as it was half a century ago; whilst this odious traffic is accompanied with the most unparalleled and unheard-of cruelties—cruelties aggravated, and in some measure occasioned, by the decided determination with which our country has set its face against this ungodly and detestable trade. The cause is this: During the latter period of the existence of the Slave-Trade among ourselves, the slave-merchants and traders were induced to adopt and comply with certain regulations which were intended to diminish as much as possible the horrors of the Middle Passage, that is, of the voyage from Africa to the West Indies. But, now that the whole trade is proscribed, and our own countrymen take no part in it, and many other nations have joined in reprobating the system, and in determining, if possible, to crush it, the traffic in human flesh has fallen into the hands of needy and unprincipled adventurers and desperadoes, who care not through what oceans of crime and bloodshed they wade, if they can only secure a little paltry and present advantage. The consequence is, that the Slave-Trade is now carried on with a waste of human life almost beyond conception, arising from the vessels being small, ill-contrived, badly constructed, and scantily provisioned, and from the hasty manner and various precautions which their captains are compelled to adopt, in order to escape detection.

Sir Fowell Buxton, on the failure of past efforts for the suppression of the Slave-Trade, observes: "It is, then, but too manifest, that the efforts already made for the suppression of the Slave-Trade have not accomplished their benevolent object: we have only the afflicting conviction, that the Slave-Trade is as far as ever from being suppressed. Nay, I am afraid the fact is not to be disputed, that while we have thus been endeavouring to extinguish the traffic, it has actually doubled in amount." And this Sir Fowell most clearly proved "by documents which cannot be controverted,—that for every village fired, and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargoes, or twice the number in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic. But whilst the numbers who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated: on the contrary, we know that in some particulars these have increased: so that the sum total of misery swells in both ways. Each individual has more to endure; and the number of individuals is twice what it was. The result, therefore, is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers."

In order to escape the British cruisers, all slave-ships are now built on the principle of fast sailing; so that the exulting expression of an old weather-beaten Spaniard mentioned by the preceding writer, "Once outside in my trim vessel, you may catch me if you can," is unhappily something more than an empty vaunt. For we know too well, that, with his slaves safely on board, and his vessel fairly at sea, it is not often that the slave-trader is captured,—probably not more than once in thirty times. Even this small risk of being captured takes away all inducement, from mere selfish motives, to make the cargo moderate: on the contrary, it is an object now to make the cargo as large as possible; because then the escape of one cargo out of three will, it is calculated, give to those engaged in this disgraceful trade a net profit of from 150 to 180 per cent. And here it is that we find the cause, the principal cause, of the continuance of the Slave-Trade. It is "Mammon," it is "filthy lucre," it is the "love of money," which is emphatically "the root" of this monster "evil." Accordingly the Negroes are now packed in the slave-ships like bales of goods in a warehouse, or herrings in a barrel. They have neither standing-room, nor sitting-room, nor lying-room. They are cooped up anyhow, squeezed into crevices, or jammed up against the curved planks, or wedged together in water-casks, and are literally fed on the "bread and water of affliction." These poor creatures are sometimes actually packed in butts or casks covered over at the top; and the owners, on being chased by a British cruiser, have been known to throw the casks, with their living contents, into the sea.

The reader may form some idea of the misery endured by these unhappy creatures on the Middle Passage, from the following account of the capture of a slaver off Whydah, in the year 1834. This narrative was kindly furnished to me, when in Africa, by the Reverend gentleman himself, soon after it was penned.

EXTRACT FROM A JOURNAL ON BOARD H. M. S. "ISIS," KEPT BY THE REV. W. V. HENNEH, CHAPLAIN.

February 16th, 1834. Latitude 5° 4′ South, longitude 4° 52′ East. We yesterday fell in with the "Griffon;" and by signal were informed that she had chased a vessel, which she supposed to be a slave-vessel, all day and night, but had lost her. Guessing her course, the captain stood on all night: and early this morning she was seen in the wind's eye. After chasing her some time and nearing her, it fell calm; when our boats were hoisted out, manned and armed, and dispatched to the chase, now about seven miles distant. At noon the boats boarded; and at one P.M. a fine brigantine came alongside of us with three hundred and fifty slaves on

board. It was Sunday; and, after sending away the boats, the duties of the day were not forgotten, and service was performed on the quarter-deck. In the afternoon I went on board, when the sight that presented itself beggars all description. The upper deck was crowded with women and children, sitting and lying down so thickly, that the sailors to whom the duty of setting and trimming sails devolved, could with difficulty make their way among them without treading upon some. All were naked, and apparently unconscious of a breach of decency. On my getting upon deck, and looking upon them with the eye of commiseration, mixed with indignation at the perpetrators of this cruel breach of laws both Divine and human, some caught me by the hand or feet, others held out to me their tongues, black and parched for want of water, and all in the most piteous accents begged for *aqua*. I took a can, and gave them enough to moisten their tongues, which they seized with the greatest avidity, licking up even that which dropped upon the deck.

But the sufferings here were light in comparison to those upon the deck below, where the men were stowed. There, with three feet from deck to deck, with irons round their legs, and panting for air as well as water, were the miserable victims of this diabolical traffic laid, groaning and exhausted with anguish. Some had been brought up into the air on the upper deck, worn out with sufferings and gasping for life: to others, alas! the remedy had been too long delayed, they were extended lifeless corpses. Every feeling, the pangs occasioned by the being torn from friends and relations and country and home, the sense of decency and common modesty, were all forgotten, and sacrificed to the agony created by a want of food and water. *Heu, gens infelix!* Shall there be found men to advocate thy miseries? Can man advocate the miseries of his fellow-man? Where are the advantages to balance the miseries? Nowhere, but in the imaginations of those who mistake gain for godliness, or who are led astray by the fallacious reasonings of man worshipping mammon instead of God.

A change was soon wrought in the melancholy scene. The irons were struck off; food and water were distributed; their parched and feverish bodies were well washed; joy beamed in every countenance; and the Divine attribute of doing good was experienced both by those who gave liberty to the captives, and by those who received the boon.

The "Carolina" was an eighty-seven Spanish tons' ship.

A law passed the British legislature in 1788 by which it was provided that vessels under a hundred and fifty tons should not carry more than five men to every three tons; that vessels above a hundred and fifty tons should not carry more than three men to every two tons; and that the height of slave-vessels between decks should not be less than five feet. In 1813 it was decreed by the Government of Portugal and Brazil, that two tons should be allowed for every five men; and the Spanish "Cedula" of 1817 adopted the same scale. It should be understood, however, that the Spanish and Portuguese ton bears the proportion of one and a half to the British ton; so that the above scale of two tons Spanish to five men, is the same as five men to three British tons. But then it is often found, on re-measuring the slave-vessels, that the tonnage is much less than that stated in their papers; and thus the accommodation,

limited as it was at the best, has been greatly diminished. It turned out, in fact, that "the 'Carolina' was only seventy-five tons' burden, yet she had three hundred and fifty Negroes crammed on board of her; one hundred and eighty of whom were literally so stowed as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up when in a sitting posture." * How could they, indeed, when there was only "three feet from deck to deck," and they had "irons round their legs, and were panting for air as well as water?" No wonder that those poor creatures crowded round their deliverers, with their mouths open and their tongues black, and parched for want of water, "which they seized with the greatest avidity, licking up even that which dropped upon the deck," and presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery. But to others, alas! the remedy had been too long delayed; death had terminated their sufferings; "they were extended lifeless corpses."

The capture of the "Patacho," reported by the Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro in 1835, affords another instance of the worse than brutal treatment which the poor Africans are called to endure on board these horrible floating, coffin-like dungeons. "This vessel was in the first instance detained only on suspicion, and the capturing party had had possession forty-eight hours, and had made every possible search, as they supposed, before it was discovered that there were any slaves concealed on board. What the state of these wretched beings, to the number of forty-seven, must have been, deprived for so long a time of air and food, and packed in the smallest possible compass, like so many bales of goods, we need not pain your Lordship by describing." †

Mr. Cowper, Consul at Pernambuco, under date of January 1st, 1844, writes, "I cannot report to your Lordship any new features connected with this traffic, further than that the vessels in it are daily diminishing the space allowed on board their ships to these unhappy beings, thereby, of course, increasing the horrors attendant upon the voyage, and sacrificing more and more the lives of their wretched victims. For instance, it must appear incredible to those unaccustomed to these details, that ninety-seven human beings could have been stowed away in a vessel (the "Conceicao") of twenty-one tons, giving five individuals to each ton, or one fifteenth of the space allowed in the transport service of Great Britain to each soldier, and this for a period of twenty days, with the thermometer certainly not

* Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton's "Slave-Trade and its Remedy." † *Idem.*

averaging less than 86° of Fahrenheit, without exercise even for the necessities of nature; without air, excepting such as could find its way betwixt the gratings of the hatchway; and that ninety-one of these poor creatures should have reached their prison-land in safety. I, who know this, and have seen the vessel, or rather boat, cannot, by any stretch of imagination, conceive how the powers of human endurance could have supported them twenty days in this floating hell." *

Other cases of equal cruelty and barbarity the reader will find in Sir Fowell Buxton's work on the Slave-Trade, and elsewhere; but since that painfully interesting book was published, a harrowing pamphlet, describing the wretched condition of the poor Negroes at sea, even after they fell into British hands, has been printed and published by the Rev. P. G. Hill, and is entitled, "Fifty Days on Board a Slave-Vessel in the Mozambique Channel, in April and May, 1843." This slaver was the "Progresso," a Brazilian vessel, and was captured on the coast of Madagascar by Her Majesty's cruiser "Cleopatra," on board of which Mr. Hill was chaplain. The "Progresso" was bound for Rio Janeiro, had quitted the coast of Africa only the previous evening, and was consequently captured within a few hours after the embarcation of the slaves. She was of about one hundred and forty tons, and the slaves on board amounted to four hundred and forty-seven. Of this number, one hundred and eighty-nine were men, few, however, if any, exceeding twenty years of age; forty-five were women; and two hundred and thirteen, boys. The slaver, immediately on being captured, was, as is usual, taken charge of by a British crew, who were to navigate her to the Cape of Good Hope, most of the sailors of the "Progresso" being placed on board the "Cleopatra." Mr. Hill, at his own request, accompanied the slaver; and his pamphlet is a narrative of what took place during the fifty days which elapsed before their arrival at the Cape, and is perhaps one of the most heart-rending tales of woe by which the history of the horrid Slave-Trade has been distinguished. We cannot here quote the details of the treatment of the Negroes given by Mr. Hill; but the following account of the horrors of a single night may suffice as a specimen.

Shortly after the "Progresso" parted company with the cruiser, a squall arose, and the Negroes, who were breathing fresh air on the deck, and rolling themselves about for glee, and

* "First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, 1848," p. 252.

kissing the hands and clothes of their deliverers, were all sent below.

The night (says Mr. Hill) being intensely hot, four hundred wretched beings, thus crammed into a hold twelve yards in length, seven in breadth, and only three and a half feet in height, speedily began to make an effort to re-issue to the open air. Being thrust back, and striving the more to get out, the after-hatch was forced down on them. Over the other hatchway in the fore part of the vessel, a wooden grating was fastened. To this, the sole inlet for air, the suffocating heat of the hold, and, perhaps, panic from the strangeness of their situation, made them press; and thus great part of the space below was rendered useless. They crowded to the grating; and, clinging to it for air, completely barred its entrance. They strove to force their way through apertures in length fourteen inches and barely six inches in breadth, and in some instances succeeded. The cries,—the heat,—I may say without exaggeration, "the smoke of their torment,"—which ascended, can be compared to nothing earthly. One of the Spaniards gave warning that the consequence would be "many deaths." Next day the prediction of the Spaniard was fearfully verified. Fifty-four crushed and mangled corpses lifted up from the slave-deck have been brought to the gangway and thrown overboard. Some were emaciated from disease; many, bruised and bloody. Antonio tells me that some were found strangled, their hands still grasping each other's throats, and tongues protruding from their mouths. The bowels of one were crushed out. They had been trampled to death for the most part, the weaker under the feet of the stronger, in the madness and torment of suffocation from crowd and heat. It was a horrid sight, as they passed one by one,—the stiff, distorted limbs smeared with blood and filth,—to be cast into the sea. Some, still quivering, were laid on the deck to die; salt water thrown on them to revive them, and a little fresh water poured into their mouths. Antonio reminded me of his last night's warning. He actively employed himself, with his comrade Sebastian, in attendance on the wretched living beings, now released from their confinement below; distributing to them their morning meal of "farinha," and their allowance of water, rather more than half a pint to each, which they grasped with inconceivable eagerness; some bending their knees to the deck, to avoid the risk of losing any of the liquid by unsteady footing: their throats doubtless parched to the utmost with crying and yelling through the night." *

The mortality which took place within the space of fifty days, the period which elapsed from the capture of the "Progresso" until her arrival at the Cape,—was one hundred and sixty-nine; a little short of one half of the human cargo. Many also died after being landed. The crew of the slaver escaped, there being no court empowered to try them at the Cape.

Instances of the great cruelty with which the Slave-Trade is still carried on are daily occurring. The "St. Helena," whose case was reported in a letter from the Sierra-Leone Commissioners, dated January 6th, 1844, "was of eighty tons only: she had a crew of eighteen persons, and five hundred and forty-nine slaves; making, with the crew, seven persons to a ton.

* Hill's "Fifty Days on board a Slave-Ship," pp. 23, 24.

One hundred and twenty of these died between the capture and the condemnation." Another example is communicated in a letter from Mr. Pakenham to Lord Aberdeen, respecting the American bark "Pons."

The "Pons" was at anchor at Cabenda for about twenty days before she took on board the slaves, during which time she was closely watched by Her Britannic Majesty's brig "Cygnet." At about nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th of November the "Cygnet" got under weigh, and stood to sea. Immediately Berry gave up the ship to Gallono, who commenced getting on board the water, provisions, and slaves; and so expeditious were they in their movements, that at eight o'clock that evening the vessel was under weigh, having embarked nine hundred and three slaves. Two days afterwards we captured her. The next morning I regretted to learn that eighteen had died, and one had jumped overboard. The vessel has no slave-deck; and upwards of eight hundred and fifty were piled, almost in bulk, on the water-casks below. About forty or fifty females were confined in one-half of the round-house cabin. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred and fifty tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. The stench from below was so great, that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. Our men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick: then all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor wretches when the hatches were closed? I am informed, that very often, in those cases, the *stronger will strangle the weaker;* and this was probably the reason why so many died, or rather were found dead, the morning after the capture. None but an eye-witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures must endure in their transit across the ocean.*

One more capture I will mention, which occurred in the month of October, 1846. It took place in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, and the particulars of it were published in the "Watchman" newspaper of that colony, in November of the same year. The article was kindly furnished to the editor by an intelligent friend under the signature of "Joliba," and is as follows:—

On the 1st instant, Her Majesty's brig "Cygnet," Commander Montresir, arrived, having in tow the Brazilian brigantine, "Paqueta de Rio," which vessel had been captured off the Sherbro on the 27th ult., having on board, at the time of capture, five hundred and fifty-six slaves, nine of whom died on the passage here. Through the politeness of the prize-officer, I was permitted to inspect the vessel. Although I have frequently been on board full slavers on their arrival at this port, I certainly never was on board of one where human beings were stowed in the smallest imaginable space, as was the case in this vessel:—five hundred and forty-seven human beings, *besides* the crew and "passengers," (as they styled themselves,) twenty-eight in number, in a vessel of about ninety tons!

The slaves were all stowed together perfectly naked, with nothing but the surfaces of the water-casks, which were made level by filling-in billets of wood, which formed the slave-deck. The slaves who were confined in the hold,—it being utterly impossible for the whole of them to remain on deck at one time,—were in

* "First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, 1848," p. 252.

a profuse perspiration, and panting like so many hounds for air and water. The smell on board was dreadful. I was informed that on the officers of the "Cygnet" boarding the slaver, the greater part of the slaves were chained together with pieces of chain which were passed through iron collars round their necks; iron shackles were also secured round their legs and arms. After the officers had boarded, and the slaves were made to understand they were free, their acclamations were long and loud. They set to work, and, with the billets of wood which had hitherto formed their bed, knocked off each other's shackles, and threw most of them overboard. There were several left, which were shown to me. We will leave it to the imagination of your readers, what must have been the feelings of those poor people, when they found they were again free,—free through the energy and activity of a British cruiser. On examining the poor creatures, who were principally of the Kosso nation, I found they belonged to, and were shipped to, different individuals: they were branded like sheep. Letters were burnt in the skin, of two inches in length. Many of them, from the recent period at which it had been done, were in a state of ulceration. Both males and females were marked as follows: On the right breast, J.; on the left arm, P.: over women's right and left breast, S. and A.; under the left shoulder, P.; right breast, R. and R. J.; on the right and left breast, S. S.; and on the right and left shoulder, S. S. She was captured off the Sherbro, not eighty miles from this place, on Thursday the 27th of October. This is the same vesssl that cleared out from here, about three weeks previous to the capture from Rio de Janeiro. The slaves were all embarked from the slave-factories at Gallinas, under the notorious Don Luiz; and the vessel was under weigh in five hours; and had there been the slightest breeze, she would have escaped. Amongst the slaves were two men belonging to Sierra-Leone:—a man named Peter, once employed by Mr. Elliott the pilot. He stated that he had been employed by a Mr. Smith, a Popah-man, to go to the Sherbro to purchase palm-oil; and that whilst pursuing that object, he was seized and sold by a Sherbro chief, named Sherry. The other man, who stated his name to be James, had once worked for Mr. Hornell, merchant of this town. While at the Gallinas, he was sold by a chief named Mannah. During the day, the marshal of the Vice-Admiralty Court landed two hundred and ninety-seven men, sixty-seven women, one hundred and fifty-four boys, and twenty-nine girls: nine deaths on the passage made a total of five hundred and fifty-six slaves on board at the time of capture. The poor creatures were amply supplied with clothing, and their wants attended to, when lodged in the capacious quarters at the Liberated African Yard.

It was a happy circumstance for these unfortunate Negroes, branded though they had been with the red-hot iron, and placed in the slave-ship, and consigned to certain dealers in human flesh on the opposite side of the Atlantic, and already under weigh, that the sharp cut and black hull of this Brazilian slaver were so soon discovered by the watchful eye, and then captured by the activity, of our brave officers and crew of the "Cygnet." A vast amount of misery was thus prevented, and many lives were saved. But it is often the case, that, when a slaver is captured, hundreds of these our fellow-creatures, men, women, and children, have been on board, and in the holds of these dismal dens, for two or three or four weeks, wedged together between the decks, in a space which, in some cases, is not

more than twenty-two inches from the floor to the ceiling. The agony of the position of the crouching slaves must be dreadful; and when they are once fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is next to impossible. The body frequently stiffens; and, on being rescued, the poor creatures cannot stand, and it requires the utmost exertions, favoured by a hot sun, to straighten their rigid and distorted limbs; while many can never resume the upright position.

Let the reader also bear in mind, that the preceding facts are not gleaned from the records of former times, and preserved by historians as illustrations of the strange and prodigious wickedness of a darker age. They are the common occurrences of our own era, the "customs" which prevail at this very hour. Every day that we pass in security and peace at home, witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa to slavery or death: every night, villages are roused from their sleep, and exposed to the alternatives of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle. "At the time I am writing," remarks one of Africa's best friends, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, "there are at least *twenty thousand human beings* on the Atlantic;"—not, it may be added, free, voluntary emigrants from Great Britain to America or Australia, as cabin or steerage passengers, who are crossing "the wide blue sea" in the hope of bettering their temporal condition. No; these twenty thousand human beings are Negroes from Africa, who have been kidnapped, torn from their native land, and forced on board, who are *now* between the decks of the slave-ship, and who are suffering from every variety of wretchedness that the preceding pages describe, or that can well be imagined: or rather, as Mr. Pitt once eloquently said, when speaking of the Slave-Traffic, "there is something in the horrors of it which surpasses all the bounds of imagination."

The Slave-Trade, then, *still exists;* and this appalling fact is every day receiving confirmation. It is proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that, notwithstanding all our past efforts, the traffic in slaves is still carried on, to an alarming extent, by some other nations. Accursed system! who can contemplate it without feelings of indignation? I have myself seen villages depopulated, the huts reduced to ashes, and the inhabitants led captive to the sea-coast, or taken from one petty state to another, to be exchanged for cattle, or sold for merchandise. I have seen the husband lamenting the loss of his wife,—not by death; but in his absence a marauding banditti had fallen upon his native town, and his wife was carried away into all the horrors of Slavery. I have seen Negro parents wringing their hands, and with bitter cries and tears mourning

the loss of their children,—not, I repeat, by death: though such bereavement is distressing enough, yet there is no comparison between the sorrow excited by the death of a child, and the anguish caused by its being kidnapped and enslaved. The loss of a son at sea must be deeply felt; and the removal of a child from the domestic circle by the wasting disease of "slowly rolling years," or by the sudden sickness of a day, must leave an aching void in the heart of a parent. But to have a son, or perhaps a daughter, carried off by robbers, and made a captive, a slave, exposed to infamy, to abuse, to insult, and to contamination,—this, this is far more painful.

Which of us has not sympathized with the little Hebrew maid mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, that was carried "away captive out of the land of Israel" by the Syrians who "had gone out by companies?" (2 Kings v. 2.) Had those Syrians killed the father and mother of the Israelitish maid? Perhaps so; but if they escaped and were still alive, what agony, what inexpressible distress must they have felt, when they thought of the condition of their daughter, of their "little maid!" Who has perused the history of Joseph, and has not been deeply affected with that touching narrative? O yes, we have sympathized with the mother of the little maid; and with the good old patriarch, bereaved and afflicted, when his son Joseph was sold into slavery: but have we no hearts to feel for the thousands of Jacobs in Western Africa who are bitterly lamenting that Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and that Benjamin, too, has been stolen from them! Mothers of Britain! ye who are so alive to Christian sympathy, ye who can retire to rest with your "olive branches" in perfect safety, "none daring to make you afraid," you know not how many Rachels are now weeping in Africa, and refusing to be comforted, because their children "are not." Their offspring are not dead, but the man-stealer has taken them away: and though

> "Skins may differ, yet affection
> Dwells in Blacks and Whites the same."

This is not a mere poetic effusion from the fancy of some benevolent and humane individual: it is matter of fact. Oft have I seen the Negro mother wrap her swarthy infant to her bosom, and plant upon its little sun-burnt lips ten thousand kisses. There may be exceptions; we know there are, and in other lands besides Africa: but the rule is for African mothers to love their children. And yet how often are their infants cruelly torn from them, or barbarously put to death in their sight!

CHAPTER VI.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE Method of procuring Slaves—A Definition of true Humanity—The principal Wars in Africa originate in the Slave-Trade—Towns and Villages burnt, and the Inhabitants led into Captivity—The great Amount of Mortality involved in the Seizure—Testimony of M. Brue, French Director at the Senegal in 1697—Mr. Moore at the Gambia in 1730—Bruce of Abyssinia in 1770—Laird and Rankin in 1832–4—Communications from Africa by the Author in 1837–8 and 1841—Extract from the Narrative of Joseph Wright, a liberated African at Sierra-Leone—Rev. R. M. MacBrair's Statement of two liberated African Youths at Macarthy's Island—The March down to the Coast—Major Gray's Account of a Caravan of Slaves—The Slave-Barracoons on the Coast—Letter from a Gentleman at Senegal in 1818—Captain Cook in 1837—Joseph Wright's Narrative continued—Rev. W. Allen's Description of Whydah and Badagry, two notorious slave-trading Ports in the Bight of Benin—Hasty Manner in which the Slaves are put on Board—Cruel Treatment in the Middle-Passage—Insurrections on Board Slave-Ships—The Arrival of a Cargo of Slaves in America—Disposal of the Negroes—Letter from the Havannah in 1838—Miserable Condition of newly-imported Negroes—Brazilian Slavery—Disgraceful Advertisement—Slavery and the Slave-Trade contrary to the Principles of Justice and Humanity—Great Mortality incident on the Seizure—March and Detention—The annual Loss to Africa immense—Vast Amount of Guilt and Misery involved in the Traffic—Comparison of the Effects of Napoleon's destructive Career with those of the Slave-Trade—The probable Loss to Africa up to the Close of the last Century, and from the Commencement of the Slave-Trade to the present Period—The Misery consequent.

THE mode of taking or procuring slaves, in the first instance, is now pretty generally understood; and I have no wish to harrow the feelings of my readers by going into lengthened details respecting this part of my subject, especially as in the preceding pages a tolerable specimen has been given of the cruelties and miseries inflicted upon the unhappy Africans in what is called "the Middle Passage." Yet I cannot help thinking with a celebrated member of the House of Commons,* who, in the course of a debate on the Slave-Trade, observed, "True humanity consists not in a squeamish ear; it consists not in starting or shrinking at such tales as these; but in a disposition of heart to relieve misery. True humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to use real and active endeavours to execute the actions which it sug-

* The Right Honourable Charles James Fox.

gests." In the spirit, then, of this observation, let us look at the mode in which the Africans are made slaves. It has been said, on high authority, "that the principal, and almost the only, cause of war," on the Western Coast and "in the interior of Africa, arises from the desire to procure slaves for traffic; and that every species of violence, from the invasion of an army to that of robbery by a single individual, is had recourse to for the attainment of this object."* And in this opinion I substantially concur. I am aware that there are other causes of war besides that inhuman traffic; and I am also aware that there are other sources of African Slavery besides war; such, for instance, as debt, famine, and crime: but very few slaves are thus supplied, in comparison of the great numbers furnished by the wars and marauding excursions which are perpetually occurring in some part or other of the vast continent of Africa. This assertion is substantiated by the experience of every person at all conversant with African affairs. Bruce and Park, Denham and Clapperton, Lander and Laird, and almost every other writer, ancient and modern, unite in the declaration, that the Slave-Trade has produced the most baneful effects, causing anarchy, injustice, and oppression to reign in Africa, and exciting nation to rise up against nation, and man against man.

The towns or villages are usually attacked in the night; in order to increase the confusion, they are frequently set on fire; and, as the huts are mostly constructed of wattled cane, and roofed with long dry grass, there is immediately a general conflagration; and the wretched inhabitants, as they are flying naked from the flames, are seized and carried into slavery. They massacre all the men that offer any resistance; and often the aged and infirm are deliberately killed, while the infants are left in the streets to die, or are thrown into the devouring flames.

If we go back towards the close of the seventeenth century, we find the testimony of M. Brue, Director-General of the French Senegal Company, who resided several years in Western Africa, and penetrated some distance into the interior, and who, from the position he occupied as the Director-General of the Company's affairs on the coast, as well as from the opportunities for observation afforded him in his travels, must be regarded as a competent judge. This gentleman thus writes: "The Europeans are far from desiring to act as peace-makers amongst them" (namely, the natives of Africa). "It would be too contrary to

* Sir T. F. Buxton's "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

their interests; for the only object of their wars is to carry off slaves; and, as these make the principal part of their traffic, they would be apprehensive of drying up the source of it, were they to encourage these people to live well together." Again: "The neighbourhood of the Damel and Tin keep them perpetually at war, the benefit of which accrues to the Company, who buy all the prisoners made on their side; and the more there are to sell, the greater is their profit; for the only end of their armaments is to make captives, to sell them to white traders." "They have every thing they wish to aim at from their wars, when they are able to make captives from one another. Avarice, and the desire of making slaves, are often the veritable motives for going to war."

The testimony of M. Brue, not an advocate, let it be remembered, for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, but a Director-General of that commerce, is fully confirmed by Le Maire, Barbot, Bosman, Smith, and all the old writers. They concur in stating, not only that wars are entered into by the natives for the sole purpose of making slaves, but that they are also fomented by Europeans with a view to that object. But the Slave-Trade not merely excites wars between neighbouring nations; it gives birth to the most dreadful outrages which are perpetrated by kings on their own subjects. On this point the author above cited says, "The Negro kings have not always slaves to treat with; but they have always a sure and ready way of supplying their deficiency; that is, by making inroads upon their own subjects, carrying them off and selling them, for which they never want pretensions in order to justify their pillage and rapine." And then he states an instance in which, in order to trade with M. Brue himself, the king of Damel made incursions on his own subjects, seized about three hundred of them, and then sent word that he was ready to trade with him.

Mr. Moore, a factor to the English Royal African Company in the river Gambia, about the year 1730, a writer of acknowledged credit, and, it will be admitted, a very competent witness with respect to the real nature of the Slave-Trade, writes: "Whenever the king of Barsally wants goods or brandy, he sends a messenger to the 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 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. 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. 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." He then gives, in illustration of his general statement, the following instance: "Yesterday, March 20th, 1732, the king fell upon one of his own towns, and, having taken a good many prisoners, brought them along with him, with intent to sell them."

