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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

ELIZABETH DONNAN
Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College

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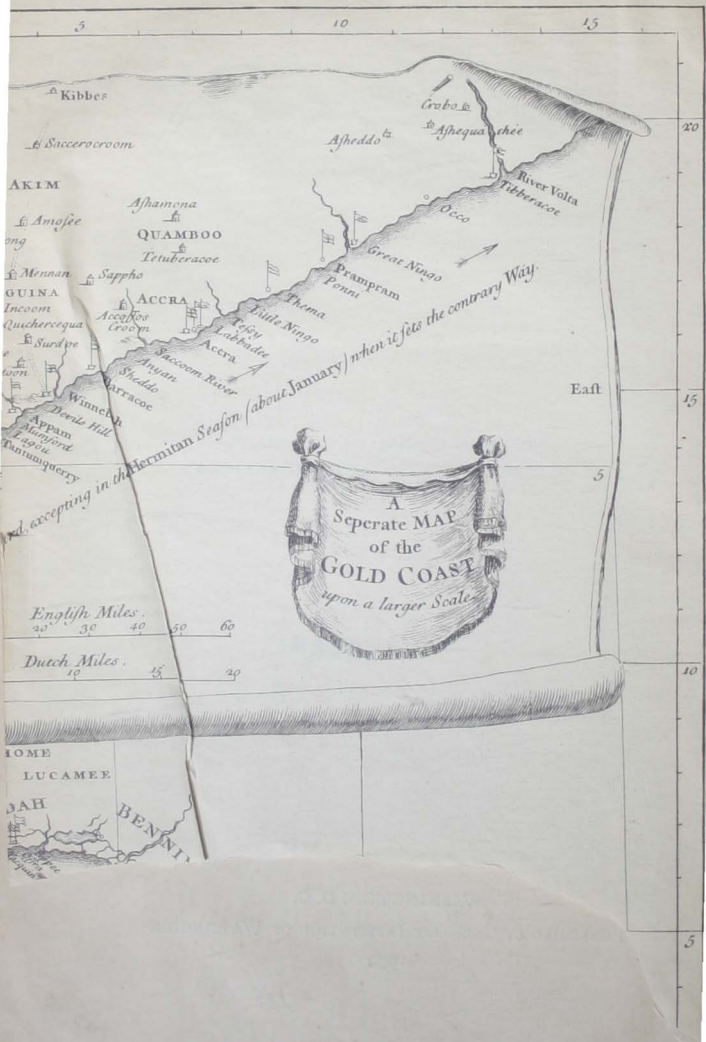

PREFACE

The importance of a documentation of the history of American slavery has been adequately set forth by Dr. J. F. Jameson in the preface to the first volume of Mrs. Catterall's *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery* and calls for no restatement at this time. The volume of documents here presented, and the two which are to follow, illustrate the history of the trade on which the institution rested. For more than one hundred and fifty years that trade not only brought to America a large part of her labor supply but also exerted a considerable influence on the relations between various European countries and on the dealings of Great Britain with her American plantations. When a collection which should illustrate this traffic was first under consideration the intention was to confine it to the trade to the Thirteen Colonies, but it soon developed that such an attempt would be unsatisfactory, perhaps absolutely misleading. The traffic to the Thirteen Colonies, to the West Indies, and to Spanish America was so closely interwoven that to a certain extent it seemed necessary to treat it as a whole. In volumes I. and II. this is attempted, though the emphasis has been placed upon the English trade to the British West Indies. The first volume deals with the traffic in slaves from the time it became a part of European commerce until the end of the seventeenth century; the second volume is to carry the account through the eighteenth century to the year 1807, when British and American legislation alike outlawed the trade; the third volume shifts the emphasis from the history of the trade to the connection of the Thirteen Colonies with that trade. The outstanding topics illustrated by the material in the first volume are the beginnings of African exploitation, the friction of European countries in Africa, the development of great commercial companies for the control of the traffic, the struggle for Spanish-American markets, the methods of trade, and its effect on English policy in the West Indies. As was to be expected, what emerges is the history of the trade as seen by the white man rather than as seen or suffered by the negro. The record is that of the trader concerned with method, with profits and losses, with the struggle for monopoly or for freedom of trade, rather than with the race or races which he was subjugating. To merchant, planter, agent of the African Company or British official, the oppor-

tunity to study primitive peoples at first hand meant little, and was allowed to slip by unused. Our records of the slave trade shed little light upon the manner of people enslaved, their origins, and the differences among them, save when such points were translated into pounds sterling. This fact leaves us in ignorance of much which would today be of inestimable value in studying the African origins of the American negro population.

Both printed and manuscript sources have been utilized. The voluminous papers of the Royal African Company, the Colonial Office Papers, both in manuscript and as they appear in the *Calendar of State Papers,* the Spanish archives, narratives of African voyagers and traders, these have all been drawn upon. The amount of material relating to this subject is prodigious and all that such a volume can hope to do is to suggest possibilities for intensive study and to point the way to available material for such study.

Few liberties have been taken with the texts whether printed or manuscript, but occasional punctuation has been added to clarify the meaning, and abbreviations have been expanded for the same purpose. The capitalization of the originals has been preserved save in translations, where, in general, it has been made to conform to present usage. The spelling of the originals has also been retained but not the use of italics. In other respects the practice of earlier volumes of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution has been followed.

To name here the individuals who have lent frequent and kindly aid in the preparation of this work is impossible without extending the preface to undue length. A few obligations, however, stand out above all others. The debt to Dr. J. F. Jameson is immeasurable. Not only was his the original plan for such a collection of material as this, but his knowledge and wisdom have been called upon constantly as the work has progressed. The skilful and patient cooperation of Miss Ruth Anna Fisher in procuring for the editor the desired material from the Public Record Office also deserves mention.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

June 23, 1930

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

PART I.: 1441-1600

INTRODUCTION

With the origins of the institution of slavery and of the traffic in slaves the documents here presented do not deal. Neither slavery nor the slave trade was new to mankind in 1441, the date of the first narrative here printed. For perhaps five centuries trade routes from central Africa, to east and north, had been kept open, and slaves had been carried through eastern ports to the rest of the world, some of them undoubtedly finding their way to the markets of western Europe. The modern traffic which is here presented, though it for a time made use of some of the facilities of the earlier trade, was not merely a continuation of the old, with a change in direction which turned the slave coffles from east to west. Nor was the fifteenth-century trade simply the result of a change in the method by which the slave was transported. The fact that after 1444 slaves were carried from the African coast by water rather than overland would scarcely justify one in regarding the fifteenth century as the beginning of a new commerce.[1] Yet one may, without doing violence to the facts, consider 1444 as the inauguration of an essentially new thing in the history of the Western world, that is, the modern traffic in negroes. It was then that the Europeans themselves first carried slaves from Africa to be sold in European markets.[2] Within a dozen years the traffic in negroes had become an accepted and profitable part of European commerce, the privilege of carrying them being eagerly sought. The conjunction in a single half-century of the discovery of an immense new labor supply and of a new and comparatively empty continent in which such a supply could be profitably utilized gave an importance and a permanence to this branch of trade which, had Europe alone been the vent, it could never have attained. To examine the origin of this modern slave trade one must turn first to the exploration and exploitation of the West African coast from which came the supply, and next to the introduction of the negro, there obtained, into Western

[1] José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud de la Raza Africana en el Nuevo Mundo* (Barcelona, 1879), p. 26.

[2] A few natives had been carried to Portugal from the Canaries in 1434, and, in 1441, Antam Gonçalvez, as will be seen from the text of Azurara here printed, carried captives home, but these were not for the purpose of trade, any more than was the native of Brazil whom William Hawkins carried to England a century later.

markets. Of the exploration of the African coast a brief statement will here suffice, since the tale has been many times told. Here again for beginnings one must turn to the ancients, but this story, as well as that of slavery, has not been one of continuous development, from the time of the Phoenicians, through the Middle Ages, to the modern era.[3] The voyages of Sataspes, of Eudoxus, and of Hanno, even if accepted as authentic, contributed nothing to the daring fifteenth-century progress of the Portuguese along the African coast, progress which was an essential prelude to the development of the modern slave trade.[4] For a time Portuguese exploits were largely owing to the vision and perseverance of one man, Prince Henry of Portugal, grandson of John of Gaunt of England.[5] In the first quarter of the fifteenth century the Canaries and the Madeira Islands had been opened to Portuguese settlement. Driven by the ardor of the Prince, Portuguese navigators pushed along the coast of Africa during the remainder of that century. In 1434 Cape Bojador, long the object of superstitious fears, was rounded; in 1436 the Rio d'Ouro was reached. Then Henry's interest turned elsewhere. In 1441 he reverted with fresh determination to the African explorations. The

[3] Most accounts of African exploration or of African geography begin with a review of the ancient voyages. For brief statements see C. Raymond Beazley and E. Prestage, introduction to Azurara, *Chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea,* II. xxxvi-xliii; W. W. Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (London, 1915), I. 11-29. Longer accounts may be found in Sir Edward Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography* (London, 1879), I. 262-335; James Rennell, *Geographical System of Herodotus* (London, 1830), II. 348-443. For Hanno's voyage down the coast see W. Schoff, *The Periplus of Hanno* (Philadelphia, 1913), esp. p. 5; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas: his Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905), I. 210-214. The literature of the Portuguese explorations is abundant and much of it excellent. See especially the work of C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (New York, 1895), "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade of the Fifteenth Century", *American Historical Review,* XVI. 11-23, and "Prince Henry of Portugal and his Political, Commercial, and Colonizing Work", *ibid.,* XVII. 252-267; also R. H. Major, *Prince Henry of Portugal* (London, 1868), and J. P. Oliveira Martins, *The Golden Age of Prince Henry* (London, 1914, translated). Oliveira Martins's *Les Explorations des Portugais antérieures à la Découverte de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1893, translated from the Spanish) contains a map tracing the Portuguese progress down the coast. One of the better brief accounts is that of Charles de Lannoy and Herman Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne, jusqu'au Début du XIXe Siècle* (Brussels and Paris, 1907), pp. 40-50. The histories of Gambia and the Gold Coast usually devote a few pages to African exploration, as H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia, its History Ancient and Modern* (London, 1912), pp. 30-40; Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti,* I. 33-53; as do also the histories of slavery, see Saco, *op. cit.,* pp. 21-47.

[4] It is not necessary here to evaluate the claims of the French to priority of exploration, since, even if they were established at St. George del Mina in 1364, they did not begin a commerce in the natives at that time. The reader who is interested to pursue the subject of the French claim will find an excellent presentation of the evidence in C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1905-1906), III. 430-440, as well as in Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. lxiv-lxx.

[5] For an interesting examination of the importance of this English relationship, and of the influence of the English Queen Philippa on the history of Portugal during this century, see Beazley, *Prince Henry,* pp. 133-137. Lannoy and Vander Linden give a succinct account of Portugal's economic and political condition at the beginning of her maritime career. Contrasting views of the character and influence of Prince Henry may be found in the work of Beazley and of Oliveira Martins.

passages here printed from Azurara's account carry the story of exploration and of the exploitation of the natives forward to the year 1448, at which time the Portuguese had reached the Senegal.

Between 1448 and the death of Prince Henry in 1460 his captains had reached Sierra Leone. Of the voyages in the later years of his life the most important was that of the Venetian Cadamosto, who entered the service of the Prince in 1455, and made two journeys to the coast, in 1455 and 1456.[6] Though he had quite frankly been attracted to the service of the Prince by news of the great gain to be obtained from the Guinea trade,[7] he made no attempt to increase his profits by imitating the slave raids of the previous decade. Indeed, the meagre observations which he makes on that trade suggest that already wholesale slaughter and rapine had given way to an orderly traffic, with the Arabs acting as middlemen.

> Before this Trade was settled, the Portuguese Caravels, sometimes four, and sometimes more, used to come to the Gulph of Argin, well armed, and, landing by Night, surprised some Fishermen's Villages: they even entered into the Country, and carried off Arabs of both Sexes, which they sold in Portugal. . . . However, for some Time past, Peace and Commerce has been restored to them all; and the Infante suffers no farther Damage to be done to these People.[8]

The centre of this commerce was the island of Arguin, a settlement eight years old when Cadamosto visited it. Here, he says, for woollen and linen cloth, silver, tapestry, and grain, the Arabs gave slaves and gold. In his second voyage he travelled some distance up the Gambia and exchanged goods for gold and slaves with a Mandingo chief, but of this transaction he gives no details.

One more navigator should be included in the roll of Prince Henry's captains, Diego Gomez, who made two voyages, in 1457 or 1458 and 1460.[9] His account indicates the existence of friendly intercourse and trade with the natives. By this time some seven or eight hundred slaves were being carried to Portugal annually.[10]

In the year following the death of the Prince, 1461, King Alfonso sent out Piedro de Cintra, who in a single voyage gained some knowledge of Sierra Leone, and the Grain, Ivory, and Gold Coasts as far as the point later known as Elmina.[11] Ten years later the mouth of the Niger had been passed, and the islands of São Thomé, or St. Thomas, and Fernando Po added to the map by Santarem and Pedro

[6] The narrative, written in Italian, was first published in Venice in 1507. It is contained in Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745), I. 572-596. J. S. Clark, *Progress of Maritime Discovery* (London, 1803), pp. 235-286, prints selections from it. Beazley summarizes Cadamosto's account in Azurara, *Chronicle*, II. xxii-xxv, and in *Prince Henry*, pp. 261-288.

[7] Azurara, *Chronicle*, II. xxii-xxiii.

[8] Astley, I. 577, 578.

[9] Azurara, *Chronicle*, II. xxvi-xxvii.

[10] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud*, p. 36.

[11] Azurara, *Chronicle*, II. xxviii-xxix.

de Escobar. At the end of another decade the equator was crossed, and the Congo coast traced. The sources of the slave supply were thus open to the white world.[12] The coast line now accessible extended for four thousand miles, from the Senegal River in the north to the southern limits of Angola beyond the equator. For three centuries white traders frequented the mouth of the Senegal or the Gambia, or voyaged to the south, along the coast of Sierra Leone, then bore eastward, and proceeded along the Grain Coast, the Ivory, the Gold, and the Slave coasts, perhaps to find their graves in the unwholesome region of the Bight of Benin. South from this point trading vessels visited the islands of São Thomé and Fernando Po, or pushed along the coasts of Congo and Angola, to their marts at Loango and Loando.

Not only had the Portuguese explored the coast and developed an African commerce, but they had planned for permanent occupation. In 1448 a fort was erected, or at least begun, upon the island of Arguin, which in 1461 was rebuilt or improved.[13] In 1458 a mission was sent out to Africa under the Abbot of Soto de Cassa, to convert the natives of the Gambia region.[14] The most ambitious undertaking of the Portuguese was the erection of Fort St. George at Elmina, begun with great ceremony, in 1481, by Diogo d'Azambuja, who remained there as governor. The spot was probably chosen for its proximity to gold rather than to negroes, though the Portuguese were said to have sent from there a cargo of negroes at once, and it was a centre of negro trade till the end of the eighteenth century. Four years after the establishment of this fort the king added to his titles that of Lord of Guinea.[15]

Obviously Portugal could not explore so vast a coast, annex its trade, and take possession of its shores without attracting the jealous attention of other European countries. The authority of the Church was early invoked to support the Portuguese claim against present and potential rivals. That such request should be granted was scarcely surprising, in the light of Prince Henry's missionary zeal. To him the navigation of the African coast was, in part at least, as genuine a crusade as were those of an earlier day. It was entirely reasonable for him to request absolution for those taking part in the Portuguese voyages, and for the pope to grant the request.[16] The next step followed naturally. If the Portuguese were carrying forward a "holy warfare" the lands which they discovered should manifestly be placed

[12] Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 317-321; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography* (1906), III. 567; Azurara, *Chronicle*, II. xxviii-xxxvi.

[13] *Ibid.*, II. xxii, xxviii. Major (*Prince Henry*, p. 317) says the fort at Arguin was not built until 1461.

[14] Azurara, *Chronicle*, p. xxvi.

[15] Beazley, *Prince Henry*, p. 315; Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 323-326; Sir Arthur Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America and its Relation to Slavery* (1900, ed. M. Oppenheim), I. 42-44.

[16] Dec. 19, 1442, bull *Illius que se* (Eugenius IV.); Beazley, "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVI. 15.

under their jurisdiction. Thus the series of papal bulls by which the pope sanctioned the Portuguese claims seems but the logical outcome of Prince Henry's proselyting zeal. Positive papal decision as between rival claimants was not at first necessary. Eugenius IV. in 1443 had taken "neutral ground" as between Spain and Portugal, while Nicholas V. in 1452 had given to King Alfonso general powers to conquer and enslave pagans, but had not added exclusive control over the newly discovered territory. This neutral attitude could not, however, be long maintained as knowledge of the riches of the Guinea coast spread. In 1454 John II. of Castile, protesting at the seizure of a Spanish trading vessel bound from Guinea, was met by the response that Guinea belonged to Portugal, and not long after this the pope lent his authority to the declaration.[17]

Not only did Portugal attempt to shut out other nations from the profits of this new trade, but from the first she maintained an exclusive trade among her own subjects. By royal decree of September 15, 1448, the right to control the trade was granted to Prince Henry.[18] After his death, the Portuguese king gained from it a fixed and steady revenue by farming it, in 1469, to Fernando Gomez for five years, at 1000 ducats a year, and this method, or some variation of it, continued to be used by both Portugal and Spain.[19] Even at this time the monopoly was not accepted without protest. The Cortes of Coimbra in 1473, a year before the expiration of the grant to Gomez, asked that the Guinea trade be drawn by lot, that all might benefit.[20] It is not unlikely that the attempt to maintain an exclusive trade weakened the power of Portugal to protect her resources from foreign encroachment. Envious Portuguese, excluded from that part of the trade which seemed most lucrative, certainly were at times found assisting other nations in trade, in defiance of their own country. Portugal had undertaken two difficult tasks: to keep all save a privileged few of her own traders from sharing in the profits of the trade; and to keep all other nations from dividing the spoils with her. In the second she failed so lamentably that the first soon became of minor importance. This failure was not evident in the fifteenth century,

[17] For a brief but excellent statement of the relations between Spain and Portugal during this century see Frances G. Davenport, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States* (Washington, 1917), I. 1-2, 33-35. See also Miss Davenport's discussion of the various bulls relating to the Portuguese position, as well as the bulls themselves (*ibid.*, pp. 1, 9, 24, 27, 34, 49). Miss Davenport calls attention to the fact that many modern historians, following a statement made by Barros, have placed this papal sanction of Portugal's rights at an earlier date. *Ibid.*, I. 12, n. 23.

[18] Beazley, *Prince Henry*, pp. 303-304. As a matter of fact, Prince Henry had controlled the African expeditions since 1443. Azurara, *Chronicle*, I. 54.

[19] *Ibid.*, II. xxix; Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I. 42, n. 1, "500 cruzados" or 1000 ducats; Oliveira Martins, *Golden Age*, p. 218. Major (*Prince Henry*, p. 321) says this was about £40 a year. For a discussion of the system see Lannoy and Vander Linden, pp. 137-144.

[20] Oliveira Martins, *Golden Age*, p. 220.

however. Spain for the most part accepted her exclusion from the African coast. England, so far as we know, made in this century but one abortive effort to share the trade. In 1481 rumor reached Portugal that two Englishmen, William Fabian and John Tintam, were equipping an expedition for Guinea trade. John II. of Portugal promptly protested that this violated the terms of his papal privileges, and the voyage was stayed. About the same time Edward IV. of England asked the pope for permission to trade in Africa but nothing came of his request.[21]

Of the history of the Portuguese in West Africa during the sixteenth century singularly little is known. They had by this time become much more interested in their possessions in India, and most students of Portuguese expansion dwell upon India and Brazil rather than upon West Africa, which gradually became merely a source of slaves for Brazil. Elmina continued to be the centre of the Gold Coast trade of Portugal. Here she maintained a governor, a chief factor and a small garrison. At Axim, Accra, and Shama were small settlements and trading centres. At other trading posts a factor and a priest or two made up the Portuguese establishment. Though she claimed control of a long line of coast, her contact with the natives was largely through the priests, and she had worked out little machinery of administration. The greatest extension of her interest was in Angola and the Congo, which largely supplied the Portuguese sugar plantations of the neighboring island of São Thomé with laborers. Here the anonymous Portuguese pilot who visited the island about 1520 found some planters owning as many as 300 slaves.[22] From the Angola region also came negroes for Brazil, which proved a well-nigh inexhaustible market.

Despite the failure of Portugal to work out an adequate system of government or of trade, there can be no question that she continued to be the dominant influence on the West African coast throughout this century. A group of narratives collected by Hakluyt and Purchas are suggestive of the importance of her traffic, though they give little exact or satisfactory information. The first of these is a report on

[21] Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow, 1903-1905), VI. 122-124; Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, I. 138. J. M. Sarbah ("The Gold Coast when Edward IV. was King", *Journal of the African Society*, III. 194-197), quoting from what he described as an "original relation", asserts that this voyage was actually completed, that Englishmen defeated the Portuguese at Cape Three Points, and that they traded successfully for elephants' teeth and grain, but not for negroes. This is a complete contradiction of Hakluyt's statement and some other authority than that of an anonymous translation is needed before it is accepted. For the English request to the pope see *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, I. 142.

[22] "Voyage from Lisbon to the Island of St. Thome . . . by a Portuguese Pilot", Clarke, *Progress of Maritime Discovery*, pp. 298-310. While the strength of the Portuguese on the coast between the Senegal and Gambia rivers waned, they never wholly withdrew from the region. There is also some testimony to the presence on this coast of a few Spaniards. Hakluyt, VII. 95-96; Astley, I. 242-245.

the Kingdom of Congo by Edward Lopes, a Portuguese who visited that region in 1578: "Besides, there is also a greater Trafficke and Market for slaves, that are brought out of Angola, then in any place else. For there are yearely bought by the Portugais above five thousand head of Negroes, which afterwards they conveigh away with them, and so sell them into divers parts of the World." [23]

Purchas adds to this stray facts gathered from Master Thomas Turner, who, after visiting Angola and living in Brazil, reported,

> Out of Angola is said to bee yeerely shipped eight and twenty thousand slaves and there was a Rebellion of slaves against their Masters, tenne thousand making a head and barracadoing themselves, but by the Portugals and Indians chased, and one or two thousand reduced. One thousand belonged to one man, who is said to have tenne thousand slaves, Eighteene Ingenios, etc. his name is John de Paüs, exiled out of Portugall, and heere prospering to this incredibilitie of wealth.[24]

About 1610 Purchas obtained the story of the adventures of one Andrew Battell, who had left England in 1589, had been captured by the Portuguese not long after, and had been a prisoner in Angola from that time until his return to England in 1610. In 1600 or 1601 he had been sent to Benguella, on the south-central coast of Angola, to trade. Here he found an encampment of natives who travelled from Sierra Leone, and with whom he traded: "We laded our ship with slaves in seven days, and bought them so cheap that many did not cost one real, which were worth in the city of Loando twelve milreis." [25]

Not until well into the sixteenth century was Portugal forced into her losing struggle for control of her African discoveries. For a time her most dangerous rival was England. Whether or not the papal bulls had prevented an earlier appearance of the English on this coast, it is certain that with the waning influence of such decrees after the Reformation England's interest in maritime adventure grew rapidly.[26]

[23] "A Report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica: gathered by Phillippo Pigafetta, out of the Discourses of Master Edward Lopes . . . here abbreviatted", Purchas, *Pilgrimes,* VI. 444-445.

