persons convicted of wilful and corrupt Perjury are subject and liable to.

VII. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall be and continue in force for the Term of Two Years, and no longer, from and after the Conclusion of the present Session of Parliament.

298. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa, 1807.[1]

A List of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa (established by an Act of 23 of George II., Cap. 31, entitled an Act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, 1750, for the port of Liverpool) in 1807.

John Bridge Aspinall,
James Aspinall,
William Aspinall,[2]
David Backhouse,
John Backhouse, Wavertree,
John Barnes, London,[3]
Ralph Benson,
Robert Bent, London,
Patrick Black,
Jonas Bold,
John Bolton,
P. W. Brancker,[4]
Thomas Brancker,
Joseph Brookes,
John Brown,
George Brown, Wales,
James Carruthers,
George Case,
Henry Clarke, Belmont, Cheshire
Thomas Clarke,[5]

[298] [1] *Liverpool and Slavery*, pp. 118-119. "Copied from the printed list belonging to George V. Taunton, Esq. from the papers of the late John Backhouse, Esq., Wavertree, 19th September, 1847. James Horner Hill." It will be remembered that the Company of Merchants trading to Africa existed for nearly fifteen years after the abolition of the slave trade. These men, prominent in this trade as long as it continued, were also the merchants who carried the African investments through the difficult transition period during which other commodities were substituted for slaves.

[2] The Aspinalls were the owners for whom Capt. Hugh Crow sailed. See Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 637, 649.

[3] John Barnes was a member of a Liverpool committee which in 1792 requested the Duke of Clarence to present an anti-abolition petition to the House of Lords. He was also one of the delegates sent to London to oppose the abolition bill. Picton, *Liverpool: Archives and Records*, p. 217.

[4] Peter Whitfield Brancker, mayor of Liverpool in 1801, also one of the committee to request the offices of the Duke of Clarence in opposing the abolition of the slave trade, was sent to London as a Liverpool delegate to oppose an abolition bill. In 1798 he was presented by the Liverpool council with plate valued at 100 guineas (Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 613, 614, 617). The gratitude of Liverpool was also expressed to the Duke of Clarence, who had steadfastly opposed all bills for the abolition of the trade. The *Liverpool Guide*, published in 1799, was dedicated "To his royal highness the Duke of Clarence; whose unremitted efforts have been so generously exerted in the preservation of the commercial rights and interests of the British Empire, and in which those of his Majesty's loyal and flourishing town of Liverpool are so much involved, this trifle is humbly inscribed by the author".

[5] Thomas Clarke was the owner of the *Thomas*, the scene of a disastrous insurrection of 375 slaves, in 1797. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 592-593; Brooke, *Liverpool during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 236-237.

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[*List of Company of Merchants*—continued]

Samuel Clough,
Edgar Corrie,[6]
William Crosbie,
James Thompson Cukit,
John Dawson,[7]
Edward Dickson,
James Dickson,
William Dickson,
Thomas Earle,
William Earle,
William Forbes,
James Gregson,[8]
James Gildart,
Thomas Golightly,
John Greenwood,
William Harding,
William Harper,
B. A. Heywood,
Thomas Hinde,
Thomas Hodgson,
John Hodgson,
H. Blundell Hollinshead,
Francis Ingram, Wakefield,[9]
John Chambres Jones, Wales,
Peter Kennion, London,
John Langton, Kirkham,
Robert Leigh,
George Lewis,
William Neilson,
Thomas Parke, Highfield,
Thomas John Parke,
Thomas Parr,[10]
Thomas Parr, Junr.,
James Penny,
Jonathan Ratcliffe,
William Rigg,
John Sanders,
Christopher Shaw,
John Shaw,
Bryan Smith,
George Spencer, London
Samuel Staniforth,
Thomas Tarleton,
John Tarleton,[11]
Thomas Moss Tate,
William Thompson
James Watkinson,
Richard Willis,
William Watson,
Richard Wilding,
William Woodville, Havanna,
Richard Woodward.