Bruce, the enterprising Scotchman, who travelled in Abyssinia in 1770, in describing the slave-hunting expeditions there, says, "The grown-up men are all killed, and are then mutilated, parts of their bodies being always carried away as trophies. Several of the old mothers are also killed; while others, frantic with fear and despair, kill themselves. The boys and girls of a more tender age are then carried off in brutal triumph."

"In 1822 our Minister at Paris thus addressed Count de Villèle: 'There seems to be scarcely a spot on that coast (from Sierra-Leone to Cape Mount) which does not show traces of the Slave-Trade, with all its attendant horrors; for, the arrival of a ship, in any of the rivers on the windward coast, being the signal for war between the natives, the hamlets of the weaker party are burnt, and the miserable survivors carried off, and sold to the Slave-Traders."*

"Laird ascended the Niger, and its tributary the Tschadda, in 1832, and was an eye-witness of the cruelties consequent on the Slave-Trade, while in the river near to the confluence of the two streams. He says, speaking of the incursions of the Felatahs, 'Scarcely a night passed but we heard the screams of some unfortunate beings that were carried off into Slavery by those villanous depredators. The inhabitants of the towns in the route of the Felatahs fled across the river on the approach of the enemy.' 'A few days after the arrival of the fugitives, a column of smoke rising in the air, about five miles above the confluence, marked the advance of the Felatahs; and in two days afterwards the whole of the towns, including Addah, Cuddah, and five or six others, were in a blaze. The shrieks of the unfortunate wretches that had not escaped, answered by the loud wailings and lamentations of their friends and relations, (encamped on the opposite bank of the river,) at seeing them carried off into Slavery, and their habitations destroyed, produced a scene

* Sir T. F. Buxton on the "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

which, though *common enough in the country,* had seldom, if ever before, been witnessed by European eyes, and showed to me, in a more striking light than I had hitherto beheld it, the horrors attendant on Slavery.'"*

Mr. Rankin, in the narrative of his visit to Sierra-Leone in 1834, says, that the warlike Sherbros had recently invaded the territories of the Timmanees, and had fallen on the unguarded Rokel, which became a prey to the flames. "The inhabitants who could not escape across the river to Magbelly perished, or were made slaves; and the town was reduced to ashes."†

From these statements it appears, that the mode of procuring slaves is precisely the same now as it was upwards of a hundred years ago; that the inhabitants are taken by surprise, kidnapped, and "forced from home with all its pleasures;" and that this mode of seizure is attended with many horrible cruelties, and a vast amount of mortality. It would be almost an endless task to cite all the evidence which might be adduced: but two or three specimens of what I have seen and heard myself, while in Africa, will serve still further to corroborate these positions.

The following is an extract from a letter which I addressed to the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, a part of which the reader may find in Sir T. F. Buxton's work on the African Slave-Trade. It is dated,

"*Macarthy's Island, River Gambia, March* 13*th,* 1837.

"The Foolahs, Teucolors, and Mandingoes from Jamalli have all dispersed, in consequence of an attack made upon them, not by Kemmingtan himself, though he was the cause of it. This desperate chief had sent to Bambarra for assistance to make war upon Woolli, when his messenger happened to meet a number of the Bambarras, who had left their country in search of plunder, and who immediately proceeded with the messenger to Dunkaseen, Kemmingtan's residence; but they, it appears, refused to join him against Woolli, owing to some previous pledge which they or their fathers had given, never to make war upon that kingdom. The consequence was that Kemmingtan had to point them to some place where they might obtain something, they having come so far at his request. He therefore sent them into this neighbourhood, and gave them his son and several other warriors to assist them. They immediately commenced their marauding excursion, driving all the cattle before

* Sir T. F. Buxton on the "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

† Rankin's "Sierra-Leone," vol. ii. p. 259.

them, the inhabitants flying for their lives. They came close to the river's bank, opposite where I am writing, and carried off near one hundred head of cattle belonging to persons on this Island. But the militia, and about thirty soldiers, being sent off immediately, overtook them near Jamalli,* where they were feasting upon one or two bullocks which they had just killed; but, seeing our soldiers and militia, they immediately fled, and most of the cattle were re-captured, with one man and a horse. Another was killed, whose body was consumed by wild beasts the following night.

"I visited Jamalli a few weeks ago, and also Laming, another small Mandingo town on the way. At the latter place I counted twelve huts that had been destroyed by fire, and at the former about forty. Proceeding to the Foulah town, about half a mile eastward, I found it was not in the least injured, but, like the other two, was without inhabitants; not a soul was to be seen.

"Foolokolong, a large Foolah town in Kemmingtan's dominions, has lately been attacked by Woolli, and, I believe, nearly the whole of it destroyed, the cattle driven away, many of the inhabitants killed, and many others taken prisoners. On Wednesday evening last, I returned from a hasty visit to the upper river. I went as far as Fattatenda. At Bannatenda, not quite half the way, I found a poor aged Foolah woman in irons. Upon inquiry I found that she was from Foolokolong, one of the many who were captured in the recent war; and that she was sent on the south side of the river to be sold for a *horse.* I immediately rescued the half-famished and three-parts-naked female from the horrors of slavery, by giving a good horse in exchange for her. I then broke off her chains, and brought her to this settlement, where, by a singular but happy coincidence, she met with her own brother, who lives upon Kattaba's land, and who, hearing that she, her daughter, and her daughter's children had been taken in the war, had been a considerable way up the river to inquire after them, but heard nothing of them, and had consequently returned. I, of course, gave the woman up to her brother; from whom, as well as from herself and several Foolahs who came to see her, I received a number of blessings.

"From Fattatenda, supposed to be three hundred miles from this, (though I do not think it is so far,) I proceeded to Madina, the capital of Woolli, about twenty-four miles in the interior,

* In the kingdom of Kattaba, about three miles from Macarthy's Island.

and had an agreeable interview with His sable Majesty, Mansa Koi, who promised to give me land, his own children to be educated, &c. &c., if I wished to sit down in his kingdom. In this journey I gathered some further particulars of the recent war; and from the king himself I learnt that they brought three hundred and fifty Foolahs from Foolokolong, (Kemmingtan's largest Foolah town,) besides one hundred whom they killed on the spot."

In another letter, of the 5th of January, 1838, I again wrote from the same place:—

"The neighbourhood of Macarthy's Island is again in a very disturbed state. Scarcely are the rains over, and the produce of a plentiful harvest gathered in, ere the noise of battle and the din of warfare are heard at a distance, with all its attendant horrors. Mothers, snatching up their children, with a few necessary articles, flee for their lives; towns, after being pillaged of as much cattle, &c., as the banditti require, are immediately set on fire; columns of smoke ascend the heavens; the cries of those who are being butchered may be more easily conceived than expressed; and those who escape destruction are carried into the miseries of hopeless slavery. A number of Bambarras are again on the north bank of the river, not far from this place; and the poor Foolahs at Jamalli have consequently fled to this Island for protection, bringing with them as many of their cattle and other things as they could."

From my next communication to the Committee, which was written only about a fortnight after the preceding one, and which was printed in the Annual Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1838, I make the following extract: "Brooko and Jamalli have not been regularly visited for some time, owing to the very disturbed state of the country, and other causes of a very discouraging nature. The horrors of war, and the number of bandits who are constantly going about, literally 'seeking whom' or what they 'may devour,' are truly terrific; and the desolation and misery that follow are very deplorable. In my last few hurried lines I gave you some account of a marauding party of Bambarras, who were on the north side of the river, and of Habdurcheem,* a powerful chief of the Foolah tribe and of the Mahometan creed, from the neighbourhood of Foota Jallon or Teembo, who was on the south side; both not far distant from Macarthy's Island. The Bambarras have proceeded a considerable distance down the

* Perhaps Abdaracheem, or "The Servant of the Merciful."

north bank of the river, have pillaged and destroyed several small towns, and have taken some of the inhabitants into slavery; and a few people have been killed."

Perhaps one more instance will be sufficient to show that the slave-wars of Africa are not merely the events of a by-gone period. In a letter, dated "St. Mary's, Gambia, July 13th, 1841," I wrote to Dr. Maddon, who had been sent to the coast on a commission of inquiry. The substance of that communication I also forwarded to the Wesleyan Mission-House: but the following extract from my letter was published in the Appendix to the Report of the West-African Committee: "The day after you sailed, I embarked for Macarthy's Island; and, while there, an alarm was given on Thursday morning, the 10th ult., that the Island was attacked. The soldiers and militia were, consequently, immediately turned out; the former, with one or two field-pieces, proceeding to the supposed place of attack; the militia, in the mean time, guarding the barracks and town. But it turned out as I expected; namely, some warriors had fallen upon two or three small towns near the south-east end of Macarthy's Island; and those of the inhabitants who could escape fled to Macarthy's Island for safety and protection. This is only one instance, out of a great many that have come under my notice, of these desperate marauding banditti. It appears, on this occasion, it was some Foota Foulahs and Cabu Mandingoes, who came down and fell upon a town called Barsansang, and another town called Brooko, not more than two or three miles from the south-east end of Macarthy's Island; and report says, they took away an immense number of cattle, and about two hundred slaves. Some few of these will probably be redeemed at double prices; and the rest will be sent down to the coast, and sold to these horrible persons engaged in this nefarious and abominable traffic."

From the preceding pages, then, it is evident that the wholesale method of seizure is by far the most frequent; and that without this plan a sufficient number of victims could not be procured for the market. Indeed, having resided on Macarthy's Island for several years, which was frequently filled for a time with refugees from all the country round about; and having visited the kingdoms of Barra and Kombo, on the north and south bank of the Gambia, near the Atlantic, and most or nearly all the chief and petty states from thence up the river as far as Cantalicunda, and in the interior of the continent as far as Boollibany, the capital of Bondou; and, moreover, having been in close connexion with those unfortunate, and yet fortu-

nate, Negroes, the liberated Africans; I had many opportunities of learning the various modes in which they were made slaves. And from what I have seen myself, as well as from the statements of those who made a precipitous flight to Macarthy's Island; and especially from the testimony of the liberated Africans who had been taken from various parts of the interior, some as far as from Houssa, and who are of different nations and kingdoms, speaking distinct languages; I am fully convinced that the frequent wars and marauding excursions are by far the most common and the prevailing way of obtaining slaves.

I will, however, offer two additional illustrations of this inland traffic, derived from eye-witnesses and sufferers from this unhappy state of Africa. The first is an extract from a narrative written by Joseph Wright, a member of the Wesleyan society at Sierra-Seone, who is of the Aku tribe. The narrative is too long for the whole to be inserted here; but the reader may find it in the Appendix to Dr. Beecham's admirable work on "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast." It appears that Joseph, with his family, resided in a large and populous town, which was surrounded by a strong well-built mud-wall; that the attack made upon them was by a *party of their own nation;* that the inhabitants nobly defended themselves, until they were "almost destitute of food;" and that,

In this hard case of ours, we had no God to go to for help; but we were constantly sacrificing. At last the famine overcame us, so that the chosen men of war could not forbear; and one night, in about seven months after the war had besieged us, they consulted together to go to another place, in order to buy us some food, to preserve us children of the land. And so they did; and in this band were my father and mother. They went to get us some food too; for they pitied us, when they saw us perishing with hunger. Short time after, they were gone, with all the mighty men of war. May be, the enemies knew this; so they got ready to take the city, before the people who gone for food should come back. The town had become very poor, for want of people to fight; because the greater part of the people determined to go to seek food.

O sorrowful, sorrowful morning! Many had fled; and many of the aged men had put an end to their lives. Among these was one in our house,—my father's near and very dear relation: he had put an end to his life too. The enemy had fully taken the city: we came out into the street; and, when we had walked about fifty fathoms from our house, we saw the city on fire, and before us were the enemies; and they caught us. They separated me from all my brethren, except one of my father's children, born to him by his second wife. I and this were caught together by one man. By the time we left the house, I saw my father's mother pass the other gate. She and I had no hope of seeing her again in this flesh; doubtless they would kill her. Many were killed. There were two cities beside our own, that those enemies had besieged. The enemies satisfied themselves with

little girls, young men, and young women. They did not care for the elderly and old people: they killed them without mercy; and then the father knew not the son, and the son knew not the father. Abundant heaps of dead bodies were in the streets, and there was none to bury them; suckling babes crying at the point of death, and there was none to take them up. These three cities were consumed in one day; and many of the inhabitants were taken as slaves.

I was with them (the enemies) in the camp about ten days, and saw many wonderful instances, all of which I cannot now mention. I saw some people bound in the streets; and I saw a child of about eighteen months old, which was cast out of the camp, because the child was too young, that nobody would buy him; and that poor orphan was there crying at the point of death, for about two days, and none to pity or take him up. Another time, I took a walk about in the camp, when I saw my own brother. I was not allowed to speak to him, although they knew him to be my own brother.

Few days after this, we came to the market, where many hundreds of slaves. We were put in rows; and in about five hours a trade-man came and bought me, and put me in a canoe at once, and we were sailing all that night. Next morning we came to another slaves' market, and there we remained the whole day; for the man wanted to buy more slaves. Early in the morning we were brought to white Portuguese for sale. After strict examination, the white man put me and some others aside; after that, they then bargained how much he would take for each one of us. After they were well agreed, the white man sent us to the slave-fold. The articles which the Portuguese paid for slaves were tobacco, rum, clothes, powder, guns, cutlasses, brass, iron rod, and *jaki*,—that is our country money.

The other illustration which I shall offer is the case of two liberated African youths of Macarthy's Island, one of whom was my servant for several years. Their history is so well told by the Rev. R. M. MacBrair, that I shall give it in his own words:—

The dreadful evils which the Slave-Trade has entailed upon Africa may be farther illustrated by an account which two of our boys gave me of their capture and subsequent sufferings. They were natives of Brecam, a small town beyond the country of Catabar; and Joseph's father was head-man, or chief, of the place. A spy had come to search out the town; in which he appears to have found few men, but many women and children. One night, therefore, after the usual recreations of music and dancing, which the Negroes keep up to a late hour, they had retired to their respective huts, and were buried in balmy sleep; when suddenly the shout of an invading troop was heard, as they rushed through the stockade, and set fire to the thatched dwellings of Brecam. Aroused by the cry and the din of arms, each warrior grasped his weapon, and rushed forth to repel the assailants, but instantly received the shot or the spear-thrust of a watchful foe. Thus Charles's father was numbered amongst the slain; and, as the women and children fled out of their flaming dwellings, they were surrounded and captured. The man-hunters in this case were also cannibals; (a few of whom live in the interior of Central Africa;) and they afterwards deliberated upon the choice of new victims. Some talked of devouring the children; and Charles and Joseph hid themselves during the awful moment behind some litter. "But we can get goods for them," was the suggestion of a warrior, to whose lot they had fallen; and so a more useless victim must be selected. This they found in Charles's mother, who was then in such a condition as rendered her little fit to undergo the fatigues of a long journey. The child-

ren saw a man perform the bloody deed, which was accompanied with such revolting brutalities as memory would fain endeavour to hide under the cloak of forgetfulness.

A long road now lay before the captives, during which they suffered much from toil and weariness. The children were sold to one party for cloth, to another for salt, and finally to a Portuguese slaver for tobacco. They formed part of a cargo of eight hundred human victims, several of whom speedily died on the passage, and found a grave in the ocean's bed. But, as they proceeded on their voyage, the shot of a cannon was heard athwart the deep; for a British cruiser now summoned the slaver to "haul to." The latter was well armed and manned; and, being of far greater force than the little cruiser, prepared for a desperate resistance. But after the engagement had commenced, the breechings of the slaver's guns gave way, (being rotted by the climate of Africa,) and she therefore became defenceless. Her captain, furious to desperation, though he had received several severe wounds, upon seeing his vessel about to be boarded by the British, gave orders to a seaman to fire the powder-magazine, and blow her up, that they might all perish together. The latter disobeyed, and the English took possession of their prize; upon which the poor slaves, who had been in a state of indescribable emotion whilst the conflict lasted, now set up a loud shout of joy at the prospect of freedom.

Some time afterwards, a man came one day to our mission-house to sell some little article of merchandise. Upon accidentally seeing him, Charles and Joseph instantly fell upon him with all the fury of their tongues, and launched out the bitterest invectives in their native language. Being interrogated as to the cause of this passion, "That is the man," cried Charles, "who killed and ate my mother; and so I curse him." (The Negroes use "cursing" in the sense of scolding, as well as of malediction.) It was indeed the self-same individual; who, shortly after perpetrating the foul deed above narrated, had himself been surprised by a superior foe, had been sold as a slave, liberated on the high seas by another British cruiser, and actually landed on Macarthy's Island before the children who had been the victims of his barbarity. Such a fact speaks volumes (observes Mr. MacBrair). And for such deeds of cruelty as these, European and American slave-dealers have to answer at the bar of God, since it is they who incite the naturally-peaceful African to violence and murder in procuring slaves.*

Mungo Park, one of Africa's best and most faithful historians, has given some affecting accounts of Slavery, and of the manner in which the slaves are treated on their march down to the coast. But we hasten to a more recent date for a specimen of the cruelties practised upon these unhappy captives on their journey to the slave-ship. Major Gray in 1825 published his "Travels in Western Africa;" from which the following is an extract:—

"I had an opportunity of witnessing the sufferings to which the new-made slaves are subjected in their first state of bondage. They were hurried along, the men tied in pairs by the necks, their hands secured behind their backs; the women, by the necks only, with their hands left free; not, however, from any sense of feeling

* MacBrair's "Sketches of a Missionary's Travels," pp. 258—261.

towards them, but in order to enable them to balance the immense loads of corn or rice which they were forced to carry on their heads, besides the children, who were unable to walk, on their backs. Their pace was little short of running, to enable them to keep up with the horsemen, who drove them on as Smithfield drovers do fatigued bullocks. Many of the women were old, and by no means able to endure such treatment. One in particular would not have failed to excite the tenderest feelings of compassion in the breast of any, save a savage African: she was at least sixty years old, in the most miserable state of emaciation and debility nearly doubled together, and with difficulty dragging her tottering limbs along. All this did not prevent her inhuman captor from making her carry a heavy load of water; while, with a rope round her neck, he drove her before his horse; and, whenever she showed the least inclination to stop, he beat her in the most unmerciful manner with a stick."

Of a subsequent day's toil the major writes: "The sufferings of the poor slaves during a march of nearly eight hours, partly under an excessively hot sun and east wind, heavily laden with water, of which they were allowed to drink but very sparingly, and travelling bare-foot on a hard and broken soil, covered with long dried reeds and thorny underwood, may be more easily conceived than described.

"One young woman, who had for the first time become a mother two days only before she was taken, and whose child, being thought by her captor too young to be worth saving, was thrown by the monster into the burning hut from which the flames had just obliged the mother to retreat, suffered so much from the swollen state of her bosom, that her moans might frequently be heard at a distance of some hundred yards, when, refusing to go on, she implored her fiend-like captor to put an end to her existence: but that would have been too great a sacrifice to humanity; and a few blows with a leathern horse-fetter soon made the wretched creature move again."*

On arriving on the Coast, the captives are placed in the slave-barracoons, with gyves round their necks, and shackles on their feet, and are fed on the "bread and water of affliction," till the slave-vessel arrives. A gentleman resident at Senegal in 1818 stated, to his correspondent at Paris, "No one in the town is ignorant that there are here six hundred wretched creatures shut up in the slave-yards, waiting for embarkation. The delay which has occurred causing a serious expense, they receive only

* Gray's "Travels in Africa," pp. 290, 292, 296.

what is sufficient to keep them alive; and they are made to go out for a short space of time, morning and evening, loaded with irons."*

Captain Cook mentions a distressing case which occurred in August, 1837, and which came under his own observation. He says, "Slaves to the number of two hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, male and female, adults and children, were brought in canoes from Senna, a Portuguese settlement at some distance in the interior of Africa, to be sold at Quillimane, there being at that time several slavers lying in the river. Those unfortunate beings were consigned to a person holding a high civil appointment under the Portuguese Government (the collector of customs). These poor creatures were from a part of the country where it is said that the natives make bad slaves; consequently, and as there was abundance of human flesh in the market, they did not meet with a ready sale. The wretch to whom they were consigned actually refused them sustenance of any kind. Often have I been compelled to witness the melancholy spectacle of from twelve to twenty of my fellow-creatures, without distinction of age or sex, chained together, with a heavy iron chain round the neck, wandering about the town in quest of food to satisfy the cravings of nature; picking up bones and garbage of every description from the dung-heaps, snails from the fields, and frogs from the ditches; and, when the tide receded, collecting the shell-fish that were left on the bank of the river; or sitting round a fire, roasting and eagerly devouring the sea-weed.

"Again and again have I seen one or more of these poor creatures, when unable from sickness to walk, crawling on their hands and knees, accompanying the gang to which they were chained, when they went in search of their daily food; for one could not move without the whole."†

We followed Joseph Wright in his affecting narrative down to the "slave-fold," as he calls it. He then goes on to say, "I was there in the fold for about two months, with a rope on my neck. All the young boys have ropes on their necks in a row; and all the men with chains in a long row, for about fifty persons in row; so that no one could make escape without the other. At once the town took fire, and about fifty slaves were consumed; because the entry was so crowded that these slaves could not get out.—Next day, early in the morning, we were all brought down close to the salt water for to be put in canoes. We all were heavy and sorrowful in heart, because we were going to

* Sir T. F. Buxton's "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy." † Ibid.

leave our land for another which we never knew; and not only so, but, when we see the waves of the salt water on which we were just to enter, it discouraged us the more; for we had heard that the Portuguese were going to eat us when we got to their country. This put us more to despair; and, when they began to place in canoes to bring us to the brig, one of the canoes sunk; and half of the slaves died. After they had done loading the brig, they stowed all the men at the bottom under the deck; the boys and women were left on the deck. The brig sailed in the evening."*

The Rev. W. Allen, Wesleyan Missionary on the Gold-Coast, has furnished the Christian public, through one of the Society's publications, with a lively description of Whydah and Badagry, two slave-dealing ports in the Bight of Benin, where this inhuman traffic is pursued on a very large scale. After stating the geographical position of Whydah, the size of the town, its population, &c., and noticing its beautiful scenery, he observes:—

The two principal establishments in this place are, Mr. De Souza's, and Mr. Tangronie's, two slave-dealers: the latter died early in the year 1843. Mr. De Souza's premises occupy at least three acres of ground, surrounded by a substantial swish wall, two feet thick and twelve feet high. Inside this wall are his slave-barracoons. His house stands in front of his premises; and, being coloured white, is visible from the sea. Mr. Tangronie's premises are similar, only not quite so extensive. These two large slave-establishments are separated from each other by a street running in a direct line between them. Mr. De Souza's house is elegantly furnished; and such a display of silver I never beheld in any house in Europe. There are other slave-dealers' premises on the same principle, but not quite so extensive as these. I cannot attempt to describe my distressed feelings while walking along the streets, generally formed by the dreary walls which surround the barracoons, knowing that hundreds of poor innocent creatures were there deposited, all in irons, to be shipped off at the first opportunity. The thought was almost more than I could bear. While I was at Angway, a slave-port fifty miles to the windward, a large slave-brig passed down, called in at Whydah, and in three hours took on board eleven hundred and seventy slaves, and sailed off with them. It is distressing to be made acquainted with the treatment of these poor creatures. When the Portuguese and Spaniards buy the slaves from the interior, they put their feet in irons to secure them, deposit them in their barracoons; and, before they ship them off, they brand them, with a red-hot iron between the shoulders, with the initials of the individual to whom they belong. When a slave-vessel comes in to Whydah, and none of Her Majesty's ships of war are in sight, these poor creatures are marched down to the beach, stowed away under the athwarts of the canoe, and taken to the vessel. Owing to the surf running high, canoes are frequently swamped, and many are drowned before they reach the vessel. "Slave" is painted on the head-board of these slave-canoes in large letters. The canoes and canoe-men employed on the Slave-Coast for shipping slaves are all procured from the Gold-Coast. Vessels, under a false national flag, call in at some of the ports on

* Beecham's "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 355—357.

the Gold-Coast to sell rum and roll-tobacco; they then purchase canoes, and engage canoe-men to go down with them to the Slave-Coast to work them; and many are never allowed to return. The barbarous manner in which the unfortunate slaves are stowed away on board the slavers, is distressing. In small crafts, where you would suppose it was not possible to find room for one hundred men, they will stow away five hundred. It is not an uncommon thing for one-third of them to die on board from suffocation.

Whydah forms part of the kingdom of Dahomi. The inhabitants are cruel and barbarous: this need not be wondered at, if we consider the examples which are set them by these slave-dealers. While I was there, not fewer than two hundred Portuguese and Spaniards were engaged in this inhuman traffic, besides many of the influential natives.*

We have already given some account of the miseries of the Middle Passage, and therefore need not enter into a recapitulation: but a specimen or two of this species of commerce on the other side of the Atlantic may be here adduced. Having been forcibly torn from their native towns in the interior by a stronger foe, or kidnapped whilst engaged in their fields and gardens, or suddenly seized upon in the foot-path while journeying from one village to another, these poor creatures are lashed together; and, after a fatiguing and tedious march over burning sands and under the rays of the scorching sun, in some cases for a distance of upwards of five hundred miles, they at length arrive on the coast; and, as soon as the slave-ship is ready, hundreds of these innocent Africans are hurried on board of one of these vessels in the course of a few hours, and, amid the sighs and sobs and tears of bitter regret and pain, they bid adieu to their native land. But they are now safely lodged in their floating prison; and, as we have already seen, are crammed together like herrings in a barrel. In addition to this, they are surrounded with every thing nauseous and disgusting. A very scanty allowance of water is afforded them; and horse-beans are allotted as their food. If they manifest any external signs of uneasiness at their hard fate, the lash is applied as the only remedy for their grief: if they refuse to eat, they are compelled by instruments of torture to swallow their victuals. They are sometimes requested to dance and sing; and, if any reluctance is exhibited, the cat-o'-nine-tails is employed to enforce obedience. Yes, strange as it may seem, many of these poor creatures may say, in the language of the Israelites, "They that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth." (Psalm cxxxvii. 3.) But, labouring under a fixed melancholy at the loss of their relatives, friends, and country,

* "Wesleyan Missionary Notices," September, 1847.

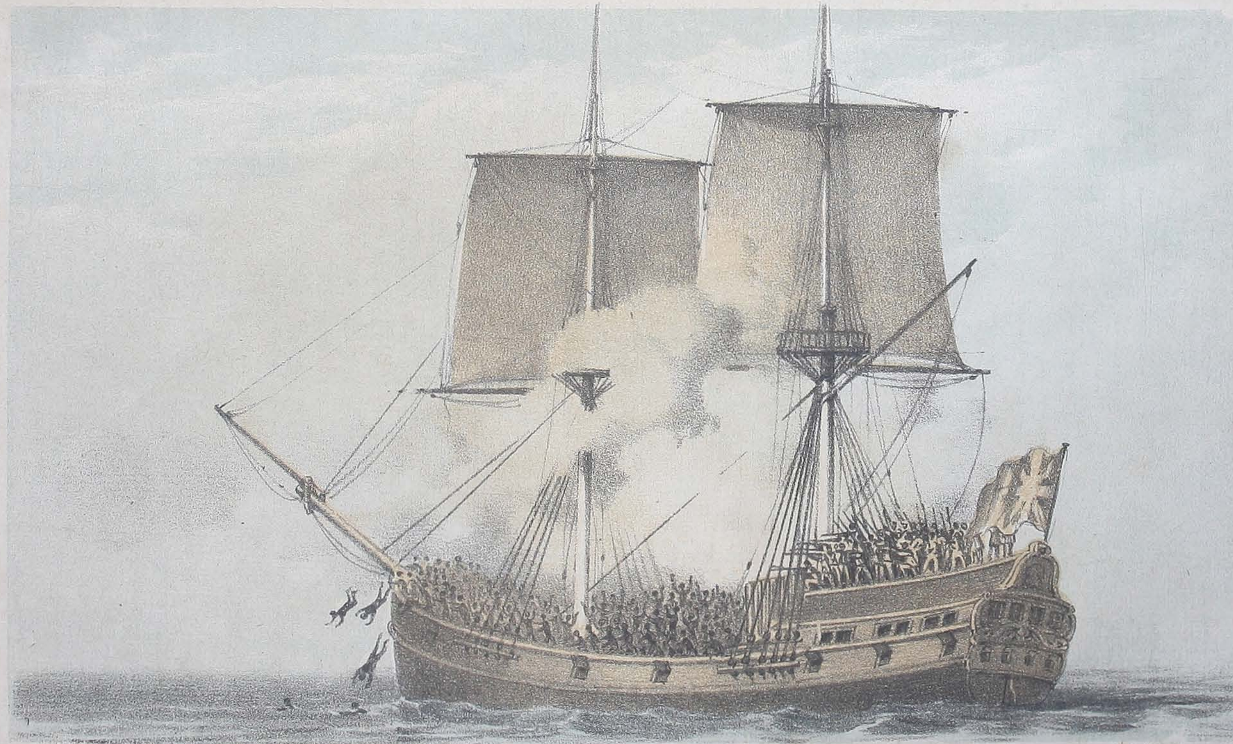
they can neither dance nor sing; and many of them, instead of complying with the unfeeling and unreasonable request, attempt self-destruction; and some actually accomplish it. Suicide is sometimes effected by choking and strangling themselves; but more frequently by jumping overboard, and thus seeking rest in a watery grave. Pairs of them have been known mutually to agree to this, and have thrown themselves into the sea locked in each other's arms.