[24] "Relations of Master Thomas Turner", *ibid.,* XVI. 291. "This number may perhaps seeme incredible and justly: yet hee tells the report, which in some one yeere after some great battle, may also be probable: but the general report is of divers thousands shipped thence yeerly: the Portugals making their gaine by the Negroes foolish and spightfull wars upon each other."

[25] *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh, in Angola and the adjoining Regions,* in Purchas, *Pilgrimes,* VI. 367-406, and reprinted in Hakluyt Society *Publications,* second ser., vol. VI.

[26] There are many general accounts of the English on the African coast in the sixteenth century, practically all of them based upon or reprinting Hakluyt's narratives: Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 138-191; Robert Kerr, *Voyages and Travels,* VII. 211-350. W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910), II. 1-14, and J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 32-62, have supplemented Hakluyt by a study of the State Papers.

Her traders, familiar with the commerce of the Canaries by 1526,[27] had probably appeared on the Guinea coast by 1530, possibly earlier. With the single exception of John Hawkins's forays, they traded along the coast for nearly one hundred years before they turned to slaving upon it. During that era the narrative of English adventures is of less interest to students of the slave trade than to those concerned with the maritime expansion of Britain. It is an interesting though a bootless speculation to inquire whether, if the English had not entered upon the slave trade, they would have built up African colonial possessions. Anderson thinks not,[28] because of the limited number of Guinea commodities offering profitable trade. Among these the most important was gold, the lure which drew the earliest English venturers to the coast.

By 1530 there was in western England a small group of merchants trading to Brazil. Among these was William Hawkins, father of the famous John. To him alone, among the English traders, it seems to have occurred to touch at the northern Guinea coast on his outward voyage to Brazil, which he probably did in 1530, 1531, and 1532,[29] and possibly did in 1536. It may be surmised that these voyages were joint ventures, since that form of business promotion was certainly in use shortly after this. Bonnassieux refers to an English African company of 1536, probably meaning a syndicate with which William Hawkins was connected.[30] Hawkins may have had vessels on the coast in 1536; it is fairly certain that he had in 1539-1540.

Between 1540 and 1553 the industry of Hakluyt apparently discovered no English visits to Guinea; after that time they were, for a few years, frequent. English merchants experimented first with the Barbary trade. Captain Thomas Windham, in the employ of some of the same men who later sent him to the Guinea coast, made trips

[27] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 124-136; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 138. The Canary trade was never closed to England, and Anthony Hickman and Edward Castlyn, who appeared early in the Guinea trade, probably had English factors in the Canaries throughout Mary's reign. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins,* p. 43.

[28] Adam Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), II. 128.

[29] The narrative of these voyages will be found in Hakluyt, XI. 23-24; see also Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins,* pp. 10-11. The best account of the life and the trading ventures of William Hawkins is to be found in Williamson, pp. 2-31. At this time the name Guinea was used for the stretch of West African coast from the Senegal River to the Bight of Biafra.

[30] Pierre Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce* (Paris, 1892), p. 89, n. 3. The letter of 1767, on which Bonnassieux rests his statement, he prints (pp. 96-98). Scott (*Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 3, n. 1) concludes that the reference is to William Hawkins, though without offering his evidence. Anderson (*Origins of Commerce,* II. 82) also places the arrival of the English on the Guinea coast at 1536.

to Barbary in 1551 and 1552.[31] In 1553 his promoters, growing bolder, commissioned him to visit Guinea and Benin, under the guidance of a "wise, discreet and sober", as well as expert, Portuguese, Anthonie Anes Pinteado. The English visited the River Sestos, where they might have taken a cargo of Guinea grain (pepper) had they not "thirsted" for gold. This they found in the neighborhood of Elmina. Then, against the advice of Pinteado, they visited Benin, which proved disastrous to the health of the men. Of the seven-score that had left England scarce forty returned. Neither of the leaders lived to see England.[32]

In spite of this fearful mortality, they had returned with gold, ivory, and spice sufficient to induce another group of adventurers to try their fortunes. They were Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin or Castlyn, who in October, 1554, sent out the *Trinity* and the *John Evangelist,* each of 140 tons, and the *Bartholomew,* 90 tons, under John Lok.[33] This venture was distinctly successful. The vessels not only returned with a gratifying cargo of gold and ivory, but they also brought "certaine blacke slaves whereof some were tall and strong men and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them." [34] Extracts from the next two Guinea voyages, those of Towerson in 1555 and 1556, are printed on later pages (nos. 3, 4).

Up to this time the English had manifested no desire to fortify or settle the coast, though they had been invited by a friendly chief to build a fort within his territory.[35] In 1561 a group of venturers, most of whom had already traded in Africa, proposed to John Lok the task of selecting a site for a fort.[36] Lok, after two unsuccessful starts, declined the commission because of the lateness of the season. Though he rejected the notion that one need fear the Portuguese, he reported

[31] Sir Thomas Wroth, Francis Lambert, Sir John Yorke, Sir William Garrard, and Master Cole are those named as promoters of the second Barbary voyage (Hakluyt, VI. 136-140; Astley, *Voyages,* I. 140-141). Hakluyt reprints Eden's account and also his preface, Richard Eden, *Decades of the New World* (London, 1555), pp. 343-360. For evidence that these men also financed the first Guinea voyage see Williamson, p. 40. Windham had in 1545 been concerned with William Hawkins, and his interest in Guinea may have been aroused at that time.

[32] "A voyage made out of England unto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Adventurers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553", Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 141-152; Astley, I. 141-144. Hakluyt's account is taken from that of Richard Eden.

[33] "The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castlyn in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. John Lok", Hakluyt, VI. 154-177; Astley, I. 144-149.

[34] Hakluyt, VI. 176.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 226.

[36] *Ibid.,* pp. 253-254. Those concerned were Sir William Chester, Garrard, Thomas Lodge, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson, Hickman, and Castlyn (*ibid.,* p. 253, and Williamson, p. 54). The queen allowed them four royal vessels and was to receive a share of the profits. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1547-1580, p. 178.

to his principals that four "great ships" of Portugal, one of which was of 700 tons, were waiting his arrival on the coast.[37] The venturers persisted, and the vessels were on the coast in the spring of 1562. In spite of their early misadventures, the queen's third of the profits amounted to £1000.[38] The next season (1563) they sent out another fleet, which traded both at the River Sestos and on the Gold Coast. Throughout their trading they were obliged to keep up a desultory warfare with the Portuguese, and suffered from sickness which carried off half their men.[39] Undiscouraged, the same group, with the addition of Benjamin Gonson, sent out an expedition under David Carlet in 1564, the difficulties of which are related in the account of Hawkins's voyages.[40]

This was the extent of the recorded English trade to the Guinea coast when Hawkins conceived his buccaneering scheme, the account of which is here printed (nos. 5-18). English merchants had no forts or settlements, and had had up to this time no interest in the slave trade. They had made frequent use of the method of joint venture, which was to develop into that of the corporate company. The Guinea coast was known to English seamen, who had already demonstrated the weakness of the Portuguese control and their own ability to trade where they liked. The Portuguese monopoly was a fiction. It remained for Hawkins to prove that the Spanish monopoly of the American markets was likewise a fiction.

With the failure of Hawkins's third voyage, attempts at English trade on the Guinea coast seem to have languished. For a period of twenty years Hakluyt again has no narrative of African voyages, and though it is highly improbable that there were no such voyages, this is certainly an indication that they were not common.[41] In 1588, with Portugal under Spanish domination and England at war with Spain, Elizabeth granted a patent to merchants of London and Devonshire for exclusive trade on the northern Guinea coast for ten years. This change in the method of trade was probably an attempt to give greater government protection in time of war rather than for the purpose

[37] Dec. 11, 1561, "Lok to Marchants adventurers for Guinie", Hakluyt, VI. 256-257.

[38] Williamson, p. 56. Scott estimates the profits of this voyage as between 40 and 50 per cent. *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 5-6; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1547-1580, pp. 178, 183, 215; J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I. 78-80.

[39] Hakluyt's brief account of this voyage (VI. 258-261) was written by William Rutter, a factor of Hickman. But five of the original seven were concerned in this enterprise.

[40] Hakluyt, VI. 262; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 6-8; Williamson, pp. 57-58. Winter seems to have dropped out of the group.

[41] In 1582 a voyage to Africa and São Thomé was suggested. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1581-1590, p. 59.

of making the trade a privileged one.[42] Of the third of the three ventures attempted under this charter we have an account.[43] Its leaders were Richard Rainholds and Thomas Dassell. Contrary to the custom of the coast, they carried no Portuguese supercargo, a fact which won for them great favor with the natives but so roused the antagonism of the Portuguese that they barely escaped destruction at their hands. It is to be remembered that this patent concerned but a small part of the coast. At the same time that its holders were sending voyages to Senegal and Gambia two London merchants, John Bird and John Newton, sent out expeditions to Benin, but their narrator, James Welsh, makes no reference to traffic in negroes.[44] In 1592 the privilege of trade between the River Nunoe (Nunes) and the Magrabumbo River, on the coast of the Sierra Leone, was granted to five merchants of Taunton, chief among whom was Thomas Gregory. Beyond that fact we know little.[45] For complete lack of evidence to the contrary one must conclude that between 1569 and 1618 England's only connection with the slave trade came through casual captures of prizes carrying slaves.[46]

The Portuguese were not slow to respond to the challenge to their African monopoly offered by the English voyages. Angered by Windham's Barbary ventures, they circulated in England the rumor that all English found in Africa would be treated as enemies.[47] Learning of his Guinea expedition and fearful that it was directed toward Elmina, the heart of their African trade, they sent forth a galleon to check him. Apparently the Portuguese commander was reassured after encountering the English at Madeira, for Windham was allowed

[42] Patent Rolls, 30 Eliz., pt. ix; Hakluyt, VI. 443-450. The patentees were William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, John Doricot of Exeter, John Young of Coliton, Richard Doderige of Barnstable, and Anthony Dassell and Nicolas Turner of London. It was stated in the patent that they had already sent vessels to Gambia. Their desire for African trade they ascribed to the "persuasion and earnest motion of certain Portugals resident within our Dominions". For brief accounts of the early English African companies see Cecil Carr, *Select Charters* (Selden Society, vol. XXVIII.), pp. xliii-xliv; W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 10-17; Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce,* pp. 89-91; G. F. Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa,* pp. 5-7. Bonnassieux's assumption of the existence of a company in 1536 and the slightness of his evidence have already been noted.

[43] Hakluyt, VII. 90-98; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 244-245.

[44] Hakluyt, VI. 450-467; Astley, I. 199-205.

[45] *Ibid.,* I. 139; Carr, pp. xliii-xliv, from Patent Rolls, 34 Eliz., pt. vi. The Magrabumbo River was probably the Sierra Leone, known in the next century as the Malimbo.

[46] In 1598 the patent of 1588 was renewed for another ten years, to the Earl of Nottingham and Sir John Stanhope. After that we hear no more of it (*Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1598-1601, p. 16). In 1591 Capt. Christopher Newport, with three ships and a pinnace, took a Portuguese vessel bound from Lisbon to Cartagena with 300 negroes on board. Failing to sell the negroes at San Juan, Porto Rico, he landed them on the western end of Porto Rico, and sunk the vessel. The next year William King, with the *Salomon* and the *Jane Bonaventure,* on a voyage to Mexico, captured a vessel from Guinea with 270 negroes, all but 15 of whom he landed on the western end of Porto Rico. Hakluyt, X. 184-185, 191.

[47] Hakluyt, VI. 140.

to proceed unmolested.[48] In 1555 Lopez de Sousa was despatched to England to assert Portuguese control of Africa. De Sousa asked that Guinea voyages be in future prohibited, that renegade Portuguese who were aiding them be returned to Portugal, and that all gold already brought to England be given up. After some months of negotiation the Privy Council forbade the equipping of further Guinea ventures.[49]

That the prohibition against Guinea voyages was but half-heartedly enforced and offered small obstacle to acquaintance with the Guinea coast even under Queen Mary, Towerson's three voyages afford ample proof.[50] With Elizabeth's accession to the throne any attempt at checking African trade ceased, and from that time Portugal protested in vain. In 1561 Emanuel d'Aranjo arrived in England, his purpose being to protest against the English trade to Guinea, "if any is meant, which the King of Portugal mistrusts, because of the merchants rigging and preparing their ships that way".[51] The queen's reply was that her merchants did not trade at points under Portuguese control, to which the minister retorted that all the West African coast was under Portuguese control. Elizabeth ordered that Guinea expeditions be reported to the Lord Admiral; beyond that she would not go.[52] A year later Portugal tried again, but gained nothing further.[53]

In 1568 Portugal once more expostulated against the English trade on the coast, and Emanuel Alvarez was sent to London. After a conference with him, Guzman de Silva, Spanish minister to England, reported to his master that the Portuguese were prepared to sell negroes to the English in certain specified places.[54] This is interesting, since the only market which the English had was Spanish America, and, if true, it seems to imply that Portugal was looking toward an English alliance against Spain. Nothing came of the suggestion and

[48] Hakluyt, VI. 146.

[49] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. V., 1554-1556, pp. 162, 305, 315; Williamson, pp. 44-46. The partial success of the Portuguese mission Williamson attributes entirely to Philip's influence.

[50] Towerson sailed in September, while negotiations were still in progress. There had been issued an order in July "staying" all vessels bound for Guinea (*Acts of Privy Council*, V. 162). One Guinea venture was, however, checked by the Privy Council order, that of Edward Castlyn, Jeffery Allen, Rowland Fox, and Richard Stockbridge, which was in preparation in December (Williamson, p. 46). Nowhere are we told who financed Towerson's voyages, perhaps because his promoters were violating the Privy Council order. Williamson's surmise is that the promoters were Garrard, Lodge, Hickman, and Castlyn, since in the Canaries Towerson dealt with Edward Kingsmill, who was a factor of Hickman and Castlyn. Williamson, p. 49.

[51] *Cal. St. P. For.*, 1561-1562, pp. 54, 55, 72-73. As this was probably the year in which Elizabeth became a partner in the African trade, d'Aranjo's mission was hopeless. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 5-6.

[52] *Cal. St. P. For.*, 1561-1562, p. 90; Williamson, p. 59.

[53] *Cal. St. P. For.*, 1562, pp. 9, 41-42, 54; Williamson, pp. 60-62.

[54] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1568-1579, pp. 18, 22, nos. 13, 15; Williamson, p. 163.

we do not know that it was ever made to the English themselves. England refused to yield to Portugal's complaints, basing her contention on the weakness of Portugal's hold in Africa. Even at Elmina, her strongest post, she had not more than fifty or sixty men. Anderson records that in 1572 Portugal yielded to the fact and granted to England peaceful trade on the coast.[55]

It is not unusual to speak of the French as "following" the English upon the African coast, but there is excellent reason for thinking that they preceded rather than followed. John III. of Portugal had protested against French encroachment before the end of the fifteenth century.[56] The records of Rouen show a considerable trade to Brazil in the forties, and by 1541 French merchants were touching at Guinea on their passage to Brazil, as had William Hawkins ten years earlier. There were also voyages in 1541, 1543, 1546, and 1549 whose destination was the Guinea coast. When Windham appeared there in 1553 it must already have been familiar ground to French venturers. This is further confirmed by the fact that Garrard sent to Rouen that year, asking that Jean Hermyn go as surgeon on the *Prumerolle (Primrose)* in the contemplated voyage to Guinea. From this one may conclude not only that Hermyn knew the coast, but that the English were acquainted with that fact.[57] In the English narratives collected by Hakluyt there are frequent references to French trade. Windham, in his Barbary voyages, had found the French there. Towerson joined a French vessel and traded beside it for a time. He mentions the "great trade" of the French at Cape Verde. References to French voyages indicate that they continued to be frequent throughout the seventies. Their greatest success they found in the region of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, where they well-nigh displaced the Portuguese.[58] On the Gold Coast they were less successful. Voyages sent thither by Rouen merchants in 1581, 1582, 1583, and 1587 were total losses because of the active hostility of the Portuguese at Elmina.[59] In 1595 they lost an expedition at the hands of the English.[60] For the time their struggle for a hold on African trade

[55] *Cal. St. P. Dom., Addenda,* 1566-1579, p. 248; *Origins of Commerce,* II. 183.

[56] Lannoy and Vander Linden, p. 144; Pierre Cultru (*Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870,* pp. 31-32) gives a brief statement of the French progress down the West Coast.

[57] E. Gosselin, *Documents Authentiques et Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire de la Marine Normande et du Commerce Rouennais pendant les XVIe et XVIIe Siècles* (Rouen, 1876), pp. 143-147, 151; *Bulletins de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie,* 1887-1890 (Rouen, 1890), pp. 236, 255, 258, 263.

[58] Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal,* pp. 34-35; Hakluyt, VI. 138, 213-214, 237, 241, 242. Astley (*Voyages,* I. 242) wrote that the French did not go into the Gambia River, however, because of the hostility of the Portuguese.

[59] Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française,* IV. 95.

[60] Gosselin, p. 151.

seemed a failure, and during the next decade there is little evidence of French activity in these regions.[61]

During this century the French, like the English, had made no attempt at fort or settlement. Their trade had apparently been financed in much the same manner as that of the English, since there are records of groups of Rouen merchants who sent out one venture after another. They had taken no part in the slave trade. While England displayed no great objection to it when Hawkins attempted it, the French had expressed positive disapproval in a statement comparable with that of Justice Mansfield, nearly two centuries later.[62]

The market which Portugal and Spain could furnish for negroes must have been speedily saturated and the commerce in negroes have remained but a small part of European commerce, monopolized by the Portuguese, had not the New World discovered a need for labor which the native Indian could not meet. When or how the first negro came to the Western world we shall probably never know. Tradition has it that Columbus himself carried one or two, and this is not unlikely since they were numerous in Spain when he set forth on his first voyage. But for anything deserving to be called importation and resting upon historical evidence we must look to the sixteenth century. Ovando's instructions as governor of Hispaniola allowed him to carry negro slaves "born in the power of Christians", that is to say, born in Spain or Portugal. This, Scelle believes, implies a transportation of slaves already in progress, and he offers in confirmation of his interpretation the fact that but a few months later Ovando asked that the importation be suspended, since the negroes encouraged the Indians to rebellion. It is scarcely possible that in so short a time sufficient negroes could have been carried to Hispaniola to make trouble if importation had begun with the permission of 1502.[63] Acceding to his request, Queen Isabella ordered that no more slaves should be carried to the West Indies; but with her death the prohibition was removed and in 1505 seventeen were sent out, with a promise of more. This seems to have been in response to a request from Ovando, who had again changed his mind about the desirability of the negroes.[64] All this relates to Christian negroes carried from Spain. That somehow others had found their way to Hispaniola may be surmised from the fact that in 1506 Ovando was ordered to expel all Berber and pagan slaves from the island.[65]

[61] Astley, *Voyages,* II. 568-569.

[62] Williamson, pp. 73-76; La Roncière, IV. 80.

[63] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud,* pp. 61-62; Georges Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Assiento* (Paris, 1906), I. 122; Helps, *Spanish Conquest,* I. 127, 154.

[64] Saco, pp. 62-63; Scelle, I. 122-123; Helps, I. 154-155, n. 3.

[65] Saco, p. 63; Scelle, I. 124.

The first considerable response which Ferdinand made to the appeal for laborers seems to have been in 1510, when he ordered the Casa de Contratación to send out 250 negroes. This is the date which Scelle takes as the beginning of a traffic in negroes between the Old and the New World. These, it must be remembered, were Christian negroes, to be purchased in Lisbon.[66]

Not until 1513 did the sale of licenses to import negroes become a source of profit to the government. At that time Ferdinand charged two ducats a head for permission to import blacks.[67] A year later their number in the island had alarmed the officials and importation was again checked for a short time.[68] With the death of Ferdinand in 1516 there ensued a short period in which the carrying of slaves to the island was suspended by Cardinal Ximenes. For this various reasons have been offered: that he was opposed on principle to the slave trade, that he objected to the lax method by which licenses had been distributed, that he was afraid of a negro population. The suspension, no matter from what motive, was of little significance, since Charles V., the new ruler, at once granted a license to William of Croy (or Chièvres), who bought 600 blacks for America whom Charles insisted on having sent out.[69] Two sets of influences were operating to push the slave trade at this time. To courtiers at home it offered a source of rich profit which they would not willingly forego. To the colonists it offered a means of working the mines and also of developing the new sugar industry, which had begun to yield an exportable commodity. Much has been made of the fact that Las Casas requested that importation be encouraged, but he was but one of several petitioners. The Jeronimite Fathers also were requesting it, the difference being only that Las Casas asked for Spanish or Christian negroes, while the Jeronimites recommended that "bozal" negroes (or those direct from Africa) be used:

> Especially that leave be given to them to bring over heathen [*bozales*] negroes, of the kind of which we have already experience. Wherefore here it is agreed that Your Highness should command us to grant licences to send armed ships from this island to fetch them from the Cape Verde Islands, or Guinea, or that it may be done by some other persons to bring them here. Your Highness may believe that if this is permitted it will be very advantageous for the future

[66] Saco, p. 67; Scelle, II. 125-126; Helps, I. 173. Bourne states that Ferdinand was at this time trying to develop transportation of negroes directly from Africa. *Spain in America* (American Nation, vol. II.), p. 270. The Casa de Contratación, a board in charge of commerce, had been organized in 1503. R. B. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (New York, 1918-1925), II. 225, n. 1; Helps, I. 149, n. 1.

[67] Scelle, I. 126-127. Requests for negroes came from Cuba as well as from Santo Domingo. Four were certainly carried to Cuba in 1513. After that the number increased rapidly. Scelle, I. 131-132, 158; Helps, III. 149.