[6] Among Lord Hawkesbury's correspondents in 1788 and 1789 was Edgar Corrie, of Liverpool, who wrote a long letter in favor of abolition, in which he named as competent to give information Richard Watt of Liverpool, formerly a Jamaica factor, Richard Wilding of Llanrayder, and Thomas Hodgson, jr., of Liverpool, who had been African agents of Mr. Barber. Add. MSS. 38416, f. 35.

[7] John Dawson was a Liverpool contractor with the Spaniards, to whom reference has already been made (*ante*, no. 274, n. 4). In 1792 and 1793 Dawson's vessels were buying rum in New England for the African coast. In 1794 his brig *Abby* was seized in America for improper registration (*Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLIV. 668-683). Capt. Hugh Crow made his first voyage to Africa in one of the vessels belonging to Dawson, who in 1796 stated that he had eighteen vessels in the slave trade (Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 616, 628). He is probably the Dawson referred to as the owner of a vessel bound to Demarara in 1795. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery*, I. 26.

[8] James Gregson, it will be remembered, was one of the owners of the *Zong*. See *ante*, no. 267.

[9] In July, 1777, a group of Liverpool merchants met to draw up a plan for the better regulation of the African trade. At the meeting were Bold, Carruthers, T. Hodgson, Heywood, Greenwood, and Brown of the men here named. This group created a permanent committee on which William Crosbie (mayor), Joseph Brooks, George Case, James Carruthers, Francis Ingram, Thomas Hodgson, Benjamin Heywood, and William Crosbie, jr., served, all of them members of the Company of Merchants in 1807.

[10] Owner of the *Lovely Lass*, Capt. William Lace, 1797.

[11] Members of the Tarleton family were active in the Liverpool slave trade and in opposition to its abolition throughout the entire period of the contest. Banastre Tarleton, afterwards known as General Tarleton, was a persistent speaker in the debates

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299. Petition to the House of Commons, 1807.[1]

A Petition of John Anderson and Alexander Anderson, of Philpot Lane, London, merchants, proprietors of Bance Island, in the river Sierra Leone, on the windward coast of Africa, was also presented to the house, and read; setting forth, "that by an act, made in the 25th year of his late majesty, intituled, an act for the application of a sum of money therein mentioned, granted to his majesty, making compensation and satisfaction to the Royal African Company of England"; "that whereas it appears, that a certain island, situate in the river Sierra Leone, on the said coast of Africa, called Bance Island, with a fort and buildings thereon, having been formerly in the possession of the said Royal African Company, was, in the year 1728, deserted by the said company and their agents; and the said fort has been some time in the possession of Alexander Grant, John Sargent, and Richard Oswald, of London, Merchants, who have disbursed a considerable sum in the preservation and improvements of the said island and fort, for which it is just and reasonable they should have a recompence: Be it therefore enacted, that the said Alexander Grant, John Sargent, and Richard Oswald, shall be at liberty, notwithstanding the present act, to continue in the quiet possession of the said island, fort, and buildings thereon, and that the same shall henceforth continue and be absolutely vested in them, their heirs and assigns"; and that upon the faith and right granted, and the protection afforded to them by the said act, the said Alexander Grant, John Sargent and Richard Oswald, established large factories upon the said island, called Bance Island, with many dependent factories in the neighbourhood, and laid out and invested a very great capital therein; and that the petitioners afterwards purchased the right and interest of the persons entitled to the said island, with the slaves and other property thereon, and are now the sole proprietors thereof; and that in the year 1794, by an invasion of American and French subjects, the property of the petitioners, in the said island alone, to the amount of 20,000 *l.* sterling and upwards, was destroyed, and the petitioners have since replaced, and laid out, the amount of such property so destroyed; and that the petitioners have,

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on the abolition in the House of Commons; Clayton and John were members of the house Tarleton and Company, Liverpool shipowners. Clayton was mayor of Liverpool at the time the council rendered reward for the services of Robert Norris, James Penny, and Samuel Green; John was a Liverpool delegate sent to London, to oppose the abolition movement. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 611, 613.

[299] [1] *Parl. Debates,* VIII. 836-838. During the progress through the House of Commons of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade the petition here printed was presented, along with one from Joseph Marryat, agent for Trinidad, and others from Edmund Lyon, agent for Jamaica, the merchants of Glasgow interested in Trinidad, and the planters, merchants, mortgagees, annuitants, and others interested in the British West India colonies. *Ibid.,* pp. 829-835.