In some cases the slaves rise in a mass to liberate themselves; and then force is opposed to force, and in the scuffle many of them are shot, and others jump overboard and are drowned; and some, whilst actually drowning, have been seen to wave their hands in triumph, exulting that they had escaped, thus preferring death to the misery of their situation.

Wadstrom, in his "Essay on Colonization in Western Africa," published in 1795, mentions one or two instances of this kind. The annexed sketch represents an insurrection on board a slaver, and is copied from one in his work, the original of which, he informs us, was furnished to him at Goree in 1787.

The particulars narrated below are from the Report of the Directors of the Sierra-Leone Company: "I have just heard that an American brig has been cut off by the slaves, seven or eight leagues north of Cape Sierra-Leone. A single slave began the attack, rushed into the cabin, laid open the captain's face and breast with an axe, and severely wounded a passenger. As the seamen made no resistance, they were permitted to go off, with the wounded, in the boat. The captain died. The ship was re-taken by a Liverpool vessel, after an encounter in which some of the slaves were killed."

The following is an account of a similar catastrophe to that which the sketch represents: "I have got considerable light into the history of Mahady, the famous Mahometan prophet, who appeared in these parts, with an immense concourse of followers, about three years ago. When he was killed, his generals contended for the mastery; and one of them, being taken by his antagonist, was immediately sold to a French slave-ship lying off a factory near Sierra-Leone. There he behaved with a sullen dignity, and, even in chains, addressed his fellow-slaves in his wonted tone of authority. I heard this from a slave-trader, who had seen him, both as a great chief or general, and as a prisoner on board a slave-ship. The slave-trader and the captive chief mutually recognised each other. On the same day, when the slave-trader was on board, it happened that the chief was permitted to walk on deck without his fetters. No



W. L. Walton, lith.

Printed by A. La Riviere, 18 Citon St. Finsbury

INSURRECTION ON BOARD A SLAVE SHIP.

sooner had the captain and his friends sat down to dinner, than a signal was given. The slaves rose to a man, knocked off each other's fetters, and, headed by the chief, attacked the barricade. But they failed. The guns were pointed at them; some were killed, many leaped into the sea, and the insurrection was quelled. The captain inquiring for the ringleader, the chief came boldly forward, and avowed that he was the man; that he wished to give liberty to all the slaves on board; that he regretted his defeat on their account; but that, as to himself, he was well satisfied with the prospect of immediately obtaining what he termed his own liberty. The captain hung him up instantly to the yard-arm."

Mr. Wadstrom mentions another case,—that of a Boston slave-ship, in which "the slaves rose, and cut to pieces the second mate and a seaman on deck. They then attacked the cabin, and killed the captain and chief mate. The rest of the crew surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared, and the ship given to them, with the promise that they would navigate her into some place where the slaves might escape. In steering towards a neighbouring river, she ran aground; and they came in contact with a slave-trader with a number of armed men. An obstinate engagement followed; but the slaves were overpowered, several of them were killed, and the rest, being eighteen, were sold again into slavery."*

But we have a more recent account of a slave-ship mutiny, furnished by the Rio Commissioners, under date of the 21st of March, 1845; and given in the evidence of James Bandinel, Esq., before a select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, during the session of 1848. It is as follows: "The 'Kentucky' had taken a cargo of slaves at Inhambane. The next day, after the vessel crossed the bar on leaving Inhambane, the Negroes rose upon the officers and crew. The majority of the men, all of whom were in irons, got their irons off, broke through the bulk-head, and likewise into the fore-castle. Upon this, the captain armed the crew with cutlasses, and got all the muskets and pistols, and loaded them; and the crew were firing down amongst the slaves for half an hour or more. In the mean time deponent was nailing the hatches down, shot no musket or pistol; and there was no occasion, as the Brazilian sailors seemed to like the sport. In about half an hour they were subdued, and became quiet again. The slaves were then brought on deck, eight or ten at a time, and ironed

* Wadstrom's "Essay on Colonization," part ii. pp. 86, 87.

afresh; they were all re-ironed that afternoon, and put below, excepting about seven, who remained on deck. There were but eight or ten more or less wounded. On the next day they were brought upon deck, two or three dozen at a time, all being well ironed, and tried by Captain Fonseca and officers; and, within two or three days afterwards, *forty-six men and one woman were hung and shot, and thrown overboard.* They were ironed or chained two together; and, when hung, a rope was put round their necks, and they were drawn up to the yard-arm clear of the sail. This did not kill them; but only choked or strangled them: they were then shot in the breast, and the bodies thrown overboard. If only one of two that were ironed together was to be hung, a rope was put round his neck, and he was drawn up clear of the deck, beside of the bulwarks, and *his leg laid across the rail, and chopped off, to save the irons, and release him from his companion,* who at the same time lifted up his leg till the other's was chopped off, and he released. The *bleeding Negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast, and thrown overboard. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off in this way. When the feet fell on deck, they were picked up by the Brazilian crew, and thrown overboard, and sometimes at the body, while it still hung living; and all kinds of sport were made of the business."* *

The preceding are but a few instances, out of many others, of the attempts which the slaves naturally make to liberate themselves, but in which they rarely succeed. Indeed, how can success be expected, when they are ironed and doubly-ironed, chained together below the deck, and carefully guarded and watched? Even when they succeed in knocking off their fetters, they have nothing with which to defend their naked bodies against the cutlasses and fire-arms of their merciless foes. But the account of the occurrences on board the "Kentucky" presents a scene of such barbarity, a picture of such hideous atrocity and butchery, as practised by the captain and crew towards the slaves, that a parallel, if sought for, can only be found in the cannibalism of the savages of New Zealand or Feejee.

But even when the slaves who are stowed away on board these unhallowed vessels do quietly submit to their hard fate, such is the impurity of the atmosphere arising from close confinement and a deficiency of fresh air, and from the filth and

* "First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, 1848," p. 253.

stench consequent thereon, that they may be said barely to exist while detained in these floating hospitals. For hospitals indeed they are, with this difference,—they are places where diseases originate, and where but few cures take place. For Captain Cook, when speaking on this subject, says, "With all this probability, or rather certainty, of disease, I never knew but one slaver that carried a surgeon." But, supposing every slaver carried a surgeon on board, that would only prove the necessity that existed for medical treatment, and the absolute certainty that diseases do originate there, and that they require prompt and skilful attention. It is well known that the Negroes are far more violently affected by sea-sickness than Europeans; and that this frequently terminates in death, especially among the women. Divers diseases, such as dysentery, ophthalmia, scurvy, the small-pox, and other putrid and fatal disorders, frequently occur; and are so rapid in their progress, that, when the inspector goes in the morning, he has often to pick out dead slaves out of the wedged rows, and to unchain their dead carcasses from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers, to whom they had been fastened.

Of the effects of ophthalmia the Fifteenth Report of the African Institution furnishes a terrible instance, which took place on board a French slaver, the "Le Rodeur," in 1819. This vessel left the Bonny with one hundred and sixty Negroes on board, and a crew of twenty-two men. After she had been about fifteen days on her voyage, it was discovered that many of the slaves had contracted a considerable redness of the eyes; and, though this vessel had a surgeon on board, the disease spread so rapidly, that the crew were seized with it. "Twelve of them lost their sight entirely, among whom was the surgeon; five became blind of one eye, one of them being the captain; and four were partially injured." The vessel, however, reached Guadaloupe on June 21st, 1819; and, three days after her arrival, the only man who during the voyage had withstood the influence of the contagion was seized with the same malady. Of the Negroes, thirty-nine had become perfectly blind, twelve had lost one eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable.

It was stated that the captain caused several of the Negroes who were prevented in the attempt to throw themselves overboard, to be shot and hung, in the hope that the example might deter the rest from similar conduct. It was further said that upwards of thirty of the slaves who became blind were thrown into the sea and drowned; upon the principle that, had they

been landed at Guadaloupe, no one would have bought them; while, by throwing them overboard, the expense of maintaining them was avoided; and a ground was laid for a claim on the underwriters by whom the cargo had been insured, who are said to have allowed the claim, and made good the value of the slaves thus destroyed.

But the supplement must not be omitted. At the time when only one of the crew on board the "Rodeur" could see to steer that vessel, they fell in with a Spanish slave-ship, the "St. Leon." A contagion had seized the eyes of all on board of her; so that there was not an individual, sailor or slave, who could see. They implored help from the "Rodeur;" but, alas! it was in vain; they were unable to render them any assistance; and the "St. Leon" passed on, and, being totally at the mercy of the wind and the waves, without an helmsman to steer, or any one to work the ship, she was never more heard of!

But we cannot linger here. The wretched cargo, in ordinary cases, has now crossed the vast Atlantic, and the slaves are being landed in the colonies of the far West. From the horrors of the Middle Passage the slaves often arrive in a sickly, disordered state, with wounds or eruptions; and the captain now acts the part of an English horse-jockey, in improving their appearance, and concealing their defects, and thus preparing his cattle for the market. For this purpose, astringent washes, mercurial ointments, and repelling drugs are applied, that their wounds and diseases may be hid. These preparations being completed, they are led to the market like cattle, examined, handled, selected, separated, and sold: except in those cases where the Negroes are branded—not like sheep, who have the farmer's initial marked with tar upon their wool, but—*with the red-hot iron upon the bare flesh.* As these marks show that they belonged to, and were shipped on account of, different individuals, they are at once transferred to their owners.

A letter from the Havannah, in 1838, contains the following account: "In the cool of the evening we made a visit to the bazaar. A newly-imported cargo of two hundred and twenty human beings was here exposed for sale. They were crouched down upon their forms around a large room. During a visit of more than an hour that we were there, not a word was uttered by one of them. On entering the room the eyes of all were turned towards us, as if to read in our countenances their fate. They were all nearly naked, being but slightly clad in a light check shirt, upon which was a mark upon the breast. With a few exceptions they were but skin and bone. Too weak to

support their languid forms, they were reclining on the floor, their backs resting against the wall. When a purchaser came, they were motioned to stand, which order they obeyed, though with apparent pain. A few were old and grey; but the greater proportion were children, of from ten to thirteen or fifteen years of age. When they stood, their legs looked as thin as reeds, and hardly capable of supporting the skeletons of their wasted forms. The keeper informed us, they were of several distinct tribes, and that they did not understand one another; and this was apparent, also, from the formation of the head. While we were there, five little boys and girls were selected and bought to go into the interior. No regard is paid to relationship; and, once separated, they never meet again."*

The population of Brazil in South America is estimated at upwards of five millions; and of these more than two millions are slaves. Notwithstanding, that country took part with other nations in the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, made it illegal in 1831, and even declared it punishable as piracy; yet an active Slave-Trade is still carried on between it and the African coast; and the number of Negroes landed at five of the principal ports of Brazil is upwards of seventy thousand annually. So eager, indeed, is the demand for slaves, that it is believed that, were ten thousand Africans to be brought into that province every month, they would be all bought up. The slaves, when landed, are generally taken to *dépôts* along the coast, until recruited after their voyage. If not sold at the *dépôt*, a case which often happens, they are marched openly in gangs into the interior, and distributed over the country, and are employed in the mines or on the plantations. The following extract from a letter written on board of a British vessel, and dated January 9th, 1843, will give an idea of the conduct of the Brazilian government with reference to the Slave-Trade, and of the way in which the Negroes are disposed of on landing in Brazil:—

"We arrived off Santos on November 12th, and received information that a slave-vessel was daily expected from the east coast. The vessel arrived; but, having gained intelligence from the Portuguese on shore that our boats were at the mouth of the river, she landed her cargo a few miles lower down, and thus escaped being captured. The commander of the English cruiser wrote to the governor of Mozambique, who, not being friendly to the Slave-Trade, fined the vessel severely for a breach

* Sir T. F. Buxton on the "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

of the custom-laws; which was reported to the Portuguese government at home; and an order was despatched for his supersession, it having been found that he was too strict, and that, in consequence, the colonial treasury was impoverished. A duty is paid upon each slave of seven dollars; and the authorities, instead of suppressing the abominable traffic, encourage it by every means in their power.

"The ship in question sailed from Quillimane with eight hundred and fifty slaves, all children, and landed six hundred and twenty, having lost two hundred and thirty on the passage. The cost of slaves at Quillimane is about thirty-two milreis each; (about £1 sterling;) and the price obtained for them on landing was six hundred milreis, (£75 sterling,) ready money, leaving a profit, after a deduction of eighteen milreis for their subsistence on shore previous to being sold, of five hundred and fifty milreis on each slave, to pay the expense of their transit, and to reimburse the vile wretches employed in the nefarious traffic, and also to enable them to fee the authorities, in order to hoodwink them. In a conversation I had with the English consul, Mr. Whittaker, he said that the authorities are all determined to encourage the traffic, alleging that no act can become law by the Portuguese constitution unless it be beneficial to the country generally; and that, as the importation of Negroes is beneficial, and desired by a majority of the people, the treaty entered into by the mother country is not binding upon them."*

It appears from authentic documents that the slaves on the plantations and in the mines of Brazil are, on the whole, better treated than those in the planting states of America; that they have more holidays in the course of the year; that the law compels the master to manumit the slave for the price at which he was first purchased, or for his present value, if it be greater than prime cost; and that instances of manumission are far from uncommon.

But, with the exception of these meliorating circumstances, Slavery in Brazil is as miserable a state of bondage as could well be pictured. "If *we* be the most merciful," says the author of a Brazilian pamphlet on Slavery, "what must the rest be? On the great sugar estates in the north of Brazil, it would horrify you to witness the misery of the slaves, whose bodies, covered with wounds, sufficiently indicate the treatment of which they are continually the victims.

"In the province of Maranham and Piauhy, *as novenas*, that is, 'whippings for nine successive days,' is an ordinary punishment. The culprit is fastened to a cart,

* CHAMBERS'S "Miscellany."

and there receives two or three hundred lashes; the mangled flesh is then cut, and Cayenne pepper and salt are put into the wounds, to prevent, as they suppose, gangrene and corruption. I know a man named Joao. Alvarenga, in Piauhy, who, when he wished to get rid of a slave, ordered him a *novena*, and then exposed him in a sack to the burning sun, where the unhappy victim was farther tortured to death. The punishment of the *torniquette*, hand and neck-stocks, thumb-screws, irons, stocks, and many other instruments of torture, are common on our plantations; and even in our cities they are not rare. The art of torturing is far advanced amongst us. To expose a slave for a whole night tied to a stake over an ants' nest, as is customary in some provinces, or on a cross to the stinging of musquitoes, as in Rio Grande de Sul, are refinements of barbarity peculiar to Brazil."

As in other slave-using countries, so in Brazil, the cruel treatment which the slaves experience drive many of them to the most desperate means of escaping it. "Suicide," says the Rev. Dr. Walsh, "is the daily practice in Brazil. Respectable persons have told me they frequently encountered black bodies, when they went to bathe. I have seen them myself, left by the tide on the strand, and some weltering just under our windows. The wretched slave often inflicts death on himself in an extraordinary manner. They have a method of burying their tongue in the throat, in such a way as to produce suffocation. A friend of mine was passing when a slave was tied up and flogged. After a few lashes he hung down his head, apparently lifeless; and, when taken down, he was actually dead, and his tongue found wedged in the *œsophagus* so completely as to cover the *trachea*. Negresses are known to be very fond mothers; yet this very affection often impels them to commit infanticide. Many of them, particularly the Minas slaves, have the strongest repugnance to have children, or, as they say, to bring slaves into the world."*

Instances of runaway or strayed Negroes are of frequent occurrence, when advertisements are published, offering a reward for their apprehension. If recovered, they are severely punished.

Advertisements are also to be seen of sales of Negroes, such as the following, which occurs in the Rio Janeiro paper, the *Journal de Commerce*, July 21st, 1840: "For sale, in the Rua de Cano, No. 119, with or without her infant of four months, a Negress. She has good milk, is very healthy, and very kind and tender to children. She has neither vices nor defects; can sew, wash, starch, and cook, all in perfection, which will be guaranteed by the Publisher. The motive for selling her is her being disobedient to her Senhora."†

Where is there a Briton that can read this cold-blooded piece of barbarous inhumanity, this daring insult to our common nature, without feelings of the utmost repugnance and the deepest indignation? Or, as Cowper expresses it,

> "What man, seeing this,
> And having human feelings, does not blush
> And hang his head, to think himself a man?"

A mother offered for sale, "*with or without her infant of four*

---

* CHAMBERS'S "Miscellany." † *Idem.*

months!" No wonder that the Negresses "have the strongest repugnance to have children, or, as they say, to bring slaves into the world." What English grazier would thus separate the young of his sheep-fold, or any of his other cattle, from their dams at a corresponding tender age? *"She has good milk!"* Whose face, male or female, does not exhibit a crimson blush of shame at this short sentence? *"Is very healthy, and very kind and tender to children: she has neither vices nor defects,"* &c.: and yet this healthy, kind, and tender-hearted mother, groaning under the cruel usage of her task-master, must suffer an additional pang, by having her infant torn from her bosom! O! there is something, in the system of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, so contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, something so unearthly, so diabolical and infernal, that it makes one's blood to chill and one's pulse to stand still with horror. Who does not pity poor Africa, and the millions of Africans who are toiling in other lands, for another's gain?

Abundantly has Africa multiplied, but only to furnish fresh victims to the fraud and avarice of other nations. Brazil alone, as we have already stated, receives an annual importation of upwards of seventy thousand Negroes: and Sir Fowell Buxton has most clearly proved, that Africa has been annually robbed by the abominable Slave-Traders, Christian and Mahometan, of upwards of two hundred thousand of her children; that this immense number of Africans are periodically torn from the land of their birth and of liberty, and sent into a state of cruel captivity. To this amount may be added fully 125 per cent, as the average of lives destroyed, first, by the wholesale murders which take place in the primary seizure of these unhappy creatures; secondly, by the mortality which rages amongst them on their march down to the coast, and during their detention, often in a state of starvation, in the slave-barracoons; and thirdly, by the multiplied horrors of the Middle Passage; thus making the total loss to Africa of not less than five hundred thousand per annum. In the preceding calculation we have not included the 20 per cent, or the one-fifth of the number imported, that perish in the seasoning, after they are landed in a foreign country; nor the seven or eight thousand that are annually captured by the British cruisers, and that are conveyed back again to their father-land, and many of whom die on their homeward passage, and not a few after they are landed on the British settlements on the coast. So that Africa loses far more than America or other slave-holding countries gain.

Take the following simple calculation from Sir T. F. Buxton's

affecting record of the Slave-Trade:—"Of 1000 victims to the Slave-Trade,

One-half perish in the seizure, march, and detention,—that is	500
Of the 500 embarked, *one-fourth*, or 25 per cent die on the passage	125
Of the remaining 375 landed, *one-fifth*, or 20 per cent, perish in the seasoning.....	75
Total loss...	700

So that 300 Negroes only, or *three-tenths* of the whole number of victims, remain alive at the end of a year after their deportation."

From these statements it is plain, that the whole wastage, or tare, of the traffic is seven-tenths: that is to say, for every ten Negroes whom Africa parts with, America receives only three; the other seven die. If we apply, therefore, as we may fairly do, this mode of calculation to the actual numbers, we shall find that if 500,000 Negroes are collected in the interior of Africa, in the collecting of these one-half will die before the time of their embarkation, leaving only 250,000 to be shipped; of these one-fourth will die in the passage across the Atlantic, leaving only 187,500 to be landed; and of these one-fifth will die in the process of seasoning; leaving only available to the planter or slave-holder 150,000. So that 350,000 Africans annually perish at the shrine of this goddess of European cupidity, avarice, and cruelty; besides the 150,000 who are every year left to toil and bleed and groan under the heavy lash of these modern Pharaohs, whose hearts Satan himself must have hardened, or they would long ere this have let the people go free.

Nor does the awful amount of mortality stop here, frightful as it is: for, through the haste with which the embarkation is generally conducted, the poor slaves being stowed away under the athwarts of the canoe, on their way to the slave-ship, in consequence of the surf running high, some of the canoes and boats are frequently swamped amidst the breakers, and many slaves are thus lost. This was the case when Joseph Wright was being shipped; for he says, "When they begin to place in canoes, to bring us to the brig, one of the canoes sank, and half of the slaves died." Many slave-vessels, as well as others, are wrecked at sea: and hundreds and thousands have in this way found a grave in the ocean's bed. Many are also cast into the sea, when a man-of-war is in sight, to lighten the ship, and so increase its speed, and prevent capture. And even when the elements are not unfavourable to the slaver's course, and there

is no British cruiser to intercept her progress, "death thins the cargoes in various modes: suicide destroys many; and many are thrown overboard at the close of the voyage; for, as a duty of ten (or seven) dollars is set by the Brazilian Government upon each slave upon landing, such as seem unlikely to survive, or to bring a price sufficiently high to cover this custom-house tax, are purposely drowned before entering port. Those only escape these wholesale murders who will probably recover health and flesh when removed to the fattening-pens of the slave-farmer,—a man who contracts to feed up the skeletons to a marketable appearance." * The Paris petition of February, 1825, states, "that it is established, by authentic documents, that the slave-captains throw into the sea, every year, about three thousand Negroes, men, women, and children; of whom more than half are thus sacrificed, whilst yet alive, either to escape from the visits of cruisers, or because, worn down by their sufferings, they could not be sold to advantage." †

If to these items of mortality we add those who are slaughtered when a mutiny occurs on board, and the numbers thrown overboard when a storm arises, to prevent a worse catastrophe; and the great number of deaths which take place after capture, when the slaves fall into British hands, on their way to the place of adjudication, and even after they are landed at the British settlements; the amount will probably be not less than 370,000 of those who actually and annually perish in this the worst of all plagues.

It is not easy to arrive at a correct estimate of the amount of the Slave Trade, as carried on by various nations, during any given year or number of years. All that can be done is to form a calculation, approaching as nearly as possible to the actual quantity, taking our data from well-authenticated records and unquestionable facts. This task we have endeavoured to perform. What an accumulation of guilt, then, rests upon those nations which have for so many years been engaged in this atrocious and execrable trade! and what an awful amount of misery and mortality has Africa endured since her sons first began to be kidnapped from her fertile shores! If we calculate the annual loss to Africa at 500,000, and multiply this number by the ages through which the injury has been protracted, the amount appals and rends the heart.

"From age to age" this cruelty "may be traced upon its own

* Rankin's "Sierra-Leone," vol. ii. p. 72.

† Sir T. F. Buxton's "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

sun-burnt continent;" for "which of the sands of her deserts has not been steeped in tears, wrung out by the pang of separation from kindred and country? What wind has passed over her plains without catching up the sighs of bleeding or broken hearts? And in what part of the world have not her children been wasted by labours, and degraded by oppressions?"* It is calculated that Napoleon in the course of his career occasioned the sacrifice of three millions of the human race: but this is a mere trifle compared with the awful scourge which the malevolent and inveterate Slave-Trade has inflicted, and is at this day inflicting, upon unhappy Africa; for from the preceding statements it appears that upwards of *one thousand victims* are *daily* required to feed this terrible consumer of mankind. This is not, therefore, an occasional war between one nation and another upon some great national principle: it is the every-day business and profession of hundreds of armed bandits, who, like the dreaded locusts, drive or carry off every thing before them. This is indeed "the terror by night," and "the arrow that flieth by day." It is emphatically the "pestilence that walketh in darkness," and "the destruction that wasteth at noon-day." (Psalm xci. 5, 6.) For, in the language of Bryan Edwards, "the whole or the greater part of that immense continent is a field of warfare and desolation; a wilderness, in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other." But, O! "tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon," that the untutored Africans are urged on to those deeds of bloodshed and cruelty by the civilized white villains of other countries!

As there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact number of slaves forced from Africa during any one given year, so it is next to impossible to arrive at any correct conclusion as to the sum total of Negroes that Africa has lost since the commencement of this ungodly traffic. But a hundred years ago the amount was supposed to be 100,000 annually; that is, this number was at that period landed in slave-holding states. Consequently, so far back as that, upwards of another 100,000 must have been sacrificed in the seizure, on the march, during their detention on the coast, and on board those floating lazar-houses, the slave-ships: and up to the close of the last century it has been calculated that Africa must have been defrauded of a population equal in numbers to that of the British islands, or nearly 30,000,000! If we add the half million which Africa is now annually losing, and has been losing yearly for a long

* Rev. Richard Watson's Works, vol. ii. p. 93.

time past, the amount will be nearly twice the population of Great Britain, or one-third of the inhabitants of Africa itself, and not less than one-fourteenth part of the population of the whole globe! What mind can grasp the idea? or what imagination can conceive one-half of the horrible murders, the countless miseries, the heart-rending atrocities, and the wholesale devastations, which have been committed in the enslaving of such a number of human beings? Surely we may say, in the language of holy writ, "This is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison-houses: they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore." (Isaiah xlii. 22.)

It has been well and truly said, "This is no picture of infernal torments, devised by a wild mythology; no fabulous tale, invented to warn mankind against the malignity of unbridled power; no antiquated history of obsolete and now impossible facts. It is a true report, a faithful diary, of actual life. Even now, at every moment of that happy existence with which nature and Providence have blessed this happy land, all the fearful scenes are acting. At this very moment the savage bandits are raking peaceful villages with fire and sword, and seizing or slaughtering their affrighted prey. At this moment savage captors are driving their chained gangs to the coast. Even now the slavers are packing the human cargo in narrower space than bales of goods would require: while others are borne across the Atlantic, others kept in hulks off the Brazilian shore. At this and every hour the cane-fields are tilled by scourged gangs, debarred all intercourse with women, and by systematic ill-usage consumed in the shortest time, and unceasingly replaced by fresh victims. And, the truth cannot be disguised, all this follows, 'as the night the day.'" *

And must this tale of horrors be continued? When will the justice, the benevolence, and the religion of Christendom put an end to this infamous traffic? But we leave the subject for the present. Some further observations on the Slave-Trade will be found in subsequent parts of this work: and at the close a few suggestions will be offered as to the best mode of destroying this gigantic evil.

---

* Lord Denman's "Second Letter to Lord Brougham on the final Extinction of the Slave-Trade," 1849, p. 31.

CHAPTER VII.

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

The Circumnavigation of Africa—Early Discoveries of the Western Coast—Hanno and Eudoxus—Strange Report of the former—Since found to be substantially correct—The Decline of maritime Discovery—Invention of the Mariner's Compass—Discovery of the Canary Islands by the Spaniards—The Portuguese lead the Way in maritime Enterprise—Discovery of the Madeira Islands in 1418—Cape Bojador passed in 1433—Prince Henry's Instructions to his Navigators—His Wishes gratified by Gonzales in 1442—Presentation of the Negroes to the Pope—His Bull in favour of the Portuguese—The Portuguese enter the Tropics—Cape-Verd—Senegal and Gambia—The Gold-Coast—Commercial Prospects—John II. sends an Expedition—A Portuguese Colony formed on the Gold-Coast—John assumes the Title of "Lord of Guinea"—Emanuel succeeds John—The renowned Vasco de Gama—Portuguese Forts and Slave-Factories established on different Parts of the Coast—Objects of the Portuguese in exploring the Coast—Gold and Slaves the principal Attractions—Commencement of the European Slave-Trade—Mode of taking Slaves—Gonzales and Nunez Tristan both killed in kidnapping Slaves—Increase of the Portuguese Slave-Trade—The Spaniards imbibe a Taste for Man-stealing—Portuguese engage in the "Carrying Trade"—Catholic Missionaries sent to the Coast in 1490—Well received—Wholesale Method of baptizing—Rapid Progress of the Catholic Religion—Its early Decline—Total Extinction.

Long before the discovery of the New World by Columbus, or the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama, other voyages were undertaken with a view to the exploration of certain parts of the unknown coasts of Africa. In a preceding chapter we have placed upon record two accounts of the circumnavigation of Africa, at a very early period. The first of these voyages was undertaken by the Phenicians in the service of Necho, king of Egypt, about 2,450 years ago; and the second and most memorable was performed along the Western Coast of Africa by Hanno, about 570 years before the Christian era. The Carthaginians fitted out this expedition with a view partly to colonization, and partly to discovery. The armament consisted of sixty large vessels, on board of which were embarked persons of both sexes, to the number of thirty thousand.