[68] Don Pedro Suarez de Deza was given permission to carry women only. Scelle, I. 128, and n. 1.

[69] Scelle, I. 128-131; Helps, I. 349n.

of the settlers of these islands, and for the royal revenue; as also for the Indians your vassals, who will be cared for and eased in their work, and can better cultivate their souls' welfare, and will increase in numbers.[70]

On August 18, 1518, Charles granted to his favorite Lorenzo de Gomenot, governor of Bresa, the right to ship 4000 negroes to Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico (no. 2). Gomenot sold the privilege to Genoese[71] established in Seville, for 25,000 ducats. In some cases they themselves carried the negroes, in others they resold the privilege. Whoever held the license must resort to the Portuguese for the negroes. Under this grant complaints of scarcity and of high price in the Indies were frequent.[72] The license was at length modified but not revoked. Permission was given for 1500 to be delivered in Hispaniola, 300 to Cuba, 500 to Porto Rico, 300 to Jamaica, 500 to Castilla del Ora on the mainland.[73] Gomenot was to receive the duties on the 1500 delivered in Hispaniola. The privileges granted by the concession of 1518 continued until 1526. Indeed, as late as 1534 one still finds in use licenses sold by Gomenot.[74]

Between 1518 and 1526 many special licenses were granted, often to those who wished to carry domestic slaves to the West Indies but had no desire to traffic in slaves. These in themselves were no infringement of the monopoly, but throughout the period Charles V. seems to have assumed the right to issue further permissions if he chose, and though the Gomenot grant was intended in 1518 to establish a monopoly, by 1526 its monopolistic character had well-nigh disappeared.[75]

In 1536 contractors offered to carry 4000 slaves (one-third to be women) to the West Indies in four years. During this time no other license was to be granted for new discovery or conquest. For this they would pay 26,000 ducats. They were outbid by other contractors, and in the end neither offer was accepted.[76]

[70] Saco, pp. 89-92; Scelle, I. 132-134; Helps, I. 364, notes, II. 10-12, and notes; Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, IV. 380.

[71] Saco, p. 111; Scelle, I. 139-161; Bryan Edwards, *History Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793-1794). Helps says that Las Casas, asked how many should be sent out, replied that he did not know, and that the Casa de Contratación determined the number (Helps, II. 12-13; Merriman, III. 657-658). Saco suggests as the reason why Gomenot did not sell the privilege to Portuguese merchants who could probably have sold the negroes for less, that the Spanish were fearful of Portuguese rivalry (Helps, II. 13, n. 3, quoting Saco, p. 113). Despite the fact that the Genoese were obliged to buy their negroes from the Portuguese, their profit was said to have been 300,000 ducats. Helps, II. 13, n. 1.

[72] Scelle, I. 152-154; Helps, II. 13, III. 149.

[73] Saco (p. 135) says that the license was revoked. This Scelle (I. 155) thinks a mistake.

[74] Scelle, I. 156-158. Scelle has here an excellent account of the abuses to which this system was subject.

[75] Scelle, I. 159.

[76] Helps, III. 151, n. 2. In 1531 the Bishop of Santo Domingo wrote that the perpetuity of Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Cuba depended on negroes, and suggested that the colonies be allowed to import them without licenses. Helps, III. 149-150.

Later a contract was confirmed with Henry Eynger, or Ciguer, and William Sailler, Flemings, by which they were to carry 4000 blacks to the Indies in four years, during which no other concession was to be granted. For this privilege they were to pay 20,000 ducats, and for the negroes delivered they were not to charge more than 45 ducats a head. They depended on the Portuguese supply, and their Portuguese agents delivered such inferior negroes that the Council of the Indies annulled the contract.[77]

In 1552 a seven-year monopoly was granted to Fernando Ochoa, under which he was to deliver 23,000 slaves, paying a duty of 8 ducats on each. The contract was never fulfilled and was presently annulled.[78] The union of Spain and Portugal in 1580 made it natural that the privilege of importing slaves should fall to the Portuguese. In 1595 Gomez Reynal was given the most detailed grant that up to that time had been formulated. During nine years he was to deliver 38,250 slaves, at the rate of 4250 annually. Of these 3500 must be landed alive. For his concession he paid 900,000 ducats; for every negro short of the quota he forfeited 10 ducats. The negroes must be fresh from Africa, must include no mulattoes, mestizos, Turks, or Moors. In 1600 Reynal died and the contract was transferred to Juan Rodrigues Cutiño, and extended to 1609.[79]

The annual importation by 1540 had possibly reached 10,000, though all figures must be regarded as conjectural.[80] Bourne estimates the legal importation into Hispaniola in the middle of the century at 3000, the illegal entries as 500. Helps suggests an annual importation of 2000, two-thirds of which he believed were illicit.[81]

The prices about 1530 were from fifty to seventy pesos in the islands, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty on the mainland. In 1556 they were fixed by royal cedula at one hundred ducats in the West Indies and one hundred and eighty in Chile.[82] This attempt to prevent the monopolists from exploiting the needs of the colonists only served to increase illicit importations and was abandoned early in the sixties. As long as Spain remained in control of the markets of the New World the incentive for England to enter the slave trade was not great and it is small wonder that, after Hawkins's attempts, the English left the traffic to Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch, until their own West India colonies invited it.

[77] Saco, pp. 146-147; Scelle, I. 169-173; Helps, III. 149, n. 3. This is the first concession to which Scelle is willing to apply the term "asiento". Saco gives the date of this contract as 1528, and is followed by Helps and Merriman, Scelle as 1538. It is possible that confusion results from the fact that before Ciguer and Sailler were given the "asiento" they had purchased a number of Gomenot's licenses.

[78] Saco, p. 210; Scelle, I. 205; Helps, III. 151-152, IV. 248.

[79] Scelle, I. 344-383; Saco, pp. 240-245, 247.

[80] Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast*, I. 80.

[81] Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 275; Helps, III. 152.

[82] Saco, p. 212; Bourne, pp. 276-277.

1. The Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, 1441-1448.[1]

Chapter XII. *How Antam Gonçalvez brought back the first captives. . . .*[2] "O how fair a thing it would be if we who have come to this land for a cargo of such petty merchandise, were to meet with the good luck to bring the first captives before the face of our Prince. And now I will tell you of my thoughts that I may receive your advice thereon. I would fain go myself this next night with nine men of you (those who are most ready for the business), and prove a part of this land along the river, to see if I find any inhabitants; for I think we of right ought to meet with some, since 'tis certain there are people here, who traffic with camels and other animals that bear their freights. Now the traffic of these men must chiefly be to the seaboard; and since they have as yet no knowledge of us their gathering cannot be too large for us to try their strength; and, if God grant us to encounter them, the very least part of our victory will be the capture of one of them, with the which the Infant will feel no small content, getting knowledge by that means of what kind are the other dwellers of this land. And as to our reward, you can estimate what it will be by the great expenses and toil he has undertaken in years past, only for this end." "See what you do,"

[1] [1] *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea,* by Gomes Eannes de Azurara, translated by C. Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage (London, Hakluyt Society, 1896, 1897). The writer of this narrative was royal librarian, chronicler, and keeper of the archives of Portugal. His account of the Portuguese voyages, which begins with 1433 and ends with 1448, was completed in February, 1453, was discovered in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, in 1837, by Señor Fernando Denis, and was published in Portuguese four years later. To be enjoyed to the utmost it should be read in its entirety, as any attempt to shorten it deprives it of much of its charm. Few narratives of the fifteenth century are more delightful. Not only was Azurara writing of events of his own time, but he took great care to obtain the accounts of eye-witnesses or of participants in what he describes. In addition to the value which his work derives from its conscientious accuracy, its simple but vivid style gives life to the story. He rendered due honor to those engaged in carrying out the wishes of the Prince by despoiling the natives of the African coast, yet chapter XXV. reflects a rare sympathy and understanding of the sufferings of the innocent Africans.

While it is undoubtedly true that Moorish slaves were occasionally carried from northern Africa to the Iberian Peninsula, there is no evidence of a regular commerce to Europe in slaves before this time. In the story of Azurara one finds the recognition of a new source of profit to Europeans. The apparent decline in the trade toward the end of the fifteenth century would seem to indicate that Portugal and Spain offered too limited a market for great development of the traffic. Only the appearance of the over-seas demand gave it new life. The passages which follow are intended to illustrate the opening of the trade in slaves along the West African coast, the effect upon the natives of the steady ravaging and pillage to which they were subjected between 1441 and 1448, and the ready sale which the captives obtained in Portugal. Most of the modern histories of Portuguese exploration between 1440 and 1448 are based upon Azurara's account. See Beazley, *Henry the Navigator,* pp. 168-178, 192-249; R. H. Major, *The Life of Prince Henry the Navigator,* pp. 172-225; Oliveira Martins, *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator,* pp. 205-218.

[2] Antam Gonçalvez, who is here exhorting his men to valor, was sent by Prince Henry down the West African coast for a cargo of skins and oils, but, because of his youth, he was charged with no other undertaking. His captives were taken not far south of Cape Bojador.

replied the others, "for since you are our captain we needs must obey your orders, not as Antam Gonçalvez but as our lord; for you must understand that we who are here, of the household of the Infant our lord, have both the will and desire to serve him, even to the laying down of our lives in the event of the last danger. But we think your purpose to be good, if only you will introduce no other novelty to increase the peril, which would be little to the service of our lord." And finally they determined to do his bidding, and follow him as far as they could make their way. And as soon as it was night Antam Gonçalvez chose nine men who seemed to him most fitted for the undertaking, and made his voyage with them as he had before determined. And when they were about a league distant from the sea they came on a path which they kept, thinking some man or woman might come by there whom they could capture; but it happened otherwise; so Antam Gonçalvez asked the others to consent to go forward and follow out his purpose; for, as they had already come so far, it would not do to return to the ship in vain like that. And the others being content they departed thence, and, journeying through that inner land for the space of three leagues, they found the footmarks of men and youths, the number of whom, according to their estimate, would be from forty to fifty, and these led to the opposite way from where our men were going (I. 40-42). . . .[3] And, returning towards the sea, when they had gone a short part of the way, they saw a naked man following a camel, with two assegais in his hand, and as our men pursued him there was not one who felt aught of his great fatigue. But though he was only one, and saw the others that they were many; yet he had a mind to prove those arms of his right worthily and began to defend himself as best he could, shewing a bolder front than his strength warranted. But Affonso Goterres wounded him with a javelin, and this put the Moor in such fear that he threw down his arms like a beaten thing. And after they had captured him, to their no small delight, and had gone on further, they espied, on the top of a hill, the company whose tracks they were following, and their captive pertained to the number of these. And they failed not to reach them through any lack of will, but the sun was now low, and they wearied, so they determined to return to their ship considering that such enterprise might bring greater injury than profit. And, as they were going on their way, they saw a black Mooress come along (who was slave of those on the hill), and though some of our men were in favor of letting her pass to avoid a fresh skirmish, to which the enemy did not invite them—

[3] Because of the heat and the weariness of his men, Gonçalvez suggested at this point that they rejoin the caravel, hoping to capture some natives on the return, when they were off their guard.

for, since they were in sight and their number more than doubled ours, they could not be of such faint hearts as to allow a chattel of theirs to be thus carried off—despite this, Antam Gonçalvez bade them go at her; for if (he said) they scorned that encounter, it might make their foes pluck up courage against them. And now you see how the word of a captain prevaileth among men used to obey; for, following his will, they seized the Mooress. And those on the hill had a mind to come to the rescue, but when they perceived our people ready to receive them, they not only retreated to their former position, but departed elsewhere, turning their backs to their enemies (I. 42-43). . . .

Chapter XIII. *How Nuno Tristam reached the spot where Antam Gonçalvez was, and how he dubbed him knight. . .*[4] "And although you are carrying off these two captives, and by their means the Infant may come to know something about this folk, yet that doth not prevent what is still better, namely, for us to carry off many more; for, besides the knowledge which the Lord Infant will gain by their means, profit will also accrue to him by their service or ransom. Wherefore, it seemeth to me that we should do well to act after this manner. That is to say, in this night now following, you should choose ten of your men and I another ten of mine—from the best which each of us may have—and let us then go together and seek those whom you have found. And since you say that, judging from the fighting you had with them, they were not more than twenty men fit for battle, and the rest women and boys, we ought to capture them all very quickly. And even if we do not meet with the very same that you encountered, nevertheless we shall surely find others, by means of whom we can make as good a booty, or perhaps even better" (I. 46). . . .

As soon as it was night, they set out according to the order that Nuno Tristam gave at first. And so it chanced that in the night they came to where the natives lay scattered in two encampments, either the same that Antam Gonçalvez had found before or other like it. The distance between the encampments was but small, and our men divided themselves into three parties, in order that they might the better hit upon them. For they had not yet any certain knowledge of the place where they lay, but only a perception of them; as you see the like things are perceived much more readily by night than by day. And when our men had come nigh to them, they attacked them very lustily, shouting at the top of their voices,

[4] On the next day after the capture of the two Moors, Nuno Tristam arrived, and urged them to continue the search for captives. Antam Gonçalvez offered excellent arguments against this course and it would have been given up had it not been for the enthusiasm of two squires, anxious to give proof of their valor.

"Portugal" and "Santiago"; the fright of which so abashed the enemy, that it threw them all into disorder. And so, all in confusion, they began to fly without any order or carefulness. Except indeed that the men made some show of defending themselves with their assegais (for they knew not the use of any other weapon), especially one of them, who fought face to face with Nuno Tristam, defending himself till he received his death. And besides this one, whom Nuno Tristam slew by himself, the others killed three and took ten prisoners, what of men, women, and boys. And it is not to be doubted that they would have slain and taken many more, if they had all fallen on together at the first onslaught. But among those who were taken there was one greater than the rest, who was called Adahu, and was said to be a noble; and he shewed in his countenance right well that he held the pre-eminence of nobility over the others (I. 47-48). . . .[5]

Then those captains returned to the ships and bade that Arab whom Nuno Tristam had brought with him, to speak with those Moors[6] but they were not able to understand him, because the language of these people was not Moorish, but Azaneguy of Sahara, for so they name that land. But the noble,[7] in that he was of better breeding than the other captives, so had he seen more things and better than they, and had been to other lands where he had learned the Moorish tongue; forasmuch as he understood that Arab and answered to whatever matter was asked of him by the same. And the further to try the people of the land and to have of them more certain knowledge, they put that Arab on shore, and one of the Moorish women whom they had taken captive, who were to say to the others, that if they wished to come and speak to them about the ransom of some of those whom they had taken prisoners, or about traffick in merchandise, they might do so (I. 49). . . .[8] Thereupon our men turned back to the ships where they made their partition of the captives, according to the lot of each, and the other Moors betook themselves to their encampments, taking the Arab with them. And Antam Gonçalvez, because he had now loaded his ship with cargo, as the Infant had commanded, returned to Portugal, and Nuno Tristam

[5] Antam Gonçalvez is made a knight.

[6] The Arab was a servant of Prince Henry, brought from Portugal to act as interpreter.

[7] Adahu. The language here referred to is that of the desert strip between Morocco and the Senegal. Cadamosto, twelve years later, thus described the Azaneguys: "The Azanaghi are tawney, or rather of a deep-brown Complexion, and live in some places on the Coast, beyond Cape Blanco. . . . The Portuguese carried many of them off; and they proved better Slaves than the Negros." Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, I. 577-578.

[8] This effort failed, and the Arab was not allowed to return to the Portuguese.

went on his way, to fulfill his orders, as we have said before that he had received commandment (I. 50). . . .[9]

Chapter XVI. *How Antam Gonçalvez went to make the first ransom.* . . . As you know that naturally every prisoner desireth to be free, which desire is all the stronger in a man of higher reason or nobility whom fortune has condemned to live in subjection to another; so that noble of whom we have already spoken, seeing himself held in captivity, although he was very gently treated, greatly desired to be free, and often asked Antam Gonçalvez to take him back to his country, where he declared he would give for himself five or six Black Moors; and also he said that there were among the other captives two youths for whom a like ransom would be given.

And here you must note that these blacks were Moors like the others, though their slaves, in accordance with ancient custom, which I believe to have been because of the curse which, after the Deluge, Noah laid upon his son Cain, cursing him in this way—that his race should be subject to all the other races of the world.

And from his race these blacks are descended, as wrote the Archbishop Don Roderic of Toledo, and Josephus in his book on the *Antiquities of the Jews,* and Walter, with other authors who have spoken of the generations of Noah, from the time of his going out of the Ark.

The will of Antam Gonçalvez to return to that land, for desire of the ransom and profit he would get, was not so great as his desire to serve the Infant his lord—and therefore he asked leave to go on this journey, saying, that (forasmuch as he perceived the great desire his Grace had to know part of that land) if that were not sufficient which he had ascertained from that Moor,[10] that he should give him license to go and ransom him and the other captive youths with him.

For as the Moor told him, the least they would give for them would be ten Moors, and it was better to save ten souls than three—for though they were black, yet had they souls like the others, and all the more as these blacks were not of the lineage of the Moors [11] but were Gentiles, and so the better to bring into the path of salvation.

Also he said that the blacks could give him news of land much further distant, and he promised that when he spoke about the traffic with the natives, he would find means to learn as much news as possible.

[9] He voyaged as far south as Cape Blanco. On the arrival in Portugal of the two captains, the regent, Dom Pedro, granted to Prince Henry not only one-fifth of all the booty brought back from these lands but also the exclusive right to license all those who wished to visit Africa. The chronicler relates that the Prince sent Fernam Lopez d'Azevedo to Pope Eugenius, who granted absolution to all who should enlist under the banner of the Prince against the Moors (Azurara, ch. XV.). For the various papal grants to the Portuguese see Davenport, *European Treaties,* I. 10-12, and the introduction of this work, pp. 4-5.

[10] Adahu.

[11] Mohammedans.

The Infant answered all this and said that he was obliged by his offer, and that he not only desired to have knowledge of that land, but also of the Indies, and of the land of Prester John, if he could.

Antam Gonçalvez made ready to go with his captives, and beginning his voyage, met with so great a tempest that he had to return again to Lisbon, whence he set out (I. 54-55). . . .

However they returned again to the voyage; and arriving at the boundaries of that land where the ransom had to be made, they resolved to put on shore that Moorish noble, that he might go and make ready his ransom at the place where he had agreed to meet Antam Gonçalvez again.

The Moor was very well clad in garments given him by the Infant, who considered that, for the excellence of his nobility that he had above the others, if he received benefits, he would be able to be of profit to his benefactors by encouraging his own people and bringing them to traffic. But as soon as he was free, he forgot very quickly all about his promises, on the security of which Antam Gonçalvez had trusted him, thinking that the nobility he displayed would be the chief hindrance of any breach of faith on his part; but his deceit thenceforth warned all our men not to trust one of that race except under the most certain security.

And now Antam Gonçalvez entering the Rio D'Ouro [12] with ship for a space of four leagues, dropped anchor, and waited for seven days without getting a message from any, or a glimpse of one single inhabitant of that land; but on the eighth day there arrived a Moor seated on a white camel, and another with him, who gave a message that they should await the others who would come and make the ransom, and that on the next day they would appear, as in fact they did.

And it was very clear that those youths [13] were in great honour among them, for a good hundred Moors, male and female, were joined in their ransom, and Antam Gonçalvez received for his two captives, ten blacks, male and female, from various countries—one Martin Fernandez, the Infant's Alfaqueque,[14] managing the business between the parties (I. 56-57). . . .

Chapter XVII. *How Nuno Tristam went to the island of Gete, and of the Moors that he took.* . . . And in the year of Christ, 1443, the Infant caused another caravel to be armed; and bade embark in it that noble knight, Nuno Tristam, with some other people, and principally those of his own household. And pursuing their voyage, they arrived at Cape Blanco.

[12] The River of Gold received its name because there the Portuguese first traded for gold.

[13] The captives.

[14] The official whose duty it was to ransom captives.

And trying to go further, they passed the said cape about twenty-five leagues, and saw a little island, the name of which they afterwards found to be Gete.[15] And from this island they now saw that twenty-five canoes, made of wood, had set out and in them a number of people, but all naked, not so much for the need of swimming in the water, as for their ancient custom.

And they journeyed in such wise that they had their bodies in the canoes and their legs in the water, and used these to help them in their rowing as if they had been oars, and in each boat there were three or four of the natives. And because this was a matter where our men had had so little experience, when they saw them from a distance, they thought they were birds that were moving so; and though they were rather different in size, yet they thought it might well be that they were birds, in a part of the world where other marvels greater than this were said to exist. But as soon as they perceived that they were men, then were their hearts clothed with a new joy; and most of all because they saw them so placed that they were well able to take them. But they were not able to make a large booty because of the smallness of their boat: for when they had hauled fourteen captives into it, with the seven men of the caravel who made up the crew, the boat was so loaded that it could hold no more.

And it booted not to return, for such terror had come upon our adversaries, and they were so quick in taking flight, that before they arrived at the island, some had perished,[16] and the others escaped. But in achieving this capture they experienced two contrary feelings: first of all the pleasure they had was very great to see themselves thus masters of their booty, of which they could make profit, and with so small a risk; but on the other side they had no little grief, in that their boat was so small that they were not able to take such a cargo as they desired. But yet they arrived at the island and captured fifteen other Moors (I. 58-59). . . .[17]

Chapter XVIII. *How Lançarote required license from the Infant to go with his ships to Guinea.* . . . But when they (the people) saw the first Moorish captives brought home, and the second cargo that followed these, they became already somewhat doubtful about

[15] The island of Arguin, which the Portuguese held as a trading centre from 1448 until its capture by the Dutch in 1638.

[16] *I. e.*, drowned.

[17] The first request for a license to trade which Prince Henry received came from Lagos, the port to which the returning captains had been bringing their booty. In 1444 Lançarote, receiver of customs in Lagos, undoubtedly animated more largely by a desire for vendible slaves than by zeal for discovery, obtained permission to visit the West Coast. With this expedition, the West African slave trade as a part of the commerce of Europe may be said to have begun. For a discussion of its relation to the advance of discovery, see Beazley, *Prince Henry*, pp. 207-212, who argues that but for the profit offered by the slave traffic African exploration could not have been pushed forward by the Prince.

the opinion they had at first expressed,[18] and altogether renounced it when they saw the third consignment that Nuno Tristam brought home, captured in so short a time, and with so little trouble, and constrained by necessity, they confessed their mistake, considering themselves foolish for not having known it before. And so they were forced to turn their blame into public praise; for they said it was plain the Infant was another Alexander; and their covetousness now began to wax greater. And, as they saw the houses of others full to overflowing of male and female slaves, and their property increasing, they thought about the whole matter, and began to talk among themselves.