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at great risque and labour, and at an immense expence, established a great trade at the said island, called Bance Island; and that the Petitioners did so upon the assurance and belief that, by the said act, the property of the said island was as perfectly vested in, and secured to them, as any other species of property which the subject of these realms possess under the sanction and protection of the law; and that the petitioners apprehend the bill now depending in parliament, to put an end to the slave trade, will render their property on Bance Island of no value, and likewise prevent their being able to collect the debts due to them, as the people on the coast of Africa have no other means of making payment but by slaves; and therefore praying, that the said act may not pass into a law, and that they may be heard by counsel, and they hope their prayer will not seem unreasonable, considering they hold the property under an act of parliament, in which is acknowledged the justice of recompence to the proprietors, for the money disbursed in the preservation and improvement of the said island.[2]

300. John Kizell to Governor Thomas Ludlam.[1]

April 6, 1807.

Sir, I before sent you word that I met Tucker,[2] with canoes full of goods, going to Kittam to get slaves. He went, but did not get the slaves so soon as he had agreed. He took goods to the value of ten slaves from Captain Slocum, and to the value of twenty slaves from Belbey (two white slave dealers): they came for the slaves while he was in the Kittam. They sent after him; he would not come

[2] The petitions were placed upon the table until the second reading of the bill, the petitioners to be heard by counsel if they so desired. The representatives of various interests were given a hearing on Feb. 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 838, 940-943.

[300] [1] *Sixth Report of the African Institution,* pp. 148-149. John Kizell was, according to his own story, the son of a chief of a country inland from the Sherbro River. He was captured while visiting an uncle, in a village which was attacked on the night of his arrival. In spite of his father's efforts to redeem him, he was taken to the Gallinas, put on board an English slaver, and carried to Charleston not long before the Revolution. When Clinton captured Charleston Kizell joined the British army, and after the war he was sent to Nova Scotia. About 1792 he returned to Sherbro. From this time until the end of his life he rendered frequent assistance to the British governors of Sierra Leone. In 1810 the governor sent him to deal with chiefs on the Sherbro River. Extracts from his letters are printed in the *Sixth Report of the African Institution,* pp. 113-153. Thomas Ludlam succeeded Zachary Macaulay as governor of Sierra Leone in 1798. He was the last of the governors under the Sierra Leone Company, as well as the first under the crown. Difficulties with slave traders helped to defeat the purposes of the company from its inception and continued to harass the governors after the transfer of the colony to the crown. Reference has already been made to the parliamentary attempt to remove them from this portion of the African coast (p. xl).

[2] In another letter Kizell speaks of the Tuckers as the greatest slave traders on the River Sherbro (*Sixth Report,* p. 116). Several years later he named the white slave dealers of the Sherbro region: Mr. Crundell, Mr. Mason, and two or three more in the Gallinas, William Peel in Bullam, Mr. Goss in the Plantaines, Mr. Gudgeon in the Sherbro, J. N. Dolz ("a Spanish creole from the Havannah") at Sherbro. Apr. 5, 1811. *Sixth Report,* p. 153.

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to them: they sent him word if he did not come and pay them they would pay themselves. Now think what he did to get slaves to pay them. He has ten wives; he sent for a greegreeman, who told him his wives were kept by other men. In order to prove the guilt of his wives, he got some oil and put it in a pot, and set it on the fire. He knew the poor women could not put their hands into it without being burnt. He nevertheless called them, and said, They were the cause of his not being able to get slaves. They asked, How? He said they were kept by other men. They said, It was not truth. He answered, "Do you say no? then put your hands in the burning oil: if you are not guilty, it will not burn you: if you are, it will." The women knew, that whether they were guilty or not, it would burn them, and therefore would not put their hands in it. He said, "I see it is true; you all must tell me the men's names." He separated out three, who, he pretended, were not guilty. He then went to the rest, and said, They must inform against someone. They knew he did not want old men, and they, to please him, mentioned the most likely young men they could think of. He then sent word to his younger brother to come to him, as he had now got slaves to pay his debt. They then sent people to catch the persons who had been accused. He afterwards sent to a town and caught eighteen.