The narrative handed down to us of Hanno's voyage begins at the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, or the Pillars of Hercules. After two days' sail thence, they founded, in the midst of an extensive plain, the city of Thymiaterium. In two days more, they came to a cape, shaded with trees, called Solocis, a promontory of Libya, on which they erected a temple to

Neptune. They sailed round a bay, thickly bordered with plantations of reeds, where numerous elephants and other wild animals were feeding. Passing along for many days, they came to a gulf, in which were several large islands. Here a remarkable phenomenon arrested their attention. During the day profound silence reigned, and nothing appeared but a vast world of wood. But when night arrived, the whole shore blazed with fire, and echoed with tumultuous shouts, as well as with the sound of cymbals, trumpets, and musical instruments of every description. The Carthaginians, appalled, passed hastily along these shores, and came to another region, which struck them with no less surprise. Here the land appeared all on fire; torrents of flame rushed into the sea; and if they attempted to land, the soil was too hot for the foot to tread upon. One object particularly struck them, which, at night, appeared a greater fire mingling with the stars; but, in the day-time, proved to be a mountain of prodigious height, to which they gave the appellation of "the chariot of the gods."

After sailing three days, they lost sight of these fiery torrents, and came to another bay, containing an island, which presented a new phenomenon. The inhabitants were of the human form; but, shagged and covered with hair, they suggested the idea of those grotesque deities by which superstition supposed the woods to be peopled. To these monsters they gave the name of *Gorillæ*. The males evaded all pursuit: they climbed precipices, and threw stones on their pursuers. But three females were caught, and their skins carried to Carthage. Here the narrative winds up by saying, that the farther progress of the expedition was arrested by the want of provisions.

Such are the leading features of this celebrated voyage, than which none has afforded, in modern times, more ample room for the speculation of the learned. Many of the circumstances which wore at first a marvellous aspect, have been found to correspond with the observations of modern travellers. The fires and nocturnal symphonies represent the habits prevalent on all the Negro states,—repose during the day; music and dancing prolonged through the night. The flames which seemed to sweep over an expanse of territory, might be explained by the practice, equally general, of setting fire at a certain season of the year to the grass and shrubs; and the *Gorillæ* were evidently the remarkable species of ape, to which we give the name of ourang outang.* Extreme difference of opinion,

* Murray's "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 17—20.

however, prevails as to the extent of coast actually explored by this expedition: M. Gosselin contending that Hanno's voyage terminated on the frontier of the coast of Morocco, a little beyond the river Nun, in latitude 29° N., and only about 7° below Gibraltar; while Heeren is of opinion that the expedition reached to the mouth of the Gambia, in latitude 13° N.; and Major Rennell believes that Hanno went still further to the south, that he passed Sierra-Leone, and that the island and bay of the *Gorillæ* were Sherbro Island and Sound. The first theory supposes a run along the western coast of above six hundred miles; the second, of about two thousand two hundred; and the last, of nearly three thousand miles, from the commencement of the voyage.

The next remarkable voyage along the Western Coast of Africa of which we have any account, was that of Eudoxus, about 440 years subsequent to that of Hanno, or 130 years before the birth of Christ. We have already mentioned this spirited and enterprising navigator; and though there appears to be some doubt as to whether he actually rounded the Cape of Storms, yet that he passed the Straits with the prow of his vessel turned towards India, and that he sailed a considerable distance along the shores of Africa, is pretty evident.

Soon after this period, the spirit of discovery and maritime enterprise declined, and lay dormant for many centuries. The first fresh impulse which it received was about the year A.D. 1302, when the invaluable invention of the mariner's compass was made by Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Ormalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, which "opened to man the dominion of the sea, and put him in full possession of the earth." But "near half a century elapsed from the time of Gioia's discovery, before navigators ventured into any seas which they had not been accustomed to frequent." Hence Dr. Robertson remarks, "The first appearance of a bolder spirit may be dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands. By what accident they were led to the discovery of these small isles, which lie nearly five hundred miles from the Spanish coast, and above one hundred and fifty miles from the coast of Africa, contemporary writers have not explained. But about the middle of the fourteenth century, the people of all the different kingdoms into which Spain was then divided, were accustomed to make piratical excursions thither, in order to plunder the inhabitants, or to carry them off as slaves." It does not appear, however, that this event had any important influence on the progress of discovery, though we find that "Clement VI.,

in virtue of the right claimed by the holy see to dispose of all countries possessed by infidels, erected these isles into a kingdom in the year 1344;" and it was long held as "a fief of the crown of Castile."

But, soon after this, the spirit of enterprise, which had been asleep for ages, awoke, and burst forth with fresh and almost unparalleled energy. "The glory of leading the way in the new career was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms. Various circumstances prompted the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction, and enabled them to accomplish undertakings apparently superior to the natural force of their monarchy."* These undertakings are eloquently illustrated and described by the great historian, Dr. Robertson, in the introduction to his "History of America." It appears that one of the first attempts towards obtaining a knowledge of Africa was made by the Portuguese in 1412. Notwithstanding their vicinity to that continent, they had never ventured beyond Cape Nun, which had received its name from a supposed impossibility of passing it. This year, however, or soon after, they proceeded one hundred and sixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bojador, which, stretching a considerable way into the Atlantic Ocean with rocky cliffs, appeared so dreadful to the navigators, that they returned to Lisbon without any attempt to pass it; "more satisfied," says the historian of America, "with having advanced so far, than ashamed of having ventured no farther." In a subsequent attempt to double this formidable Cape, they were driven out to sea by a sudden squall, which was followed by a violent storm; and when they all expected to perish, they discovered Porto-Santo, one of the least of the Madeira Islands. This was in 1418; and in the following year they discovered Madeira itself. Prince Henry, in 1420, settled a colony here; and not only furnished it with plants and domestic animals, but procured slips of the vine from Cyprus, and plants of the sugar-cane from Sicily. "These throve so prosperously, that the sugar and wine of Madeira quickly became articles of some consequence in the commerce of Portugal."

But the information obtained respecting the Western Coast of Africa was still very limited. Cape Bojador continued to be the boundary of the continental discoveries of the Portuguese, till 1433, when that passage was effected by Gilianez, which caused a surprise and admiration almost equal to what were

* Dr. Robetson's "History of America."

afterwards excited by the discovery of America. As yet, however, nothing had been brought home besides plants; but two years afterwards "Gonzales Baldeza penetrated about two degrees farther, and collected a valuable cargo of seal-skins, with which he returned to Henry. The prince had always urged his navigators to bring home some of the natives, that he might have them baptized, educated, and sent back; so that the Portuguese might afterwards be able to open a commerce with them in their own country. In 1442, twenty-four years after the first expedition had sailed on this pursuit, the prince's wishes were gratified. Gonzales, returning after a voyage of two years, brought with him ten slaves and some gold-dust. Henry held out to his followers the gold, as the fruit to be gathered by all who would assist in these discoveries; and he presented the Negroes to the Pope, and entreated his holiness to make over to him a title to all the countries he should discover, as an encouragement to those who should persevere in the enterprise, for the propagation of the Christian faith. Upon this invitation, Pope Martin V. in the same year issued a Bull, by which he granted to the Portuguese nation an exclusive right to the possession and dominion of all the countries which they might discover from Cape Bojador to the continent of India."*

In 1443 Nunez Tristan passed Cape Blanco, and discovered the Island of Arguim. They had now penetrated within the Tropics; and a rapid progress having been made along the shores of the Sahara, the Portuguese navigators were not long in reaching the fertile regions watered by the Senegal and the Gambia. In 1446 Diniz Fernandez discovered Cape Verd, and in the following year Lancelot entered the Senegal. The Cape de Verd Islands and the Azores were successively discovered about the year 1449; and in 1471 the voyagers proceeded as far south as the Gold-Coast, and were surprised to find that the Torrid Zone, contrary to the opinion of the ancients, who imagined it to be burnt up with heat, was not only habitable, but fertile and prosperous. "While the Portuguese proceeded along the coast of Africa, from Cape Nun to the river Senegal, they found all that extensive tract to be sandy, barren, and thinly inhabited by a wretched people, professing the Mahomedan religion, and subject to the vast empire of Morocco. But to the south of that river, the power and religion of the Mahomedans were unknown. The country was divided into small independent principalities; the population

* Bandinel's "Account of the Trade in Slaves."

was considerable, the soil fertile; and the Portuguese soon discovered that it produced ivory, rich gums, gold, and other valuable commodities. By the acquisition of these, commerce was enlarged, and became more adventurous. Men, animated and rendered active by the certain prospect of gain, pursued discovery with greater eagerness than when they were excited only by curiosity and hope."

In 1484 a powerful fleet was fitted out by John II., which, after discovering the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, advanced about fifteen hundred miles beyond the Line; and the Portuguese, for the first time, "beheld a new heaven, and observed the stars of another hemisphere. John was not only solicitous to discover, but attentive to secure the possession of, those countries. He built forts on the coast of Guinea; he sent out colonies to settle there; he established a commercial intercourse with the more powerful kingdoms; he endeavoured to render such as were feeble or divided tributary to the crown of Portugal. Some of the petty princes voluntarily acknowledged themselves his vassals: others were compelled to do so by force of arms. A regular and well-digested system was formed with respect to this new object of policy, and, by firmly adhering to it, the Portuguese power and commerce in Africa were established upon a solid foundation." *

About this time, (1485,) the king of Portugal, upon the strength of these discoveries, formally assumed the title of "Lord of Guinea;" since borne by his descendants. King John continued his enterprises up to 1497, when he died, and was succeeded by Emanuel, who inherited John's passionate desire for discovery, and trade in the East: and in that year the whole line of coast was explored, by the renounced Vasco de Gama, who passed the Cape of Good Hope, and the southern extremity of the African continent, visited Cape Natal, Mozambique, and Melinda, whence he stretched across to India. The Portuguese had now completed the circumnavigation of Africa; and at the close of the century, had built several other forts besides that at Elmina, and established slave-factories at Arguim, and on the banks of the rivers Senegal, Nunez, Benin, and Congo; and carried on a considerable commercial trade in the interior, even up to Timbuctoo.

The objects of the Portuguese in these maritime enterprises appear to have been threefold,—legitimate commerce,—trade in slaves,—and the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion.

---

* Dr. Robertson's "History of America."

We have already noticed that Prince Henry had urged upon his navigators to bring home some of the natives, in order that he might have them baptized and educated, and then sent back to the Portuguese settlements. And in 1481, when John II. succeeded to the throne, finding that his subjects, in some cases, discontinued the Slave-Trade, and, in others, disposed of their Negroes in Africa for gold, he encouraged them by all means in his power to continue to trade in slaves, and to import them into Europe, "in order," said he, "that the slaves may be taught the worship of the true God before they die." * But the laudable purpose of Henry and of John II. were soon mixed up with baser objects; for, on arriving at the Gold-Coast, the Portuguese were dazzled by the importance and splendour of the commodity, the commerce of which gave the name to that region which it still retains. The fort which they built on that part of the coast was called Elmina, (or "the mine,") and became the centre and capital of their possessions in this continent. So far back as 1443, private merchants formed themselves into an Association for the avowed purpose of carrying on jointly the gold-and Slave-Trade: and in the same year Nunez Tristan, in the neighbourhood of Arguim, in latitude 20° 30′ North, met with some native boats, captured them, and brought back their crews, amounting to fourteen persons, and made slaves of them. From this period may be dated the beginning of the African Slave-Trade in Europe; and it is melancholy to reflect upon the rapidity with which it increased. In 1444, almost as soon as the Association was formed, its leaders set sail and captured two hundred slaves. Part of these were liberated again on ransom in Africa, and part were brought to Portugal, and there sold.† Gold and slaves, but chiefly the latter, were still the two main objects for which the Portuguese traded with Africa; and the articles which they carried there for barter, were cloths and stuffs of Portuguese manufacture.

In 1454 Cadamosto undertook a voyage to the Gambia, at the request of Prince Henry, who had heard of the wealth on the banks of that noble river. Cadamosto learned that the Portuguese had been in the habit of landing by night, taking the villages by surprise, attacking them, and carrying off the inhabitants: and thus, sailing along the coast, had committed ravages, and caused horrors, wherever they went. Such were the deeds which had already become common with the slave-

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 22. From KERR'S "Voyages and Travels." † Ibid. p. 16.

traders of Portugal. But that the native Africans were hostile to those plundering expeditions of the Portuguese, and resisted them with all their might, we have proof at this early period: for in 1445, in another voyage made by Gonzales, when he attacked the unoffending natives with the view of obtaining more slaves, he was himself killed in the affray which ensued. Thus terminated the career of the man who a year or two previously was the first who had forced the Africans from their native land, and had conveyed them to Europe. In the following year, Nunez Tristan, who had embarked in the same unhallowed enterprise, met with a similar fate. In ascending the Rio Nunez, such was the eagerness of the Portuguese to obtain slaves, that they again attacked the natives; and in the scuffle Nunez Tristan lost his life, leaving his name to the river on which he died.*

But this nefarious traffic, having once begun, continued rapidly to increase; and as early as 1460, the Portuguese establishment and Slave-Factory on the island of Arguim were in full operation; the Portuguese having enticed the Arabs to bring down from the interior Negroes and gold, in exchange for Portuguese goods. It appears from Mr. Bandinel, who quotes from Cadamosto, that "from seven hundred to eight hundred head of slaves" were yearly imported from Africa into Portugal about this period.

The Spaniards, also, had now imbibed a taste for man-stealing; though they indulged in it only to a very limited extent, until the discovery of the New World, at the close of the century. Then it was that the wholesale trade commenced: for it is well known that Negro Slavery in the West Indies, both in its cause and guilty agency, stands in close alliance with the horrid extermination of the poor American Indians; both being deeds, the infamy of which belongs principally, if not solely, to the Spaniards. In the mean time, the Portuguese traffic in slaves continued to increase; and after supplying Portugal itself with as many slaves as that country would take, the traders commenced the practice of transporting their victims from Africa as slaves to other countries; and this was called "the Carrying Trade." †

But though the trade in gold and slaves was the principal object which the Portuguese had in view in exploring the Western Coast of Africa, they did not omit to introduce and inculcate the principles of their religion. This, indeed, was a

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 17. † Ibid. p. 24.

part of the Portuguese policy, whenever they effected the conquest of any country; as it was also the practice of the Spaniards on taking possession of Hispaniola, and other of the West-Indian islands. Hence, on the return of Diego Camru from Portugal about the year 1486, with some Congo princes, whom he had taken with him to Lisbon about fifteen months previously, he was received with great kindness by the Congo king, who promised to embrace Christianity, and sent several of his nobles back with Diego to Europe to be instructed in its principles. They remained two years, and were treated with great respect; and when they were considered ripe for baptism, John II. stood godfather to the principal envoy, and his chief courtiers to the others.

In 1490 the Congo nobles were conveyed back to their native country under charge of an ambassador, and a body of missionaries. The Portuguese, on their arrival, were received by the king in full pomp. The native troops approached in three lines, making so prodigious a noise with horns, kettledrums, and other instruments, and raising shouts so tremendous, as to surpass all that the Europeans had ever witnessed in Catholic processions and invocation to the saints. The king himself was seated in the midst of a large park, upon an ivory chair raised on a platform. He gave full permission to erect a church; he and all his nobles were baptized; and free scope was allowed to the exertions of the Catholic missionaries; so that a hundred thousand of the subjects of Congo were baptized in one day, and called Christians, but without any idea of the duties and obligations which that sacred name imposes. The wholesale manner in which the Spanish Catholic friars performed the rite of baptism upon the aborigines of the New World, may be inferred from the following quotation from Heylin, who, after mentioning the case of a person of note who resolutely refused to be baptized, says, "The rest were driven into the font, like so many horses to the watering-place, and received into the church of Christ without any instruction: insomuch that one old friar (as himself confessed to Charles V.) had christened 700,000 of them; and another of that rank, 300,000; never acquainting them with any of the articles of the Christian faith, or points of religious conversation." *

Nothing could be more auspicious than the first establishment of the Roman Catholic faith in Congo. But when, after these ceremonial preliminaries, the missionaries proceeded to

* Heylin's "Cosmographie," p. 1017.

enforce upon their sable disciples the necessity of some moral restrictions in the matter of polygamy, the aged monarch considered this too great a privation to be endured; and he, with all his nobles, plunged again into the abyss of Pagan superstition. His eldest son, however, Alphonso, the youthful heir-apparent, saw nothing so dreadful in the sacrifice; and he alone remained firm. The old king dying soon after, this zealous convert became entitled to reign; and though he met with considerable opposition from his brother, Panso Aquitimo, the nobles, and almost the whole nation, who raised the standard of revolt in support of polygamy and Paganism, yet, being firmly seated on his throne, he continued a steadfast adherent to the Portuguese, and a great friend to the missionaries. Having thus acquired a settlement in Congo, and being re-inforced by successive bodies of their brethren, who were sent out by the court of Rome, the missionaries spread the Catholic faith over the neighbouring countries, and penetrated into the interior, as yet unexplored by Europeans, also along the coast, and into the island of Fernando Po, where the work of conversion went forward, and a church was built. In fact, almost every where their career was similar; the people gave them the most cordial reception, flocked in crowds to witness, and to share in, the pomp of their ceremonies, accepted with thankfulness their sacred gifts, and received by thousands the rite of baptism. They were not, however, on this account, prepared to renounce their ancient habits and superstitions: it was a mere nominal Christianity which existed from first to last. We do not possess any record of the exact period when the Portuguese missionaries were expelled, or abandoned their work at Congo; but we know that from the year 1490 down to 1682, there continued to be sent out friars, monks, priests, bishops, and fathers:* so that in Congo, and the districts south of that kingdom, for more than two centuries, at least the profession of Christianity was retained, though in a form which was very little better than Paganism itself: for many years past, however, not the least vestige of this "holy catholic faith" has been found on the banks of the Zaire, or in other parts of the coast of Guinea.

---

* Murray's "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 68, 116. See also Wadstrom's "Essay on the Colonization of Western Africa," p. 125.

CHAPTER VIII.

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

THE English embark in the African Trade—John II. of Portugal remonstrates against this to Edward IV., King of England—His Wishes for some time complied with—English Traders visit the Coast—Success of Lok's Voyage in 1554—The French embark in the Trade—The English, though much annoyed by the Portuguese, still persevere—Captain Hawkins and the Slave-Trade—The English, French, and Dutch engage in lawful Commerce—Queen Elizabeth grants a Patent to some Exeter Merchants to carry on the Trade of the Senegal and the Gambia—French Vessels touch at both these Rivers—The Dutch actively engaged in the African Trade—James I. grants a Charter to some Merchants in London, for the Purpose of "Adventuring in the Golden Trade"—George Thompson reaches Tenda in the Upper Gambia—Jobson sent by the Company in the same Direction—The French found an Establishment at the Senegal—The English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spaniards, all engaged in the Slave-Trade—The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa founded—Opposition to the Trade from the Dutch—War with Holland—New Company incorporated under the Name of "The Royal African Company of England"—The British Trade in Africa placed upon a better Basis — Several Forts built — The African Trade mixed up with the West Indies—The French sell their Establishment at Senegal to the French West-India Company, with an exclusive Right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope—The Spanish Papal Bull—The French and English commit the same Blunder—The Slave-Trade—The Spirit of African Discovery revived in 1720—Stibbs sails up the Gambia, and passes the Falls of Barraconda—Brue ascends the Senegal as far as Gallam—Conflicting Accounts of the Niger—The English Company contracts with Spain to supply her Colonies with Slaves—This proved to be a losing Concern—The Company cede to the Crown all their Possessions—The European Forts and Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa—A new Era in the Annals of Africa—Formation of "The African Association"—Modern Travellers—The Niger—Tribute to Mungo Park.

ALTHOUGH the Portuguese bore away the palm of maritime enterprise in Africa from all other nations, there were not wanting some who followed close in their wake,—the adventurers of France and England especially. But the latter, though early thirsting for enterprise in Africa, were diverted for a length of time from even sending a single ship there, by the monstrous Bull granted in 1442 by the Pope to the Portuguese. For no sooner had the Portuguese monarch assumed the title of "Lord of Guinea," than he claimed a right of prohibiting the other European powers from landing, or engaging in traffic, on any part of the African continent. And as this exorbitant preten-

sion was sanctioned by the authority of the court of Rome, he hesitated not to maintain it by force of arms; and for some time it appears to have been tacitly recognised.

In 1481, a movement was made in England for the purpose of obtaining a share in the African trade. John Tintam and William Fabian are stated to have been employed in equipping a fleet for the coast of Guinea, at the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia. Alarmed at this intelligence, the king of Portugal, John II., immediately despatched an envoy to Edward IV., to represent to the English court his sovereign claims as lord of Guinea; and to urge the request that, throughout the English dominions, no man should be allowed "to arm or set forth ships to Guinea;" and that His Majesty would "dissolve a certain fleet" equipped for that purpose. The demand was complied with; and down to the close of the sixteenth century, the merchants of London imported from Lisbon the rich productions of the East.*

But the shrewd, business-like, spirited, and enterprising men of our own country were not for ever to be excluded from "a share in the African trade;" nor did they wait to the close of the sixteenth century, before they embarked in what was conceived to be the legitimate right of all honest and honourable traders. So early as 1551 and 1552, a Captain Windham had made two successful voyages to the coast of Barbary; and in relation to the latter he observes, "Here, by the way, it is to be observed, that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbary: and, both in our voyage the year before, and also in this, gave out in England, through their merchants, that if they took us in these parts, they would use us as their mortal enemies." But, nothing daunted by this threat, and in defiance of the extravagant claims of the Portuguese monarch, in the following year Windham undertook a third voyage, in which he reached Guinea. Slaves, however, were not his object. He proceeded first to Rio Sestos, where they might with great advantage have loaded the ship with pepper. "But setting lightly by that commodity in comparison of the pure gold they thirsted for, he coursed on to the Golden Coast, obtained one hundred and fifty pounds' weight of the gold of the country, and returned." In 1554, John Lok made a voyage to Guinea. He also proceeded to Rio Sestos, and thence to the Gold-Coast, and brought home four hundred

* CONDER'S "Modern Traveller," vol. xx. p. 25. See also note in BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 32.

pounds' weight of gold, thirty-six butts of Guinea pepper, and two hundred and fifty elephants' teeth. The natives are described by him as being "very wary in bargaining, but yet honest."*

Several other voyages, of both Englishmen and Frenchmen, are mentioned by Hakluyt as having been undertaken about this time to the Western Coast of Africa, for the sole purpose of legitimate trade in the rich productions of that country. In 1555 and 1556, William Towerson made two voyages to Guinea. In the first of these, while engaged in trade with the natives near Elmina, he was attacked by the Portuguese: he escaped, however, to his boats, and, passing farther, completed his cargo of gold-dust and elephants' teeth; though, he observes, "the Portuguese brigandines followed us from place to place, to give warning to the people of the country that they should not deal with us." In the latter voyage, Towerson met with five French vessels trading on the African coast, with whom he joined company, for their mutual protection against the attacks of the Portuguese. They soon after met with a Portuguese squadron, which attacked them. The French, however, did not assist Towerson as he had expected, and they therefore parted company. Soon after, Towerson met with another French vessel, which, seeing his shattered condition, attacked him. But he fought her off, and returned in safety; though it appears that, owing to the above circumstances, this voyage was not so successful in the acquisition of gold as he had expected.†

John Bull, having once embarked in a trade so lucrative as to be able, as we have seen in the case of Lok's one voyage, to bring home from the Gold-Coast several hundred weight of that precious metal, amounting to upwards of £20,000 in value, besides the thirty-six butts of Guinea pepper and a considerable quantity of ivory,—was not to be beaten off by the menacing attitude of the Portuguese on the Coast, or of their squadron at sea. Much less was he to be frightened into an abandonment of the traffic by the great blundering Bull granted by the Pope to Henry of Portugal in 1442. British navigators, therefore, continued to visit the Coast for the purpose of commerce, having as yet abstained from mixing themselves up in any way with the Slave-Trade.‡ At length, however, in 1562, the importation of

* Bandinel's "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 33, 34. From Hakluyt.

† *Idem*, p. 35.

‡ The reader may form some idea of the strong temptation to embark in the African Trade from an extract of a letter from a merchant at Morocco, to his friend in London, in 1594. It is as follows: "That you may not think me to slumber in

slaves from Africa was first practised by our own countrymen; and the name which is consigned to everlasting disgrace for commencing this nefarious traffic on the part of the English, is that of Captain Hawkins. But the particulars of this expedition we have given in a preceding chapter: we will, therefore, here only call attention to this remarkable fact,—that the two Europeans who first embarked in this unlawful, unprincipled, and abominable traffic, namely, Gonzales of Portugal and Captain Hawkins of England, both lost their lives, almost at the very commencement of this barbarous Trade. Whether the fate of Hawkins had an influence in deterring our countrymen from this ungodly enterprise, or whether they were held back by a higher principle of justice and humanity, I know not; but thus much is certain, that the English did not engage in the Slave-Trade for many years after this, though they frequently visited the Coast of Africa.

"In 1580, Henry of Portugal died without heirs; and on his death Spain took possession of Portugal, and of its various dependencies in Africa, Asia, and America." A new turn was, therefore, now given to the African trade. "Philip II., who possessed the throne of Spain, was fully occupied in Europe; and what attention he could give to colonial matters, was devoted to the Spanish possessions in America. Africa was, therefore, neglected; and the English, French, Dutch, and even Courlanders, rushed in, and within a few years possessed themselves, with comparative ease, of that trade which Portugal had laboured so hard and spent so many years in acquiring." *

It was about this period that the English Government manifested an interest in the trade to Africa; and the formation of establishments on the banks of its central and principal rivers was commenced. In 1588, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to certain rich merchants of Exeter, to carry on the trade of the Senegal and the Gambia. The Portuguese appear to have been by this time entirely driven from the Senegal, since the English navigators, in 1591, heard of only one individual of that nation residing on its banks. But on the Gambia they were established in great numbers; and they appeared to view the arrival of the English with great jealousy. Some French vessels from

---

this action, wherein you would be truly and perfectly resolved, you shall understand, that, not ten days past, here came a Cahaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principal Moor, whom the king sent thither at first with Alcaide Hamode; and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold."—HAKLUYT.

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 37, 38. From BARBOT, KOCH, and HAKLUYT.

Dieppe, about this time, touched partly at the Senegal, and partly at the Gambia.*

Shortly after this, the Dutch were actively engaged in the African trade. In 1617, they purchased the Island of Goree; and, following up the traces of the Portuguese, soon supplanted them, taking possession of all their factories and forts, in addition to which they constructed some new ones. Their capital, Elmina, itself soon fell into the hands of these bold and successful rivals, who had now risen to the first rank as a naval people. But the Dutch did not remain long undisputed masters of the seas. The glorious and splendid results which had arisen from the discovery of the East and West Indies, caused the ocean to be generally viewed as the grand theatre where wealth and glory were to be gained. The French and English nations, whose turn it was to take the lead in European affairs, pressed eagerly forward in this career, endeavouring to surpass at once their predecessors and each other.

In 1618, James I. granted a charter to a Company of merchants in London, for the purpose of "adventuring in the Golden Trade." George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, to whom was intrusted this adventure, ascended the Gambia as far as Tenda,—a point much beyond that which any European had before reached. Forts, as well as factories, were erected at several places on the Gambia. Flattering reports had reached Europe of the magnitude of the gold-trade carried on at Timbuctoo, and along the Niger. According to all the geographical systems of that age, the great river Niger was understood to empty itself into the Atlantic either by the Senegal or the Gambia; and therefore, by ascending either of these rivers, it seemed possible to reach Timbuctoo, and thus to arrive, at length, at the great fountain of wealth,—the gold country. Two years after, Richard Jobson was sent by the Company in the same direction. He reached the same point as Thompson had done, but did not push his discoveries farther. Both of these expeditions were attended with considerable annoyance, and even loss of life, from the rude and brutal attacks of the Portuguese, who were still numerous in the upper parts of the Gambia. Thompson had left most of his crew at Kassan, and pushed on in open boats; and soon after his departure, the Portuguese, seized with bitter jealousy at this expedition made by a foreign and rival power, furiously attacked the party left at Kassan, and succeeded in effecting a general massacre of the English. Jobson's

* Murray's "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. p. 210.

men were more fortunate than those of Thompson, being unmolested by the Portuguese, though not without some apprehensions to the contrary. But they suffered from another cause: for on Jobson's return to Kassan, he found the climate had done its usual work; the master and great part of the crew of the vessel had died; only about four remained in a state fit for labour. He therefore immediately sailed down the river, and returned to Europe; nor does he appear to have again visited the African continent.