And because that after coming back from Tangier, the Infant usually remained always in the kingdom of Algarve, by reason of his town, which he was then having built, and because the booty that his captains brought back was discharged at Lagos, therefore the people of that place were the first to move the Infant to give them license to go to that land whence came those Moorish captives (I. 61). . . .

Chapter XIX. *Who were the captains of the other caravels, and of the first booty that they made. . . .* All replied that his counsel was very good,[19] and that they would go forward at once. And when all this reasoning was done, they looked towards the settlement and saw that the Moors, with their women and children, were already coming as quickly as they could out of their dwellings, because they had caught sight of their enemies. But they, shouting out "St. James", "St. George", "Portugal", at once attacked them, killing and taking all they could.

Then might you see mothers forsaking their children, and husbands their wives, each striving to escape as best he could. Some drowned themselves in the water; others thought to escape by hiding under their huts; others stowed their children among the sea-weed, where our men found them afterwards, hoping they would thus escape notice.

And at last our Lord God, who giveth a reward for every good deed, willed that for the toil they had undergone in his service, they should that day obtain victory over their enemies, as well as a guerdon and a payment for all their labour and expense; for they took captive of those Moors, what with men, women, and children, 165, besides those that perished and were killed (I. 65-66). . . . And when

[18] "Besides what the vulgar said among themselves, people of more importance talked about it in a mocking manner, declaring that no profit would result from all this toil and expense" (p. 61).

[19] Lançarote and Gil Eannes arrived at the Isle of Herons in the Bay of Arguin and sent out an exploring party, which, holding a council, decided to attack the natives they had discovered without returning to the caravel for additional aid. The speaker whose council was accepted was Martin Vicente.

Lançarote, with those squires and brave men that were with him, had received the like news of the good success that God had granted to those few that went to the island; and saw that they had enterprised so great a deed; and that God had been pleased that they should bring it to such a pass; they were all very joyful, praising loudly the Lord God for that he had deigned to give such help to such a handful of his Christian people (I. 67). . . . After the Moorish prisoners had all been transferred from the boats to the caravels, some of our Christian folk were left to watch them and the rest landed, and went over the island, until they found the others under guard of the seven men of whom we have spoken before. And when they had collected all their prisoners together, it was already late, for in that land there is a difference in the length of days from ours; and the deed was all the greater, by reason of the distance of the caravels from the scene of action and of the great number of the Moors.

Then our men rested and enjoyed themselves as their share of the toil required. But Lançarote did not forget to learn from the Moorish prisoners what it was his duty to learn, about the place in which he was now staying and its opportunities; and he ascertained of them by his interpreter, that all about there were other inhabited islands, where they would be able to make large captures with little trouble.

And so, taking counsel about this, they determined to go and seek the said islands (I. 67-68). . . .[20]

Chapter XXIV.[21] *How the caravels arrived at Lagos, and of the account that Lançarote gave to the Infant.* The caravels arrived at Lagos, whence they had set out, having excellent weather for their voyage, for fortune was not less gracious to them in the serenity of the weather than it had been to them before in the capture of their booty.

And from Lagos the news reached the Infant, who happened to have arrived there a few hours before, from other parts where he had been for some days. And as you see that people are desirous of knowledge, some endeavoured to get near the shore; and others put themselves into the boats they found moored along the beach, and went to welcome their relations and friends; so that in a short time

[20] The next expedition, to the Isle of Tiger or Tider in the Bay of Arguin, was a failure, yielding but sixteen or seventeen natives.

[21] Ch. XXII. describes an attack on the island of Tider, in which a dozen Moors were captured, before the invading party of twenty (ten men had been left in the caravels) was attacked by 300 Moors. By the pleasure of God "who succoureth those who go in His service in their dangers and toils", and by the valor of the Portuguese, they escaped without injury. Ch. XXIII. tells of their landing at Cape Blanco, where they made captives of fourteen Moors. With these, and one more girl, whom they found sleeping in a deserted village, they professed themselves content, and sailed for Portugal, carrying 235 natives.

the news of their good fortune was well known, and all were much rejoiced at it. And for that day it sufficed for those who had led the enterprize to kiss the hand of the Infant their lord, and to give him a short account of their exploits: after which they took their rest, as men who had come to their fatherland and their own homes; and you may guess what would be their joy among their wives and children.

And next day Lançarote, as he who had taken the main charge of the expedition, said to the Infant: "My lord, your grace well knoweth that you have to receive the fifth of these Moors, and of all that we have gained in that land, whither you sent us for the service of God and of yourself.

"And now these Moors, because of the long time we have been at sea, as well as for the great sorrow that you must consider they have at heart, at seeing themselves away from the land of their birth, and placed in captivity, without having any understanding of what their end is to be—and moreover because they have not been accustomed to a life on shipboard—for all these reasons are poorly and out of condition; wherefore it seemeth to me that it would be well to order them to be taken out of the caravels at dawn, and to be placed in that field which lies outside the city gate, and there to be divided into five parts, according to custom, and that your Grace should come there and choose one of these parts, whichever you prefer."

The Infant said that he was well pleased, and on the next day very early, Lançarote bade the masters of the caravels that they should put out the captives, and take them to that field, where they were to make the divisions, as he had said already. But before they did anything else in that matter, they took as an offering the best of those Moors to the church of that place; and another little Moor, who afterwards became a friar of St. Francis, they sent to St. Vincent do Cabo, where he lived ever after as a Catholic Christian, without having understanding or perception of any other law than that true and holy law in which all we Christians hope for our salvation. And the Moors of that capture were in nmber 235 (I. 79-80).

Chapter XXV. *Wherein the author reasoneth somewhat concerning the pity inspired by the captives, and of how the division was made.* O, Thou heavenly Father—who with Thy powerful hand, without alteration of Thy divine essence, governest all the infinite company of Thy Holy City, and controllest all the revolutions of higher worlds, divided into nine spheres, making the duration of ages long or short according as it pleaseth Thee—I pray Thee that my tears may not wrong my conscience, for it is not their religion but their humanity that maketh mine to weep in pity for their sufferings.

And if the brute animals, with their bestial feelings, by a natural instinct understand the sufferings of their own kind, what wouldst Thou have my human nature to do on seeing before my eyes that miserable company, and remembering that they too are of the generation of the sons of Adam?

On the next day, which was the 8th of the month of August, very early in the morning, by reason of the heat, the seamen began to make ready their boats, and to take out those captives, and carry them on shore, as they were commanded. And these, placed all together in that field, were a marvellous sight, for amongst them were some white enough, fair to look upon, and well proportioned; others were less white like mulattoes; others again were as black as Ethiops, and so ugly, both in features and in body, as almost to appear (to those who saw them) the images of a lower hemisphere. But what heart could be so hard as not to be pierced with piteous feeling to see that company? For some kept their heads low and their faces bathed in tears, looking one upon another; others stood groaning very dolorously, looking up to the height of heaven, fixing their eyes upon it, crying out loudly, as if asking help of the Father of Nature; others struck their faces with the palms of their hands, throwing themselves at full length upon the ground; others made their lamentations in the manner of a dirge, after the custom of their country. And though we could not understand the words of their language, the sound of it right well accorded with the measure of their sadness. But to increase their sufferings still more, there now arrived those who had charge of the division of the captives, and who began to separate one from another, in order to make an equal partition of the fifths; and then was it needful to part fathers from sons, husbands from wives, brothers from brothers. No respect was shewn either to friends or relations, but each fell where his lot took him.

O powerful Fortune, that with thy wheels doest and undoest, compassing the matters of this world as pleaseth thee, do thou at least put before the eyes of that miserable race some understanding of matters to come, that they may receive some consolation in the midst of their great sorrow. And you who are so busy in making that division of the captives, look with pity upon so much misery; and see how they cling one to the other, so that you can hardly separate them.

And who could finish that partition without very great toil? for as often as they had placed them in one part the sons, seeing their fathers in another, rose with great energy and rushed over to them; the mothers clasped their other children in their arms, and threw themselves flat on the ground with them, receiving blows with little

pity for their own flesh, if only they might not be torn from them.

And so troublously they finished the partition, for besides the toil they had with the captives, the field was quite full of people, both from the town[22] and from the surrounding villages and districts, who for that day gave rest to their hands (in which lay their power to get their living) for the sole purpose of beholding this novelty. And with what they saw, while some were weeping and others separating the captives, they caused such a tumult as greatly to confuse those who directed the partition.

The Infant was there, mounted upon a powerful steed, and accompanied by his retinue, making distribution of his favours, as a man who sought to gain but small treasure from his share; for of the forty-six souls that fell to him as his fifth, he made a very speedy partition of these [among others], for his chief riches lay in [the accomplishment of] his purpose; for he reflected with great pleasure upon the salvation of those souls that before were lost.

And certainly his expectation was not in vain; for, as we said before, as soon as they understood our language they turned Christians with very little ado; and I who put together this history into this volume, saw in the town of Lagos boys and girls (the children and grandchildren of those first captives, born in this land) as good and true Christians as if they had directly descended, from the beginning of the dispensation of Christ, from those who were first baptised (I. 80-83).

Chapter XXVI. *How the Infant Don Henry made Lançarote a knight.* Although the sorrow of those captives was for the present very great, especially after the partition was finished and each one took his own share aside (while some sold their captives, the which they took to other districts); and although it chanced that among the prisoners the father often remained in Lagos, while the mother was taken to Lisbon, and the children to another part (in which partition their sorrow doubled the first grief)—yet this sorrow was less felt among those who happened to remain in company. For as saith the text, the wretched find a consolation in having comrades in misfortune. But from this time forth they began to acquire some knowledge of our country, in which they found great abundance, and our men began to treat them with great favour. For as our people did not find them hardened in the belief of the other Moors, and saw how they came in unto the law of Christ with a good will, they made no difference between them and their free servants, born in our own country. But those whom they took while still young, they caused to be instructed in mechanical arts, and those whom they saw fitted for manag-

[22] Lagos.

ing property, they set free and married to women who were natives of the land, making with them a division of their property, as if they had been bestowed on those who married them by the will of their own fathers, and for the merits of their service they were bound to act in a like manner. Yea, and some widows of good family who bought some of these female slaves, either adopted them or left them a portion of their estate by will, so that in the future they married right well, treating them as entirely free. Suffice it that I never saw one of these slaves put in irons like other captives, and scarcely any one who did not turn Christian and was not very gently treated.

And I have been asked by their lords to the baptisms and marriages of such, at which they, whose slaves they were before, made no less solemnity than if they had been their children or relations.

And so their lot was now quite the contrary of what it had been, since before they had lived in perdition of soul and body; of their souls, in that they were yet pagans, without the clearness and the light of the Holy Faith; and of their bodies, in that they lived like beasts, without any custom of reasonable beings—for they had no knowledge of bread or wine, and they were without the covering of clothes, or the lodgment of houses; and worse than all, through the great ignorance that was in them, in that they had no understanding of good, but only knew how to live in a bestial sloth.

But as soon as they began to come to this land, and men gave them prepared food and coverings for their bodies, their bellies began to swell, and for a time they were ill, until they were accustomed to the nature of the country, but some of them were so made that they were not able to endure it and died, but as Christians.

Now there were four things in these captives that were very different from the condition of the other Moors who were taken prisoners from this part. First, that after they had come to this land of Portugal, they never more tried to fly, but rather in time forgot all about their own country, as soon as they began to taste the good things of this one; secondly, that they were very loyal and obedient servants, without malice; thirdly, that they were not so inclined to lechery as the others; fourthly, that after they began to use clothing they were for the most part very fond of display, so that they took great delight in robes of showy colours, and such was their love of finery, that they picked up the rags that fell from the coats of the other people of the country and sewed them on to their garments, taking great pleasure in these, as though it were matter of some greater perfection. And what was still better, as I have already said, they turned themselves with a good will into the path of the true faith, in the which after they had entered, they received true belief, and in the same they died.

And now reflect what a guerdon should be that of the Infant in the presence of the Lord God, for thus bringing to true salvation, not only those, but many others, whom you will find in this history later on.

Now when the partition was thus accomplished, the captains of the other caravels came to the Infant, and with them some noblemen of his house, and said to him: "Sire, in that you know the great toil that Lançarote, your servant, hath undergone in this action just achieved, and with what diligence he effected it, by the which God hath given us so good a victory as you have seen; and also as he is a man of good lineage, who deserveth every good; we beg your grace that for his reward, you would be minded to knight him with your own hand. Since you see that for every reason he deserveth this honour, and even if he had not deserved it so well (said those captains of the caravels), we think it would be an injury to us (as he was our captain-general, and laboured so much before our eyes), if he did not receive for it some honour superior to that which he had before, being an upright man and your servant, as we have said."

The Infant answered that it pleased him greatly; and that besides he was much obliged for their having asked it of him, for by it they gave example to the others that might desire to act as captains of brave men, and toil for their honour.

And so forthwith he made Lançarote a knight, giving him a rich guerdon, according as his deserts and his excellence required. And to the other leaders also he gave increased advancement, so that besides their first profit they considered their labour right well bestowed (I. 83-86). . . .

Chapter XXXI.[23] *How Dinis Diaz went to the land of the Negroes, and of the captives that he took.* . . . And as they went further on,[24] they met with other boats, whose crews, seeing ours to be men, were alarmed at the novelty of the sight; and moved by fear they sought to flee, each and all; but because our men had a better opportunity than before, they captured four of them, and these were the first to be taken by Christians in their own land, and there is no chronicle or history that relateth aught to the contrary (I. 99). . . .

[23] Chs. XXVII. and XXVIII. tell of an unsuccessful voyage down the coast, in which the increasing hostility of the natives resulted in the death of the leader, Gonçallo de Sintra, and many of his men. Ch. XXIX. describes a voyage undertaken by Gonçalvez to the River of Gold; ch. XXX., a voyage of Nuno Tristam, in 1445, in which he saw the land of the negroes but was unable to land. This probably means that the Portuguese had reached Cape Palmas.

[24] Diaz had by this time voyaged past the desert coast-line and as far south as the mouth of the Senegal River. He continued along the coast until he reached "a great cape, to which they gave the name of Cape Verde" (p. 99).

Chapter XXXV.[25] *How Antam Gonçalvez went to make the ransom.* . . . And when the noble [26] concluded his bargaining, he received some things which pleased him most among those tendered to him by our men (though they were really small and of little value), and he gave us for the same nine negroes and a little gold dust (I. 111). . . .

Chapter XXXVI. *How they took the Moors at Cape Branco.* "Let us return", said Antam Gonçalvez, "to Cape Branco, for I have heard say that on the side opposite the sunset there is a village, in which we could find some people of whom we could make booty, if we took it suddenly and by surprise." All said that this was good counsel, and that they should put it in action at once; and, for this thirty-eight men were set apart, who were most ready for the service, and they landed and went to the village straightway, at the beginning of the night, but found nothing in it. "Then said some of them, it would be well for us to return to our boats and row as far as we may along the land, till we see morning; and as soon as that shall happen, we will land and go towards those Moors to hold the passage of the Cape; because they needs must go along the said Cape before they can retreat into the upland. And as they have with them women and children, they will be forced to rest part of the night, and though they travel continually, they cannot go so fast as to prevent us from passing them." And in this counsel they were all agreed, and rowing all the night without taking any rest (because in such places and times slothfulness is the greatest cause of loss), the night came to its end. And when the clearness of the day was beginning, twenty-eight of them landed, for the others stayed to guard the boats. And those that were on land went on, till they arrived at a certain high place, from which they perceived they could keep a good watch over all the parts round them; and concealing themselves as well as they could on account of the rising of the sun, they saw Moors coming towards them, men and women, with their boys and girls, in all seventy or eighty, as they reckoned. And without any further speech or counsel, they rushed out among them, shouting out their accustomed cries, "St. George", "Portugal". And at their attack the Moors were so dismayed that most of them at once sought relief in flight, and only seven or eight stood on their defence, of whom there now fell dead at the first charge

[25] In 1446 Antam Gonçalvez set forth to bring back João Fernandez, who had been left at the River of Gold the year before in order that he might gather information about the land and the natives. Ch. XXXII. describes the beginning of this voyage; ch. XXXIII. recounts the capture of thirty-five Moors; ch. XXXIV., the finding of João Fernandez.

[26] Named Ahude Meymam. João Fernandez had made the acquaintance of this native chief and had learned that he had black slaves whom he wished to sell. This seems to be the first instance of purchase rather than capture on the part of the Portuguese.

three or four. And these being despatched, there was no more toil of fight, and only he who knew himself light of foot thought he had any remedy for his life; but our men did not stand idle, for if their enemies took care to run they did not for their part let themselves rest; for at such a time toil of the kind they underwent is true rest for the conquerors. And so they captured in all fifty-five, whom they took with them to the boats. Of their joy I will not speak, because reason will tell you what it must have been, both of those who took the captives and of the others on board the caravels, when they came with their prize. And after this capture they agreed to turn back to the kingdom [of Portugal]. . . .

Wherefore they guided their caravels towards Portugal, making straight for Lisbon, where they arrived quite content with their booty. But who would not take pleasure at seeing the multitude of people that ran out to see those caravels? for as soon as they had lowered their sails, the officers who collected the royal dues took boats from the shore to find out whence the ships came and what they brought; and as soon as they returned and the news passed from one to another, in a short time there was such a multitude in the caravels that they were nearly swamped. Nor were there less on the next day, when they took the captives out of the ships and wished to convey them to a palace of the Infant, a good way distant from the Ribeira. For from all the other parts of the city they flocked on to those streets by which they had to convey them. Of a surety, saith the author of this history, many of those I spoke of at first, who murmured over the commencement of this action, might well rebuke themselves now, for there was no one there who would be then counted as of that number. And the noise of the people was so great, praising the great virtues of the Infant (when they saw them take the captives in bonds along those streets), that if anyone had dared to speak in the contrary sense he would very soon have found it well to recant. But perchance it would have availed him little, for the populace (and most of all in a time of excitement) but rarely pardoneth him who contradicteth what it willeth to hold established. Nor doth it appear to me that there could be a man of such evil condition that he could speak against so manifest a good, from which followed such great profits.

The Infant was then in the district of Viseu, from which he sent to receive his fifth; and of those who remained, the captains made a sale in the city, from which all received great advantage (I. 113-116). . . .[27]

[27] Chs. XXXVII. to XLI. deal with an expedition to Arguin financed by Gonçalo Pacheco, of Lisbon, treasurer of Ceuta, Alvero Gil, assayer of the mint, and Mafaldo of Setubal. In the first village which they found they captured seven natives, one of whom led them to a larger village, where they made forty-six captives. In all, they captured one hundred and twenty natives and sailed as far south as Cape Verde.

Chapter XLII. *How Alvaro Vasquez took the thirty-five Moors.* . . . "Now," said Alvaro Vasquez, "our booty is before your eyes, but it is so clearly discovered that of necessity we shall be seen before we can arrive at it; and because it doth not appear to me to be so great a settlement as that it can hold a people with whom we cannot cope, still, in order that we may achieve some sort of success, let each one run as fast as he can, and so let us stoutly fall upon them, and if we are not able to make captives of the young men, yet let us seize upon the old men, the women, and the little children, and let us take such advisement that whosoever putteth himself on his defence shall be slain without pity; and as to the others, let us seize them as best we can." And before he had quite finished these reasons, many of them began to increase their pace, while others were running as fast as they could; and the Moors, like unwary people, little recking of such a danger, when their enemies came upon them, were all thrown into that confusion which the fortune of the case required. And when they saw men coming upon them so suddenly and so boldly, and armed with weapons quite strange to them, they were altogether amazed. Whereat our men took so much the greater boldness, seeing their timorous disorder, and at once began to seize upon as many of them as they could, and seeing that some sought to put themselves on their defence, they slew them without mercy. But the affair lasted not long at that time, for that the enemy soon began to fly. And there were many amongst them who then looked on their wives and children for the last time, and in a short space the booty would have been much larger if that arm of the sea had not been so near that many of them escaped into it, inasmuch as for the most part, not only the men but also the women and the children, all knew how to swim. And others who were bold and light-footed, trusting in their fleetness, escaped through all; though some were deceived in it, for they found others of our men who followed and captured them in spite of their lightness of foot, so that in all there were taken captive thirty-five, besides some that perished (II. 133-134). . . .

Chapter XLIV. *How they sailed to the land of the Negroes.* And so they hoisted their sails forthwith and pursued their voyage, and sailing on their course a space of 80 leagues they came near to the coast of Guinea, where they made them ready with their boats to land, but when the black men caught sight of them they ran down to the shore with their shields and assegais, as men who sought to make themselves ready for battle; but although they showed so fierce a countenance, yet our men would have gone on shore if the roughness of the sea had consented thereto; and, far as they were from the shore, our men did yet perceive that it was a land very green, peopled

by human folk and tame cattle, which the inhabitants of the land had with them for their use. And they would have gone further on still, but the storm increased upon them with much distemperature of the weather, so that they were forced to turn back without remedy (II. 136). . . .

Chapter LX.[28] *How those caravels arrived at the river of Nile, and of the Guineas that they took.* Now these caravels having passed by the land of Sahara, as hath been said, came in sight of the two palm trees [29] that Dinis Diaz had met with before, by which they understood that they were at the beginning of the land of the Negroes. And at this sight they were glad indeed, and would have landed at once, but they found the sea so rough upon that coast that by no manner of means could they accomplish their purpose. And some of those who were present said afterwards that it was clear from the smell that came off the land how good must be the fruits of that country, for it was so delicious that from the point they reached, though they were on the sea, it seemed to them that they stood in some gracious fruit garden ordained for the sole end of their delight. And if our men showed on their side a great desire of gaining the land, no less did the natives of it show their eagerness to receive them into it; but of the reception they offered I do not care to speak, for according to the signs they made to our men from the first, they did not intend to abandon the beach without very great loss to one side or the other. Now the people of this green land are wholly black, and hence this is called Land of the Negroes, or Land of Guinea.[30] Wherefore also the men and women thereof are called "Guineas", as if one were to say "Black Men". And when the men in the caravels saw the first palms and lofty trees as we have related, they understood right well that they were close to the river of Nile, at the point where it floweth into the western sea, the which river is there called the Senegal (II. 176-177). . . .[31]

And as all the eight were going in the boat, one of them, looking

[28] In 1445 a group in Lagos asked permission to equip an African voyage. This amounted to at least twenty-seven vessels, later increased to thirty by the addition of vessels belonging to Pacheco. The Portuguese made their first attack at Cape Blanco, where they found the village deserted. Later, in a battle with the Moors, they captured fifty-seven. Five caravels returned, one remained in the Bay of Arguin, six pressed southward (II. 146-176). Azurara's narrative follows the adventures of those who went south.