301. An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.[1]

Whereas the Two Houses of Parliament did, by their Resolutions of the Tenth and Twenty-fourth Days of June One thousand eight hundred and six, severally resolve, upon certain Grounds therein mentioned, that they would, with all practicable Expedition, take effectual Measures for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, in such Manner, and at such Period as might be deemed adviseable: And Whereas it is fit upon all and each of the Grounds mentioned in the said Resolutions, that the same should be forthwith abolished and prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, the African Slave Trade, and all and all manner of dealing and trading in the Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer of Slaves, or of Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, practised and carried on, in, at, to or

[301] [1] 47 Geo. III. c. 36, sess. 1, Mar. 25, 1807, *Statutes at Large*, III. 73-77.

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from any Part of the Coast or Countries of Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and also that all and all manner of dealing, either by way of Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer, or by means of any other Contract or Agreement whatever, relating to any Slaves, or to any Persons intended to be used or dealt with as Slaves, for the Purpose of such Slaves or Persons being removed and transported either immediately or by Transhipment at Sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any Island, Country, Territory, or Place whatever, in the West Indies, or in any other Part of America, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, to any other Island, Country, Territory or Place whatever, is hereby in like Manner utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Occupation or Possession, shall from and after the Day aforesaid, by him or themselves, or by his or their Factors or Agents or otherwise howsoever, deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer, or contract or agree for the dealing or trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring of any Slave or Slaves, or any Person or Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as a Slave or Slaves contrary to the Prohibitions of this Act, he or they so offending shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence the Sum of One hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain for each and every Slave so purchased, sold, bartered, or transferred, or contracted or agreed for as aforesaid, the One Moiety thereof to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and the other Moiety to the Use of any Person who shall inform, sue, and prosecute for the same.

II. And be it further enacted, That from and after the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, it shall be unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, to fit out, man, or navigate, or to procure to be fitted out, manned, or navigated, or to be concerned in the fitting out, manning, or navigating, or in the procuring to be fitted out, manned, or navigated, any Ship or vessel for the Purpose of assisting in, or being employed in the carrying on of the African Slave Trade, or in any other the Dealing, Trading, or Concerns hereby prohibited and declared to be unlawful, and every Ship or Vessel which shall, from and after the Day aforesaid, be

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fitted out, manned, navigated, used, or employed by any such Subject or Subjects, Person or Persons, or on his or their Account, or by his or their Assistance or Procurement for any of the Purposes aforesaid, and by this Act prohibited, together with all her Boats, Guns, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, shall become forfeited, and may and shall be seized and prosecuted as herein-after is mentioned and provided.

III. And be it further enacted, That from and after the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, it shall be unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident in this United Kingdom, or in any of the Colonies, Territories or Dominions thereunto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, to carry away or remove, or knowingly and wilfully to procure, aid, or assist in the carrying away or removing, as Slaves, or for the Purpose of being sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, any of the Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies, or any other Part of America, whatsoever, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, either immediately or by Transhipment at Sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any such Island, Country, Territory, or Place as aforesaid, to any other Island, Country, Territory, or Place whatever, and that it shall also be unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident in this United Kingdom, or in any of the Colonies, Territories, or Dominions thereunto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, knowingly and wilfully to receive, detain, or confine on board, or to be aiding, assisting, or concerned in the receiving, detaining, or confining on board of any Ship or Vessel whatever, any such Subject or Inhabitant as aforesaid, for the purpose of his or her being so carried away or removed as aforesaid, or of his or her being sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as a Slave, in any Place or Country whatever; and if any Subject or Inhabitant, Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies or America, not being in the Dominion, Possession or Occupation of His Majesty, shall from and after the Day aforesaid, be so unlawfully carried away or removed, detained, confined, transhipped, or received on board of any Ship or Vessel belonging in the Whole or in Part to, or employed by any Subject of His Majesty, or Person residing in His Majesty's Dominions or Colonies, or any Territory belonging to or in the Occupation of His Majesty, for any of the unlawful Purposes aforesaid, contrary to the Force and Effect, true Intent and Meaning of the Prohibitions in this Act contained, every such Ship