About this time, (1626,) there flourished at Rouen a Company of French merchants trading to Africa, whose director-general resided at Senegal. This Company shortly afterwards supplied the West-Indian colonies with slaves. In 1631, the second British chartered Company for trading to Africa was formed; Charles I. having granted a charter to Sir B. Young, Sir K. Digby, and others. Edwards states, that the merchants under this charter supplied the British settlements in the West Indies with Negroes for working the estates. Within a few years after this, many African settlements were formed, with the view of securing a supply of slaves for the West-India colonies; and the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese imported Negroes from Africa to their various possessions in those islands. The Spaniards did the same to a very large extent; and not only so, but they had recourse to other nations to help them with a supply of Negroes for their colonies. In the year 1662, under Charles II., another chartered Company was formed, entitled, "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England, trading to Africa." This was the third British Company that was formed: and the king's brother, then duke of York, afterwards James II., being a member of the Company, it received the above designation. This third step was taken with a view to the protection of the trade from the aggressions of the Dutch; who, having deprived the Portuguese of all their forts and settlements on the Gold-Coast, attempted, in their turn, to monopolize the entire commerce of Western Africa. They had, in fact, "made it their business," as Mr. Bandinel observes, "to ruin the British trade in Africa; and, step after step, sometimes by fraud, and sometimes by force, they effected, to a great degree, their object,—destroying our ships, and taking our forts." Although the English had long had a fort at Cormantine, and had also established factories at other places on the Gold-Coast, and thus enjoyed as good a right to participate in the trade as themselves, yet the restless and envious Dutch violently opposed them; and the loss inflicted on the second English Company,

previously to the formation of the third "Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa," was stated to be £300,000; "which," says Mr. Bandinel, "if not exaggerated, shows the power and wealth of which the Company had been in possession."

The British Government, having failed in obtaining redress from the Dutch Government for the wrongs which the Dutch had committed against the British trade in Africa, declared war against Holland, in the year 1664. The war was carried on with various success; but as the resources of the Company were exhausted, they surrendered their charter to the crown, and a new Company was incorporated in the year 1672, under the name of "The Royal African Company of England," with ample powers and privileges, for the purpose of prosecuting and protecting the trade between Africa and England. That Company, acting with much energy, restored the trade, enlarged Cape-Coast Castle, built one fort at Accra, another at Dix-Cove, a third at Winnebah, a fourth at Succondee, and a fifth at Commenda; and rebuilt a sixth at Annamaboo. Three of these forts were only at about musket-shot distance from the Dutch forts. The Company likewise purchased Fredericksberg, or Fort-Royal, from the Danes. By these exertions the English interest was put on an equal footing with that of the Dutch; and large quantities of dye-stuff, ivory, wax, and gold, were imported into England, and the British colonies in the West Indies were supplied with slaves. But it appears that at this time the Dutch trade in slaves was ten times greater than that of the English.*

The African trade, it will be seen, was now essentially mixed up with that of the West Indies; and nearly all the European states were soon engaged in the Slave-Trade. France took a prominent part in this traffic; and in 1664 the French African Company sold their establishment at Senegal, and all their trade, to the French West India Company, which obtained from the king of France an exclusive right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope for forty years. This Company not only supplied the French colonies with slaves, but they entered on the trade of carrying them to the Spanish colonies. The Spaniards had arrogated the Western World entirely to themselves: hence, immediately on the discovery of the West Indies, profiting by the example of Portugal, they

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 52, 53. See also DR BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 35—37.

obtained, in 1493, the issue of a Papal Bull, which granted to the crown of Spain all continents and islands which her subjects might discover to the westward of one hundred miles west of the Azores. But it will be seen, from the preceding transfer on the part of France to the French West India Company of an "exclusive right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope," that the Spaniards and Portuguese were not the only Europeans who had put forth such pretensions, and committed such flagrant abuses of a legitimate commerce.

Nor can we clear our own countrymen from the odium of a participation in the same blunder: for, to the Company that was established in 1672, by Charles II., the said Charles was graciously pleased to *give* and *grant* "all and singular the lands, countries, havens, roads, rivers, and other places in Africa, from Sallee in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope, for and during the term of one thousand years; with the sole, entire, and only trade and traffic into and from the said countries and places." Who does not see the absurdity of such gifts, grants, and transfers? Mr. Wadstrom observes, with regard to this regal cession, "May it not be doubted, whether Swift himself, that great master of irony, ever penned any thing so consummately ridiculous, to say nothing of its other qualities?" One of its salient points is, that "Charles gave and granted to *himself* a participation of the above extraordinary privileges; for he and his brother, afterwards James II., were subscribers to this same Company, and were both largely concerned in the Slave-Trade." *

These lofty claims on the part of different nations led to a variety of disputes among the European powers, both in the New World, and on the African coast. In 1678, the French took the Dutch settlement of Arguim; and the trade being thrown open to all subjects of France, the French trade for a while got the ascendancy in that quarter, engrossing the whole line of Western Africa. Ten years after this, (1688,) the Declaration of Rights in England took away, virtually, the exclusive privileges of the African Company; and the British African trade thenceforward became legally open to all British subjects. English capitalists now embarked in the trade generally; the English African Company, which still existed, entered into an agreement with the Spanish Government, to supply the Spanish West Indies with some Negroes from Jamaica; and about this time there were landed in the British colonies, partly by the Company, and partly by British traders, about 25,000

* WADSTROM, "On the Colonization of Western Africa," p. 193.

Negroes a year.* But it appears that the direct supply of slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies was at that time engrossed by the French; and it was not until 1713, when the Spanish Government made over to the English Guinea Company, by a formal royal contract, the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves from Africa, that the English took a part in what was called the "Carrying Trade."†

About the year 1720, the spirit of African discovery again revived in England. The Duke of Chandos, then director of the Royal African Company, concerned at the declining state of their affairs, entertained the idea of retrieving them by opening a path into the golden regions still reported to exist in the interior of Africa. The Gambia was again the starting-point. Accordingly, in 1723, Captain Stibbs was furnished with the usual means to navigate that river as high as possible. On the 7th of October he arrived at James Island, about thirty miles from the Atlantic, where the English had a fort and factory. He here discovered that Mr. Glynn, whom he expected to find governor, had been dead six months; and that Mr. Willy, who succeeded him, happened to be then visiting the factory of Joar, more than a hundred miles distant. Stibbs immediately wrote to him for assistance in the expedition, but received a very cold reply; and he was much surprised when, a few days after, a boat brought down the dead body of the governor, who had fallen a victim to the fever of the climate, which in this case had affected the brain, and accounts, in some degree, for the want of interest he had felt in the expedition. A Mr. Orfeur succeeded Willy in the government at James Fort, who exerted himself very actively to forward the objects of the expedition. Stibbs had a crew assigned him of nineteen white men; of whom one, indeed, "though as black as coal," yet being a Christian, considered himself a white man, and served as interpreter. He had likewise about thirty Africans, with three female cooks; and he afterwards took on board a *balafeu*, or native musician, to enliven the spirits of the party. Stibbs set out on December 26th, and the voyage proceeded for some time very agreeably. The English were every where well received; and at one place even a *saphie*, or "charm," was laid upon the bank, for the purpose of attracting them on shore. The captain had endeavoured to conceal his object, but in vain: he found

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 56. From EDWARDS'S "British West Indies," and the "Report of the Privy Council on Trade with Africa, 1789."

† BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 56, 57.

himself repeatedly pointed out as the person who was come to bring down the gold. The native crew, however, predicted the most fearful disaster, if he should attempt to proceed above the Falls of Barraconda. As the boats approached that fatal boundary, the Africans came in a body, and stated their firm determination on no account to ascend any farther. No one, they said, had ever gone beyond Barraconda: Barraconda was the end of the world; or, if there existed any thing beyond, it was a frightful and barbarous region, where life would be in continual danger. A long palaver and a bottle of Stibbs's very best brandy were necessary, ere they would agree to accompany him beyond this dreaded boundary of the habitable universe.

Stibbs now proceeded to pass the Falls of Barraconda, which were not found so formidable as rumour had represented. They were narrows rather than Falls, the channel being confined by rocky ledges and fragments, between which there was only one passage, where the canoe rubbed against the rock on each side. On passing this obstacle, it soon appeared, not only that the world extended beyond Barraconda, but that all the evils predicted from the hostility of the natives were wholly chimerical. They were found to be a harmless, good-humoured people, who, wherever the crew landed, met them with presents of fowls and provisions. The adventurers now, however, found themselves in the region of crocodiles, river-horses, baboons, and elephants. The last-mentioned were seen in bands, crossing from one side of the water to the other. The river-horses, too, were very numerous, and sometimes came in collision with the boat; through which this huge animal, incensed at the obstacle, was apt to strike a hole with his great teeth, so as to endanger its safety. What was still worse, the severest exertion now became necessary in order to pass the flats and quicksands, which multiplied in proportion as the party ascended, and over which the boats, in some instances, could only be dragged by main force. Stibbs, however, persevered until February 22d, when he found himself about sixty miles above Barraconda, and then was obliged to stop a little short of Tenda. He therefore immediately returned, and proceeded down the river with all possible expedition.*

While the English sought to ascend the Gambia, the Senegal was the Niger of the French,—the stream by which they hoped to penetrate upwards to Timbuctoo and the regions of gold. From a very early period they had founded the settlement of

* MURRAY'S "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 236—241.

St. Louis, at the mouth of that river, which has ever since continued to be the capital of the French possessions in Africa. In 1697, M. Brue was appointed director-general of the Company's affairs at the Senegal, and was the person who effected most for their prosperity, and made the greatest efforts to penetrate into the interior. In that year he embarked on a visit to the *siratik*, or king, of the Foulahs, whose territory lay about four hundred miles up the Senegal. The principal object of this journey was to settle some disputes that had arisen between him and the French traders at the mouth of the Senegal. In ascending that river, Brue was struck by the magnificent forests, and the profuse and luxuriant verdure with which they were clothed; while it was amusing to observe the numberless varieties of the monkey tribe, which were constantly leaping from bough to bough. Elephants, too, as on the Upper Gambia, were seen marching in bands of forty or fifty; and large herds of cattle were feeding on the rich meadows, though, during the season of inundation, they withdrew to the more elevated spots.

Brue reached the fort of Ghiorel without any difficulty, and then set out for Gumel, the residence of the *siratik*, about ten leagues in the interior. He was kindly received, and even obtained permission to erect forts,—a privilege of which African princes are usually and, indeed, naturally jealous. Having accomplished the object of his visit, and established a factory at Ghiorel, the director did not attempt to penetrate higher, but immediately sailed down to Fort St. Louis.

In the following year, however, the same gentleman took another voyage, in which he aimed, not merely at the limited objects above stated, but sought to ascend the Senegal as high as possible, and to open a commercial intercourse with the interior. In this journey he reached as far as Gallam; and, on arriving at Dramanet, a thriving town in that kingdom, which was inhabited by several rich native merchants, who traded as far as Timbuctoo, Brue considered it the most convenient place for a fort. He accordingly erected one, which was called St. Joseph, and continued long to be the principal seat of French commerce on the Upper Senegal. Brue then went up to Felu, where a large rock, crossing the river, forms a cataract, which it is almost impossible for vessels to pass. Quitting his boats, he proposed to ascend to the Falls of Govinca, about forty leagues higher; but the water was getting so low, that, fearing lest the navigation downward should be interrupted, he returned to St. Louis. In the course of this voyage Brue made many inquiries respecting the countries beyond Gallam, and particularly concerning the Niger. He received flattering accounts of the rich

gold mines of Bambouk, Bambarra, and Timbuctoo; of caravans which came to the latter place from Barbary, and even of masted vessels which were seen on the waters beyond the Lake Dibbie: but, as to the course of the Niger, which was the grand object of his research, the statements were conflicting, and therefore no satisfactory knowledge on this point was gained; though the popular opinion, in that country, as well as through Europe in general, long continued to regard the Gambia and Senegal as branches of the Niger.*

We have referred, in a preceding page, to the English Guinea Company supplying the Spanish colonies with African Negroes; and, for the sake of chronological order in these brief remarks on the English trade and expeditions to Africa, we return to this subject for a moment. "The contract was dated the 13th of March, 1713, and was signed by the king of Spain himself. It purported that the engagements in it were to last thirty years from its date; and that the contract which His Majesty had made with the French Guinea Company for supplying his colonies with slaves having expired, he now made over a similar contract to the English Guinea Company, who were to bind themselves to supply his colonies with 144,000 slaves within the thirty years, being at the rate of 4,800 slaves a year. They were to advance him 200,000 crowns for the privilege of importing these slaves, and to pay a duty of thirty-three and a half crowns for each slave; and they were, moreover, to give the king of Spain and the king of England each one quarter share of the profits of their trade."†

This contract, it appears, was a losing concern from the first; for though the Company had the privilege of importing into any of the Spanish dominions in America, for the first twenty-five years, as many slaves as they could sell, in addition to the number of slaves stipulated for, and also the privilege of sending every year to the Spanish West Indies a ship of five hundred tons' burden, with an assortment of general goods for sale; yet they were obliged to come to Parliament for assistance to keep up their forts and factories. The various grants of money which they obtained from Government, from the year 1729 to 1749, amounted in the whole to £80,000. But still their affairs deteriorated; and, notwithstanding the aids already given, they were indebted, about this time, to sundry creditors in the sum of upwards of £100,000: they therefore surrendered their charter to the Government; and their forts, castles, and other pos-

* Murray's "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 155—174.

† Bandinel's "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 58.

sessions were transferred to a new Company, which was established by Act of Parliament, and in which each member traded individually on his own capital. But this Company, declining by degrees in influence, in power, and in projects of ambition, ceded in 1765 to the crown all its forts and settlements in Africa; and the African trade was now more than heretofore free and open to all His Majesty's subjects.*

From the preceding rapid sketch of the discoveries made on the Western Coast of Africa, and the various expeditions and trading companies which were formed, and which engaged in the African trade, it will be seen that though these Companies were protected by patents and exclusive privileges, and though some of them were honoured with the enrolment amongst them of members of the royal family, yet they did not flourish, and therefore, from time to time, returned into the hands of the crown the powers and privileges granted to them. It will also be perceived, that, from the time this Coast was first discovered, its rich productions, gold especially, became the subject of much contention among the maritime powers of Europe; and that its settlements and fortresses, during nearly three hundred years, frequently changed hands, and were either ceded to the different nations of Europe by treaty, or were forcibly seized by them, and retained as lawful possessions.

It would answer no good purpose to go into detail here; but we may just mention that, at the present time and for some years past, the settlements on the Western Coast of Africa are and have been in possession of the following nations:—

The English have two principal settlements on the Gambia; namely, at Bathurst, on the island of St. Mary's, a few miles from the mouth of the river; and at Macarthy's Island, about two hundred and fifty miles farther up. They also possess the sovereignty of the whole of that great stream of water, and have trading-places and stores at different points, and on both banks of the river, from Jillifree as far as Cantalicunda, not far distant from the Falls of Barraconda. James Fort, on the small island opposite Jillifree, was destroyed by the French in 1688, and has never since been restored. At the Isles de Los, the English have also mercantile establishments. These islands, which are "five in number, are situate about sixty miles to the northward of Sierra-Leone, and five or six miles from the Coast; and were ceded to Great Britain by the chief, Dalla Mahomedu, to whom an annual payment is made

* Bandinel's "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 58—64.

for them. Factory Island, the second in extent, is four and a half miles long, by half a mile broad. They are, however, very valuable for the trade which is from them carried on with the rivers of the adjacent continent, consisting in the exchange of British goods for hides, ivory, gold-dust, &c."* Sierra-Leone, and the Banana Islands contiguous thereto, also belong to the English. There are likewise several British factories established on the various rivers between the Gambia and Sierra-Leone. Further south we come to the Gold-Coast: and here the English have the principal sway. Cape-Coast Castle, Annamaboo, Accra, and Dix-Cove, are all British settlements; besides which there are several other minor forts and trading factories.

The FRENCH have the sole control of the Senegal, and have two principal establishments on that river; namely, St. Louis, at the entrance of the river; and Fort St. Joseph, in the kingdom of Gallam. They possess, also, the island of Goree, on the south side of Cape Verd; and a small trading port at Albrada, about thirty miles up the Gambia, which they persist in holding in defiance of the Treaty of 1783. They have, likewise, the principal trade in gum at Portindic, though it would appear that by this treaty the right was conceded to the English to trade with the Moors in the same article at that place.

The DUTCH still hold the fort and castle of Elmina, which they took from the Portuguese in 1637. It is their principal settlement in this part of Africa, and is only a few miles from the English fort at Cape-Coast Castle. They have also several other forts along the coast; but none of them are now garrisoned, except Elmina and Axim.

The DANES have a respectable fort near Accra, called Christianberg Castle, which is their chief establishment, though they have several others on the coast of Guinea.

The PORTUGUESE and SPANIARDS are found in different parts of the coast; but their possessions are merely nominal, the subjects of these two states being principally engaged in the unnatural traffic in human beings. In this iniquitous trade they were the first to embark; and it but too plainly appears that they are determined to carry the disgrace of being the last to leave it off.

The year 1788 constituted a new era in the annals of African discovery. Hitherto motives of mercenary interest alone had guided the spirit of enterprise; but in that year "The African Association" was formed, consisting of men eminent for rank

* MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. p. 559.

and wealth, and still more distinguished by their zeal in the cause of science and humanity. The object of this Association was to promote the discovery of the interior of Africa, with a view to the advancement of geographical knowledge. They subscribed the necessary funds, and sought out individuals duly qualified to undertake such distant and adventurous missions. Several noblemen were connected with this Association; and Ledyard, Lucas, Houghton, Park, and a host of other spirited and enterprising travellers, were successively employed; each of whom contributed more or less information concerning the interior of Africa, the geographical divisions of some of its kingdoms, its natural scenery and productions, with some account of the native tribes. It was then proved to a demonstration, that neither the Senegal nor the Gambia had any connexion with the far-famed Niger. The course of that mighty stream for a considerable distance had been discovered by Park, who, unfortunately, in his second journey, lost his life in its waters; but its termination was still wrapt in mystery, until a very recent period, when this long-prosecuted discovery was accomplished by the energetic and heroic Landers.

The results of the investigations made by several or nearly all of the above enterprising travellers have long been before the public, and are still perused with almost unabated interest. The writer of these pages, however, cannot pass by one name without a word. I refer to MUNGO PARK. This intrepid traveller having taken the route of the Gambia in both his journeys into the interior, the names of Jillifree, "a town on the northern bank of the river Gambia, in the kingdom of Barra;" of Vintain, "a town situated about two miles up a creek on the southern side of the river;" and of Kayaye and Pisania, and other towns and places mentioned by Park, on the Gambia,—are all as familiar to me as the principal towns or counties in England are to a commercial traveller, since I have had the gratification of sailing up and down that splendid stream very many times. I am also well acquainted with "Madina, the capital of Woolli;" with Kanipe, and Tambacunda, and other places inland mentioned by Park, as far as Boollibanny, "the capital of Bondou;" and I feel it but an act of justice to the memory of that great African traveller and writer to say, that his descriptions of the towns and places, the kings and kingdoms, the native tribes and their customs, are admirably correct; so much so, that I believe a more faithful representation of a country was never given, than that which is to be found in the travels of the well-known Scotchman, MUNGO PARK.

CHAPTER IX.

WESTERN AFRICA.—SIERRA-LEONE.

LIMITS of Western Africa—Windward and Leeward Coasts—Low Land—Various Rivers—Despotic Power of the Chiefs—Humiliating Reflections—First Protestant Missionary—Origin of the Colony of Sierra-Leone—Dr. Smeathman and Granville Sharp—The American Revolution—Four hundred Blacks, with sixty Whites, sail for Sierra-Leone—Sickness and Mortality amongst the Settlers—Granville Sharp's Liberality—The Town destroyed by a neighbouring Chief—Mr. Falconbridge sent out—Granville-Town—"The Sierra-Leone Company" chartered—A Re-inforcement of Settlers from Nova-Scotia—Upwards of one hundred Europeans sent out—Sickness and Death—The Colony attacked and destroyed by the French—Reflections on this Disaster—The spirited Conduct and Exertions of the Company—Nova-Scotian Malecontents—The Arrival of the Maroons—An Attack on the Colony by the Timmanees—The Assailants repulsed—Transfer of the Colony to the Crown—The African Institution—State of the Colony in 1807.

THE precise limits of Western Africa are not very accurately defined; but what is generally understood as constituting the western portion of this continent, is nearly the whole of the line of coast within the Tropics, commencing at about Cape Blanco, and forming a wide sweep around the Gulf of Guinea to Angola, one of the kingdoms near the southern extremity of the country of Congo; thus extending upwards of 3,000 miles along the Atlantic, with an average breadth of 300 miles. A considerable part of this line of coast, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, has long been occupied by a chain of European forts, erected at different times with a view to the commerce in gold, palm-oil, and ivory, but, above all, in slaves; for though this last object has for some time been finally abandoned by Great Britain, France, and some other nations, yet it is a well-known fact, that the trade in African Negroes may still be called the staple of the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Brazilians.

It would, perhaps, be right and proper to devote this chapter to a description of the physical, social, and moral condition of Africa; but, fearing to enlarge this volume to an undue size, I am reluctantly compelled to omit any lengthy remarks here on these subjects. I yield, however, to this necessity the more readily, because, in other parts of the work, each of these points is more or less touched upon; and in the thirteenth chapter more particularly, the reader will find some account of

the degraded moral condition of this part of the Heathen world. A word or two I must allow myself in passing.

Western Africa is divided into the Windward and Leeward Coasts. The Windward Coast includes the space in which the Slave-Trade is most rife, and takes its name from the direction of the trade-winds, which constantly blow from certain quarters. It comprehends Senegambia and Guinea; extending from Senegal, in latitude 16° N., to Cape Palmas, in latitude 4° 26′ S. This part of Africa is again divided into what are called the Grain, the Ivory, the Gold, and the Slave Coasts; the names of which sufficiently indicate the distinguishing peculiarities of their respective localities. Almost the whole of the sea-coast, for some hundred leagues to the north and south of Sierra-Leone, is very low. From the Gambia to the Bullom shore, it is remarkably flat; so much so, as to present to the approaching voyager a singular prospect of palm and other trees, in long lines, apparently growing out of the water; their foliage and lofty stems being in full view, often for many hours, whilst the land beneath remains unseen, until within a very short distance of it. Sierra-Leone, however, forms an exception and a bold relief to the monotony of the low land. This interesting peninsula presents heaped-up mountains of prodigious heights, which rise like pyramids in the desert, and the tops of which are frequently wrapped in clouds and mist.

This low and flat country is, however, backed by ranges of lofty mountains, which in some places approach the sea, and, as at Cape Verd, project in bold headlands. The well-known Mountains of the Moon are of an amazing height; some of the peaks being not less than 13,000 feet in elevation. It is only, therefore, about the estuaries of the great rivers, and along their banks, that the country can be said to be an unbroken flat. In other places it consists of gentle undulations and rising eminences, giving considerable beauty to the landscape. The principal rivers are the Senegal, Gambia, Rio Grande, Rio Nunez, Sierra-Leone or Rokel, Mesurado, Nun, or Niger, and Congo. These rivers penetrate into the interior by a great variety of windings, and divide into innumerable branches and creeks, which communicate with each other, and with the branches of neighbouring rivers, so as to render the inland navigation very extensive and intricate.

Along this vast line of coast, that is, between the Tropic of Cancer and that of Capricorn, and for some hundreds of miles inland, the territory is in the possession of a number of petty states and kingdoms, many of which compose aristocratic repub-

lics, turbulent, restless, and licentious. But the greater part of Western Africa may be said to be under the dominion of the most savage despotism, the power of the chieftains being considered as absolute. They exercise their authority most despotically. With them human life is of little or no value. Their law is strength, and their strength men; and the passions and caprices of these chiefs being unchecked by any counteracting influence, the very name of Africa is associated with all that is shocking and revolting to the feelings of humanity, and its history might well be written in characters of blood.

Two humiliating reflections involuntarily press themselves upon our attention here. The first is, that, dark and degraded as Africa is by nature, and by a deep-rooted superstition, it has been rendered more dark and gloomy, more miserable and wretched, by coming in contact with Europeans, who *originated the Slave-Trade*, that fruitful parent of almost every other evil. The other humiliating thought is this,—that though Africa itself is one of the fairest, most beautiful, and most fruitful portions of the globe, containing forests of the most valuable timber, which cover thousands of miles, and enriched with districts impregnated with the precious metals; though its vast continent has been circumnavigated by ships of Europe for three centuries and a half; and though Great Britain and other maritime states of Europe have for more than two centuries held commercial intercourse with the Western Coast, and have derived considerable advantage from Africa; notwithstanding, until comparatively a late period, little or nothing has been done to communicate to its teeming millions the blessings of the gospel.

The first Protestant attempt of which we have any record took place in the year 1751. This was made by a minister of the Church of England, who had spent five years in America as a missionary under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This gentleman proceeded to the Gold-Coast in that year, in order "to make a trial with the natives, and see what hopes there would be of introducing among them the Christian religion."* It appears that during the four years of his stay, he officiated as chaplain at Cape-Coast Castle, but was much discouraged in his endeavours to introduce a purer faith among the natives. His health having failed, he returned to England in the year 1756. But, previously to his return home, he sent to this country three native boys for education; one of whom went to the University

* Beecham's "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," p. 257. From "An Account of two Missionary Voyages," &c. "By Thomas Thompson, A.M. London, 1758."

of Oxford, was subsequently ordained, and returned to exercise his ministry in his native land. For half a century this African minister was chaplain at Cape-Coast Castle; but he "does not appear to have been instrumental in turning any of his countrymen to Christianity. Nor will this excite surprise, when it is known, that on his death-bed he gave evidence that he had at least as much confidence in the influence of the fetish as in the power of Christianity." After his decease, other English chaplains were sent, who speedily sank under the influence of the climate, having "successively died soon after their arrival at Cape-Coast Castle." *

The next—indeed, it may be called the first vigorous and united—effort that was made to benefit Africa, was commenced towards the close of the last century, in the formation of the colony of Sierra-Leone:—an undertaking which originated in the most benevolent motives, and was long conducted under highly distinguished patronage. Sierra-Leone was discovered by the Portuguese in 1463, who were the first Europeans that formed settlements on the river of that name. They were afterwards followed by other European nations; and, according to Golberry, the river Mitembo was included at one time within the limits of the French "Government of the Senegal." It first became known to the English in 1562, when the notorious Sir J. Hawkins landed there, made unsparing use of fire and sword, and, after perpetrating every atrocity, succeeded in capturing some hundreds of the natives, put them on board his vessels, and afterwards sold them in the West Indies for his own advantage.

But this locality was afterwards selected for a widely different purpose,—to check and put down the Slave-Trade, and to introduce and diffuse the principles of our holy religion, with its attendant blessing of civilization, and thus to benefit the whole continent of Africa. The idea of establishing a free Negro settlement at Sierra-Leone was first suggested by Dr. Smeathman, in his letter to Dr. Knowles, dated July 21st, 1783.† It appears that he conceived this noble design in Africa itself, where he had resided several years. Contemporary, however, with Dr. Smeathman's suggestion, this subject had occupied the thoughts and the pen of that eminent philanthropist, Granville Sharp; who, on the 1st of August of the same year, (1783,) sketched the outline of a plan "in his private memorandum for

* Beecham's "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 258, 259.

† Wadstrom's "Essay on the Colonization of Western Africa," part ii. p. 3. See also Appendix to that work, pp. 197—207.

a settlement on the coast of Africa," which, he observes in the first paragraph, "will deserve all encouragement, if the settlers are absolutely prohibited from holding any kind of *property in the persons of men as slaves*, and from selling either man, woman, or child." An enlarged account of this plan was found among Mr. Sharp's papers; and it was probably the foundation of all the regulations by which the colony was governed at its commencement.*

There appear to have been two principal causes or circumstances which led to the formation, at that time, of the colony at Sierra-Leone. While Great Britain was engaged in the American war, a vast number of Negroes forsook their masters, and joined the British forces. These served with fidelity, until hostilities were brought to a termination in 1783. But when the troops were about to be disbanded, it became a matter of considerable difficulty how to dispose of these Blacks, consistently with the principles of justice, humanity, and honour. To abandon them in the United States, was to expose them to the resentment of their ancient masters, against whom they had fought, and to reward them with slavery for their attachment to our cause. To prevent these evils from taking place, great numbers of them were carried to the Bahama islands and Nova-Scotia with the white loyalists, where they were declared free. But many of them, being incorporated with the British regiments, were carried to Great Britain, and especially to London. On being dismissed, the English soldiers repaired to their respective abodes, but the Blacks were left in a forlorn condition, without a home, and without a friend, in a foreign land. These men became, therefore, objects of genuine compassion: they were entitled to ample protection and a generous requital.