[29] Cape of Palms or Cape Palmas.

[30] Up to this time the Portuguese had encountered Moorish tribes or possibly some of the negroid peoples that represented a fusion of Moor and negro. Pure negroes were not to be met north of the Senegal River. Indeed, several of the tribes between the Senegal and the Gambia were Mohammedans with an intermixture of Arab or Moorish blood, though the Portuguese would probably have called them negroes. South of the Gambia pure negroes, untouched by the influence of the northern peoples, were, and are still, to be found.

[31] That one might find one's way up the River Nile from the West Coast was a tradition which survived for many years.

out towards the mouth of the river,[32] espied the door of a hut, and said to his companions: "I know not how the huts of this land are built, but judging by the fashion of those I have seen before, that should be a hut that I see before me, and I presume it belongs to fishing folk who have come to fish in this stream. And if you think well, it seemeth to me that we ought to go and land beyond that point, in such wise that we may not be discovered from the door of the hut; and let some land, and approach from behind those sand-banks, and if any natives are lying in the hut, it may be that they will take them before they are perceived." Now it appeared to the others that this was good advice, and so they began to put it into execution. And as soon as they reached the land, Stevam Affonso leapt out, and five others with him, and they proceeded in the manner that the others had suggested. And while they were going thus concealed even until they neared the hut, they saw come out of it a negro boy, stark naked, with a spear in his hand. Him they seized at once, and coming up close to the hut, they lighted upon a girl, his sister, who would be about eight years old. This boy the Infant afterwards caused to be taught to read and write, with all other knowledge that a Christian should have; and many Christians there be who have not this knowledge as perfectly as he had (II. 178-179). . . .

Chapter LXIII. *How the caravels set forth from the river, and of the voyage which they made.* . . . And in this wise Gomez Pirez lost the company of the other caravels, and following his course towards Portugal, after taking in water at the isle of Arguim, he came to the Rio do Ouro, and sailed as far up as the port where he had been the preceding year with Antam Gonçalvez and Diego Affonso, and there presently the Moors came, and in taking security of them he learnt there were no merchants there. But they sold him a black for the price of five doubloons, which he paid them by certain things he gave them in their stead. Also they brought him water on their camels, and gave him meat and made him a sufficiency of good reception; and above all they showed such confidence that without any hesitancy so many entered into the caravel, that he was not very well pleased, and would not consent that any more should enter; but at last, without causing them any injury, he had them put on land, making an agreement with them that next year, in the month of July, he would return there, when he would find blacks in abundance and gold, and merchandise by which he might gain much profit (II. 193-194). . . .

[32] The Senegal, which they entered as soon as they discovered its mouth.

Chapter LXIV. *Of how Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas captured a dozen Moors.* . . . And as they went forward, not very far from there, while traversing a sandhill, they saw the Moors, who were journeying in a hollow. "Now", said those who there bore the office of captains, to these others, "you can show your good will by toiling in the pursuit of those foemen". And although our men were already somewhat wearied, it appeared to them as if they had only that moment issued from their ships, so great desire had they to come up with the enemy. And this desire they now put into practice very quickly, for the Moors were hardly able to issue forth before our men were up with them; and some, that endeavoured to offer a defence, in a brief space learnt the error of their sect, for without any pity our men killed them very speedily, in so much that there remained alive no more than twelve, whom they took back as their prisoners. And although the booty was not great in comparison of other spoil which had already been made in that land, yet were they all very glad of it; and this because the victory had been obtained by so few men rather than because of the share of gain that fell to the lot of each (II. 196).

Chapter LXV. *How Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas and Vicente Diaz took fifty-seven Moors.* . . . And now [33] our men began to run forward, shouting out their accustomed cries, to wit, "St. James", "Portugal", "St. George"; but the sound of these was not very pleasant to the enemy, so that they had not leisure to place their pack-saddles upon their asses. And those who had the packs upon their necks freed themselves from these burdens, and what was more noteworthy, some who had their children upon their shoulders, seeing that they could not save them, let them fall upon the ground, with how great a crash you may imagine. And so in this anguish they began to fly, not all together, nor by one road, but each one by himself, quite leaving behind their women and children, without any hope of remedy. Yet true it is that some there were who, though they perceived the manifest discomfiture of their party, had the courage to show some defence, the which were very quickly despatched from life. And finally of all the people there were taken

[33] After the last exploit, Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas sailed northward to Arguin, where they were joined by Vicente Diaz. In the council as to whether they should return at once to Portugal or seek further booty, the latter argued for a prompt return: "Your proposal would be good if the place were such that by toiling one might hope to receive some profit; but this land, as you know, is already turned upside down, and it hath been disturbed a thousand times, and the caravels go by it every day, so that there is not a Moor, however simple he may be, that dareth to set foot on all this land; but rather reason teacheth that they must have been terrified and fled from here as far as they could." This sensible counsel did not prevail; they returned to Tider, where they found no Moors, but they had better success on land near by, where the Moors were overtaken just on the point of departure.

fifty-seven; some others were killed and again others escaped. Oh, if only among those who fled there had been some little understanding of higher things. Of a surety I believe, that the same haste which they showed in flying, they would then have made in coming to where they might have saved their souls and restored their affairs in this life (II. 200-201). . . .[84]

Chapter LXXV. *Of how the caravel of John Gonçalvez Zarco arrived at the land of the Negroes.* . . . And when they were as near to the Cape[85] as it might be a third of a league, they cast anchor and rested as they had arranged; but they had not been there long when from the land there set out two boats, manned by ten Guineas, who straightway began to make their way direct to the ship, like men who came in peace. And when they were near, they made a signal asking security, which was granted them, and immediately without any other precaution, five of them went on board the caravel, where Alvaro Fernandez had them entertained as hospitably as he was able, giving orders to provide them with food and drink and all other good company that could be made them. And after this they departed, giving signs of great contentment, but it seemeth that they had come with something different conceived in their minds. And as soon as they reached the land they told the rest of their fellows all they had found, and from this it seemed to them that they could easily capture them [the Portuguese]. And with this design there put off six boats with thirty-five or forty of their company prepared like men who meant to fight; but when they were near, they felt a fear of coming up to the caravel, and so they stayed a little distance off without daring to make an attack. And when Alvaro Fernandez perceived that they dared not come to him, he commanded his boat to be lowered and in it he ordered eight men to place themselves, from among the readiest that he found for the duty; and he arranged that the boat should be on the further side of the caravel so that it might not be seen by the enemy, in the hope that they would approach nearer to the ship. And the Guineas lay some way off until one of their boats took courage to move more forward and issued forth from the others towards the caravel, and in it were five brave and stout Guineas, distinguished in this respect among the others of the company. And as soon as Alvaro Fernandez perceived that this boat was already in a position for him to be able to reach it before it could receive help from the others, he ordered his own to issue forth quickly and go against it. And by the great advantage of our men

[84] Chs. LXVI.-LXXIV. recount the adventures of various other leaders of this expedition, who made occasional captures, the most important of which were accomplished in the Canary Islands. Ch. LXXV. gives special praise to João Gonçalvez Zarco, as bent not upon profit for himself but upon doing service to the Prince.

[85] Cape Verde.

in their manner of rowing they were soon upon the enemy, who seeing themselves thus overtaken, and having no hope of defence, leapt into the water, while the other boats fled towards the land. But our men had very great toil in the capture of those who were swimming, for they dived like cormorants, so that they could not get a hold of them; yet they soon captured one, though not without some difficulty; but the capture of the second caused them to lose all the others. For he was so valiant that two men, very mighty as they were, could not drag him into the boat until they took a boathook and caught him above one eye, and the pain of this made him abate his courage and allow himself to be put inside the boat. And with these two captives they returned to the ship (II. 226-228). . . .

Chapter LXXVII. *Of the things that happened to João Fernandez. . .* .[36] And to their land come some Moors and they sell them of those Negroes whom they have kidnapped, or else they take them to Momdebarque, which is beyond the kingdom of Tunis, to sell to the Christian merchants who go there, and they give them these slaves in exchange for bread and some other things, just as they do now at the Rio do Ouro, as will be related further on. . . . And it is said that in the land of the Negroes there is another kingdom called Melli,[37] but this is not certain; for they bring the Negroes from that kingdom, and sell them like the others, whereas 'tis manifest that if they were Moors they would not sell them so (II. 233-234). . . .

Chapter LXXXVII. *Of how Alvaro Fernandez returned again to the land of the Negroes, and of the things he accomplished there.* . . . And when the ship had been provisioned, they made their voyage straight to Cape Verde, whereat in the past year they had captured the two Guineas of whom we have spoken in another place, and thence they passed on to the Cape of Masts (II. 258). . . .

And so journeying along the sea coast, in a few days they went on shore again, and came upon a village, and its inhabitants issued forth like men who showed they had a will to defend their houses, and among them came one armed with a good buckler and an assegai in his hand. And Alvaro Fernandez seeing him, and judging him to be the leader of the band, went stoutly at him, and gave him such a great wound with his lance that he fell down dead, and then he took from him his shield and assegai; and these he brought home to the Infant along with some other things, as will be related further on.

[36] It will be remembered that João Fernandez had spent seven months in the desert lands between the Barbary States and the land of the negroes. The author has here turned from the account of adventures on the coast, to relate what had been learned of the interior.

[37] This refers to the kingdom of the Mandingoes, who were the dominant tribe south of the Gambia.

Now the Guineas, perceiving that man to be dead, paused from their fighting, and it appeared to our men to be neither the time nor the place to withdraw them from that fear. But rather they returned to their ship and on the next day landed a little way distant from there, where they espied some of the wives of those Guineas walking. And it seemeth that they were going nigh to a creek collecting shellfish, and they captured one of them, who would be as much as thirty years of age, with a son of hers who would be of about two, and also a young girl of fourteen years, who had well-formed limbs and also a favorable presence for a Guinea; but the strength of the woman was much to be marvelled at, for not one of the three men who came upon her but would have had a great labour in attempting to get her to the boat. And so one of our men, seeing the delay they were making, during which it might be that some of the dwellers of the land would come upon them, conceived it well to take her son from her and to carry him to the boat; and love of the child compelled the mother to follow after it, without great pressure on the part of the two who were bringing her. From this place they went on further for a certain distance until they lighted upon a river,[38] into the which they entered with the boat, and in some houses that they found they captured a woman, and after they had brought her to the caravel, they returned once more to the river, intending to journey higher up in order to try and make some good booty. And as they were pursuing their voyage thus, there came upon them four or five boats of Guineas prepared like men who would defend their land, and our men in the boat were not desirous to try a combat with them, seeing the great advantage their enemies had, and especially because they feared the great peril that lay in the poison with which they shot. And so they began to retreat to their ship as well as they could, but seeing how one of those boats was much in front of the others, they turned round upon it, but it retired towards its companions, and as our men were trying to reach it before it escaped (for it seemeth that it was already distant a good way from the company) their boat came so near that one of those Guineas made a shot at it and happened to hit Alvaro Fernandez with an arrow in the leg. But since he had already been warned of its poison, he drew out that arrow very quickly and had the wound washed with urine and olive oil, and then anointed it very well with theriack,[39] and it pleased God that it availed him, although his health was in very troublous case, for during certain days he was in the very act of passing away from life. The others on the caravel, although they saw their captain thus

[38] The Lagos.

[39] Theriaca Andromachi, or Venice treacle, a remedy said to contain sixty-one drugs, and to have been named by Nero's physician.

wounded, desisted not from voyaging forward along that coast until they arrived at a narrow strip of sand stretching in front of a great bay, and here they put out their boat and went inside to see what kind of land they would find; and when they were in sight of the beach they saw coming toward them full 120 Guineas, some with shields and assegais, others with bows. And as soon as they came near the water these began to play and dance like men far removed from any sorrow; but our men in the boat, wishful to escape from the invitation to that festival, returned to their ship. And this took place 110 leagues beyond Cape Verde,[40] and all that coast trendeth commonly to the south. And this caravel went further this year than all the others, wherefore with right good will a guerdon of 200 doubloons was granted unto it, that is to say 100 which the Infant Don Pedro, who was then Regent, ordered to be given, and another 100 which it obtained from the Infant Don Henry. And had it not been for the illness of Alvaro Fernandez, by which he was much disabled, the caravel would have gone further still, but it was obliged to return from that last place I have mentioned, and it came straight to the Isle of Arguim, and thence to the Cape of the Ransom, where they found that Ahude Meymam of whom we have already spoken at times in this history. And although they did not carry an interpreter, yet by making signs they obtained a negress, whom the Moors gave them in exchange for some cloths they brought with them, and had they not brought so little they could have obtained much more, judging by the desire that the Moors showed. And thence they made their voyage towards the Kingdom, where they received the doubloons as I have already said, together with many other guerdons from the Infant their lord, who was very joyful at their coming on account of the advance they had made in their expedition (II. 258-261). . . .[41]

2. Permission granted to the Governor of Bresa for Four Thousand Slaves.[1]

The King. Our officials who reside in the city of Seville in our House of Trade of the Indies; Know ye that I have given permis-

[40] They were probably in the neighborhood of Cape Roxo.

[41] In 1446 Gomez Pirez, remembering that he had promised the Moors at the Rio do Ouro to return for trade with them, set forth, after obtaining a license from Prince Henry. The effort at peaceful trading failed but slave raids resulted in 79 captives, thus justifying Gomez Pirez's speech to his men: "My friends, you well know how we are come to this part chiefly to do service to God, and then to the Lord Infant our master, and all this not without a profitable return for ourselves" (II. 269). The expedition is described in chs. LXXXIX.-XCII. Ch. XCIII. describes a voyage to Meça in Morocco, in which eighteen Moors were exchanged for fifty-one negroes. According to Azurara, there were carried to Portugal between the years 1441 and 1448, 927 captives, Moors and negroes (II. 288).

[2] [1] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille,* I. 755. For an account of this grant, see introduction, p. 160.

sion, and by the present [instrument] do give it, to Lorenzo de Gorrevod, governor of Bresa, member of my Council, whereby he, or the person or persons who may have his authority therefor, may proceed to take to the Indies, the islands and the mainland of the ocean sea already discovered or to be discovered, four thousand negro slaves both male and female, provided they be Christians, in whatever proportions he may choose. Until these are all taken and transported no other slaves, male or female, may be transported, except those whom I have given permission [to take] up to the present date. Therefore, I order you to allow and consent to the governor of Bresa aforesaid or the person or persons aforesaid who may have his said authority to transport and take the four thousand slaves male and female, without molesting him in any way; and, if the said governor of Bresa or the persons aforesaid who may have his authority, should make any arrangements with traders or other persons to ship the said slaves, male or female, direct from the isles of Guinea and other regions from which they are wont to bring the said negroes to these realms and to Portugal, or from any other region they please, even though they do not bring them to register in that house, they may do so provided that you take sufficient security that they bring you proof of how many they have taken to each island and that the said negroes male and female, have become Christians on reaching each island, and how they have paid the customs duties there, in order that those taken be known and be not in excess of the aforesaid number. Notwithstanding any prohibition and order that may exist to the contrary, I require you and order you in regard to this not to collect any duty in that house [of trade] on the said slaves but rather you are to allow them to be taken freely and this my cedula shall be written down in the books of that house [of trade].

Done in Saragossa, the eighteenth day of August of the year 1518.

I THE KING,
By order of the King, FRANCISCO DE LOS COVOS.

3. THE VOYAGE OF WILLIAM TOWERSON TO GUINEA, 1555.[1]

The First Voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the Coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the Yeere 1555.

[3] [1] Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VI. 177-211; Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, I. 150-161; Kerr, *Voyages and Travels*, VII. 246-273. The two ships, the *Hart* and the *Hinde*, were bound for the River Sestos in Guinea, and other havens thereabouts. They reached Cape Three Points in January, 1556, and traded along the coast, at some places finding the natives afraid to trade with them lest they incur the wrath of the Portuguese. Towerson's account certainly indicates that other English traders were on the African coast at this time. Apparently the order of the Privy Council against Guinea expeditions was not taken with great seriousness.

This fellowe [2] came aboord our shippe without feare, and as soone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen: we made him answere, that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter. . . . we saw many boates lying upon the shoare,[3] and divers came by us, but none of them would come neere us, being as we judged afraid of us: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to us. . . .

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against us, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the *Trinitie* had there, when the Captaine came aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales (VI. 200, 205, 207). . . .[4]

4. The Second Voyage of William Towerson, 1556.[1]

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the Yeere 1556, with the "Tiger" of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the "Hart" of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

. . . This place is called Bulle,[2] and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by us. . . .

[2] A young native who had been for a time at Elmina and was able to give the English information about the Portuguese garrison and trade. Towerson was trading at a village not far from Elmina, which was still the chief Portuguese settlement on the Gold Coast.

[3] They were now at a village east of Elmina. Both this settlement and that at which they had first traded the English called "towns of Don John", by which they probably meant that they were under Portuguese control.

[4] Robert Gainsh was captain of the *John Evangelist* on Lok's voyage (see Hakluyt, VI. 155). Lok's vessels in their trading along the Gold Coast had evidently carried off natives from a village between Cape Three Points and Elmina. Curiosity alone seems to have been the animating motive, as there is no evidence that these adventurers had any thought of entering upon the traffic in blacks. Indeed they made considerable effort to preserve friendly relations with the natives, as their only hope of maintaining themselves against the Portuguese lay in native support.

[4] [1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 212-231; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 162-168.

[2] Bulle, which they reached Jan. 15, 1557, was not far from Cape Three Points. Claridge, who knows the coast, suggests that Bulle may have been Dixcove. *History of the Gold Coast,* I. 68.

The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh river, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for joy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. . . .[3]

Then wee departed and went to Shamma,[4] and went into the river with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to have found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shore, and after them went divers of us, and were very well received, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wives, and one of their aunts, which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren (VI. 217, 218-219). . . .[5]

5. The First Voyage of John Hawkins, 1562-1563.[1]

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir John Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Majesties navie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

[3] The English had joined a French squadron and they were trading amicably together, united by common hostility to the Portuguese. Towerson was apparently returning negroes that he had in his earlier voyage carried away, though there is no mention of such action in the account of his former visit.

[4] Shama, or Chama, was not far from the mouth of the River Pra, between Cape Three Points and Cape Coast. The Portuguese used it as a supply station for wood and water for Elmina. Some years later it became the seat of a Dutch fort. "And here the Negros shewed us that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away." Hakluyt, VI. 219.

[5] No extracts from the narrative of Towerson's third voyage, 1558, have here been printed. It may be found in Hakluyt, VI. 231-252; Astley, I. 169-176; Kerr, *Voyages and Travels,* VII. 283-290. On that voyage he had two vessels from the Royal Navy, one of which, the *Minion,* was later to share in Hawkins's third and disastrous voyage to the West Indies. The date of Towerson's third voyage, which appears in Hakluyt as 1577, should be 1558. It was printed correctly in the Hakluyt edition of 1589.

[5] [1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* X. 7-8; Sir Clements R. Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. 5-7; Beazley, *English Garner: Voyages and Travels mainly in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (New York, 1903), I. 29-30; E. J. Payne, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen* (Oxford, 1893), first ser., pp. 6-8. This account, written by Hakluyt from information given him by Hawkins, is extremely meagre and could scarcely have satisfied the painstaking Hakluyt. Williamson suggests that its omissions are by no means the result of the effect of time on the memory of the narrator, but are deliberate suppressions of the facts of the expedition. Many popular accounts tell the story of Hawkins's three slaving voyages, some of them trying to rid him of the stigma of initiating the English slave trade by adducing the fact that Lok had, in 1554, carried negroes to England. While this is true, it has been pointed out that there is no reason to believe that Lok had any thought of trafficking in blacks. Hawkins's raids were not followed by similar expeditions on the part of his countrymen, and the organized English traffic in blacks can hardly be said to date from Hawkins's time. As a matter of fact, the exploits of Hawkins are of much greater significance in the history of the relations between England and Spain than they are in that of the English slave trade. The following narratives do however give an idea of conditions on the African

Master John Hawkins having made divers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and upright dealing being growen in love and favour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father,[2] but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that devise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others.[3] All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributors and adventurers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediately provided: The one called the *Salomon* of the burthern of 120. tunne, wherein M. Hawkins himselfe went as Generall: The second the *Swallow* of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the *Jonas* a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not above 100. men for feare of sicknesse and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched

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coast at this time and a little notion of the Spanish market. For studies of Hawkins and his times, see Sir Julian Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London, 1899), I. 74-119, and Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*. The latter account, which uses much new material, presents Hawkins in a more favorable light than have most historians.

[2] William Hawkins, father of John, was apparently the only one of the English merchants trading to Brazil who combined Guinea and Brazil trade. Of him Hakluyt says, he was "a man for his wisdome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloved of K. Henry the 8, and . . . one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time" (Hakluyt, XI. 23). Between 1530 and 1533 he made three voyages to Brazil, on the outward voyage touching at the Guinea coast. In 1539 Hawkins brought to England a Brazilian native chief, leaving as hostage a Plymouth seaman, Martin Cockeram. Unhappily, the chief died on the homeward voyage, but such was the reputation of Hawkins that he seems to have had no difficulty in reclaiming his hostage. The narrative of William Hawkins's voyages is printed in Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages*, pp. 3-4, and Hakluyt, XI. 23-24.

[3] Benjamin Gonson, or Gunson, the possessor of a fortune made in the Levant trade, was treasurer of the Royal Navy. Sir William Winter was master of ordnance of the navy, Sir Lionell Duckett was later lord mayor of London, Sir Thomas Lodge, one of the governors of the Muscovy Company, was lord mayor in 1563. The group here mentioned was already interested in the African trade, and had possibly been responsible in large part for the queen's interest in it. That Hawkins should turn to them for advice and support seems to indicate that Williamson is correct in his contention that there was no conflict of interests between Hawkins's project for slaving on the nearer Guinea coast (Gambia and Sierra Leone) and their voyages for gold and other African commodities on the Guinea coast proper. This takes issue with most writers on the subject, who contend that Hawkins by his violence alienated the support of the natives, which the English traders had been at great pains to cultivate, and therefore brought the English Guinea trade to an end for twenty years. See W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 8-9.

first at Teneriffe, where hee received friendly intertainment. From thence he passed to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth.[4] With this praye hee sayled over the Ocean sea unto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros,[5] trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies upon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he received in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantities of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides and the like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine.[6] And thus leaving the Iland, he returned and disemboqued,

[4] This meagre description of the method by which the slaves were obtained is supplemented by Williamson, from the complaints transmitted to England by the Portuguese government. According to the Portuguese account, Hawkins seized in the River Caces (Cacheo) a vessel containing 200 negroes and other goods to the value of 15,000 ducats; in the River Mitombi (also called the Sierra Leone River), in Sierra Leone, he captured three vessels with seventy negroes each, one with "many negroes", and one with ivory, wax, and 500 negroes. A Spanish document, recounting the sins of Hawkins, lists not less than thirteen prizes. This more than trebles the number of negroes that Hawkins says he carried to the West Indies. Williamson's surmise is that these negroes were obtained by forced trade with the Portuguese rather than by actual warfare, since nowhere do the Portuguese complain that any of them had been killed. *Sir John Hawkins*, pp. 80-86, from State Papers, Foreign, Eliz., vol. 99, and Archivo General de Indias, 47-3-51-81.