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or Vessel in which any such Person or Persons shall be so unlawfully carried away or removed, detained, confined, transhipped, or received on board for any of the said unlawful Purposes, together with all her Boats, Guns, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, shall be forfeited, and all Property or pretended Property in any Slaves or Natives of Africa so unlawfully carried away or removed, detained, confined, transhipped or received on board, shall also be forfeited, and the same respectively shall and may be seized and prosecuted as herein-after is mentioned and provided; and every Subject of His Majesty, or Person resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, who shall, as Owner, Part Owner, Freighter or Shipper, Factor or Agent, Captain, Mate, Supercargo, or Surgeon, so unlawfully carry away, or remove, detain, confine, tranship, or receive on board, for any of the unlawful Purposes aforesaid, any such Subject or Inhabitant of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, shall forfeit and pay for each and every Slave or Person so unlawfully carried away, removed, detained, confined, transhipped, or received on board, the Sum of One hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain, One Moiety thereof to the Use of His Majesty, and the other Moiety to the Use of any Person who shall inform, sue, and prosecute for the same.

IV. And be it further enacted, That if any Subject or Inhabitant, Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, who shall, at any Time from and after the Day aforesaid, have been unlawfully carried away or removed from Africa, or from any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies or America, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, contrary to any of the Prohibitions or Provisions in this Act contained, shall be imported or brought into any Island, Colony, Plantation, or Territory, in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, and there sold or disposed of as a Slave or Slaves, or placed, detained, or kept in a State of Slavery, such Subject or Inhabitant, Subjects or Inhabitants, so unlawfully carried away, or removed and imported, shall and may be seized and prosecuted as forfeited to His Majesty, by such Person or Persons, in such Courts, and in such Manner and Form, as any Goods or Merchandize unlawfully imported into the same Island, Colony, Plantation, or Territory, may now be seized and prosecuted therein by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parliament now in force for regulating the Navigation and Trade of His Majesty's Colonies and

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Plantations and shall and may, after his or their Condemnation, be disposed of in Manner herein-after mentioned and provided.

V. And be it further enacted, That from and after the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, all Insurances whatsoever to be effected upon or in respect to any of the trading, dealing, carrying, removing, transhipping, or other Transactions by this Act prohibited, shall be also prohibited and declared to be unlawful; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or within any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereunto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, shall knowingly and wilfully subscribe, effect, or make, or cause or procure to be subscribed, effected, or made, any such unlawful Insurances or Insurance, he or they shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence the Sum of One hundred Pounds for every such Insurance, and also Treble the Amount paid or agreed to be paid as the Premium of any such Insurance, the One Moiety thereof to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and the other Moiety to the Use of any Person who shall inform, sue, and prosecute for the same.

VI. Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be deemed or construed to extend, to prohibit or render unlawful the dealing or trading in the Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer, or the carrying away or removing for the Purpose of being sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, or the detaining or confining for the Purpose of being so carried away or removed, of any Slaves which shall be exported, carried, or removed from Africa, in any Ship or Vessel which, on or before the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, shall have been lawfully cleared out from Great Britain according to the Law now in force for regulating the carrying of Slaves from Africa, or to prohibit or render unlawful the manning or navigating any such Ship or Vessel, or to make void any Insurance thereon, so as the Slaves to be carried therein shall be finally landed in the West Indies on or before the First Day of March One thousand eight hundred and eight, unless prevented by Capture, the Loss of the Vessel, by the Appearance of an Enemy upon the Coast, or other unavoidable Necessity, the Proof whereof shall lie upon the Party charged; any Thing herein-before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

VII. And Whereas it may happen, That during the present or future Wars, Ships or Vessels may be seized or detained as Prize, on board whereof Slaves or Natives of Africa, carried and detained as Slaves, being the Property of His Majesty's Enemies, or otherwise liable to Condemnation as Prize of War, may be taken or found,