In the mean time this project was taken up by Granville Sharp, as affording the best remedy for an inconvenience that had grown out of his own benevolent exertions on behalf of the enslaved Africans. After the memorable decision of Lord Mansfield in favour of the Negro Somerset, in June, 1772,—the particulars of which we have already stated,—great numbers of Blacks, who had been brought to England, and turned adrift by their masters,—many of them unaccustomed to any useful handicraft or calling; and, like the disbanded Negroes from America, without a home, or a parish, where they could claim parochial relief, shivering from the influence of our chilly climate,—fell by degrees into great distress, and were conspicu-

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 11—15.

ous in the streets of the metropolis as common beggars. As Mr. Sharp was their known patron and friend, they flocked to him for protection and support; and he frequently and generously relieved them out of his own purse: but their numbers being great,—at one time, it is stated, "about four hundred,"—he found he could not relieve them daily consistently with his engagements to others. A number of humane gentlemen, therefore, formed a "Committee for Relieving the Black Poor:" and with this Committee Mr. Sharp and Dr. Smeathman zealously co-operated. In 1786 the latter published his "Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra-Leone, on the Grain-Coast of Africa; intended more particularly for the service and happy Establishment of Blacks and People of Colour, to be shipped as free Men, under the Direction of the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor, and under the Protection of the British Government." The "substance" of this plan the reader may find in the Appendix to Wadstrom's "Essay on Colonization."

The Blacks of London having heard of this proposed settlement, many of them waited on Mr. Sharp, "to consult with him about the proposal. Sometimes they came," he says, "in large bodies together. Upon inquiring among themselves, I found that several of them had been on the spot."* To the "plan" already mentioned the "Committee for the Black Poor" annexed a hand-bill, inviting all persons of the above description, who were willing to become colonists, to apply to Dr. Smeathman, to whom had been intrusted the formation of the settlement. In consequence of this measure, several hundred Blacks, with some few Whites, expressed their willingness to embark in the expedition. Application was also now made to the Ministers of England for assistance: the Government had long regarded the number of Negro mendicants as a nuisance, and therefore readily consented to lend a helping hand to the project. Accordingly "a small weekly allowance was made from the Treasury for the subsistence of the settlers; and navy transports were hired to carry them out."† But the sickness and lamented death of Dr. Smeathman, at this important juncture, suspended the execution of the plan for a short time; and Mr. Sharp stood involved in all the expenses which had attended its outset. In this situation of affairs, the Government again interfered; provision was made both for transporting the intending settlers, and for supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence in Africa;

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. p. 5. † *Idem*, p. 16.

and the little fleet at length sailed, under convoy of the "Nautilus" sloop of war, on the 8th of April, 1787; having on board somewhat more than four hundred Negroes, to which were added about sixty Europeans, chiefly women. It appears that seven hundred black poor had offered themselves to go to the proposed settlement; but from the delay which occurred in the Channel, and from a feeling of jealousy which prevailed among them, that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay, as the transports for that expedition were then waiting at Portsmouth, where the ships for Sierra-Leone were ordered also, many of them deserted, so that only four hundred Negroes embarked in the first instance.

On leaving England they were placed under the direction of Captain Thompson of the navy, commander of the "Nautilus" sloop of war, who on his arrival at Sierra-Leone procured for His Britannic Majesty a fine tract of mountainous country, to be appropriated to their use. This land was first purchased of King Tom, a neighbouring Chief; and the bargain was afterwards confirmed by Naimbanna, the king of the country, who resided at the small island of Robanna. But the commencement of the settlement was inauspicious. During a long detention of these poor people in the Channel, and during their passage to Sierra-Leone, they were in an extremely unhealthy state, in most instances produced by disorders brought on board with them, and aggravated by intemperance. In consequence of the delay that had occurred, they had landed in the rainy season, when no sufficient order or regularity could be established among them; and, being exposed to the weather, a great portion of them very soon perished. In the course of the first year their numbers were reduced nearly one-half; many having died before they reached the coast, and a great number a short time after their landing. Some few, also, had deserted. The remainder, however, were still sufficient for building a small town: and Captain Thompson fixed upon a beautiful eminence on the southern bank of the river for the site of the new township. About three hundred and sixty town-lots, of one acre each, were marked out in streets; and the lots were drawn and appropriated on June 12th, 1787.*

Mr. Sharp had heard of the safe arrival of the settlers at the Madeira Islands from the Rev. Mr. Fraser, who had accompanied the expedition as chaplain; and subsequently he was informed of their reaching the coast. On the 31st of October,

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 20, 90.

1787, he wrote to Dr. J. Sharp as follows: "I have had but melancholy accounts of my poor little, ill-thriven, swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra-Leone. They have, however, purchased twenty miles square of the finest and most beautiful country, they all allow, that was ever seen. The hills are not steeper than Shooter's-Hill; and fine streams of fresh water run down the hill on each side of the new township; and in the front is a noble bay, where the river is about three leagues wide. The woods and groves are beautiful beyond description, and the soil very fine: so that a little good management may, with God's blessing, still produce a thriving settlement." *

A code of laws, or rather "Temporary Regulations," had been drawn up by Mr. Sharp, for the new settlement; and not being objected to by the Government, and having been approved of and adopted by the settlers before they sailed, these rules were of considerable use, and would have been of still greater benefit, had they been more strictly adhered to and maintained. But it could scarcely have been expected, that a colony composed of disbanded soldiers, and Whites of indifferent character, many of them females of loose morals, would speedily become a prosperous settlement. Making every allowance, therefore, for the unfavourable season of the year at which the party arrived on the coast, and the misery they had endured on board the ship, some of them having been there above three months; "the greatest blame of all," as Mr. Sharp observed, "is to be charged on the intemperance of the people themselves; for the most of them (both Whites and Blacks) became so besotted during the voyage, that they were totally unfit for business when they landed, and could hardly be prevailed on to assist in erecting their own huts. Thus unhappily the allowance of rum, granted to them by the Government with the most benevolent intention, really proved their greatest bane. There were, of course, many honourable exceptions; and Granville Sharp received several interesting letters from the settlers; and though some of them were of a discouraging nature, yet they were all expressive of their gratitude to him as "their constant and generous friend."

It appears, however, that when His Majesty's sloop "Nautilus" left the settlement on September 16th, 1787, there remained, in all, two hundred and seventy-six persons. Amongst the many who had died during the rains, were Mr.

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

Irwin, the agent-conductor; Mr. Gesau, the town-major and engineer; and Mr. Richards, the gardener. These deaths, with the desertion of many others, occasioned great discouragement to those that remained. Another misfortune to the settlement was the sickness of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, the chaplain, whose continued ill state of health obliged him to return to England in March, 1788. The number of settlers at that time was only one hundred and thirty in all: but this great reduction was not so much attributed to sickness, as to emigration. For the people, having little or nothing to live upon, and no one to look up to as their leader and guide, dispersed in various ways. Mr. Sharp, being apprehensive of an entire desertion, hastened to rescue the colony from total wreck, by sending out, principally at his own expense, the brig "Myro," laden with various articles of considerable present use in meeting the urgent necessities of the settlers. In the same vessel sailed thirty-nine passengers, both white and black, to augment the number of the colonists. "Among these were several very intelligent men, two of them surgeons of respectable abilities, Mr. Lacitus and Mr. Peale; and also Mr. Irwin, son of the late agent-conductor." The timely arrival of the "Myro" with provisions, and a re-inforcement of hands, preserved the infant colony, and renovated the hopes of the distressed wanderers, the greater part of whom, finding that they could not subsist so well in any other place, now gladly returned to the settlement.

The settlers were, however, soon doomed to another sad disaster; for, towards the end of 1789, while the colony was again in a state of advance, they received a formal notice from the great council of a neighbouring chief, that he had resolved on burning their town, in retaliation for a similar injury done to his own capital by the marines and crew of an English ship of war;* and that he allowed them three days for the removal of their goods. They had no resources; they fled from their homes, and abandoned their plantations; and the judicial sentence was carried into execution at the appointed time. This attack was an overwhelming blow to the colony, and threatened it once more with entire annihilation. But the philanthropic zeal which prevailed in Britain for the colonization of Africa suffered no abatement; and the same provident care which had sent the "Myro" to the aid of Sierra-Leone in its utmost need, had also secured the means of affording it further protection by

* This is fully explained in the Report for 1793. The misunderstanding originated with an American slave-captain, whose cause some British sailors and marines afterwards espoused.

the establishment of a company in England, called "the St. George's Bay Company," united for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent designs of its founder: and a memorial was now addressed to His Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his royal charter of incorporation. Accordingly, in September, 1790, the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, set sail, with a commission to examine and report the state of the colony, and to afford temporary relief to the distress that had arisen, until the grant of the charter should enable the Directors to take more effective measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

Mr. Falconbridge arrived about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers; and, collecting as many of the fugitives as he could any where discover, he brought them to a new settlement above Foura Bay, about two miles further than the former site was from the town of the chief who had invaded them. Here they took possession of some deserted houses; and about four acres of land were cleared, and planted with yams and cassada, and sown with English seeds. This little body of settlers was supplied by Mr. Falconbridge with muskets, ammunition, and articles of cutlery, which they might barter for necessaries; and he reported them at his departure from the coast as likely, with very little labour, to maintain themselves in the same manner as before their dispersion. They at that time amounted in all to sixty-four. The males, though disorderly and turbulent, appeared to be warmly attached to the Company, and resolutely bent on defending themselves. The new settlement received the name of Granville-Town, in honour of their original protector and friend: and the affairs of the settlement, though small, now began to assume a more promising aspect.

Before the close of the session of 1791, the British legislature gave its sanction to the movement, and incorporated the subscribers under the denomination of "The Sierra-Leone Company." As soon as this Act was passed, they held their first meeting in London, on the 19th of October, 1791, and chose their Directors for the ensuing year. Among these we find the celebrated names of Wilberforce, Thornton, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and others, who have immortalized themselves by espousing the cause of insulted humanity. A capital of £250,000 was now raised for carrying on the undertaking; and it became necessary to increase the number of settlers. While the Directors were discussing measures for that purpose, an opportunity offered which appeared to meet their wishes for strengthening the colony by an additional body of free Negroes,

acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to the labour of hot climates. It has been already observed, that at the conclusion of the American war a body of Negroes, who had been induced to enlist in the British army by the king's proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the royal standard, were, on the termination of hostilities, carried to Nova-Scotia, where the greater part of them remained, though some of them found their way to England, and were sent out to Sierra-Leone with the first settlers.

During this year, (1791,) a Negro named Peters arrived in London as a delegate from many of his countrymen of the above description, who, in consequence of finding the climate of Nova-Scotia unfavourable to their health, and on account of the withholding of some grants of land which had been promised to them, were desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra-Leone. The Directors immediately applied to Government, to know if it would defray the expenses of the passage of these Negroes; and, being favourably answered, they availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, of His Majesty's navy, (a brother of the zealous historian of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade,) to bring the new colonists over to Sierra-Leone. Lieutenant Clarkson set sail on August 19th, 1791; and, on his arrival at Nova-Scotia, found, to his surprise, that the number of black people who were desirous to embark for Sierra-Leone far exceeded the account given by their delegate. Not fewer than eleven hundred and ninety-six were brought on board. It was obvious that the accession of so large a body of people could not fail to produce the most important consequences to the infant settlement: their numerous wants would demand instant supply: the Directors, therefore, turned their immediate attention to this subject. The first vessel sent out by the Company from England, reached Sierra-Leone in February, 1792, and was soon followed by two others, carrying out in all rather more than one hundred Europeans. In the succeeding month the Nova-Scotia fleet arrived, consisting of sixteen vessels, from which were landed eleven hundred and thirty-one Blacks; sixty-five having died during the passage.

The colony being thus recruited with this large addition of labourers, and the native princes being perfectly satisfied with the intention of the settlers, the new town, which, in consequence of instructions from the Directors, was named Free-Town, began to rise rapidly; and a public wharf and warehouse were likewise commenced. A fever, however, which the Negroes had brought with them, aggravated by the rainy season which followed soon

after their arrival, carried off a considerable number: and to the latter cause of mortality half of the European settlers fell victims. But the sickly season having passed, things went on prosperously. The site of Free-Town was unquestionably the best that could be selected in the vicinity; and it was soon found that both the soil and climate were admirably adapted for all the productions of the tropical region. But in September, 1794, the colony was surprised by the arrival of a French squadron, who, notwithstanding the declaration of the French Convention, barbarously plundered and destroyed the colonial town, and thus caused a pecuniary loss to the Company amounting to upwards of £50,000. The particulars of this base and barbarous outrage have appeared in print in several publications. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Afzelius, who was a botanist belonging to the colony, and an eye-witness of the facts which he details. His letter is dated Sierra-Leone, November 15th, 1794, and was addressed to the Swedish ambassador in London:—

The English colony (says he) at Sierra-Leone had, like all other new colonies, in the beginning, great difficulties to overcome. But before the end of two years from its first institution, order and industry had begun to show their effects in an increasing prosperity. A new town had been laid out, with regular streets, and a little garden belonging to each house. The woods had been cut down, to the distance of about three miles all round the town. By this means the climate had become healthier, and sickness had diminished. The fame of our colony had spread not only along the whole Western Coast of Africa, but also to parts far distant from the coast; and we have had embassies from kings and princes, several hundred miles distant, with the view of acquiring a better knowledge of us, and of obtaining our friendship. They began to send their children to us, with full confidence, to be brought up in the Christian religion. In short, we were externally respected and internally happy. But the French have been here, and have ruined us. They arrived on the 28th of September last, early in the morning, with a fleet consisting of one large ship, two frigates, two armed brigs, and one cutter, together with two large armed merchant-ships, taken by them at the Isles de Los,—an English slave-factory at the north of our colony, and which they have also destroyed and burnt.

So well had they concealed their nation, that we took them for English. They had English-built vessels, which were rigged in the English way. They showed the English flag, and had their sailors—at least, those whom we saw—dressed like English. In short, we did not perceive our mistake, until we observed them pointing their guns. We had not strength sufficient to resist; and therefore our governor gave orders, that as soon as they should begin to fire, the British flag should be struck, and a flag of truce hoisted. Accordingly this was done; but still they continued firing, and did much damage both within and without the town. They killed two people, and wounded three or four. But as we did not understand the meaning of this proceeding, we asked them for an explanation: and they answered us, that we should display the flag of liberty, as a proof of our submission. We assured them that it should already have been done if we had had any, which terminated the hostilities from the ships.

In the mean time, most of the inhabitants had fled from the town, having taken with them as much of their property as they conveniently could in such a hurry. I was with the governor, together with a number of others. But as soon as I was certain that they were enemies, I went towards my own house, with a view to save as much as possible of my property and natural collections; but was received in such a manner, that I could not venture to proceed. My house was situated near the shore, and unfortunately just opposite the frigate which fired. I saw the balls passing through my house, and heard them whizzing about my ears. I saw that I should lose all my property; but life was dearer to me, and I hastened to the woods. In the afternoon the enemy landed, finding the town almost destitute of people, but rich in provisions, clothing, and other stores. They began immediately to break open the houses, and to plunder: what they did not want, they destroyed, burnt, or threw into the river. They killed all the cattle and animals they found in the fields, streets, yards, or elsewhere, not sparing even asses, dogs, and cats. These proceedings they continued the whole succeeding week, till they had entirely ruined our beautiful and prospering colony; and when they found nothing more worth plundering, they set fire to the public buildings, and all the houses belonging to the Europeans, and consequently to mine among the rest. About twenty-four houses, great and small, were thus destroyed; and nine or ten houses of the colonists were also burnt by mistake.

In the mean time, the enemy was not less active on the water. They took about ten or twelve prizes, including the Company's vessels; most of these they unloaded and burnt. They took also two of our armed vessels; one of which was a large ship, laden with provisions, and which had been long expected; but she unfortunately arrived a few days too soon, and was taken with her whole cargo. We expected at least to receive our private letters; but even this was refused, and they were thrown overboard. At last, after inflicting on us every hardship we could suffer, only sparing our lives and the houses of the colonists, they sailed on the 13th of October last at noon, proceeding downwards to the Gold-Coast; and left us in the most dreadful situation, without provisions, clothes, houses, or furniture. Most of us must have perished, had not our friends in the neighbourhood, both natives and Europeans, who were so happy as to escape the enemy, kindly sent us what they could spare. Since that time most of us have either been, or still are, very sick, and many have died for want of proper food and medicine. The worst, however, is now past. At least, we are not in any want of provision, although of the coarsest kind; but we are destitute of the most necessary articles and utensils for the house, the table, and the kitchen.

The report of the governor and council at Sierra-Leone, to the Directors in London, with other private letters,—one of them dated "*Ruins of Free-Town,* October 8th, 1794,"—corroborate every material fact contained in the foregoing extract, and furnish some additional particulars of the same outrageous character. "The books of the Company's library," we are told, "were scattered about and defaced; and if they bore any resemblance to Bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled upon. The dwelling-house of the botanist (Mr. Afzelius) was pillaged, and his collections destroyed. In the accountant's office, all was demolished, in the search for money: the copying and printing-presses also were destroyed: all the telescopes, baro-

meters and thermometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces." Nor did these desperadoes stop here; for "the apothecary's shop and medicines were also destroyed:" and on the same day "the church was pillaged, the books torn, and the pulpit and clock broken to pieces." In a few days subsequent to this, "the conflagration of all the buildings which had escaped the former fire commenced:" and now "the church, a range of shops," and in fact every thing else which could be met with belonging to the Company, shared the same fate.

"On the 9th of October, the Company's largest ship, the 'Harpy,' arrived off Cape Sierra-Leone from England, having several passengers on board, and goods to the amount of £10,000. The demolition of the Company's houses having been discovered, she put out again to sea, and she appeared for a time to gain on the vessel which was sent in chase of her; but, the wind dying away, she was overtaken, and immediately struck. No part of the cargo of this ship was landed in the colony, nor would the commodore suffer the despatches and papers brought by her to be delivered, a few newspapers excepted. The English passengers were completely plundered of their property; the Company's chaplain, who went out with her, was deprived of all his private papers; and three natives, who had been making a voyage to England, lost all the presents which they were carrying back with them, not excepting a part of their clothes, which they were obliged to exchange for others of an inferior sort." *

On the 13th of October, as already mentioned, the French commodore set sail to the southward with all his fleet, to which the "Harpy" was now added. He had, however, sent on shore about two or three weeks' supply of provisions for the Europeans in the colony; but paid no attention to the governor's solicitation for any thing else. The distress caused by this barbarous invasion is more easily conceived than described; and the preceding narrative furnishes room for many painful reflections. The miseries of war are dreadful, even when the contest is conducted on what are called "principles of honour:" but when treachery wields the sword, or points the cannon, it levels the civilized warrior with the lowest state of barbarian degradation.

France promised fair, having at the commencement of the war obtained full explanation of the designs of the Sierra-Leone Company in the formation of the colony; and the French Con-

* "Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra-Leone Company, delivered to the General Court of Proprietors, February 26th, 1795."

vention directed one of its agents to request a list of the ships employed by them, assuring them of the good wishes of the French Government to so noble an undertaking, and that neither their ships nor the colony should be injured by the republican arms. That promise once made to the Directors had lulled both them and the colonists into a state of such profound security, that they could not foresee any possible attack, and were totally unprepared for it in the way of defence. But the preceding narrative furnishes a brief history of an outrage almost without a parallel in the records of civilized ages. "So well had they concealed their nation," with English-built vessels, manned by English-dressed sailors, with the English colours flying, that the fleet was actually taken for the English, until "some men in one of the frigates were seen pointing a gun into the piazza of the governor's house; and the shot began flying over the town in a few minutes after." Though the British "colours were immediately struck" in the colony, "and a flag of truce was held out," yet "the firing still continued, and several grape and musket-shot fell into the piazza." On asking for an explanation of this continued firing, the colonists were told that they "should display the *flag of liberty* as a proof of their submission." The Sierra-Leone colony, as the French well knew, was established in order to effect the abolition of the Slave-Trade, to enlighten the Africans, and to render them virtuous and rational, free and happy: but these powerful patrons of the "rights of men," who knew the benevolent design, acted contrary to their own acknowledged fundamental doctrines, in destroying a colony based on similar principles. It was thus that the French executed their purpose of spreading "light and liberty" through the world, when they, under circumstances of the most wanton cruelty, destroyed the "beautiful and prospering colony" at Sierra-Leone,—a colony which previously was "externally respected and internally happy," "rich in provisions, clothing, and other stores," but was now "entirely ruined" by the depredations of this fleet of French pirates.

A few weeks after the departure of the French squadron, intelligence was received of its having captured two of the Company's small trading-vessels on their passage down the coast. The crews of these vessels were immediately put on shore, without food or shelter. As many of these as were able made their way to Sierra-Leone, and their numbers increased the common distress. Soon after this excitement was over, a general sickness broke out amongst the Europeans, which was greatly

aggravated by the loss of medicines, as well as by the want of proper provisions.

It is difficult to find any thing in the shape of an apology for the conduct of the French in this distressing and painful affair; though the Directors, in publishing their report of the whole matter, very liberally admit a doubt whether the attack on Sierra-Leone was in any manner sanctioned by the Government then existing in France. They express themselves as having reason to believe that the squadron was equipped on the speculation of certain private individuals, some of them Slave-Traders, and acting as owners of privateers. One thing is certain, and is worthy of special record,—that whilst the Slave-Traders in the neighbourhood did all in their power to add to the hardships of the colony at that time, the native chiefs, on the contrary, were unanimous in rendering it every assistance.

Some good effects resulted from this calamitous visitation. It had a most salutary influence on the Nova-Scotian malecontents; so that harmony was for a time completely restored among the colonists. The French squadron, too, which had been fitted out against the English slave-factories on the coast, by interrupting the traffic in slaves, increased the influence of the colony, and promoted its commercial views.

The misfortune was also met with firmness by the Directors, who immediately dispatched two small vessels with an assortment of necessaries. Being supported by the rectitude of their own intentions, and the hope that Divine Providence would still favour their undertaking, they did not give way to despair. They resolved to render the distressed adventurers all the assistance in their power: and, with this, entreated them to

> "Ply all the sinews of industrious toil,
> Glean up the refuse of a generous soil,
> Rebuild the town that smoked upon the plain,
> And hope the sun would gild its spires again."

By the spirited exertions of the Company, their affairs were soon retrieved from these complicated disasters; and the ensuing four years after the French invasion may be considered as the most prosperous period of the colony prior to its transfer to the crown.

"In the year 1798, Free-Town contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings. Three wharves had been erected. The government-house was completed on an eminence that commanded the town and the harbour, and was protected by a palisade and six pieces

of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony were about twelve hundred; the heads of families being about three hundred. Of these, about one-half were supported by their farms; many were mechanics; and the rest followed various occupations, as retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. The town was also become a place of considerable resort for the neighbouring natives, of whom from one to two hundred daily visited the settlement, for the purpose of exchanging African produce for British manufactures. Some came in canoes, from a distance of eighty to one hundred miles."*

In the following year, (1799,) symptoms of an insurrectionary spirit, more especially on the part of the Nova-Scotians, which had only been slumbering, induced the Directors to apply to the British Government for a Charter to increase the powers of the governor and council, who hitherto had been unarmed with any legal sanction to enforce their authority. The Charter was granted in 1800, creating the settlement an independent colony, and placing the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the governor. Before, however, it could reach Sierra-Leone, the conspirators, finding that no time was to be lost in executing their scheme, which had for its object the complete overthrow of the Company's authority, broke out into open rebellion. Affairs were in the most critical state, the insurgents outnumbering the loyal settlers, and no alternative seemed left to the governor but to hazard an attack upon the rebels, when a most providential occurrence rescued the colony once more from impending destruction. A large ship, the "Asia" transport, appeared in the river, having on board about five hundred and fifty Maroons (including women and children) from Nova-Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers under two officers of His Majesty's 24th regiment. The rebellion was now speedily suppressed, although the insurgents at first treated with contempt the offer of an accommodation, and obstinately maintained their hostile position, till they found themselves attacked. They were routed at the first onset, two of their number being left dead on the spot. Thirty-five prisoners were brought in, of whom three were selected for trial, and were executed; the rest were expelled the colony. "Seven, who had taken a principal part in exciting the disturbance, were sent to Goree, and twenty-five were transported to the Bullom shore; but, after a few years, they were permitted to return to the colony."

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. p. 58.

It was the wish of the governor and council to procure for the Maroon settlers the island of Bananas, about thirty miles south of Free-Town; but their intention was frustrated, through alarms raised in the minds of the natives by the Slave-Traders. It was therefore determined upon to grant lands to the Maroons on the same side of the river as the Company's settlement was on. Town-lots were accordingly marked out for them in Granville-Town, in November, 1800; and farms were allotted to them near that place. They built a neat town for themselves, and began to cultivate their farms with spirit. A parliamentary grant indemnified the Company for part of the heavy expenditure and loss they had incurred; and a farther sum of £7,000 was voted towards building a fort. A firmer system of order was beginning to prevail, when a sudden blow was again aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs, without any previous intimation or ground of complaint. On the 18th of November, 1801, about day-break, a body of natives of the Timmanee country, headed by ten of the Nova-Scotian insurgents, who had effected their escape, made an assault on the palisades of the governor's house. After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and were pursued till they had withdrawn from the vicinity. In March, 1802, a truce was concluded with them; and some additional troops having arrived from Goree, the peace of the colony was restored. There was reason, however, to apprehend that the chiefs who had made this unforeseen attack, were still busy in exciting among their countrymen a jealousy of the growing power of the Sierra-Leone settlement; and the Directors were induced to present a memorial to the British legislature, earnestly invoking more efficient protection.

Notwithstanding the truce which had been concluded with the native chiefs, the colony was attacked, in the following month, by a force amounting to more than four hundred men, among whom were eleven of the rebels who had been banished from the settlement. The attack was sudden and vigorous; and although the assailants were again repulsed with severe loss, the spirits of the settlers were so greatly damped, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the colony became general. The affairs of the Company were the more embarrassed in consequence of the suspension of the annual grants from Government, pending a parliamentary inquiry which was instituted in 1803. In the Report of the Committee, made in the following year, it was stated to be their opinion, upon a full consideration of the difficulties which continued to embar-

rass the Company, and the interest which the British Government were found to take in the settlement, that the great object for which the colony was undertaken might be more effectually accomplished, by a transfer of the civil and military authority of the settlement to the crown; and that it would be expedient to invite the proprietors to make a surrender of their rights to His Majesty. In pursuance of this recommendation, not unacceptable to the Company, a Bill for transferring the colony to the crown was brought into Parliament, which received the royal assent on the 8th of August, 1807; and on the 1st of January, 1808, the possession of the settlement was surrendered to the crown, and the Company withdrew from its arduous and beneficent enterprise.*

The reader will have perceived that the obstacles which had thwarted the plans of the chartered Company in this noble enterprise, were neither few nor small. They may be summed up, however, in few words:—the unfavourable character of the Nova-Scotians, who joined the first settlers; the want of sufficient power in the hands of the local government; the inadequacy of its force to restrain the aggressions of the neighbouring natives; the war with France; and the enmity of the Slave-Traders to the principles on which the colony was founded, and which to this day make it an eye-sore to all who are interested in the traffic in human beings. But though the Company did not succeed to the utmost of their wishes, it would be unjust to say that they had laboured in vain. On the transfer of the colony of Sierra-Leone to the British Government, the Company's Directors published the following statement, which satisfactorily demonstrated the success of the Company in the attainment of its most important objects, and was calculated to convince every proprietor that his money had been expended to a noble purpose:—

However great may have been the Company's loss in a pecuniary view, the Directors are unwilling to admit that there has been a total failure in their main objects, or that their capital has been expended without effect. It must afford satisfaction to reflect, that the Company should both have conceived and attempted to execute those plans of beneficence which led to the institution of the colony; and that they should have continued to pursue them for so many years, in the face of opposition, disappointment, and loss; in spite of severe calamities, arising from European as well as African wars, and much turbulence on the part of the colonists. The proprietors have the farther satisfaction of knowing, that the Company have contributed to the abolition of the Slave-Trade, by exposing its real nature before the view of a hesitating legislature, and detecting the artifices and misrepresentations by which the persons engaged in it laboured to delude the public.

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 59—77.

The Company have communicated the benefits flowing from a knowledge of letters, and from Christian instruction, to hundreds of Negroes on the coast of Africa; and, by a careful education in this country, they have elevated the character of several of the children of African chiefs, and directed their minds to objects of the very first importance to their countrymen. They have ascertained that the cultivation of any valuable article of tropical export may be carried on in Africa; that Africans, in a state of freedom, are susceptible of the same motives to industry and laborious exertion which influence the natives of Europe; and that some African chiefs are sufficiently enlightened to comprehend, and sufficiently patriotic to encourage, schemes of improvement. They have demonstrated that Negroes may be governed by the same mild laws which are found consistent with the maintenance of rational liberty even in this kingdom; and that they may be safely and advantageously intrusted with the administration of these laws, not only as jurors, but even as judicial assessors. They have, in some measure, retrieved the credit of the British—it may be added, of the Christian—name, on the continent of Africa; and have convinced its inhabitants that there are Englishmen who are actuated by very different motives from those of self-interest, and who desire nothing so much as their improvement and happiness. To conclude: they have established, in a central part of Africa, a colony which appears to be now provided with adequate means both of defence and subsistence; which, by the blessing of Providence, may become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilisation, and religious improvement to the inhabitants of that continent; and which may hereafter repay to Great Britain the benefits she shall have communicated, by opening a continually-increasing market for those manufactures which are now no longer secure of their accustomed vent on the continent of Europe.