[5] By a royal cedula of 1556 the maximum price of a negro in the West Indies had been fixed at 100 ducats (£20-£30), and in Mexico at 120 ducats. Saco, p. 212.

[6] This act accords with Williamson's theory that Hawkins believed that he could serve the Spaniards in entirely friendly fashion by such a voyage as the one here described, though it is difficult to see how he could have entertained the idea. He was not only violating the regulations against trade to foreigners but, as Professor Pollard observes, was exercising a privilege not allowed to Spanish subjects themselves. Trade in negroes had been almost from the beginning a carefully guarded privilege, hardly because of the "humanitarian pleadings" of Las Casas, as Pollard suggests, but rather because it was recognized at once as a potential source of great profit. It is scarcely necessary to resort to a humanitarian explanation in addition to the financial one, in view of the prevailing commercial practice (A. F. Pollard, *History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth*, pp. 312-313). For trade relations between Spain and England, see C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*, p. 116. The two vessels sent by Hawkins to Spain were seized when they reached Seville, and Captain Hampton, who had charge of them, was obliged to flee from the country. Six months after his return to England, the English ambassador at Madrid wrote to Hawkins, advising him to promise one of the favorites of the king 4,000 to 5,000 ducats if he wished to see his goods again. This he did, but to no avail. Hawkins estimated the loss at £20,000. Dec. 8, 1563, *Cal. St. P. For.*, 1563, p. 612, July 5, 1564, *ibid.*, 1564-1565, p. 171.

passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the moneth of September 1563 (X. 7-8).

6. The Second Voyage of John Hawkins, 1564-1565.[1]

The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the "Jesus" of Lubek, one of her Majesties shippes, and Generall of the "Salomon", and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564.

Master John Hawkins with the *Jesus* of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the *Salomon* a shippe of 140, the *Tiger* a barke of 50. and the *Swallow* of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth three score and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564 (X. 9). . . .[2]

Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to have taken Negros there perforce, the *Mynions* men gave them there to understand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoyde the snares

[6] [1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* X. 9-63; Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. 8-69. That portion of this narrative which relates to the *Minion* is also printed in Hakluyt, VI. 263-265. The account of the voyage is written by John Sparke, an officer on the *Jesus.* In addition to his narrative, there is the account sent by Diego Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, to Philip II., and two books of evidence from Portugal (Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins,* p. 102). A preliminary list of the adventurers, made up in March, 1564, included the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Robert Dudley, Lord Clinton, Sir William Cecil, Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Benjamin Gonson, Edward Castlyn, John Hawkins, and William Winter (Williamson, p. 92, from Lansdowne MSS. 6, ff. 48-49). Cecil stated later that he had refused to give his countenance to the expedition. It is possible that the original plan put forward by Hawkins was to trade on the Guinea coast alone, and that when the queen consented to an extension of the voyage Cecil knew nothing of the change. That the queen, in spite of warning, did consent, seems probable. On June 18, 1564, Challoner had written her: "If hereafter she would avoid these troubles, their folks going to sea must be looked to, and specially that they enterprise no voyage to the Indies and the islands of this king's navigation" (*Cal. St. P. For.,* 1564-1565, pp. 159-160). On July 24 De Silva asked the queen what voyage Hawkins was planning, having heard that he was going to Guinea, and requested that he be obliged to give security that he would not plunder Spanish subjects, to which the queen had "replied graciously". July 31, 1564, De Silva to Philip II., *Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1558-1567, p. 370; Aug. 22, 1564, De Silva to the queen, *Cal. St. P. For.,* 1564-1565, p. 191; see Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy,* I. 83, 94-98; Williamson, pp. 92-100.

[2] The *Jesus,* at least twenty years old at this time, had already been condemned as not worth repairing, but had later been overhauled; the *Salomon* and the *Swallow* were Hawkins's own vessels. The crews of the four vessels were, 80, 35, 20, and 15, a total of 150. The cost of the expedition, aside from the capital value of the ships and the cost of cargo, was £4,990. For 500 negroes there was an allowance of 120 quarters of beans and peas, and of shirts and shoes. Williamson, pp. 94-95, from the Lansdowne MSS. 6, ff. 48-50.

we had layd for them. . . .[3] In this place[4] the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a river, which they could not passe over, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but used a marveilous crying in their flight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz upon the thigh, looked upon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiving no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols (X. 16-17). . . .[5]

In this Island[6] we stayed certaine daies, going every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. . . . These inhabitants have diverse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaves, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the

[3] They were at Cape Verde. Of the natives here Sparke wrote, they are "counted the goodliest men of all other, saving the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. . . . These men also are more civill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and loving" (X. 15). On July 11, 1564, at a meeting at the house of Sir William Garrard, it had been arranged to send the *Minion*, the *John Baptist*, and the *Merlin* on a Guinea voyage (Hakluyt, VI. 262; introduction, p. 10). Hawkins's vessels had met the *Minion* and for some distance had been in touch with her. The *Merlin* was before long blown up and the *Minion's* captain and a dozen of her men were captured by the Portuguese (Hakluyt, VI. 264-265, X. 10, 35). The statement that the men from the *Minion* spoiled Hawkins's trade has been cited to show the antagonism between the traders in gold and other Guinea commodities and Hawkins's slaving. Williamson however refuses to accept this argument, and thinks it probable that the betrayal of Hawkins was the inadvertent gossip of some sailor. Williamson, pp. 57-58, 101.

[4] The islands of Alcatraz, not far from Cape Verde, at which they had anchored on Dec. 8.

[5] These islands were not far from the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Originally known as Ilhas dos Idolos, the name was gradually corrupted into Isles de Los, and at last Isles Delos, by which name they frequently appear in the slave-trade literature of the late eighteenth century.

[6] The island is called by the narrator Sambula. Markham supposed it to be the modern Sherbro Island. *Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 18 n.

maine (X. 17). . . .[7] In this Island aforesayde wee sojourned unto the one and twentieth of December, where having taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might have laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed (X. 20). . . .[8] The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the River, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the *Johns* Pinnesse, and the *Salomons* boate, leaving at anker in the Rivers mouth the two shippes, the River being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the five and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Caravels, loaden with Negros.[9] The 27. the Captaine was advertised by the Portugals [10] of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantities of golde, but also that there were not above fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would give the adventure upon the same, hee might gette an hundredth slaves: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, having to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came upon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if five or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to 40 of them, and being

[7] According to Sparke, the Samboses had been here but three years but in that time had "so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, every house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods providence, as Palmito trees, fruites planted like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so aboundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously then other". An account of the customs of the Samboses and the Sapies follows.

[8] One of Hawkins's men was murdered by the natives before they left this place.

[9] That is, Hawkins apparently purchased negroes from the Portuguese. The Portuguese account of this sojourn says that Hawkins captured sixteen or seventeen Portuguese vessels and took from them 600 negroes. Some of the vessels were those belonging to the monopolists who supplied the Spaniards with slaves, and Williamson's conjecture that dissatisfied Portuguese, themselves shut out from the Spanish trade, aided Hawkins, is entirely plausible. Williamson, pp. 102-103.

[10] The aid frequently rendered to Hawkins by the Portuguese is worthy of note, in the light of the international situation.

driven downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set upon that some with great hurt recovered their boates; othersome not able to recover the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose coming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt divers of them. Thus wee returned backe some what discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this end, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten Negros, and lost seven of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the *Salomon,* was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt(X. 20-23). . . .

The 28 they came to their ships, the *Jesus,* and the *Salomon,* and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin[11] . . . sojourning at Taggarin, the *Swallow* went up the river about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they understood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to invade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe days after our departure from thence, which we would have seene, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made us to make hast away.

The 18 of Januarie [1565] at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the *Salomons* men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing upon a rocke, being ready to have received them when they came on shore, having in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place

[11] Here the natives destroyed a number of their water casks, unwisely left on shore.

leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we understood of a Portugal that came downe to us, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee understood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of us, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I judge also, upon other occasions provoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the evening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the evening, they had done us great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, having nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados, amongst the same calme, which happened to us very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros,[12] and our selves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such feare that many never thought to have reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselves: but the Almightie God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which never left us, till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canybals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could find none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros (X. 23-25). . . .[13]

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the

[12] Hawkins by this time had about 400 negroes. Williamson, p. 104.
[13] The nature of the "Canybals" of this West India island is enlarged upon.

Alcalde, and had both Beeves and sheepe given us, for the refreshing of our men: but the Governour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet give him any licence to trafficke: and to displease us the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to have gone with us, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with us, but also sent word by a Caravel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arrivall in those partes, which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with us, but should resist us with all the force they could. . . .

Here perceiving no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by one Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marveilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shore twentie fathome water (X. 26-27). . . .[14]

. . . wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata,[15] where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Unto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, upon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subjects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do: for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and having many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also,

[14] Cumaná is on the north coast of Venezuela. Santa Fé was directly east of Cumaná. A peaceable tribe of Indians living near brought food to the ships. On the 28th they departed down the coast, mercifully escaping an attack by crafty Caribs who tried to entice them by offering to traffic with them (X. 27-30).

[15] Borburata, near the modern Port Cabello.

without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spain and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answere, that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governour to whom the government of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their governour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time, they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiving all things according to promise, the Captaine advised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receive no good answere from the governour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to have licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, having little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men having them, they would bee recovered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine, according to their licence, thought to have made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governour his answere because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marveiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy

those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as ever they sawe the shippes, they conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke their wives and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day divers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiving they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marveiled much, and asked him what cause mooved him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to have his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to countervaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted unto. And the next day did sell some of them, who having bought and payed for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gave it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to give the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might be demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done untill the Governours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither on a shippe of the Queenes Majesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driven by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Navie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, unto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not depart without it, and for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his

Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to traffique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great service, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with divers others put in request, were presented unto the Governour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted unto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being upon every slave 30. duckets, which would not be granted unto.[16]

Whereupon the Captaine perceiving that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceived by the Governour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward untill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should have. So our Captaine declaring how unreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and unto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Governour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credit in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus having made trafique in the harborough untill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort having imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eager, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

[16] Remembering that the maximum price which could legally be charged for slaves was 100 ducats, one does not wonder that Hawkins desired an abatement of the king's customs.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the *Greene Dragon* of Newhaven,[17] whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened unto the *Minion*: besides the Captaine Davie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowful for us to understand (pp. 30-35). . . . the 19. came thither;[18] where having talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, and shewed a certificate of the same, made by the governour thereof, and therefore he desired to have the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and Councill of S. Domingo, who having intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist us, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not trafique with us in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Majesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driven besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those partes, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that having the force he hath, to be driven from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in adventure to try whether he or they should have the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So upon this it was determined hee should have licence to trade, but they would give him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were

[17] Havre de Grace, known to the English as Newhaven, had within the century become a port of some importance. Elizabeth had had it under her control for a brief time in 1562 but it was returned to the French in 1563.

[18] Hawkins, his trade completed, departed on May 4 for Rio de la Hacha, which he reached the 19th.

not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale have the like at any other mans handes (X. 38). . . .[19]

After which departure from them,[20] with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, silver, pearles and other jewels great store. His name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. John Hawkins.
M. John Chester, } sir William Chesters sonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurst.
M. Fitzwilliam.[21]
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie; } with divers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene approoved by me John Sparke the younger, who went upon the same voyage, and wrote the same (X. 63).

7. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . I have used all diligence to obtain information about Haw-

[19] The next morning Hawkins landed one hundred men, a display of force sufficient to bring the authorities to his terms: "So upon this gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them", concludes Sparke (p. 40). The remainder of the narrative deals with matters important to the history of Spanish-English relations in the New World, but of no significance to the development of the trade in slaves.

[20] Two French ships encountered four or five days after they left the Newfoundland Banks.

[21] Doubtless the Fitzwilliam who later acted as an agent for Hawkins in Spain. Markham, *Hawkins' Voyages*, pp. viii-x, 64, n. 2.

[7] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 502-504. See Williamson (p. 98) for a brief account of De Silva's character and his services in England. On Aug. 27, 1565, he had written to the king: "These people must be waxing fat on the spoils of the Indies. A ship belonging to Winter, of 80 tons burden, is leaving for Guinea." This letter is the first which displays any knowledge on the part of De Silva as to the activities of Hawkins on his second voyage (*Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 470). On Oct. 1 he wrote that Hawkins had arrived at Plymouth Sept. 25, with 50,000 ducats in gold and some commodities. The great danger he felt was lest others follow the example, "because the greed of these people is such that they might arrange to always undertake similar voyages". A week later he added that he could learn nothing fresh save that Hawkins had traded in Jamaica and Tierra Firme with Spanish licenses; on Oct. 20 he was assured by Hawkins that he had traded with permission of the Spanish governors, but this he found it difficult to believe. *Ibid.*, pp. 485-486, 488, 496.

After some comparison of the abridgments or paraphrases in the *Calendar of State Papers* with the originals, it was thought desirable in many cases to use the material of the *Calendar*, since it seemed possible to effect some saving of space with no sacrifice of essential accuracy. The same decision was made in regard to material in the *House of Lords MSS.* (Historical MSS. Commission), and that of the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial.*

kins's voyage, and find that after he left Galicia, where he touched, he went to Guinea and traded with the Portuguese slavers. He obtained a number of negroes and sent men on shore to obtain more. He took some, but lost nine soldiers killed, amongst whom were some Portuguese. They say he must have had 400 blacks, but in the accounts he gives he says there were only 370, and with these and a good stock of goods, cloths, linens, and the like, he went straight to Dominica, and thence to Deseada, where he took water, fuel, and other necessaries for the voyage to the mainland. He then went to a place called Barrota, and on his arrival the governor came with troops to know who they were. He was told they were Englishmen who wished to trade, and replied that they could not trade there, as your Majesty had prohibited it on pain of death. The captain answered that he had a large number of men with him, and he was unable to restrain them from landing and doing damage if they were not allowed to traffic, and he thereupon entered into a private arrangement with the governor that he would send some men ashore next day who would make for the settlement and threaten damage, and the governor would then appear and give them leave to trade in order to prevent injury. This was done, and 200 troops, with some pieces of artillery, were landed, and firing was commenced, when the governor came out and a pretence of fighting was made, but soon ceased, and they were allowed to trade for the sake of peace, after some written demands and answers had passed between them, according to the arrangement. The people on shore bought a quantity of cloths, linens, and other things, and 140 slaves, and the expedition then sailed to another island, called Quiros Sall (Curaçao), where they say they only found two Spaniards, who had a large quantity of skins. They bought 1500 skins of them, and the meat they required for their use. They sailed thence to Rio de la Hacha, where the same took place with the governor as had passed at Barbarrota. There they sold the rest of the slaves and a large part of their merchandise. . . . The man who gives me this account, and who went the whole voyage, tells me that Hawkins got a Spanish pilot out of a Portuguese ship, by whose aid the voyage was made, and who still remains secretly in the ship.[2]

This Hawkins, as I wrote your Majesty, spoke to me in the palace, and I treated him courteously, although I had heard something of what I have mentioned, but wished to gain further particulars, and in order not to arouse his suspicions I asked him to dine with me, and he gave me a general account of the voyage, which corresponds with the information already given as regards the places he went to,

[2] Of this De Silva later wrote: "This was not the case, but he took one on his first voyage who piloted him so well that Hawkins became well acquainted with the navigation himself. The foundation for the statement that he had a Spaniard with him was that he captured a negro in Guinea who had been brought up in Portugal, and used him as an interpreter, bringing him to England with him." *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 523.

but not as regards his mode of trading. On the contrary, he said he had traded greatly to the satisfaction of the Spaniards everywhere, and with license from the governors, which he would show me. He told me, amongst other things, that he had a bill from one of the governors for 600 dollars, which was to be paid to him in another island, where, however, he did not touch, on account of the bad weather. . . .

The owners who provided the capital for him are, I am informed, dissatisfied with him, and believe he has brought more gold than he confesses. He on his part does not appear contented with the sum they have paid him, and this may lead to the truth coming out. He is now rendering his accounts, and I learn from the person who has to receive them that he credits himself with 1600 dollars given to one of the governors for leave to trade, and also for the bill for 600 dollars from the other governor which was not presented for payment in accordance with an arrangement between them, so that it might appear that the governor had paid for what he had bought. This bill must be the one Hawkins told me he had from one of the governors.

The voyage has brought him 60 per cent profit. They tell me that this profit has encouraged some of the merchants here to undertake like voyages and even that Hawkins will return in May. This is important and needs decisive action. I could speak to the queen and tell her that the man confesses to have traded in places where your Majesty has forbidden commerce, and request her to have him punished; but I want to have the matter very clear first, and if any statement has been received by your Majesty from the parts visited by the expedition, confirming my information they would be very important in proceeding against him although he will not lack friends, as amongst those who took shares in his enterprise, besides the merchants, are Benedict Spinola and the Earl of Pembroke. Spinola tells me that when they took their shares they understood it was in a voyage to Guinea and the Mina and not the voyage taken by Hawkins. Secretary Cecil tells me that they offered to take him in like the rest when Hawkins left, but that he refused as he did not like such adventures. When I return to England I will see the licenses the captain says he has from the governors, and if there appears to be any ground the queen shall be addressed on the subject. If there is any way of getting him punished it will be expedient as an example to others, but if not, it will be best to dissemble in order the more easily to capture and castigate him there if he should repeat the voyage. If his suspicion is not aroused and he makes the voyage he will touch on the coast of Spain, and I will be on the alert to advise of his movements. . . .

ANTWERP, 5th November 1565.

8. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . I wrote to your Majesty some days ago that I thought Captain Hawkins might be fitting out his ships (which he said were intended to be ready to serve your Majesty) really for the purpose of making another voyage like his last one to the Indies, and I am informed to-day that it is so arranged that there shall be no difficulty about finding people to trade with him in the places he visited last year. My information is not certain enough to enable me to frustrate the plan yet, and I will wait until it is more advanced, and I can with good grounds ask the queen to stop the voyage, but I think that the governors should be warned.[2]

London, 4th June 1566.

9. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . In my last of the 5th instant I told your Majesty I had sent a person to discover about the ships that I was informed were being got ready to go to the Indies.[2] His statement goes herewith, and the intention appears to be to go to Guinea and capture negroes, and then to sell them in your Majesty's islands, to the best of their ability. I received the statement on the 10th instant, and on the same day went to the queen, and told her that she would recollect that when Captain Hawkins sailed two years ago she had assured me that he would not go to any place where your Majesty's subjects might be injured, or to any prohibited port. Notwithstanding this, and her orders to that effect, he had acted differently, and had traded

[8] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 556. De Silva's uneasiness was growing and he sent lengthy reports of both facts and rumors to Philip. Early in February he made to Hawkins a proffer of service under the Spanish king: "They have again asked him to make another voyage like the last, but he says he will not do so without your Majesty's license, as it is a laborious and dangerous business. The trade of capturing negroes in Guinea and taking them to the Indies is considered very profitable, and may be undertaken by any man who understands the voyage. It seems advisable to get this man out of the country, so that he may not teach others, for they have good ships and are greedy folk with more freedom than is good for them. This Hawkins has now eight ships" (Feb. 4, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 522). At the next interview between Hawkins and the ambassador details of the Spanish service were considered, Hawkins stipulating that, "as a reward for his service, he would be content that as your Majesty has a hundred odd slaves, or the value thereof, left in Santo Domingo by him in the hands of your Majesty's ministers a certain sum of money should be handed over to him which will be derived from the proceeds of some hides that he sent to Seville" (Feb. 11, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 525).

Throughout March, April, and May the ambassador continued uncertain as to whether the vessels which Hawkins was fitting out were for the service of the Spanish king or for a third expedition to Guinea and the Indies. Mar. 23, 30, May 4, 18, *ibid.*, pp. 534, 538, 548, 551.

[2] Two months later De Silva was convinced by Hawkins that the suspicions here expressed were entirely unjust and that the vessels were for the services of Spain. Aug. 3, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 570.

[9] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 584-585.

[2] "Three ships are fitting out to go to the Mina. . . . I am also told that six or seven other ships are being fitted in certain ports, with the same object." *Ibid.*, p. 584.

in places where even your Majesty's subjects could not go without special license, and although I might have complained greatly of his action I had refrained from doing so, because certain members of her Council were interested in the enterprise. The news being published could not fail to reach your Majesty's ears, and as the business was an important one, upon which your Majesty laid great stress, you naturally would be annoyed. I understood that certain other vessels were now being prepared for a similar voyage, in accordance with the statement which I read to her, and I begged her to order these to refrain from offending by dealing or trading in any part prohibited by your Majesty, as apart from the fact that it is unjust to do so, your Majesty would have serious reason for complaint and resentment.

She replied that as to Hawkins' voyage she knew some of her Council had had an interest in it, but that they did not mean him to go to any place forbidden by your Majesty, nor had his intention been to do so, but he had been forced by winds, and had been driven to those places where he traded with the license and permission of the governors, of which he had brought evidence. Until she had been satisfied upon this point she had refused to see him. I said I knew very well what had happened in the matter, but had passed it over for the reasons I have stated. If, however, no remedy was found I could not avoid informing your Majesty. She said that it was necessary that her subjects should know which were the forbidden places, so that they might not go there, and also that the governors should be directed not to allow them to trade. I said that the places prohibited were very well known, and it was not right to expect your Majesty to build forts in your dominions, as a defense against your own friends, but that her subjects ought to know that they must not act in this way. She said that the French and other nations went there to trade. I said perhaps they did, sometimes, but it was against the wish of their kings, and without their knowledge, and they were only robbers and pirates who lived outside the law. She called Cecil, and told him to have these peoples summoned and examined as to where they were going, and then that such steps should be taken as were necessary. This afternoon the Council is to meet to discuss the matter. I quite believe that the measures they adopt will be good, and advice should also be sent to the places they may go to, since there will be plenty of time for it, as they are going to Guinea first. I inform the king of Portugal's agent in Antwerp that he may send advice of it to his king, and so wherever these people arrive they may find resistance and they may thus perhaps be prevented from

making this voyage as an ordinary thing. It is important to stop this from the beginning. . . .[3]

LONDON, 12th October 1566.

10. GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.[1]

[LONDON, November 4, 1566.]

. . . I wrote to your Majesty that the queen had summoned Captain Hawkins, respecting the ships which he had ready to send to Guinea and the Indies. He came and was ordered, as also was the other man they call Tenar, not to go to the places prohibited by your Majesty under grave penalties, and the judge of the admiralty was directed to treat in the same way the others who might wish to make a similar voyage. There were different opinions in the Council about it, but the queen ordered it. It is very important, and if your Majesty thinks well it might be advisable to say a word to the queen's ambassador expressing thanks for her action in the matter. . . .[2]

[3] On the 19th De Silva wrote: "The step they have taken up to the present is to order the detention of George Tenar [Fenner ?], who was to take the three ships which were being fitted out in Portsmouth, and they have sent to summon Hawkins who was fitting out his in Plymouth. With regard to the latter, they have delayed longer than I like, notwithstanding that I have hurried them all I could, as I am afraid they have delayed advising him so that he might have time to despatch his ships before the order arrived, which is the sort of things they are in the habit of doing here" (*ibid.*, p. 588). In December, 1566, another Guinea expedition, to which De Silva may here refer, set sail from England, those interested being George and Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme, Francis Leigh, John Howard, William Bats, Nicholas Day, and John Thomson. Their vessels were the *Castle of Comfort*, the *May Flower*, the *George*, and a pinnace. Two of Fenner's men who went ashore to trade at Cape Verde were held captive by the natives, who asserted, "That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people". Later in the voyage they encountered a Portuguese vessel, with which they traded five negroes that they had on board for sugar. Most of the account deals with their difficulties with the Portuguese. Hakluyt, VI. 266-284; Williamson, pp. 158-161.

[10] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 593. Hawkins, on Oct. 31, gave bond for £500 that he would send no ship to the Spanish Indies. He returned to Plymouth in November and not long afterward the *Swallow*, the *Powel*, the *Salamon*, and the *Pasco*, laden by John Hawkins and under the command of John Lovell, sailed for Guinea. Williamson, pp. 122-123.

[2] On Dec. 20 the king responded, asking his minister to thank the queen for her action. This De Silva reported on Jan. 25 that he had done (*Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 605, 613). Meanwhile Lovell had arrived at Cape Verde, where he took a Portuguese slaver. In February he seized another. In all, his prizes amounted to about 30,000 ducats. From Africa the vessels sailed with their booty to the Indies, where they touched at Margarita, Borburata, Curaçao, and Rio de la Hacha. Here the trading was bungled, and from a letter of Hawkins to the treasurer of Rio de la Hacha one learns that Hawkins apparently received nothing for the negroes delivered by Lovell, a fact which he found more tolerable "because the loss was scattered among divers venturers". Williamson, pp. 124-125.

11. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . I have spoken to the queen about the six ships that are being fitted out for Hawkins. She says she has had the merchants in her presence and made them swear that they are not going to any place prohibited by your Majesty. I have requested her not to allow it, seeing the trouble that may result therefrom.

They give me to understand that the ships are being fitted out because the Portuguese sunk a ship of Vice-Admiral Winter's recently, and they are going in the direction of the Mina. Cecil also says they are not going to your Majesty's dominions but still I am doubtful, because what they seek in Guinea most are slaves to take to the West Indies. I will use all efforts to prevent their going, but the greed of these people is great and they are not only merchants who have shares in these adventures but secretly many of the queen's Council. . . .

London, 26th June 1567.

12. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

I hear that the ships that Hawkins is going to take out are being got ready rapidly, and I am now told that there are to be nine of them, four of the queen's, and five which Hawkins has in Plymouth, where they say the others are to join them. The four belonging to the queen are off Rochester. They are fine vessels, the principal of them being called the *Jesus de Lobic* of 800 tons, and another of 300, the other two being somewhat smaller. They are armed with fine bronze cannon. The five ships which are to join them consist of one of 130 tons, another of 100 tons and another of 80 tons, the rest being smaller, but all very well fitted. They have brought out from the Tower of London lately the artillery, corslets, cuirasses, pikes, bows and arrows, spears, and other necessary things for the expedition. They say that 800 picked men are to go, and the sailors to work the ships are engaged by order and permission of the queen, paid at the same rate as for her service. All this looks as if the object was different from that which they say, namely, to go to the Cape de

[11] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 651-652. The first news of this expedition De Silva communicated to Philip on May 31: "I am informed that they are going to fit out four fine ships and a pinnace at Rochester, two of them belonging to the queen. The matter is kept very secret and nothing has been done yet to the ships except to caulk them, but it is thought that John Hawkins will go with them. They will give out that they take merchandise belonging to two rich aldermen here called Ducket and Garret, but it is believed that some of the councillors will have shares. They will probably go to Guinea and afterwards whithersoever they please. I will endeavour to stop them from going to places prohibited by your Majesty, and have advised the King of Portugal by one of his subjects who left here by sea a week ago" (*ibid.*, p. 642). On the 14th the minister wrote that he should speak to the queen the next day. The squadron under Lovell had not yet returned and apparently De Silva had still to learn of its visit to the Spanish-American ports.

[12] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 656-657.

Verde Islands and Guinea to capture negroes, and thence to go and sell them for gold, silver, pearls, hides, and other merchandise in your Majesty's Indies. They are taking linens, cloths, merceries, and other things of small value to barter for the negroes. The admiral went yesterday with his officers to Rochester where the queen's ships are being fitted out; they say that they sail in ten days, and many sailors have come from the West Country to man them.

The queen, as I have written, assures me that they will not go to places prohibited by your Majesty, and the secretary has done the same. I returned to the subject again yesterday, and had Cecil informed on my behalf that the ships would certainly go to your Majesty's Indies, whereupon he sent word to me that I might believe his assurance that they would not. I have nevertheless asked for an audience of the queen to warn her again. . . .

LONDON, 12th July 1567.

13. GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.[1]

. . . Having been advised that the ships for Hawkins's journey were being got ready although the queen and Cecil had assured me that no harm should be done to your Majesty's subjects and the expedition would not go to the parts of the Indies your Majesty had prohibited without license, I still thought well to take fresh action in the presence of Cecil, and I asked the queen to summon him, and in his presence told her she would recollect that I had formerly asked her not to allow certain ships commanded by Hawkins and others under a certain Fenner to sail without steps being taken to obtain security that they should not go to your Majesty's Indies, nor do harm to your subjects elsewhere, and that she had ordered this to be done, both because it was just and to oblige your Majesty, for which step I had thanked her in your Majesty's name; and when I was informed of the active preparations being made by Hawkins I had asked her to act in the same way. She had told me that in her presence she had made them swear that they would not go to any part of the Indies where trade was prohibited, without your Majesty's license, and she had again commanded them not to do so, which statement was confirmed by her secretary. I had of course believed her, but had since been told that four of her own ships with artillery and munitions from the Tower were being fitted out for the expedition, and I thought well, in compliance with my promise, to again press the matter upon her. It was not only published that the ships were going to Guinea, but it was now asserted that they were to go from there to your Majesty's Indies to sell the negroes, and although

[13] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 659-661.

I ought in face of this to make a formal requisition I was nevertheless so confident in her word and that of Cecil that I confined myself to telling her verbally in Cecil's presence about it. My reason for this also was to make neighbors understand that where such love and kindness existed an official representation was unnecessary. The queen replied that it was true that two of her ships only, which she had lent to the merchants as usual, were going, and it was true also that they were well fitted, both on account of the French pirates that were about, and against the ill-treatment of the Portuguese, but I might be sure that what she told me was true, and that they would not go to any prohibited place or where trouble might be caused to you. The secretary in her presence with a great oath affirmed the same, and I have since been informed that the queen had previously told Hawkins to take care not to go to any place that would annoy your Majesty. Notwithstanding all this, however, I am assured that Hawkins and his company will go to New Spain after they have captured their negroes in Guinea, because beside the trifles they take to barter for the slaves, they are taking a large quantity of cloths and linens which are not goods fit for that country, and they also carry quantities of beans and other vegetables which are the food of the blacks, and the slaves are not usually taken anywhere but to New Spain and the islands.

Hawkins on these journeys first touches at the Canary Islands for water and other necessaries, and he is particularly friendly with a certain Pedro de Ponte who lives at Teneriffe and his son Nicolas de Ponte of Xaide. I have read original letters signed by these men for Hawkins and besides matters of commerce in them, I saw that Pedro de Ponte advised him to send information stating that certain women slaves, ornaments, and other things belonging to Hawkins which the authorities had sequestrated and deposited with Pedro de Ponte were not his property, but belonged to another, and so he could recover them. These men, I am informed, always supply Hawkins with victuals, and in the first voyage he made to Santo Domingo five years ago they gave him a pilot called Juan Martinez of Cadiz, who guided them on the journey and returned hither with him, and was hidden here for some time. I understand they are not only Englishmen who prompt these voyages but also some Spaniards who are in the various islands and with whom these people have a mutual arrangement with regard to the profits. If it were not for these Spaniards helping them to the islands these expeditions would never have commenced.

Four days since they brought from Rochester hither two great ships belonging to the queen, which are those that Hawkins is to

take. They are here to be armed and fitted, and they say they cannot sail so soon as I was told. It is now asserted that the expedition cannot meet until the 15th or 20th of next month. . . .[2]

LONDON, 21st July 1567.

14. THE THIRD VOYAGE OF JOHN HAWKINS, RELATED BY MILES PHILIPS AND JOHN HAWKINS, 1567-1568.[1]

A discourse written by one Miles Philips, Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568, conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish government, but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to him selfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, until by good and happy meanes he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. I. *Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing upon the coast of Africa.* Upon munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the *Jesus*, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plimmouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other

[2] "The principal merchandise is to barter for negroes; a sure sign that they are going to your Majesty's Indies as I previously advised, and as I am also told by a person who is going with them, who assures me that Hawkins has never made a voyage without Pedro de Ponte of Teneriffe being interested in it" (July 26, 1567, De Silva to the king, *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 663). On Aug. 2 De Silva sent to the king a long account of the plan for opening new gold mines in Africa which three Portuguese had brought to the attention of the English and which Hawkins was said to be promoting (*ibid.*, p. 666; Williamson, pp. 126-132). By letters of Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 13, 14, 18, and Dec. 13 the ambassador kept the king informed of the preparations going forward, ostensibly for this new gold-mining project. By Oct. 13 he had learned that the three ships which went to Guinea the previous summer, which he describes as Hawkins's, had visited the forbidden places, a fact which did not tend to allay his suspicion of the expedition then in preparation. *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp., 675, 678, 679, 680, 682, 688. For the use made of foreign aid by the early English voyagers see G. B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (1928), p. 12.

[14] [1] Hakluyt, IX. 398-445; Beazley, *English Garner*, I. 173-218. Of Hawkins's third voyage there are six English accounts: those by Miles Philips, Job Hortop, David Ingram, Hawkins's own narrative, a brief relation in the Domestic State Papers, vol. 49, no. 40, and the Cotton MS. printed by Williamson, pp. 493-534. Hawkins's account is printed in Hakluyt, X. 64-74; Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages*, pp. 70-81; Beazley, *English Garner*, I. 93-103; Payne, *Elizabethan Seamen*, I. 69-81. Philips's narrative is in *English Garner*, I. 173-218; Hortop's in Hakluyt, IX. 445-465, and in *English Garner*, I. 219-242; Ingram's in *English Garner*, I. 161-172. The disastrous outcome of the venture is related in a letter of William Hawkins, jr., printed in *English Garner*, I. 82-90. There are also the Portuguese book of complaints, an official Spanish report, and depositions in the Admiralty Papers. For an account of all these see Williamson, pp. 142-144.

saile of ships, as namely the *Mynion,* wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master. The *William and John,* wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master. The *Judith,* in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the *Angel,* whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the *Swallow* I now remember not. And so sayling in company together upon our voyage untill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke us neere unto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the *Jesus* to bee but in ill case, was in minde to give over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the iland of Gomera being one of the ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighte[e]nth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160, or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going up into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of Negros: who with their invenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes,[2] there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, untill the twelfth of January, wee obtained by that time the number of 150 Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassador to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies,[3] which our Generall granted unto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did joyne his force with ours, so that thereby our General assaulted, and

[2] Hawkins says that he suffered one of the wounds, "yet thankes be to God, escaped". Hakluyt, X. 64-65.

[3] Hawkins's account reads, "with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure". *Ibid.,* X. 65.

set fire upon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to have nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them,[4] and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the *William and John,* of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage (IX. 398-400). . . .

Now[5] had we obtained between foure and five hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, four our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to countervaile our charges with some gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with us: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, saving at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water, he had fortified his towne with divers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers,

[4] According to Hawkins, the negroes took 600 prisoners, the English 250. This 250 which they themselves took was all the booty they obtained (Hakluyt, X. 65). The Cotton MS. contains a long account of difficulties with the Portuguese, who were trafficking for negro cargoes which were to go to the West Indies. Williamson, pp. 505-508.

[5] The remainder of the account here used is that by Hawkins himself. Hakluyt, X. 64-74.

so that he thought by famine to have inforced us to have put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his favour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Thus having the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly (X. 66-67). . . .[6]

15. Deposition of William Clarke.[1]

Tuesday 19 Ap. 1569.

William Clarcke of the City of London, merchant-tailor.

To the schedule of articles annexed:

Ad octavum dicit That at suche time as this examinant lost the companye of the saide John Hawkins, and the other shippes of his flete, in the bay of Mexico, ther wer in the foure shippes articulated viz. the *Jesus,* the *Swallowe,* the *Grace of God* and the *Angell* xlv negros of goodlie stature, and fashion, and yonge of yeres, beinge the choise, and the principall of all the negros, whiche had bin purchased in this last voyadge at Gynney And as towchinge ther value, this Deponent judgethe, they might be worthe a pece at the haven of Vera Crux, which some call St. John de Lowe cccL pesos of goulde. *Reddens eam causam scientie sue Dicit,* That this Deponent havinge had experience of the trade of negros in the hether partes of the

[6] Hortop dismisses the sale of the negroes most summarily: "we drove the Spaniards up into the country above two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros" (Hakluyt, IX. 449). The only account of the selling of the negroes which gives any details is that of the Cotton MS. The first attempt at peaceful sale was made at Borburata. Here Hawkins sent a letter to the governor, asking that he be allowed to sell sixty negroes in order to pay his soldiers. "In this you shall not break the comaundement of your prince, but doe him good servyce and advoyed divers inconveniences which happen often tymes thorowghe being to precise in observing precepts withowt consideracion" (Williamson, pp. 169, 516). After sundry delays Hawkins gained a trade, though the author of this account fails to tell whether he sold the sixty negroes. For his dealings with the treasurer at Rio de la Hacha see Williamson, pp. 171-179, 519-528.

[15] [1] Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 16, from the Court of Inquiry relative to the Proceedings of John Hawkins. The adventurers had, by their proceedings in the Admiralty Court, no idea of obtaining damages at the time, but wished only to get the facts on record. Of the depositions here printed Beazley says: "The Depositions were made to eleven Interrogatories, and to a Schedule of values consisting of twenty-seven Items. . . . The whole purpose of the Depositions was to get up the biggest possible bill against the King of Spain." *English Garner,* I. 104.

West Indias, one of those choise negros, woulde have ben commonlie soulde there for CL Pesos of goulde,[2] unto whiche places manye negros be brought by the frenche men, Portugalls, and Englishe men, and none brought by those nacions to the havon of Vera Crux, that ever he coulde here of, whiche haven of Vera Crux is aboute vi^c leages sailinge beyonde Rio de Hacho one of those hether places, in the west Indias. At whiche place called Rio de Hacho there was soulde this last voyadge, to the inhabitantes there, one negro for CL pesos of golde, and yet in this Deponentes judgement, that negroe was not so muche worthe as manye of the saide xlv negros were, wherefor he knowithe, that those chosen negros woulde have ben soulde this last yere one w'th an other at the saide Rio de Hacho for CL pesos of goulde the peso beinge of the value of xvi royalls of plate of the Spanishe Coyne *ut dicit*.

16. Deposition of John Hawkins, of the City of London, Gentleman.[1]

Saturday, 23 Ap. 1569.

Ad secund articulum dicit, That he this deponent w't the flete aforesaid, did arrive uppon the quoaste of Guiney in november Anno 1567, where this Deponent, and other merchantes appointed by the said Companie, for the assistance of trafficke, did purchase and buye a good quantitie of Negros. And from thence dep'ted w'th them unto the West Indias. In w'ch contrye, this Deponent and his William Clarke w'th other factors did trafficque withe the inhabitantes there, and did receyve, in trucke and exchange of wares, and commodities to the sayde companies use, and behowffe, so muche tresure and commodities as amounted to the sum of 29,743 Pesos of golde at the least, everye Peso of golde beinge of the value of xv rialls of plate spanishe money. . . .[2]

Ad octavum ar'lum Dicit That after the trafficke (by him deposed of before), the *Jesus,* the *Swallowe* the *Grace of God* and the *Angell* articulated departinge from Cartagena (as is aforesaid) brought in them from thence unto the porte of Vera Crux, xlv negros of goodlie stature, shape and personage, and yonge of yeres beinge the choise and principall of all the negros w'ch wer gotten and purchased in this last voyadge at Guiney. And moreover there were xii other negros carried then in the *Minnion* to Vera Crux. All w'ch xlv

[2] Roughly, the peso may be reckoned at nine shillings.

[16] [1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 16.

[2] Williamson (p. 180) reckons this total at about £73,500, of which he attributes £10,000 to returns from the 400 negroes sold. This can be but a guess, since one has no means of knowing the amount of English goods sold. The cost of outfitting the voyage was about £16,500. For another attempt to translate these sums into English terms of Hawkins's day and of our own times, see *English Garner,* I. 105-107, 115-126.

negros were of the saide companies goodes and adventure and eyther slayne in the fight at Vera Crux or then taken by the spaniardes from the possession of this said Deponent. And the other xii negros whiche were in the *Minnion* might have ben soulde at the sayde place of Vera Crux greatelie to the proffitt of the saide Sir William Garrard and companie if the saide Spaniardes had not used suche violence. By reason whereof, this Deponent was enforced to Departe from the said porte of Vera Crux soner then he thought to do. And this Deponent seythe that at suche time as he was at Vera Crux, being in September last as before, the said lvii negros, one w'th an other might have ben soulde at Vera Crux for iiii^{c} Pesos of Goulde everie negro (the peso of Goulde beinge worthe xv Rialls of plate as aforesaide). And for reason of his knowledge the better he saythe that this Deponent hathe soulde and seene others buye and sell negros at Rio de Hacho and other hether places of the West Indias bothe this last sommer, and ii other voyadges before. And by that experience knowethe that suche choise Negros ben commonlie soulde there for CL Pesos of goulde. And seythe that this last yere there was one choise Negro soulde at Rio de Hacho for CL Pesos of Golde, and yet, in this Deponents Judgement that negro was not worthe so muche money as mayney of the saide xlv negros were. For he seythe that the Englishmen frenchemen and portugalls doe bringe meny Negros to the saide hether places of the West Indias. but none that ever this Deponent coulde here of, to the haven of Vera Crux, beinge aboute vi^{c} leages sailinge beyonde these hether places, By reason whereof the Negros and all other wares must be derer bought and soulde there, then in the other saide hether and nere places.

17. Deposition of John Tommes.[1]

Monday 25 April 1569.

Ad octavum articulum Dicit That ther were in the foure shipps articulated whiche were taken by the Spaniardes as is aforesaid the number of xliiii or xlv negros or thereaboutes who were chosen negros and the best of the negros that were gotten in Gynney this last voyadge of the saide companye And besides ther were x or xii negros or thereaboutes in the aforesaid *Mynnyon* whereof she brought vii from the saide porte of la Vera Crux into England and the rest died by the way homewardes. . . .

[17] [1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 16.

18. Deposition of William Fowler of Ratcliffe, Merchant.[1]

Saturday 30 Ap 1569.

Ad octavum articulum Dicte schedule Dicit That by the experience of the trade w'ch he hathe had to and at the saide place called Vera Crux and other the cheiffe of the West Indias as is aforesaid this deponent knowethe that a Negro of a good stature and yonge of yeres is worthe and is commonlie bought and soulde there at Mexico and the maine lande of the West Indias for iiii^{c} v^{c} and vi^{c} pesos. For if a negro be a Bossale that is to say ignorant of the spanishe or Portugale tonge then he or she is commonlye soulde for iiii^{c} and iiii^{c} L [450] pesos. But if the Negro can speake anye of the foresaide languages any thinge indifferentlye (whiche is called Ladinos) then the same negro is commonlye soulde for v^{c} and vi^{c} pesos as the negro is of choise and yonge of yeres And this Deponent seythe that the best trade in those places is of Negros. The trade whereof he this Deponent hathe used and hathe soulde Negros at the saide places and seen other marchantes likewise sell ther Negros there, Divers tymes And thereby knowethe that the common price of negros is as before is Deposed Whiche Negros beinge caried into the Inner and farder partes of the mayne lande of Peru in the west Indias be commonlye sold there for viii^{c} and ix^{c} pesos. . . . The Peso being worthe (as he seythe) at la Vera Crux xiii Rialls of plate of the spanishe coyne beinge vi *s.* viii *d.* sterling, And in other places of Mexico, Peru, and mayne lande the saide Peso is worthe xiiii Rialls which is vii *s.* sterlinge.

[18][1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 17.

PART II.: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The comparatively simple annals of the African trade of the sixteenth century gave way in the seventeenth to a far more confused series of events. The three nations which had already appeared upon the west coast of Africa were joined by Dutch, Dane, Swede, and Brandenburger, all struggling for a share of the spoils. For a time this coast was both the prize for which European nations contended and the battle-ground on which the struggle was carried on. The difficulties inherent in the close proximity of rival nations desirous of the same commodity were increased by the possibility of gaining native allies, and native African wars became a part of the story of European international relationships. Of international struggles, the most important one was that between English and Dutch, which finds frequent reflection in the documents printed in these volumes. The complete story belongs to diplomatic and naval history, but it cannot be ignored in any account of the slave trade, since the contest itself helped to determine the character of the traffic for which the nations competed.

Not only is it necessary during this century to follow the progress of international relations on the African coast, but one must bear in mind the affairs of the home governments. Each country was experimenting with methods of commercial development and seeking for the form of business organization best suited to distant commerce. The relation of the slave trade to the government, its sources of capital, its effect on home industries, and above all the form and the powers of the company which carried it on, all these and many more topics demanded attention in every country which ventured into the commerce.