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and it is necessary to direct in what Manner such Slaves or Natives of Africa shall be hereafter treated and disposed of: And Whereas it is also necessary to direct and provide for the Treatment and Disposal of any Slaves or Natives of Africa carried, removed, treated or dealt with as Slaves, who shall be unlawfully carried away or removed contrary to the Prohibitions aforesaid, or any of them, and shall be afterwards found on board any Ship or Vessel liable to Seizure under this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade, or shall be elsewhere lawfully seized as forfeited under this or any other such Act of Parliament as aforesaid; and it is expedient to encourage the Captors, Seizors and Prosecutors thereof; Be it therefore further enacted, That all Slaves and all Natives of Africa, treated, dealt with, carried, kept or detained as Slaves, which shall at any Time from and after the said First Day of May next be seized or taken as Prize of War, or liable to Forfeiture, under this or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade, shall and may, for the Purposes only of Seizure, Prosecution, and Condemnation as Prize or as Forfeitures, be considered, treated, taken, and adjudged as Slaves and Property, in the same Manner as Negro Slaves have been heretofore considered, treated, taken, and adjudged, when seized as Prize of War, or as forfeited for any Offence against the Laws of Trade and Navigation respectively; but the same shall be condemned as Prize of War, or as forfeited to the sole Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, for the Purpose only of divesting and barring all other Property, Right, Title, or Interest whatever, which before existed, or might afterwards be set up or claimed in or to such Slaves or Natives of Africa so seized, prosecuted and condemned; and the same nevertheless shall in no case be liable to be sold, disposed of, treated or dealt with as Slaves, by or on the Part of His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, or by or on the Part of any Person or Persons claiming or to claim from, by or under His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, or under or by force of any such Sentence of Condemnation: Provided always, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and such Officers, Civil or Military, as shall, by any general or special Order of the King in Council, be from Time to Time appointed and empowered to receive, protect, and provide for such Natives of Africa as shall be so condemned, either to enter and enlist the same, or any of them, into His Majesty's Land or Sea Service as Soldiers, Seamen or Marines, or to bind the same, or any of them, whether of full Age or not, as Apprentices, for any Term not exceeding Fourteen Years, to such Person or Persons, in such Place or Places, and upon such Terms and

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Conditions, and subject to such Regulations, as to His Majesty shall seem meet, and as shall by any general or special Order of His Majesty in Council be in that Behalf directed and appointed; and any Indenture of Apprenticeship duly made and executed, by any Person or Persons to be for that Purpose appointed by any such Order in Council, for any Term not exceeding Fourteen Years, shall be of the same Force and Effect as if the Party thereby bound as an Apprentice had himself or herself, when of full Age upon good Consideration, duly executed the same; and every such Native of Africa who shall be so enlisted or entered as aforesaid into any of His Majesty's Land or Sea Forces as a Soldier, Seaman, or Marine, shall be considered, treated, and dealt with in all Respects as if he had voluntarily so enlisted or entered himself.

VIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That where any Slaves or Natives of Africa, taken as Prize of War by any of His Majesty's Ships of War, or Privateers duly commissioned, shall be finally condemned as such to His Majesty's Use as aforesaid, there shall be paid to the Captors thereof by the Treasurer of His Majesty's Navy, in like Manner as the Bounty called Head Money is now paid by virtue of an Act of Parliament, made in the Forty-fifth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for the Encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectually manning His Majesty's Navy during the present War, such Bounty as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, shall have directed by any Order in Council, so as the same shall not exceed the Sum of Forty Pounds lawful Money of Great Britain for every Man, or Thirty Pounds of like Money for every Woman, or Ten Pounds of like Money for every Child or Person not above Fourteen Years old, that shall be so taken and condemned, and shall be delivered over in good Health to the proper Officer or Officers, Civil or Military, so appointed as aforesaid to receive, protect, and provide for the same; which Bounties shall be divided amongst the Officers, Seamen, Marines, and Soldiers on board His Majesty's Ships of War, or hired armed Ships, in Manner, Form, and Proportion, as by His Majesty's Proclamation for granting the Distribution of Prizes already issued, or to be issued for that Purpose is or shall be directed and appointed, and amongst the Owners, Officers, and Seamen of any private Ship or Vessel of War, in such Manner and Proportion as, by an Agreement in Writing that they shall have entered into for that Purpose, shall be directed.