The Directors are persuaded that they only express the general feeling of the proprietary, when they say, that they cannot prevail upon themselves to consider these effects as an insignificant return for any pecuniary sacrifices which have been incurred for their attainment.

It was with sentiments and feelings of this description, that the Sierra-Leone Company withdrew its official connexion from that interesting colony; bearing with it the grateful consciousness, that it had humanely and vigorously seconded the meritorious efforts of its celebrated founder. It is a pleasing feature in the history of this settlement, that the same year which terminated the Sierra-Leone Company, witnessed the formation of the "African Institution," which was composed of a large body of the most virtuous and respectable persons in this country, whose objects were somewhat similar to those of the former Company; namely, the improvement and civilisation of the African continent. It is also worthy of further remark, that in the course of the year 1807, peace had been fully established by a treaty with the native chiefs; and that at the time of the surrender of the territory to Government, the colony "had attained to a situation of comparative strength and prosperity. The fortifications had been so far advanced, as to communicate to it a sense of complete security. Its internal order had gone on improving; the confidence of the natives had been restored;

and the number of native children sent to Sierra-Leone for education, continued to increase. The colonists were building good houses, and showed other marks of growing prosperity. Cultivation was reviving. The colony was also improving in healthiness. During the first half of the last year, the proportion of births to deaths was as twenty-three to fourteen. None of the troops had died in that time; and, of the Company's servants, only one had died since the 1st of January, 1806." *

The population, in the year 1807, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one persons; and it will be seen from the preceding quotation, that though the Company was a failure, as far as mercantile profit was concerned, yet the other and more important objects which it had in view were satisfactorily promoted. Schools, places of worship, agriculture, and the habits of civilized life were introduced; so that the Sierra-Leone Company may be regarded as having fixed the basis, and laid the foundation, for the civilization of Africa.

The following is the succession of governors of Sierra-Leone from the commencement of the settlement:—J. Clarkson, Esq., superintendent, March, 1792. W. Dawes, Esq., December, 1792. Z. Macaulay, Esq., *pro temp.*, April, 1794. W. Dawes, Esq., returns, 1795. Z. Macaulay, Esq., governor, 1796. T. Ludlam, Esq., *pro temp.*, 1799. W. Dawes, Esq., January, 1801. Captain W. Day, R.N., February, 1803. J. Ludlam, Esq., August, 1803. T. P. Thompson, Esq., July, 1808.

---

* "Last Report of the Directors of the Sierra-Leone Company," 1808, p. 11.

W.L. Walton. Lith.

FREE TOWN, SIERRA LEONE

Printed by A. La Breuere 18 Clifton St Finsbury

CHAPTER X.

SIERRA-LEONE.

SITUATION of the Colony—The Principles on which it was founded—View and Description of Sierra-Leone in 1796—The African Institution—Capture of Slave-Vessels—Disposal of the captured Negroes—State of the Colony in 1816–1818—Number of Villages erected—Major Gray's Statement respecting the Colony in 1821—Continuance of the Slave-Trade—Reports of the Colony in 1821–1823—Letter from Sir Charles Macarthy—Sierra-Leone Gazette—Great Mortality in 1823—Lamented Death of Sir Charles Macarthy in 1824—Successive Governors—Mortality—Commission of Inquiry into the State of Sierra-Leone—Hostility to the Colony—The Expenditure reduced—Some Statistics in 1833—Population in 1838 and in 1846—The Settlers—Maroons and liberated Africans—Miserable Condition of the latter on being landed—Dr. Fergusson's "Letter on the Character of the liberated Africans"—Extract from "Letters from Sierra-Leone, by a Lady"—Moral Means—A Tribute to the Church Missionary Society.

THE peninsula of Sierra-Leone is situated in 8° 30′ N. lat., and in about $13\frac{1}{2}$° W. long. The etymology of the name is somewhat disputed; some contending that it imports "the Mountains of Lions," from the presumption that these monarchs of the forest were plentiful in that locality; whilst others have doubted this fact, and are of opinion that the name "Sierra-Leone" was given by the first discoverers to the "mountains," on account of the "tremendous roaring of the thunder," which frequently echoes along the sides of the hills and on the tops of the mountains, and the effect of which is felt in the valleys, and even on board the ships.

Free-Town, the capital, is situated on the south side of the river, on a gentle rising ground at the foot of a hill, at the distance of about five miles from Cape Sierra-Leone. Its name sufficiently indicates the principles on which the colony was established; but as a further illustration of this, we find, in the third edition of the "Temporary Regulations," published in 1788, one of its fundamental laws thus laid down: "As soon as a slave shall set his foot within the bounds of the new settlement, he shall be deemed a *free man*, and be equally entitled, with the rest of the inhabitants, to the protection of the laws, and to all the natural rights of humanity." Another regulation was, "That the *common council* of the settlement be assembled according to the ancient established rules of *country courts*, namely, 'twice every year, and more often, if need be.'"

Another important rule, referring to ecclesiastics, was, "That no clergyman, who receives a salary as such, within the bounds of the settlement, shall enter into trade." When the transfer of the colony to the crown took place in 1807, the Act strictly forbade the traffic in slaves within the settlement, and continued to the colonists the full enjoyment of all the rights which they had possessed under the authority of the Company.

It has been already stated, that the year which terminated the Sierra-Leone Company, gave birth to a kindred company of benevolent gentlemen, who formed what was called "the African Institution;" and, as Great Britain abolished the Slave-Trade the very same year, Sierra-Leone was now selected by the Government as a fit place for locating those slaves who should be forcibly rescued from the pestilential confinement of the slave-ship by British cruisers. Accordingly, soon after the Act for abolishing the Slave-Trade was passed in England, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was established at Sierra-Leone, for the purpose of giving full effect, in the colony, to the provisions of the Act; and it is still maintained for the same object,—an object which reflects more honour on the British name than the subjugation of nations, or the conquest of empires.

Few colonies have had more difficulties to contend with, or have been more misrepresented, than Sierra-Leone. In the advocacy of its friends it is easy to detect the bias of party prejudice; and in the attacks of its foes, the rancour of interested hostility. But into this violent controversy it is not my business to enter: my limits compel brevity. Suffice it to say that Sierra-Leone has been represented, both by French and English writers, as displaying a scene of surpassing beauty. "Europe," says Golberry, "may present prospects more rich and brilliant; but in no part of the world can there be found a site so delightful as the Bay of Sierra-Leone." And Rankin observes, "No site for a town more lovely could have been selected, had charms to the eye been the sole guide." On the other hand, it has been described as "the worst place that possibly could have been chosen, whether considered in a political, or in a commercial, or in an agricultural point of view;" as "a pestiferous charnel-house," and "a detestable place, having no one good quality to recommend it." Avoiding both these extremes, it may with truth be said that the view of Sierra-Leone from the sea is interesting, and somewhat picturesque. The reader may form some idea of it from the accompanying engraving, which gives a tolerably correct view of Free-Town as it now is. Dr. Winterbottom, in the interesting work which he published in

1803, gives also a very correct sketch of this colony, as it then was; or rather as it was in 1796, when Dr. Winterbottom left the coast. The town and colony have, of course, very much improved since that period; but the landscape and the position of Free-Town are much the same. He says, "The land forming the peninsula of Sierra-Leone, when viewed from the sea, or from the opposite shore, called Bullom, appears like a number of hills heaped upon each other in a very irregular manner. On a nearer approach the face of the country assumes a more beautiful aspect. The rugged appearance of these mountains is softened by the lively verdure with which they are constantly crowned; their majestic forms, irregularly advancing and receding, occasion huge masses of light and shade to be projected from their sides, which add a degree of picturesque grandeur to the scene. The most craggy and inaccessible parts of the mountains are covered with forests of immense growth, which yield

> 'A boundless deep immensity of shade.
> Here lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone rushing from the clouds, rear high to heaven
> Their thorny stems, and broad around them throw
> Meridian gloom.'

The lower grounds which are cultivated, present a considerable degree of verdure through the whole year, which, contrasted with the darker hues of the more distant hills, forms a spectacle highly grateful to the eye."*

In speaking of the capital, the same writer observes, "Free-Town is situated on the south side of the river Sierra-Leone, about six miles from its mouth, upon a piece of ground which rises abruptly from the water's edge to the height of at least fifty feet, and then proceeds with a gentle and gradual ascent for about three quarters of a mile, till it reaches the foot of a chain of mountains running nearly in an E.S.E. and W.N.W. direction. The town is bounded on the N.W. by St. George's Bay, on the E. by another small bay called Susan's Bay, and on the S. are the mountains already mentioned. It extends about one-third of a mile in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and contains about seventy or eighty acres. The number of houses amounts to between three and four hundred; and they are disposed in regular streets, of which nine run in a straight line towards the mountains, in a north-west and south-

* Dr. Winterbottom's "Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone," vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

east direction. These streets are intersected, at right angles, by three cross streets, which run parallel to the shore. They are all eighty feet in breadth, except the parallel street nearest the water, which is double the breadth of the others.

"Each house stands separate, and has a small garden attached to it; forty-eight feet, by seventy-six, being the space allotted for each family to build upon. Before the town was destroyed by the French, the principal public buildings were placed in the widest street, which was terminated by the governor's house, situated upon a point of land at the north-western extremity of Free-Town. All these, however, together with every other building which had the appearance of superior neatness, were unfeelingly devoted to the flames, in October, 1794, by the French. The dwelling-houses of the Nova-Scotian settlers, which constitute the chief part of the town, consisted, during the first two years, almost entirely of thatched buildings; but since that period they have procured for themselves more comfortable habitations. They at present consist chiefly of wooden buildings, about thirty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth, divided into rooms by partitions, and raised two or three feet from the ground. The floors, also, instead of being formed of earth, are now boarded; and the roofs of many of them are covered with shingles, or thin pieces of wood, about six inches in breadth, and three feet in length, placed over each other like the tiles of a house. In general there are no chimneys in these houses; the fire for culinary purposes being made in the open air, or in a detached building. The present residence of the governor of Sierra-Leone is a handsome wooden building of one story, surrounded by a spacious piazza. It is situated upon a small round hill, elevated about an hundred and fifty feet above the level of the water, and placed between the town and the foot of the mountains. From this eminence, called Thornton-Hill, the eye takes-in a most extensive prospect, and dwells with pleasure upon the surrounding picturesque scenery, in which the milder beauties of nature are agreeably blended with those of a more solemn and sublime appearance." *

We may remark, that the town being situated upon a gentle slope renders it dry, and its elevation exposes it to the regular sea and land breezes. The situation is also well adapted for trade, being placed upon the banks of a river accessible at all times to vessels of the greatest burden, which may lie in safety close to the shore. Near it are various bays which offer every

* Dr. Winterbottom's "Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone," vol. i. pp. 275—277.

convenience for repairing of vessels, or for the construction of docks. It is, moreover, well supplied with excellent water, which may be procured in any quantity with great facility. It has, however, one drawback,—the want of an inland navigation; the Sierra-Leone river, and those contiguous to it, being comparatively of small magnitude. With this exception, the situation seems admirably adapted for all the purposes its benevolent friends contemplated; and it may be justly questioned whether a more eligible site could have been selected on the whole coast south of the Senegal.

The reader will bear in mind that the preceding account of Free-Town with its "wooden buildings" refers to the year 1796, only two years after its almost entire destruction by the French squadron, which sufficiently accounts for the want of stone edifices. Soon after this the town began again rapidly to rise: but as we have already traced its history up to 1807, we pass on to that and subsequent periods.

The African Institution was formed at that memorable epoch when, by parliamentary enactments, the African Slave-Trade ceased to be the crime and the reproach of Britain; and it was principally composed of persons who had distinguished themselves by their indefatigable exertions to procure the abolition of that abominable traffic. Its objects were, to watch over the execution of this Act of the legislature for the protection of the natives of Africa; to seize every favourable opportunity for exciting in surrounding nations a proper interest in the subject; and to promote, by every means in its power, the diffusion of light and knowledge in regions which had hitherto been kept in darkness and ignorance by the operation of a system disgraceful to the Christian name, and derogatory to the character of civilized man. It was proposed to make the natives acquainted with the comforts of social order, and with the useful mechanical arts; to point out the manner in which they might avail themselves of the natural products of their country, by substituting an innocent for a guilty traffic; and, above all, to prepare the way for that greatest of blessings, a knowledge of the Christian religion.

Such being the great objects with which the Institution set out, Sierra-Leone very naturally and immediately fell under its fostering care; and the African Institution ever after watched over that colony with a paternal solicitude.

The first of a series of resolutions which were adopted at the formation of the Institution, on the 14th of April, 1807, will be sufficient to show the benevolent intentions of the founders

of that society with regard to Sierra-Leone:—"1. That this meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe; and, from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilisation and happiness." The first measure adopted by the Committee of the Institution was to open a correspondence with such persons in Africa as were likely to be useful in promoting the Society's views. They accordingly communicated with gentlemen in different parts of the coast; but to the governor of Sierra-Leone they wrote more at large, as Sierra-Leone appeared to them the place where their efforts for the improvement of Africa might most advantageously commence. And though they had explicitly stated in the "Rules and Regulations," that it was the Society's fixed determination not to undertake any religious missions, nor to engage in commercial speculations; yet they were disposed to assist in the diffusion of light and knowledge; and they requested full information respecting the natural productions of the country, its agricultural and commercial facilities, and the moral, intellectual, and political condition of its inhabitants. They further proposed to appropriate a part of the Society's funds in the erection and support of a school at Sierra-Leone, in which, in addition to the usual branches of elementary knowledge, such as reading and writing, they should furnish instruction in agriculture and other useful arts. But as the great object of the Institution was to watch over the execution of the Act of the legislature for the protection of the natives of Africa, they directed the attention of the governor of Sierra-Leone especially to this subject.

One of the principal difficulties against which the Sierra-Leone Company had had to contend, was the accursed Slave-Trade. It had almost depopulated the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, and English Slave-Traders were permitted to the last to frequent that locality, and to trade even in the river itself. But no sooner had the Act passed prohibiting the subjects of Britain from engaging in that detestable traffic, and empowering the Admiralty to treat all such as pirates, than the eyes of the native chiefs were fully opened as to the real object and formation of the colony. Previously to this the Africans might well conceive, as they generally did, that a white man or trader visiting the coast could have no other design in courting his acquaintance than to make a slave of him: but now that the British cruisers were employed in capturing slave-ships, and

actually brought them to Sierra-Leone with the living cargo on board, when the chains of the slaves were immediately knocked off, and meat, drink, and clothing given to them; now, when the natives beheld hundreds of their fellow-countrymen rescued from the horrors of the slave-ship and from slavery itself, and enjoying the liberty of British subjects; they had living, unmistakeable proofs of the good faith and genuine philanthropy of the English; and notwithstanding "the enormous wrongs" which the Africans had suffered in their intercourse with European nations, and with Great Britain amongst the rest, they were now fully convinced that there *were* Englishmen who abhorred the Slave-Trade, and who, far from kidnapping the merchant or labourer who should put himself in their power, were desirous of nothing but his improvement and happiness.*

The first slave-ship that was captured and condemned at Sierra-Leone, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was the schooner "Marie Paul." The seizure took place on November 10th, 1808. The number of slaves is not specified in the Returns; but they were all liberated, and the ship and cargo were condemned; and against this there was "no appeal." During the same month, two other slavers were captured and condemned at the same place; and again there was "no appeal." †

On the slave-ship being taken into Sierra-Leone, the unhappy captives were set on shore: such as seemed fit for military service were conveyed to the barracks; others were apprenticed to the settlers, or those who wished to engage them; and the rest were employed for a given time under the direction of the

* To show, however, that some of the natives were a little sceptical upon the subject, still doubting the fact of this friendly feeling on the part of all the vessels which came even from England, I extract the following anecdote from the "Memoirs of Granville Sharp." The biographer received it from a respectable nobleman, the early part of whose life was passed in His late Majesty's service in the navy; and he gives it in that nobleman's own words, as follows:—

"The late Admiral Matthew Buckle commanded a small squadron on the coast of Africa, and had a broad pendant on board the 'Assistance,' of fifty guns. One day, while at anchor on the coast, a Negro came off with his canoe, loaded with fruits, and all that he had that was valuable. The commodore being on the quarter-deck, the Negro accosted him with, 'What ship this?' The other replied, in the jargon of the country, 'King George ship, man-of-war ship.' The Negro replied, doubting, 'No, you Bristol ship.' The commodore repeated what he had said; but the Negro felt his fears increase, and, exclaiming, '*Dom your heart*, you Bristol ship,' leaped overboard, leaving his canoe to its fate.....I need scarcely add," said the narrator, "that the canoe was humanely towed on shore, where the owner was most likely to find it."

† "Eighth Report of the African Institution," p. 69.

local government, to inure them to habits of industry, and to teach them the arts of civilized life; after which they obtained assignments of ground, by the cultivation of which they might earn their own subsistence. It was soon proved to a demonstration that the free Negroes are capable of being governed by mild laws, and require neither whips nor chains to enforce their submission to civil authority. From these importations, and other causes, the population rapidly increased. In 1811, Sierra-Leone and its environs contained not less than 4,000 persons; and in 1815, the census included 10,000 souls.

The preceding mode of disposing of the captured Negroes was appointed by an Order in Council of the parent Government, under the provisions of the Abolition Act: and in the official Return communicated to the Secretary of State, it appears that, up to July 9th, 1814, Negroes to the following amount were received into the colony of Sierra-Leone, and disposed of in the ways here stated:—

Settled in the colony, namely, as free labourers, carpenters, sawyers, masons, blacksmiths, &c.; living in the mountains on their farms; the girls at school; the women married in the Royal African Corps, &c.	2,757
Entered into His Majesty's land service, men and boys	1,861
Women married to soldiers at the recruiting depôt	65
Left the colony, being chiefly natives of the surrounding Timmannee, Mandingo, Bullom, and Loosoo countries	419
Apprentices whose indentures are in force at the present time	347
Entered into His Majesty's navy	107
Apprenticed out of the colony	68
Living as servants at Goree	12
At the Lancasterian school in England	3
Stolen from the colony; two to the Havannah, and one to the Kroo country	3
Died, chiefly of the scurvy and dropsy, caught on board	283
Total	5,925*

Letters received from Sierra-Leone, dated February, 1816, give a favourable account of the progress of the colony. The conduct of the settlers is said to differ very little from that of the generality of English villagers. They are chiefly engaged in trading speculations. The captured Negroes, on the other hand, subsist solely by agriculture: Sierra-Leone is supplied with fruit and vegetables almost exclusively from their plantations. Many intermarriages between the Nova-Scotian and Maroon settlers had taken place, which, it was thought, would

* "Ninth Report of the African Institution," p. 63.

result in the improvement of both. All the settlers are now married in the manner prescribed by the church; and the institution of marriage gains ground even among the captured Negroes.

In the Eleventh Report of the African Institution, there is an interesting communication from Dr. Hogan, the Chief Justice of Sierra-Leone, dated October, 1816, in which he makes the following judicious remarks:—

I have always thought, that in the infancy of such a settlement, the certainty of its striking a deep root was the most important point, and ought to be the main consideration. The little vicissitudes of occasional blight or partial bloom, if they do not materially affect the vitality of the trunk, are scarcely ever worthy of the attention of a statesman, who wishes to legislate for a lengthened series of generations, and to provide for the interests of a remote posterity. I compassionate the weakness, therefore, that can dwell with emphasis upon the minute fractions of good or of evil which may have resulted from any particular system of measures at such a period of prematurity. For my own part, I am perfectly satisfied to find a solid foundation of British pre-eminence, and of African civilization, laid here within the short space of one quarter of a century. A population of ten thousand free men collected upon one spot so favourably situated, and guided and governed with a view to such noble and ennobling objects, forms too grand a stride in the moral march of human affairs, not to fix the attention of an enlightened observer, and cast into the shade every lesser consideration. When it is remembered besides, that the numbers now actually in a course of intellectual cultivation in the various schools and public institutions in this colony exceed one thousand, you will do justice to the feeling that leads me to the indulgence of prospective, rather than of retrospective, views, to a calm and encouraging anticipation of the future, in preference to a captious discussion of the past; to a settled, firm, and immovable conviction, that the good or the evil management of former times can have no other effect, in the revival of contentious questions respecting it, than to create disunion between the otherwise concurrent advocates of the common cause. I take this colony, therefore, as it is; and, looking steadily to the great objects which it was from its first settlement intended to promote, am *well content*.

There is, no doubt, much, very much, to deplore, on the score of religion, on the score of morals, on the score of manners, or of the social tact, as derived from both religion and morals; on the score of depraved, but inveterate, habits, and of lingering barbarism, and tardy improvement: yet I distinctly perceive all the principal elements of social order and effectual civilization in existence and vigour, requiring only the care of a skilful hand to mould them into form, and to collect from them, in that state, the early fruits of a successful and rapid cultivation.

In the "Sierra-Leone Gazette" of January 3d, 1818, it is stated, "This day ten years this colony was transferred from the Sierra-Leone Company to His Majesty's Government; and by a return published in the then 'Gazette,' the total number of births in the year 1807 were fifty-seven; deaths, thirty-six; and marriages, fourteen. We hope to be enabled to give in our next the return for the year 1817: and as an evident proof of the better state of morality in the colony, we are bold to say,

the marriages frequently exceed in one week the number of one year at that time."

An extract of a letter from His Excellency the Governor of Sierra-Leone, Sir Charles Macarthy, dated March 6th, 1818, will throw further light on the gradually-improving state of the colony:—"I shall avail myself of an early opportunity to forward the return of the schools. The number of scholars of both sexes in the country towns has increased; and the grand total of men, women, boys, and girls, now attending schools on the peninsula, does not fall short of *two thousand.* The inhabitants of the colony have so very frequently experienced the interest the friends of Africa take in their prosperity, that I feel it a most pleasing part of my duty to be enabled to prove, by incontrovertible documents, the very great improvement in the commercial importance of this colony. The enclosed returns prove that during the year 1817 the amount of merchandise imported into the colony exceeds that of the year 1816 by £39,286; and the number of vessels, fourteen." *

The exports also were rapidly increasing, particularly in the articles of timber and rice: and the arrival of condemned slavers, with their living cargoes, continued to swell the population. According to the Parliamentary Returns at this time, it appears that the number of slave-ships captured and condemned at Sierra-Leone, from 1808 to 1819, was seventy-three, and that 11,280 slaves were rescued from these floating dungeons, and entitled to the privileges of British subjects. During this period, several villages were formed throughout the peninsula:—that of Leicester, in 1809; Regent, in 1812; Gloucester, in 1816; Leopold and Kissey, in 1817; Charlotte and Bathurst, in 1818; Kent, York, Wellington, and Waterloo, in 1819. These villages are generally situate in different parts of the mountains, but all connected by good roads with each other and with Free-Town, the capital, from which they are distant from three to seven miles; excepting York and Kent, which are sixteen miles from Free-Town, and are situate in what is called the sea-district.

About this time, the colony was divided into parishes, according to a plan formed by Governor Macarthy; and it was the intention of the Church Missionary Society to provide an efficient minister for each; but the sickness and mortality which prevailed reduced their number of labourers so rapidly, that this design was not accomplished.

* "Twelfth Report of the African Institution," p. 171.

In 1820, the population of Sierra-Leone was 12,521; and the progress made in civilizing those unfortunate persons who had been rescued from Slavery and all its horrors, was matter of admiration to all who had the opportunity of witnessing it.

Major Gray, who visited Sierra-Leone in 1821, thus speaks of the colony and of its capabilities in respect of cultivation :—

His Excellency Sir Charles Macarthy, who had just arrived from England, was then about visiting some of the liberated Negro establishments in the country towns, accompanied by all the civil and military staff of the colony. I felt too much concern in the welfare of those truly interesting objects not to make one of the party, and therefore had an opportunity of witnessing the wonderful improvement that had taken place in every town since I had before seen them. Indeed, some, having all the appearance and regularity of the neatest village in England, with church, school, and commodious residences for the missionaries and teachers, had not in 1817 been more than thought of. Descending some of the hills, I was surprised on perceiving neat and well laid-out villages in places where, but four years before, nothing was to be seen except almost impenetrable thickets. But, arriving in those villages, the beauty and interesting nature of such objects were much enhanced by the clean, orderly, and respectable appearance of the cottages and their inhabitants, particularly the young people and children, who, at all the towns, assembled to welcome with repeated cheers the return of their governor and *daddy*, ("father,") as they invariably styled His Excellency, who expressed himself highly pleased at their improvement during his absence; in which short period large pieces of ground had been cleared and cultivated in the vicinity of all the towns, and every production of the climate raised in sufficient abundance to supply the inhabitants, and furnish the market at Free-Town.

His Excellency visited the schools at the different towns, and witnessed the improvement which all the students had made, but particularly those of the high-school at Regent's-Town, whose progress in arithmetic, geography, and history evinced a capacity far superior to that which is in general attributed to the Negro, and proves that they may be rendered useful members of society, particularly so in exploring the interior of the country, having previously received the education calculated to that peculiar service.

From the change which has taken place in those villages since I saw them in 1817, I am satisfied that a little time is alone necessary to enable the colony of Sierra-Leone to vie with many of the West-India islands in all the productions of tropical climates, but particularly in coffee, which has been already raised there, and proved, by its being in demand in the English market, to be of as good quality, if not superior to that imported from our other colonies. That the soil on the mountains is well adapted to the growth of that valuable berry, has been too well proved by the flourishing state of some of the plantations in the immediate vicinity of Free-Town, to need any comment. Arrow-root has also been cultivated with advantage on some of the farms belonging to private individuals; and there can be no doubt of the capability of the soil to produce the sugar-cane, as some is already grown there; but whether it is of as good a description as that of the West Indies, I cannot pretend to say, as the experiment had never been tried at Sierra-Leone, at least to my knowledge. The cultivation of all these, with the cotton, indigo, and ginger, could here be carried on under advantages which our West-India islands do not enjoy; namely, the labour of free people, who would relieve the mother country from the apprehensions which are at present entertained for the safety of pro-

perty in some of these islands, by revolt and insurrection among the slaves, and from the deplorable consequences of such a state of civil confusion. These people would, by receiving the benefits arising from their industry, be excited to exertions that must prove beneficial to all concerned in the trade, and conducive to the prosperity of the colony itself.

Free-Town, the capital of the peninsula, is of considerable extent, and is beautifully situate on an inclined plane, at the foot of some hills, on which stand the fort and other public buildings that overlook it and the roads; whence there is a delightful prospect of the town, rising in the form of an amphitheatre from the water's edge, above which it is elevated about seventy feet. It is regularly laid out into fine streets, intersected by others parallel with the river and at right angles. The houses which, a few years since, were for the most part built of timber, many of them of the worst description, and thatched with leaves or grass, are now replaced by commodious and substantial stone buildings, which both contribute to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and add to the beauty of the place; which is rendered peculiarly picturesque by the number of cocoa-nut, orange, lime, and banana trees, scattered over the whole town, and affording, in addition to the pine-apple and *gouava*, that grow wild in the woods, an abundant supply of fruit. The Madeira and Teneriffe vines flourish uncommonly well in the gardens of some private individuals, and yield in the season a large crop of grapes. Nearly all our garden vegetables are raised there; and what with yams, cassada, and pompions, there is seldom any want of one or other of those agreeable and almost necessary requisites for the table. There are good meat, poultry, and fish-markets; and almost every article of house-keeping can be procured at the shops of the British merchants.*

But notwithstanding the frequent re-captures made by our gallant officers and crews of those unfortunate beings who had been torn away from their native land, the Slave-Trade continued. The very fact of those captures was proof of this. Information was received from time to time of the horrid crimes perpetrated in Africa, and on the high seas, by miscreants who made it their business to buy and sell their fellow-creatures, and of the alarming increase of this abominable traffic, especially under the flags of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. In the months of February, March, and April of the year 1822, eleven slavers were taken to Sierra-Leone by His Majesty's cruisers, with nearly fifteen hundred slaves on board. Three of these vessels were under French colours, three under Spanish, and five under Portuguese. In the months of July and August of the preceding year, His Majesty's ship, "Myrmidon," cruised in the Bight of Biafra; and in the course of a few weeks sixteen slave-vessels were boarded and examined by her, but of this number only one came within the provisions of the public conventions. This was the schooner "Adelaide," a Portuguese. She was taken to Sierra-Leone, and condemned in the Mixed Court. About the same time six slavers were

* Major William Gray's "Travels in Western Africa," pp. 332—336.

boarded at Whydah and Badagry: but as they had no slaves on board, the vessels could not be taken.