IX. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in order to entitle the Captors to receive the said Bounty Money, the Numbers of Men, Women, and Children, so taken, condemned, and delivered

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over, shall be proved to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, by producing, instead of the Oaths and Certificates prescribed by the said Act as to Head Money, a Copy, duly certified, of the Sentence or Decree of Condemnation whereby the Numbers of Men, Women, and Children, so taken and condemned, shall appear to have been distinctly proved; and also, by producing a Certificate under the Hand of the said Officer or Officers, Military or Civil, so appointed as aforesaid, and to whom the same shall have been delivered, acknowledging that he or they hath or have received the same, to be disposed of according to His Majesty's Instructions and Regulations as aforesaid.

X. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That in any Cases in which Doubts shall arise whether the Party or Parties claiming such Bounty Money is or are entitled thereto, the same shall be summarily determined by the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, or by the Judge of any Court of Admiralty in which the Prize shall have been adjudged, subject nevertheless to an Appeal to the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

XI. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That on the Condemnation to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, in Manner aforesaid, of any Slaves or Natives of Africa, seized and prosecuted as forfeited for any Offence against this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade (except in the Case of Seizures made at Sea by the Commanders or Officers of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War) there shall be paid to and to the Use of the Person who shall have sued, informed, and prosecuted the same to Condemnation, the Sums of Thirteen Pounds lawful Money aforesaid for every Man, of Ten Pounds like Money for every Woman, and of Three Pounds like Money for every Child or Person under the Age of Fourteen Years, that shall be so condemned and delivered over in good Health to the said Civil or Military Officer so to be appointed to receive, protect, and provide for the same, and also the like Sums to and to the Use of the Governor or Commander in Chief of any Colony or Plantation wherein such Seizure shall have been made; but in Cases of any such Seizures made at Sea by the Commanders or Officers of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, for Forfeiture under this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade, there shall be paid to the Commander or Officer who shall so seize, inform, and prosecute, for every Man so condemned and delivered over, the Sum of Twenty Pounds like Money, for every Woman the Sum of Fifteen Pounds like Money, and for every Child or Person under the Age of Four-

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teen Years the Sum of Five Pounds like Money, subject nevertheless to such Distribution of the said Bounties or Rewards for the said Seizures made at Sea as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, shall think fit to order and direct by any Order in Council made for that Purpose; for all which Payments so to be made as Bounties or Rewards upon Seizures and Prosecutions for Offences against this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or abolishing the African Slave Trade, the Officer or Officers, Civil or Military, so to be appointed as aforesaid to receive, protect, and provide for such Slaves or Natives of Africa so to be condemned and delivered over, shall, after the Condemnation and Receipt thereof as aforesaid, grant Certificates in favour of the Governor and Party seizing, informing, and prosecuting as aforesaid respectively, or the latter alone (as the Case may be) addressed to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury; who, upon the Production to them of any such Certificate, and of an authentic Copy, duly certified, of the Sentence of Condemnation of the said Slaves or Africans to His Majesty's Use as aforesaid, and also of a Receipt under the Hand of such Officer or Officers so appointed as aforesaid, specifying that such Slaves or Africans have by him or them been received in good Health as aforesaid, shall direct Payment to be made from and out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain of the Amount of the Monies specified in such Certificate, to the lawful Holders of the same, or the Persons entitled to the Benefit thereof respectively.

XII. And be it further enacted, That if any Person shall wilfully and fraudulently forge or counterfeit any such Certificate, Copy of Sentence of Condemnation, or Receipt as aforesaid, or any Part thereof, or shall knowingly and wilfully utter or publish the same, knowing it to be forged or counterfeited, with Intent to defraud His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, or any other Person or Persons whatever, the Party so offending shall, on Conviction, suffer Death as in Cases of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy.

XIII. And be it further enacted, That the several Pecuniary Penalties or Forfeitures imposed and inflicted by this Act, shall and may be sued for, prosecuted, and recovered in any Court of Record in Great Britain, or in any Court of Record or Vice Admiralty in any Part of His Majesty's Dominions wherein the Offence was committed, or where the Offender may be found after the Commission of such Offence; and that in all Cases of Seizure of any Ships, Vessels, Slaves or pretended Slaves, Goods or Effects, for any Forfeiture under this Act, the same shall and may respectively be sued for, prosecuted and recovered in any Court of Record in Great Britain, or in any Court

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of Record or Vice Admiralty in any Part of His Majesty's Dominions in or nearest to which such Seizures may be made, or to which such Ships or Vessels, Slaves or pretended Slaves, Goods or Effects (if seized at Sea or without the Limits of any British Jurisdiction) may most conveniently be carried for Trial; and all the said Penalties and Forfeitures, whether pecuniary or specific (unless where it is expressly otherwise provided for by this Act) shall go and belong to such Person and Persons in such Shares and Proportions, and shall and may be sued for and prosecuted, tried, recovered, distributed, and applied in such and the like Manner and by the same Ways and Means, and subject to the same Rules and Directions, as any Penalties or Forfeitures incurred in Great Britain, and in the British Colonies or Plantations in America respectively, by force of any Act of Parliament relating to the Trade and Revenues of the said British Colonies or Plantations in America, now go and belong to, and may now be sued for, prosecuted, tried, recovered, distributed and applied respectively in Great Britain or in the said Colonies or Plantations respectively, under and by virtue of a certain Act of Parliament made in the Fourth Year of His present Majesty, intituled, An Act for granting certain Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America; for continuing, amending, and making perpetual an Act passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his late Majesty, King George the Second, intituled, an Act for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America; for applying the Produce of such Duties to arise by virtue of the said Act towards defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the said Colonies and Plantations; for explaining an Act made in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, An Act for the Encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades, and for the better securing the Plantation Trade, and for altering and disallowing several Drawbacks on Exports from this Kingdom, and more effectually preventing the clandestine Conveyance of Goods to and from the said Colonies and Plantations, and improving and securing the Trade between the same and Great Britain.

XIV. And be it further enacted, That all Ships and Vessels, Slaves or Natives of Africa, carried, conveyed, or dealt with as Slaves, and all other Goods and Effects that shall or may become forfeited for any Offence committed against this Act, shall and may be seized by any Officer of His Majesty's Customs or Excise, or by the Commanders or Officers of any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, who, in making and prosecuting any such Seizures, shall have the Benefit of all the Provisions made by the said Act of the Fourth

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Year of His present Majesty, or any other Act of Parliament made for the Protection of Officers seizing and prosecuting for any Offence against the said Act or any other Act of Parliament relating to the Trade and Revenues of the British Colonies or Plantations in America.

XV. And be it further enacted, That all Offences committed against this Act may be inquired of, tried, determined, and dealt with as Misdemeanors, as if the same had been respectively committed within the Body of the County of Middlesex.

XVI. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty in Council from Time to Time to make such Orders and Regulations for the future Disposal and Support of such Negroes as shall have been bound Apprentices under this Act, after the Term of their Apprenticeship shall have expired, as to His Majesty shall seem meet, and as may prevent such Negroes from becoming at any time chargeable upon the Island in which they shall have been so bound Apprentices as aforesaid.

XVII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That none of the Provisions of any Act as to enlisting for any limited Period of Service, or as to any Rules or Regulations for the granting any Pensions or Allowances to any Soldiers discharged after certain Periods of Service, shall extend, or be deemed or construed in any Manner to extend, to any Negroes so enlisting and serving in any of His Majesty's Forces.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Action or Suit shall be commenced either in Great Britain or elsewhere, against any Person or Persons for any Thing done in pursuance of this Act, the Defendant or Defendants in such Action or Suit may plead the General Issue, and give this Act and the Special Matter in Evidence at any Trial to be had thereupon, and that the same was done in pursuance and by the Authority of this Act; and if it shall appear so to have been done, the Jury shall find for the Defendant or Defendants; and if the Plaintiff shall be nonsuited or discontinue his Action after the Defendant or Defendants shall have appeared, or if Judgement shall be given upon any Verdict or Demurrer against the Plaintiff, the Defendant or Defendants shall recover Treble Costs and have the like Remedy for the same, as Defendants have in other Cases by Law.

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