In the Reports of the African Institution for the years 1821, 1822, and 1823, and in other public documents, we find the state of Sierra-Leone described as progressing favourably, both in a commercial and in a moral point of view. There was a growing intercourse of the colony with the interior, almost to the banks of the Niger. Caravans of native merchants brought their gold, ivory, and other articles from Foota, Jallon, and places beyond it, which they bartered in the colony for British merchandise; and merchants of Sierra-Leone had occasionally received from £500 to £1,000 worth of gold in a single day, in exchange for their goods. In other respects, also, the colony was evidently improving. Crime had diminished, cultivation had extended, substantial erections had multiplied, churches were either built or in the course of being built in every village, education had been more widely diffused, and the influence of Christianity more generally prevailed among the inhabitants. A few extracts from published letters of unquestionable authority will serve to illustrate these assertions.

The excellent governor, Sir Charles Macarthy, in a letter addressed to Earl Bathurst, dated "Sierra-Leone, January 14th, 1822," observes:—

> I have the honour of availing myself of the return to England of a merchant brig (the "Bedford") with African timber, to report my arrival here on the 28th of November last; and I have great pleasure in stating, that I found the European inhabitants and others very healthy, after experiencing what is termed rather a severe season, particularly upon new comers. I have employed as great a proportion of my time as I could spare from my other duties in visiting the towns and villages on the peninsula, inhabited by liberated Negroes, and discharged soldiers from the 2d and 4th West-India Regiments, and the Royal African Corps: and it affords me the highest gratification to say, that I have found these people happy, contented, and industrious; more particularly the former class, (liberated Africans,) who at different periods were landed here from the holds of slave-ships; and under the zealous care of the chief superintendent, Mr. Reffel, and of the superintendents I appointed from the Church Missionary Society, have, during my absence, continued improving in religion, morals, and agriculture.*

The following remarks on the state of Free-Town are from the "Sierra-Leone Gazette" in 1822:—

> We have not resided a long time on this coast ourselves, yet we can remember when the inhabitants of Free-Town comprised the whole population of the colony, and when the hills surrounding us seemed to be its boundaries; when a journey to the Hogbrook, where Regent's-Town now stands, was deemed a task of considerable difficulty, and was never attempted unless in large parties. At a more recent

* "Sixteenth Report of the African Institution," p. 327.

date, the erection of a stone house, such as we now see on almost every lot, was only attempted by the Government; the great majority of the inhabitants residing in miserable hovels, their manners and customs apparently as rude as their habitations. Such was the picture then afforded to the newly-arrived stranger. His feelings would, of course, be commensurate to the scene before him. What different sensations must now pervade the breast of an individual coming among us! On our wharves, the busy stir of commerce meets his ear; and, in every branch of society, he finds persons whose manners and intellectual acquirements will bear comparison with the relative ranks in any part of the world. But it is in our liberated African towns, that the richest enjoyment awaits the arrival of the philanthropist. There he may contemplate with delight the happy fruits of that system, the primary feature of which is religious instruction; and with, and proceeding from, that instruction, the inculcation of moral and industrious habits, the superiority of the mountain-roads, the cleanliness and respectable appearance of the villages: but, above all, the immense forests cleared away, and the soil covered with the various productions of the climate, fully attest the unremitting industry of these interesting people; while the buildings erected in the respective villages, solely by the Negroes themselves, mark their capability and improvement as artificers.

Some of the liberated Africans, from the different villages, now sat as jurors at the Quarter-Sessions in Free-Town, to the entire satisfaction of those concerned: and a very strong proof of the moral improvement of the colony was made manifest during the Sessions of 1822. The Rev. Mr. Johnson, in September of that year, writes thus: "At the Quarter-Sessions, the Chief Justice observed, when addressing the inquest, that, ten years ago, when the population of the colony was only four thousand, there were forty cases on the calendar for trial: and now that the population was upwards of sixteen thousand, there were only six cases on the calendar. He congratulated the magistrates and grand jury on the moral improvement of the colony. There was not a single case from any of the villages under the superintendence of a missionary or schoolmaster. When the Chief Justice found that this was the fact, he dismissed us and our constables in a very civil manner, as having no business to attend at the Quarter-Sessions; and we departed well pleased." We have, then, in the preceding extracts, the concurrent testimony of His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Justice, the editor of the "Sierra-Leone Gazette," and others, all bearing witness to the same fact,—the moral improvement of Sierra-Leone.

The mortality at Sierra-Leone during the year 1823 was unusually great, owing to the yellow fever, or black vomit, which prevailed on the coast: and this was previous to the setting in of the rains, or what is termed "the sickly season." Not less than seventy-seven Europeans died between December and the 12th of June. Among these were three medical men, the

chaplain, and three members of the council, including the Chief Justice. Several other officers of the colony, both civil and military, as well as missionaries, fell victims to the disease. The Governor himself was absent at the Gambia and at Cape-Coast, and did not return till July 11th; when he immediately made the best arrangements in his power to supply the vacancies occasioned by disease and death, and resumed that kind and vigilant attention to all parts of the colony which had so much endeared him to the various classes of its inhabitants. In a letter dated Free-Town, September 13th, 1823, addressed to the Church Missionary Society, after giving some explanations which tended to diminish in some degree the alarming character of the preceding number of deaths, Sir Charles pleads earnestly for further aid in his benevolent exertions to benefit the regions under his care. He observes, "I shall, as long as I have my health, and His Majesty may require my presence on the coast, promote, to the utmost of my power, the religious instruction of this part of his dominions; and more particularly so, of the liberated Africans, who, from the forlorn condition in which they are landed, more peculiarly call for assistance. Here, as every where, assistance and means are required: otherwise all must end in unavailing wishes. I shall end this letter by again expressing my sincere thanks for the aid which I have obtained from the Society, and leave it to the liberality of your own feelings to be thoroughly convinced that, in regretting the want of a sufficient number of zealous missionaries, I am thus bearing the strongest and most positive testimony of the value which I set upon the labours of those whom I have had." * The plea for more labourers was also earnestly urged by the Rev. M. Nylander, one of the surviving clergymen, who says, "Africa now stretches forth both her arms to the Society, praying, '*Come over, and help us!* Send us help, or we perish for lack of knowledge!'"

The year 1824 commenced with a great loss to the colony in the lamented death of the worthy governor, Sir C. Macarthy. He was killed in a battle against an overwhelming force of the Ashantees, fought on the Gold-Coast, and under the greatest disadvantages. On the 21st of January, Sir Charles was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, and was immediately put to death by the enemy. The following official notification of this melancholy event appeared in the "Sierra-Leone Gazette" of the 17th of April of the same year:—

* "Missionary Register," January, 1824, pp. 5, 6.

The members of His Majesty's Council have the melancholy duty of announcing to the civil and military officers, and to the inhabitants of the colony at large, the heart-rending and afflicting intelligence of the death of His Excellency Brigadier-General Sir Charles Macarthy, their revered Governor and Commander-in-Chief, who was killed in an action with the Ashantees on the 21st of January last. In making this communication known to the public, the council are aware of their inability to do that justice to their own feelings, and those of their fellow-colonists, (who have for so many years enjoyed the benefit of His Excellency's paternal care and government,) which such a distressing calamity would call forth. His Excellency's administration of the government of this colony, during the most arduous and important period of its establishment, has been marked throughout by the distinguished approbation of his beloved sovereign; and is visible in the increased and increasing welfare and prosperity of its inhabitants. Under his auspices, it has arisen to a state of importance and respectability, which places it among the most improving of His Majesty's colonial possessions; and has eminently proved the wisdom of His Excellency's measures.

The unwearied attention which he devoted to his government, and the fostering care which he extended to those placed under his command, have so sensibly endeared him to every class of the inhabitants of this colony, that time alone can soften their grief or mitigate their sorrows. It may, indeed, be truly said, that, in him, his country has lost a brave and highly-talented officer; while Africa and Afric's sons are doomed to mourn the death of one who has ever shown himself their warmest friend and benefactor.*

It appears that out of eleven officers of the Regulars and Militia who belonged to His Excellency's division, in the above engagement, seven were killed. One of these was the Honourable T. S. Buckle, a member of the council; and another was J. W. Wetherall, Esq., private secretary to the governor, who fell gallantly fighting by the side of His Excellency in the same action.

Major-General Charles Turner succeeded the lamented Sir C. Macarthy, as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the colony of Sierra-Leone and its dependencies; and as the result of his energetic administration and indefatigable exertions, it was stated that never at any period, since the first establishment of the colony, was the prospect so bright and cheering. But he soon fell a victim to the combined influence of the climate, and of excessive personal exertions in prosecuting his plans of African improvement. He died in the cause of justice and humanity at six o'clock in the morning of the 7th of March, 1826; soon after which a gazette extraordinary was issued by the council, announcing the painful intelligence to the public.

The reforms proposed by that able and zealous functionary were resumed and carried forward by his successor, Sir Neil Campbell, powerfully seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Denham.

---

* "Missionary Register," June, 1824, p. 276.

But in addition to the annual sickly season, which generally carried off several Europeans, particularly new comers, the coast was again visited in 1829 with an epidemic, similar to that of 1823, which greatly reduced the number of the Europeans at Sierra-Leone, not sparing even the oldest settlers. From February, 1825, to 1832, four governors—General Turner, Sir Neil Campbell, Colonel Denham, the distinguished traveller, and Colonel Lumley—sank under the pressure of the climate; and Major Ricketts was obliged to return to England on account of ill health.

These circumstances, in connexion with the heavy expenditure incurred, had often led to the consideration whether Sierra-Leone ought not to be entirely relinquished. In 1825 a Commission of Inquiry into the State of Sierra-Leone and its Dependencies was appointed by Government; and the attention of the public was at that time more than usually turned to that quarter. This colony, in common with all similar establishments, has, indeed, had to struggle with dangers and difficulties from its very commencement; and, from peculiar circumstances, it has not only had more than its full share of natural obstacles to contend against, but it has had to encounter, throughout the whole course of its existence, a bitter and unsparing hostility, ever aiming to bring into discredit the humane and liberal principles which gave it birth.

Had the colony of Sierra-Leone been founded with a view to commercial advantages merely, it would probably have been permitted to proceed with as little opposition as any other of our foreign establishments; but, unfortunately for its tranquil progress, the founders of it professed to have higher purposes in prospect. They professed to hate the Slave-Trade and Slavery. They professed to believe, that the oppressed and degraded African was a human being, a member of the same great family with themselves, and a fellow-heir of the same blessings of redemption. They professed to believe that he was capable of being elevated from the brutal condition to which he had been reduced, and of exhibiting to the world the same mental and moral endowments which were to be found in his enslavers. And they not only professed to believe all these offensive doctrines, but they had the courage, in the face of slander and contumely, to attempt to act upon them. They aimed, both by exertions and by sacrifices, to promote the civilization and moral improvement of the African race.

Such an attempt to counteract the evils of the Slave-Trade, and to repair, in any measure, the disastrous effects it had produced on the character and well-being of this unfortunate part of our species, we might have hoped, would, at least, have been treated with indulgence, if not with respect, however unfortunate may have been its issue. So far from it, it appears to have been this very circumstance of its philanthropic motive which has served to embitter hostility, to sharpen every arrow of detraction, and to give increased weight to every malignant suggestion, and to every false representation respecting this colony. And even at this moment, after so many sinister predictions of its enemies have been falsified; after it has sur-

mounted its early dangers and difficulties, aggravated by a bitterness of enmity peculiar to itself; after it has gone on for years, notwithstanding very great mismanagement, increasing in prosperity, while not a slave breathes on its soil, and while it has been made the instrument of imparting to thousands of Africans, raised from the lowest depths of misery and debasement, the blessings of British freedom, and of Christian light;—there are still to be found men whose delight seems to consist in reiterating, with fresh exaggerations, the often-refuted calumnies against it, and in labouring not only to bring it into discredit with the public, but to sweep it, if it were possible, from the face of the earth.*

The first part of the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Sierra-Leone and its Dependencies was printed in May, 1827, by order of the House of Commons; and the second part soon after. These Reports, together with some other erroneous statements respecting the colony, which appeared about the same time, called forth a work from Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, entitled, "The Colony of Sierra-Leone vindicated;" and the controversy was warm and protracted: but it would answer no good purpose to go into its details here. It was considered, that to abandon this colony would leave full scope for the contraband Slave-Trade, and would frustrate all hopes of establishing a centre whence civilization might hereafter spread throughout Africa. The European troops, however, were withdrawn, and their places supplied by Negroes, having European officers; and the expenditure of the colony was considerably reduced; so much, indeed, that, for the five years ending 1824, the expenditure was £75,000 *per annum*, and for the succeeding five years it was diminished to nearly half that sum, or to £40,000, of which about £17,000 was for liberated Africans.

In 1833, the population of Sierra-Leone was 29,764; and in two years afterwards it amounted to 35,000; of whom about 200 were Europeans, consisting of civil and military officers, merchants, traders, chaplains, missionaries, and schoolmasters.

The number of vessels with merchandise which entered Sierra-Leone in 1833 was sixty-three: of these, two were foreign vessels, eleven were from British colonies, and the other fifty were from Great Britain. The amount of exports was £57,164; the greater part of which was received in Britain, and consisted principally of timber, corn, wood, palm-oil, ivory, rice, hides, copal-gum, ginger, arrow-root, coffee, &c.; there being very little gold exported that year.†

The population, in 1838, was about 40,000; and, owing chiefly

* "Anti-Slavery Reporter," vol. iii. pp. 157, 158. (April, 1830.)

† See MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. pp. 603, 604.

to the great number of slavers that were captured about this time and subsequently, Free-Town itself, in 1846, contained 15,000 inhabitants; and the colony, embracing a circuit of thirty miles, numbered not less than 50,000 souls.

In order to form a correct estimate of the moral condition of Sierra-Leone, and of what has been there effected, we ought, in all fairness, to look at the character of its inhabitants, as they have from time to time been introduced into the colony. Without treading over the same ground again, this may be done in few words. The oldest residents, it will be recollected, are black and coloured Nova-Scotians, who emigrated thither upwards of fifty years ago. The appellation of "settlers" is applied to this part of the community; and much has been said for and against them. Great blame has also been attached to the Sierra-Leone Company, for not adhering to its original promise, in granting to them such quantities of land as they had stipulated for; and it cannot be denied that there was a breach of faith on the part of the Sierra-Leone Company in this particular, though perhaps it was unavoidable. But the Nova-Scotians were so disappointed and disgusted, when they found that only one-fifth of the land promised could be granted to them, that they began to entertain a feeling of distrust towards the Company, and to show a want of due respect towards its resident agents. This was the first grievance; and the evil effects of this disappointment may be traced even to this day.

After the lapse of some seven years, an accession was made to the colony in point of numbers, but by no means in respect of moral strength, by the advent of a body of Maroons. The Maroons had been for many years the only body of free Blacks in the island of Jamaica, where they spent the greater part of their time in hunting wild beasts in the woods, or in chasing and ferreting out runaway slaves; for which latter purpose they were held in great repute, and were always in preference resorted to, on such occasions, by slave-owners. At the close of the Maroon war in that island, they were sent to Nova-Scotia, and subsequently to Sierra-Leone, where, immediately on their arrival, arms were put into their hands, and they were commissioned to use them in reducing the "settlers" to obedience. By this act they regained favour with the English; but it was at the expense of an amount of hatred and reproach from the old colonists which lasted for many years.

The Abolition of the Slave-Trade by Great Britain, in 1807, introduced, in the body of the liberated Africans, a third and

the principal element into the population of the colony; and the great mass of the inhabitants of Free-Town, and of the rest of the peninsula, amounting, as we have stated, to fifty thousand souls, are re-captured Negroes, not consisting of Blacks of one nation only, but of many tribes, who were landed there at different times, in a condition the most degraded, having been redeemed from the blood-thirsty grasp of Slavery, and of those "men-stealers" who

> "Drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span
> And buy the muscles and the bones of man."

The condition of a body of captured slaves, on their arrival at Sierra-Leone, when just released from these floating, gasping tombs, or coffin-like prisons, the slave-ships, is the most miserable and wretched that can well be conceived. An eye-witness of a scene of this description thus writes :—

One fine day in May, the signal-gun told of the approach of a vessel, which the lookers-out on the signal-hill announced, by the usual mode of hoisting a coloured ball to the top of a staff, to be a schooner or brig from the south. A sharp-built schooner, with crowded canvass, glanced up the estuary like lightning. Her nature was obvious: she was a prize. A painful interest prompted me to visit, as speedily as possible, this prison-ship. A friend offered the advantage of his company to a scene which has sometimes so completely overwhelmed a novice, as to render the support of a friend advantageous.

The Timmannee crew of the official boat swiftly shot us along-side. The craft showed Spanish colours, and was named *La Pantica*. We easily leaped on board, as she lay low in the water. The first hasty glance around caused a sudden sickness and faintness, followed by an indignation more intense than discreet. Before us, lying in a heap, huddled together at the foot of the foremast, on the bare and filthy deck, lay several human beings in the last stage of emaciation,—dying. The ship, fore and aft, was thronged with men, women, and children, all entirely naked, and disgusting with disease. The stench was nearly insupportable, cleanliness being impossible. I stepped to the hatchway; it was secured by iron bars and cross-bars, and pressed against them were the heads of slaves below. It appeared that the crowd on deck formed one-third only of the cargo, two-thirds being stowed in a sitting posture below, between-decks,—the men forward, the women aft. Two hundred and seventy-four were at this moment in the little schooner. When captured, three hundred and fifteen had been found on board: forty had died during the voyage from Old Calabar, where she had been captured by His Majesty's ship, "Fair Rosamond;" and one had drowned himself on arrival, probably in fear of being "yammed" by the English.....I attempted to descend, in order to see the accommodation. The height between the floor and ceiling was about twenty-two inches. The agony of the position of the crouching slaves may be imagined, especially that of the men, whose heads and necks are bent down by the boarding above them. Once so fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is unattainable. The body frequently stiffens into a premature curve; and in the streets of Free-Town I have seen liberated slaves in every conceivable state of distortion. One I remember, who trailed along his body, with his back to the

ground, by means of his hands and ankles. Many can never resume the upright posture.*

A communication from Sierra-Leone of more recent date confirms the preceding horrible picture. It is from the pen of the Rev. C. S. Frey:—"April 16th, 1845. In going from Kissey to Free-Town, I met with a scene of misery which made such an impression on my mind that I shall scarcely forget it. About four hundred emancipated Africans, old and young, of both sexes, were proceeding toward Kissey Hospital. They had just come from the slave-vessel, and were in a most heart-rending condition. Some, not being able to walk, were carried; while others supported themselves with sticks, looking, from the starvation they had endured on board, more like human skeletons than living beings. I have since been informed that, within a short time, a hundred of them died."†

Such are the wretched materials out of which the colony of Sierra-Leone has been principally constructed: nor does the preceding description, horrifying as it is, convey an adequate impression of the disadvantages under which these poor creatures labour. They arrive not only debilitated and diseased in body, without even a rag to cover them, but desponding and dejected in mind, wholly ignorant of the English language, and without power or inclination for exertion. Is it, then, to be wondered at that, in such circumstances, the faculties of the soul should be so cramped and benumbed by cruelties inflicted on the body, as almost involuntarily to suggest to the mind of the beholder an idea, that the mass of miserable beings before him are but little elevated above the brute creation? And yet, with regard to these wretched beings, what is the fact, as stated in the preceding pages, and more especially as existing at the present time? Why, the change passed upon them is like a resurrection from the dead; a translation from chains and darkness to light and liberty; from a depth of wretchedness of which those whose eyes have not witnessed it can form no adequate conception, to a state of comparative ease and enjoyment, of comfort and happiness; and from barbarism and degradation the most complete, to civilization and Christian improvement. In one word, there are scores, nay, hundreds, of those poor creatures who brought nothing with them into the colony but their unnerved and tottering limbs, their naked and emaciated bodies, with their depressed and abject spirits, who are now,

* RANKIN'S "Visit to Sierra-Leone in 1834," vol. ii. pp. 118—123.

† "Missionary Register," 1846, p. 151.

both in a literal and spiritual sense, "clothed, and in their right mind;"—thousands of them, who are industrious, intelligent, and pious, useful members of civil and religious society.

Owing to the frequent accessions of these ignorant and debased Heathens from the interior, the morals of the people in some parts of the colony are very low; but it may with truth be said, that the majority of emancipated slaves cheerfully submit to all the ordinary restraints of British law, and that many of them even take part in the administration of those laws which yield them protection, and in the maintenance of the peace and good order of the colony.

It would be interesting, did the limits of this work permit it, to trace the gradual progress of the liberated Africans from the depths of misery to which allusion has been made, until we find them, after a few years, well clad, well housed, quiet, orderly, respectable members of society, and some of them in independent circumstances. This pleasing task has, however, been in part accomplished by the late Dr. Fergusson, of Sierra-Leone, in a Letter addressed to Sir T. F. Buxton, in 1839; the substance of which Sir Fowell has embodied in his stirring work on "The Slave-Trade and its Remedy." As I have the printed letter before me, I will avail myself of it to make the following extracts. It may be here remarked, that Dr. Fergusson, whom I had the pleasure of knowing personally, was a gentleman of great intelligence; and, from his intimate knowledge of the peninsula, acquired during his long residence at Sierra-Leone, where he was for many years at the head of the medical department, and occasionally held the highest official civil office in the colony, he was well qualified to write upon the subject. Speaking of the liberated Africans as a class, and of the position in society which they occupied at that time, he observes,—

1. Those most recently arrived are to be found occupying mud-houses, and small patches of ground, in the neighbourhood of one or other of the villages: (the villages are about twenty in number, placed in different parts of the colony, grouped into three classes or districts; namely, mountain, river, and sea districts.) The majority remain in their locations as agriculturists; but several go to reside in the neighbourhood of Free-Town, looking out for work, as labourers, farm-servants, servants to carry wood and water, grooms, house-servants, &c.; others cultivate vegetables, rear poultry and pigs, and supply eggs for the Sierra-Leone market. Great numbers are found offering for sale in the public market, and elsewhere, a vast quantity of cooked edible substances,—rice, corn, and cassada cakes, heterogeneous compounds of rice and corn-flour, yams, cassada, palm-oil, pepper, pieces of beef, mucilaginous vegetables, &c., &c., under names quite unintelligible to a stranger, such as *aagedee*, *aballa*, *akalaray*, *cabona*, &c., &c., cries which are shouted along the streets of Free-Town from morn till night. These, the lowest grade of liberated Africans, are a harmless and well-disposed people; there is no

poverty among them, nor begging; their habits are frugal and industrious; their anxiety to possess money is remarkable; but their energies are allowed to run riot and be wasted, from the want of knowledge requisite to direct them into proper channels.

2. Persons of a grade higher than those last described are to be found occupying frame-houses: they drive a petty trade in the market, where they expose for sale nails, fish-hooks, door-hinges, tape, thread, ribbon, needles, pins, &c. Many of this grade also look out for the arrival of canoes from the country, laden with oranges, kolas, sheep, bullocks, fowls, rice, &c., purchase the whole cargo at once at the water-side, and derive considerable profit from selling such articles by retail, in the market and over the town. Many of this grade are also occupied in curing and drying fish, an article which always sells well in the market, and is in great request by people at a distance from the water-side, and in the interior of the country. A vast number of this grade are tailors, straw-hat makers, shoemakers, cobblers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, &c. Respectable men of this grade meet with ready mercantile credits, amounting from £20 to £60; and the class is very numerous.

3. Persons of a grade higher than that last mentioned are found occupying frame-houses, reared on a stone foundation of from six to ten feet in height. These houses are very comfortable; they are painted outside and in; have piazzas in front and rear, and many of them all round; a considerable sprinkling of mahogany furniture of European workmanship is to be found in them; several books are to be seen lying about, chiefly of a religious character, and a general air of domestic comfort pervades the whole, which, perhaps, more than any thing else, bears evidence of the advanced state of intelligence at which they have arrived. This grade is nearly altogether occupied in shop-keeping, hawking, and other mercantile pursuits. At sales of prize goods, public auctions, and every other place affording a probability of cheap bargains, they are to be seen in great numbers; where they club together in numbers of from three to six, seven, or more, to purchase large lots or unbroken bales; and the scrupulous honesty with which the subdivision of the goods is afterwards made, cannot be evidenced more thoroughly than in this, that, common as such transactions are, they have never yet been known to have become the subject of controversy or litigation. The principal streets of Free-Town, as well as the approaches to the town, are lined on each side by an almost continuous range of booths and stalls, among which almost every article of merchandise is offered for sale, and very commonly at a cheaper rate than similar articles are sold in the shops of the merchants.

Two rates of profit are recognised in the mercantile transactions of the European merchants; namely, a wholesale and a retail profit, the former varying from thirty to fifty per cent., the latter from fifty to one hundred per cent. The working of the retail trade in the hands of Europeans requires a considerable outlay in the shape of shop-rent, shopkeepers', clerks' wages, &c. The liberated Africans were not slow in observing nor in seizing on the advantages which their peculiar position held out for the successful prosecution of the retail trade.

Clubbing together, as before observed, and holding ready money in their hands, the merchants are naturally anxious to execute for them considerable orders, on such unexceptionable terms of payment; while, on the other hand, the liberated Africans, seeing clearly their advantage, insist most pertinaciously on the lowest possible per-centage of wholesale profit.

Having thus become possessed of the goods at the lowest possible ready-money rate, their subsequent transactions are not clogged with the expense of shop-rents, shopkeepers' and clerks' wages and subsistence, &c., &c., expenses unavoidable to Europeans. They are therefore enabled at once to undersell the European retail

merchants, and to secure a handsome profit to themselves; a consummation the more easily attained, aided as it is by the extreme simplicity and abstemiousness of their mode of living, which contrast so favourably for them with the expensive and almost necessary luxuries of European life. Many of this grade possess large canoes, with which they trade in the upper parts of the river, along shore, and in the neighbouring rivers, bringing down rice, palm-oil, camwood, ivory, hides, &c., &c., in exchange for British manufactures. They are all in easy circumstances, readily obtaining mercantile credits from £60 to £200. Persons of this and the grade next to be mentioned, evince great anxiety to become possessed of houses and lots in old Free-Town. These lots are desirable, because of their proximity to the market-place and the great thoroughfares, and also for the superior advantages which they afford for the establishment of their darling object, "a retail store." Property of this description has of late years become much enhanced in value, and its value is still increasing, solely from the annually-increasing numbers and prosperity of this and the next grade. The town-lots originally granted to the Nova-Scotian settlers and the Maroons are, year after year, being offered for sale by public auction, and in every case liberated Africans are the purchasers. A striking instance of their desire to possess property of this description, and of its increasing value, came under my immediate notice a few months ago.

The gentlemen of the Church Missionary Society having been for some time looking about in quest of a lot on which to erect a new chapel, a lot suitable for the purpose was at length offered for sale by public auction; and at a meeting of the Society's Local Committee, it was resolved, in order to secure the purchase of the property in question, to offer as high as £60. The clergyman delegated for this purpose, at my recommendation, resolved, on his own responsibility, to offer, if necessary, as high as £70; but, to the surprise and mortification of us all, the lot was knocked down at upwards of £90, and a liberated African was the purchaser. He stated very kindly, that if he had known the Society were desirous of purchasing the lot, he would not have opposed them; he nevertheless manifested no desire of transferring to them the purchase, and even refused an advance of £10 on his bargain.

4. Persons of the highest grade of liberated Africans occupy comfortable two-story stone-houses, enclosed all round with spacious piazzas. These houses are their own property, and are built from the proceeds of their own industry. In several of them are to be seen mahogany chairs, tables, sofas, and four-post bedsteads, pier-glasses, floor-cloths, and other articles indicative of domestic comfort and accumulating wealth.

Persons of this grade, like those last described, are almost wholly engaged in mercantile pursuits. Their transactions, however, are of greater magnitude and value, and their business is carried on with an external appearance of respectability commensurate with their superior pecuniary means: thus, instead of exposing their wares for sale in booths or stalls by the way-side, they are to be found in neatly-fitted-up shops, on the ground-floor of their stone dwelling-houses.

Many individual members of this grade have realized very considerable sums of money, sums which, to a person not cognizant of the fact, would appear to be incredible. From the studied manner in which individuals conceal their pecuniary circumstances from the world, it is difficult to obtain a correct knowledge of the wealth of the class generally. The devices to which they have recourse in conducting a bargain are often exceedingly ingenious, and to be reputed rich might materially interfere with their success on such occasions. Thus nothing is more common than to hear a plea of poverty set up, and most pertinaciously urged, in extenuation of the terms of a purchase, by persons, whose outward condition, com-