Nor is this the whole story. The market, as well as the method and the source of supply, calls for attention. During this century Spain lost all claim to exclusive control of the West Indies. English, French, Dutch, and even Danes became possessed of territory in the Caribbean. Here the development of the sugar industry quickened the demand for slaves and gave to each colonizing country an additional reason for clinging to a foothold in Africa. To a lesser degree the industry of the continental American colonies also called for an enlarged labor supply. While the eighteenth century was the period of large demand on the continent, the last forty years of the seventeenth saw the tobacco colonies absorbing a steadily growing number of negro laborers. Many of these topics find ample illustration in the documents which follow, others are but hinted at.

Those facts of West Indian settlement essential to an understanding of the traffic in negroes during the seventeenth century can be briefly stated. Throughout the sixteenth century European nations had been, on the whole, content to leave possession and settlement to the Spaniards, concentrating their efforts on obtaining an entrance into Spanish markets. But soon after the opening of the seventeenth century Spain was obliged to share her lands in the New World with other nations, whose colonies were soon to rival hers in wealth and strength. The English and French settled St. Christopher in 1623.[1] Barbados was occupied by the English in 1625. After that they spread rapidly to the more important of the Leeward Islands. Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat were by 1632 considered English islands.

The French were not far behind. The French Company of the Islands of America, created in 1626,[2] settled Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1635, and Marie Galante in 1648. St. Lucia and Grenada were added to the French possessions in the fifties.

The Dutch in the decade of the thirties settled Curaçao, St. Eustatius, and Tobago. The Danes, late arrivals, acquired the small island of St. Thomas in 1671.

In all the islands slave labor was used to some extent from the first, though the source of the early slaves is obscure. Some doubtless came from Dutch ships; some from the Spanish colonies.[3] In none of these islands did the slave trade assume importance until the introduction and development of sugar-planting, between 1640 and 1650. This not only created a demand for labor greater than the system of indenture could supply but also gave the planter a commodity with which to pay for the coveted negroes.

The traders first ready to meet this demand were the Hollanders. Despite the persistent intrusions of the French and English on the Guinea coast throughout the sixteenth century, it was the Dutch, arriving on this international battle-ground about 1592, that brought about the downfall of Portuguese power. Barbot ascribes their first visit to a disaster suffered by Bernard Ericks, or Erickson, who

[1] The English had established themselves in the Bermudas in 1609.

[2] In 1664 the planting company transferred its rights to Colbert's new company. Upon the dissolution of this company in 1674 the crown took over the control of the islands.

[3] In 1632, after an English settlement had been made on Tortuga, Pym suggested that Dutch ships carrying negroes to Spanish colonies were accustomed to pass sufficiently near to the island so that it might be possible to obtain the necessary negroes from them. In February of the next year it was learned that Capt. Anthony Hilton had already purchased forty negroes, and the Providence Company directed him to procure more from the Dutch, and if he should have too many to send the excess to Providence Island. In 1634 this company, in which Maurice Thompson, later a member of a Guinea company, was concerned, wrote to Capt. Nathaniel Butler that it was buying and using negroes. If he found that there were too many on the island he was to sell them to New England or Virginia. A. P. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, pp. 111, 149; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 295, 296.

was captured by the Portuguese and held for some time on the island of Principe, not far from São Thomé.[4] Here he learned something of the profits arising from trade on the Gold Coast, and as soon as he was at liberty he offered his services to a group of Holland merchants for a Guinea voyage, which seems to have been sufficiently successful to prompt other ventures. Balthazar de Moucheron, appreciating the possibilities of the African trade, tried immediately after this to make some permanent settlement on the coast. With a small force he attacked Elmina but the audacious project failed. He then attempted to gain possession of Principe and São Thomé, but here also he was unsuccessful, and the effort to settle on the coast was for a time abandoned.[5]

Coming into a region already occupied and with no established trading posts, the Hollanders, if they established permanent trade, must first make friends with the natives, and at this they proved more adept than the French and English had shown themselves a few years earlier. Not long after Balthazar de Moucheron's futile attempt to capture Elmina the natives of Fetu, near Commenda, attracted by the goods of their new friends, which they thought better and cheaper than those of Portugal, and angered by the tyranny of the Portuguese, drove them from all parts of the Gold Coast save St. George del Mina and Axim.[6] This cleared the way for the Dutch, who soon established themselves at Mouri (or Mowree) on the Gold Coast, where, in 1611 or 1612, they built Fort Nassau.[7]

In the struggle which ensued between Dutch and Portuguese the Dutch pushed steadily forward. In 1617 they purchased from the natives the island of Goree, on which they built two small forts, and at Rufisque or Rio Fresco, not far away on the mainland, they established a factory.[8] These with Fort Nassau gave them access to two excellent regions for commerce, the Gambia River and the Gold Coast. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was established, and to it was granted a monopoly of all African trade, as well as the right

[4] James Barbot, "Description of the Coast of North and South Guinea", Churchill, *Voyages and Travels*, V. 164; Astley, II. 569. "Troubles and warres in the Netherlands, constrained us to seek Traffique here also, and to undertake this voyage, by that meanes to put the Portugalls from it, which in the end we did", in "A Description and Historicall Declaration of the Golden Kingdome of Guinea, otherwise called the Golden Coast of Myna . . . written by one that hath oftentimes beene there" (Purchas, VI. 280-281). From this account Astley draws freely.

[5] Lannoy and Vander Linden, *L'Expansion Coloniale: Néerlande et Danemark*, pp. 48-50.

[6] Barbot, "Description of Guinea", Churchill, V. 164.

[7] Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa*, p. 1.

[8] Lannoy and Vander Linden, *Néerlande et Danemark*, p. 74; James Bandinel, *Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa* (1842), pp. 40-41.

to develop the Dutch possessions in the New World.[9] The combination thus effected between control over the supply of negroes and control over the market for them was an extraordinarily advantageous arrangement and the company grew and prospered. In 1625 the Dutch, allying themselves with the natives, attacked Elmina. They were at this time repulsed, but, renewing the attempt in 1637, they succeeded in taking this, the first and strongest fortification which the Portuguese possessed on the entire African coast.[10] In 1642 Fort St. Anthony at Axim was taken from the Portuguese and their day on the Gold Coast was over. The Dutch had succeeded where both English and French in the preceding century had failed. In large part this success can be ascribed to the Dutch policy of establishing settlements. The natives were afraid to deal with the English and French, who traded and departed, leaving them to the wrath of the Portuguese. With the Dutch they saw protection and permanent trade. Also, Portugal was now absorbed in the Spanish monarchy, and since Spanish interest was in America rather than in Africa the Portuguese grip upon the West Coast had relaxed. Bosman's frequently quoted saying, "the Portuguese served for setting dogs to spring the game", has tended to minimize the length and the importance of Portuguese occupation. It must be remembered that Portugal held the Gold Coast for well-nigh two hundred years. Her domination left many traces still to be discerned, in place-names, in the language and religion of the tribes near the coast, and in the physical characteristics of the natives themselves, since there was much intermarriage.[11]

[9] A. J. F. van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (1908), pp. 86-115. For an account of the inception of this company see J. F. Jameson, "Willem Usselinx", *Papers of the American Historical Association*, vol. II., no. 3, pp. 22-47. Pages 54-83 compare the charter as actually formulated with Usselinx's projected charter. The inclusion of the Guinea merchants was not part of the original plan (pp. 49-50). Mistakenly enough, the anonymous author of the *Case of the Royal African Company* (1729) intimates that the company resulted from Dutch observation of English measures for encouraging the African trade (p. 5). There was certainly little in the English patent of 1618 which could have served as a model for the far-reaching powers of the Dutch charter of 1621.

[10] Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 569, 571-573, 592-593.

[11] William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1721), p. 2. Because of the contrast between Portugal's earlier and later position on the coast the tendency has been to underestimate her activities in the seventeenth century. Early in this century the Portuguese settled four forts in the interior of Angola, forbidding foreign nations to visit that coast (Ravenstein, *History of Angola*, p. 157). They had by no means abandoned other parts of West Africa. Pierre van den Broeck found them buying slaves at Cape Verde in 1606 (no. 19). Jobson found them trading on the Gambia in 1622 (Astley, II. 248; Purchas, IX. 288). In 1641, the year the Dutch occupied Angola, the Portuguese built a fort at Cacheo (Lannoy, *Portugal et Espagne*, p. 76; Scelle, I. 552). Ten years later the Dutch gave up all claim to traffic between Guinea and Brazil, and the slave trade of Brazil henceforward was largely in Portuguese hands (Lannoy, p. 77). The most important of the Portuguese factories was that of Santiago at Cape Verde, which was the entrepôt for the other Portuguese factories on the coast. Scelle, I. 561.

With the capture of Elmina the Dutch at once made it their headquarters, supplementing it with Fort Conraadsburg, which they built on a hill overlooking the castle of Elmina. During the period of the English civil wars and the Commonwealth they had opportunity to strengthen their hold on the coast as well as to develop their market, and soon had a chain of forts that promised to give them complete supremacy. Their claim to control was however not yet accepted by other aspirants to the Gold Coast trade. The relative stability of Portugal's long dominance gave way to a rapid shifting of ownership among the rival nations now gathering on the Guinea coast.

Among their earlier and less important competitors was Sweden, whose activities were of short duration and can be dismissed with a few words. In 1647 a Swedish African Company was established under the guidance of Louis de Geer of Liége.[12] Though the company was Swedish in name, in reality it was largely made up of Dutch merchants excluded from the African trade by the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company and determined to enter into direct competition with that company. Henry Carloff,[13] a Dane, was sent out by the company and established settlements at Cabo Corso[14] (Carolusborg) between the Dutch strongholds of Elmina and Nassau, and at Takoradi, Anamabo, and Ursu, all on the Gold Coast. Both Dutch and English protested against this, but the English company of this time was in no condition to exert force and the Dutch were apparently not ready to do so.[15] Carloff, quarrelling with his superi-

[12] Lannoy, *L'Expansion Coloniale: Suède,* pp. 42-43.

[13] Carloff, whose name appears in many forms, Caeloff, Carloof, Karloff, Carolof, was a gentleman of fortune whose services were at the command of any nation willing to pay for them. If one assumes, as seems probable, that he is the Sir Henry Carloff employed by the French in 1670, his activities on the coast extended over twenty years and included service for three rival countries. The French could well say of him that he was "familiar with African trade".

[14] The accounts of the establishment and early history of European settlement at Cabo Corso, or Cape Coast Castle, as the English later called it, are so conflicting as to baffle attempts at reconciliation. The Danish governor, Eric Tylleman, who wrote at the end of the century, says that it was built by the Swedes in 1652, its first stone being laid by Gov. Isaac Melville of Basel. In 1658 it was surrendered to the Danes and the next year, by treachery, it passed to the Dutch, to be taken by the natives within a month, and soon after given back to the Swedes. In 1663 it was again seized by the natives and transferred to the Dutch (Sir Matthew Nathan, "The Gold Coast at the End of the Seventeenth Century under the Danes and Dutch", *Journal of the African Society,* IV. 17). This differs at several points from other accounts of the vicissitudes of Cabo Corso. Barbot at one place credits the Dutch with building it, at another he says they purchased it from Carloff, who had built it for the Danes.

On May 1, 1659, and May 22, 1661, the factory here was burned, presumably by the Dutch. The East India Company, as leaseholder of the factory, put in claims for reparations from Holland, £2500 for the first loss, £15,474. 12*s.* for the second (Ethel B. Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, Oxford, 1922, pp. 286-287). This would seem to indicate recognized English possession before the Restoration.

[15] Oct. 16, 1653, the Council of State, in response to a protest from the newly patented Guinea Company that the Swedes were encroaching on its factories, instructed the ambassador, Whitelocke, to take the matter up with the Swedes upon his arrival at their court. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1547-1660, p. 409.

ors, left their service for that of the Danes. On the outbreak of war between Sweden and Denmark in 1657 he reappeared on the coast in command of a Danish war vessel, which seized the Swedish settlements at Takoradi, Anamabo, Ursu, and perhaps that at Carolusborg.[16] These soon passed from Danish hands to those of the Dutch and it was to the States General of the Netherlands that Sweden appealed for indemnity. The request was ignored, on the pretext that the company was actually Dutch not Swedish, and that therefore the Swedes had no ground for complaint.[17] A Swedish war vessel sent out in 1661 to retake these establishments was equally unsuccessful in the face of Dutch opposition. This ended the Swedish attempt to share in the African trade. Of the rivalry of Swedes and Danes the Dutch might have made short work, but their troubles were augmented by the reappearance of the English on the coast shortly after the Restoration, now supported by a powerful company and prepared to fight for an exclusive trade.

Despite the fact that England began her experiments in joint ventures early in the sixteenth century, she was much slower than the Dutch to realize the advantage of a powerful joint-stock company. The Dutch establishment of 1621 was hardly equalled by England before 1672, and not until a number of less substantial creations had attempted the African trade.

The first genuine incorporation for Guinea commerce was in 1618, when James I. created the Company of Adventurers of London trading into Parts of Africa, by granting to Sir Robert Rich, soon to become Earl of Warwick, and a group of more than thirty patentees, control over the trade on the explored coast south of Barbary.[18] There

[16] The Danes had appeared on the West Coast about 1642, in close connection with the Dutch. Though they remained there until 1850, they were at no time of any great importance. Under Christian IV. a Danish company was established with Glückstadt as its centre, and merchants were sent out to establish factories. They built a small lodge at Accra, with which they were content until Carloff's expedition, when they transformed Ursu Lodge into Fort Christiansborg, and built Fort Frederiksborg. Their most prosperous years were 1652-1658 (Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies*, p. 21; Lannoy and Vander Linden, *L'Expansion Coloniale*, II. 413-414; *id.*, *Suède*, p. 43). In 1679 one of the Danish employees murdered the governor at Christiansborg and sold the fortress to the natives and the Portuguese. The Danes, aided by the Dutch, with whom they were then on good terms, redeemed it in 1682, only to lose it to the natives again in 1692. After their second redemption of it, in 1694, they succeeded in holding it throughout the eighteenth century. Frederiksborg they sold to the English company in 1685 (Nathan, "The Gold Coast under Danes and Dutch", *Journal of the African Society*, IV. 23-24). Paul Erdman Isert, a Danish medical inspector on the coast in the eighteenth century, says that Christiansborg was purchased from the Portuguese in 1660 (*Voyages en Guinée et dans les Caraïbes en Amérique*, 1793, p. 15). Isert's treatise, compiled from letters written while he was medical inspector for the Danish possessions in Africa, was translated from the German. A Danish edition was published in 1917. For a modern account of the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century, see Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast*, vol. I.

[17] Lannoy, *Suède*, p. 44.

[18] Pat. Rolls, 16 Jac. I., pt. vi; Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. xliv, 99-106; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 20; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 11-14. Sir William St. John was governor of the company; Sir Allen Appesley, deputy governor.

is room for speculation as to whether Rich was cherishing some notion of procuring African laborers for the recently planted colony of Virginia, but if this were the case his plan was never carried out.[19] George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, was at once sent out by the patentees to explore the Gambia and report on its commercial possibilities. Losing his vessel to the Portuguese, he appealed for assistance, and Richard Jobson followed him up the Gambia in 1620, to learn that he had been murdered by one of his own men. From Jobson's account of his expedition we gain what knowledge we have of the early activities and plans of this company, as well as some information about the region.[20] Of the Mandingoes at the mouth of the river Jobson recorded that they were afraid of the shipping (presumably, of his vessel), "they having beene many times by severall nations surprized, taken and carried away". Jobson traded up the Gambia with a native merchant, called by him Buckor Sano, who in the course of the trade offered him slaves. His reply was that,

> We were a people, who did not deale in any such commodities, neither did wee buy or sell one another, or any that had our owne shapes; he seemed to marvell much at it, and told us it was the only marchandize they carried downe into the countrey, where they fetcht all their salt, and that they were sold there to white men who earnestly desired them . . . we answered, They were another kinde of people different from us . . .[21]

Not only did this company make an effort to explore the Gambia River, with the idea of developing its trade, but it also built the first English factory in West Africa.[22] Its trading voyages were disastrous failures and after three attempts, which incurred heavy losses, it gave up the effort and sent out no more expeditions.[23]

Theoretically these patentees still held the power to exclude all other adventurers from the African coast, or, if they chose, to admit them to trade by special license, after Portuguese and Spanish fashion. At least one group of merchants resented this. In 1624 Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, George Kirke, Humphrey Slaney, Nicholas Crisp, and William Clobery made complaint against the patent of the company, alleging that it had been obtained by "untrue suggestion", since it was granted to the patentees because of their dis-

[19] See this work, vol. III., Virginia.

[20] Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade or a Discovery of the River Gambra, and the Golden Trade of the Aethiopians* (London, 1623); Astley (II. 174-189) and Purchas (VI. 234-247, and IX. 284) print abbreviated versions of Jobson's narrative.

[21] Jobson, *The Golden Trade,* pp. 28-29, 88-89; A. E. M. Gibson, in "Slavery in Western Africa" (*Journal of the African Society,* III. 24-25), says that Jobson and Stibbs formed a company which shipped a considerable number of slaves to the plantations of the New World. Concerning this statement it is necessary only to say that Bartholomew Stibbs's journey to the Gambia was about one hundred years later than that of Jobson.

[22] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 339.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 27. The loss on the three voyages was over £5000 (Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 12-13). Anderson attributes the speedy defeat of this company to the activity of the separate traders. *Origins of Commerce,* II. 366-367.

covery of the trading ground, whereas the petitioners had been trading in those parts for years. They averred that they had raised stock, had built houses and factories, and had employed one thousand tons of shipping, all of which they had been obliged to give up when the patent of 1618 was granted. The patentees, on the other hand, had so little appreciated and used their privileges as to allow both Dutch and French to establish themselves in their territory.[24] Because of these complaints the patent was declared a "grievance", but Carr's statement that it was revoked is open to question. Various scraps of information relating to the next six years certainly indicate the existence of some sort of "Guinea Company". The most puzzling note is one directing that letters be written to the merchants of the Guinea Company, "Humph. Slaney, Capt. Crispe, Cloberry, and John Wood".[25] In 1626 George Digbie and others, "the Governor and Company of Guiney and Binney", ask for and receive the assurance of two ships to protect them from danger and "to pursue a hopeful discovery".[26] In 1627 letters of marque are issued to Sir Thomas Button and other adventurers trading to Guinea.[27] Not long after this an order is issued by the Council forbidding all trading with Guinea except on the part of the "patentees".[28] In 1629 Crisp, Slaney, Thomas Chamberlayne and Abraham Chamberlayne, sr. and jr., and Robert South petition for redress for the capture of the *Benediction* and the *James Bonaventure* while trading in the River Senegal.[29] Obviously, between 1624 and 1630 Guinea trading was recognized as legitimate and as entitled to the protection of the government, whether under the patent of 1618 or not.

In 1631 Charles I. granted to the group of separate traders, Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, George Kirke, Humphrey Slaney, Nicholas Crisp, and William Clobery, the right to the exclusive trade to "Guinea, Binney and Angola" for thirty-one years.[30] Nicholas Crisp, long an interloper, seems always to have been the leader

[24] *Commons Journals,* I. 710, 771, 793-794; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 62; Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. xliv, 99, n. 2. The charter of this company is in Carr, pp. 99-106.

[25] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 75. One would assume that the differences of 1624 had been adjusted by including the malcontents within the company were it not that, three years later, Crisp again appears as a trouble-making interloper.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 82.

[27] *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1628-1629, p. 297.

[28] *Ibid.,* 1627-1628, p. 270.

[29] *Ibid.,* 1629-1631, pp. 45, 145.

[30] Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. xliv-xlv, from Patent Rolls, 7 Car. I., pt. xiv, and 8 Car. I., pt. xxi; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 135; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 14-15. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1631-1633, p. 186, gives the date of the patent as June 25, 1631. Carr, who gives the date as 1632, calls it a lease, not an incorporation. Its holders could make regulations and seize interlopers, but could not issue licenses, though they might take into the group new members. Latimer speaks of the proclamation of the grant in Bristol in 1631 as prohibiting local merchants from competing in the trade, as if they had heretofore done so (John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol: Seventeenth Century,* Bristol, 1900, p. 121). Scott (II. 14) gives its date as June 25, 1630.

of this group of merchants and by 1644 was said to own half of its possessions.[31] It required but one successful venture on the part of this company to bring the interloper into competition with it. In 1636 a vessel brought from Africa to England gold and other commodities to some £30,000,[32] and in the next two years holders of the patent were invoking the aid of the Admiralty to prevent the sailing of the *Talbot* and the *Star* of London to their territory.[33] That all was not well with the new company may be surmised from the fact that in 1636 the Privy Council considered complaints of its creditors.[34] Disappointingly little is known of its history for the next decade. The fact that in 1641 the House of Commons considered a petition for the establishment of a company for America and Africa probably means nothing as to the success or failure of this group of venturers, yet it suggests that something much more extensive than the existing company was contemplated, perhaps something on the lines of the Dutch West India Company, whose success on the West Coast must have been well known to the English at this time.[35] Possibly, too, the increased need for negroes in the English colonies in America prompted the desire for an elaborate and sub-

[31] Crisp had built a factory at Cormantine on the Gold Coast in 1624 (Zook, *Royal Adventurers*, p. 6). For an account of his varied activities see Zook, pp. 14-16; Wallace Notestein, ed., *Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, p. 312.

[32] Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 15; Carr, *Select Charters*, p. xlv.

[33] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 259-260, 273; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1637, p. 533.

[34] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 241. For what is known of the finances of the company during these early years, see Scott, II. 14-15. Prince Rupert was at one time its governor. Hilary Jenkinson, "The Records of the English African Companies", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (third ser.), VI. 195.

[35] Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, I. 121-122. At this same time the English came to an agreement with the Portuguese respecting African trade (Jan. 29, 1642): "And because the commerce and free coming of the subjects of the King of Great Britain to the coasts and parts of Africa, the island of St. Thomas and other islands comprehended under them, could not yet be agreed on by reason of the defect of the powers sent by the Most Renowned King of Portugal to his ambassadors, that by this debate this present treaty of peace and amity between both kings and their subjects be not delayed, it is on both parts concluded on, that in the lands, places, castles, posts, coasts of Africa, Guinea, Bine etc., the island of St. Thomas and other islands comprehended under them, wherein it shall appear that the subjects of Great Britain have dwelt for trade of merchandise, or have had trade or commerce there in the time of the Kings of Castile, or hitherto, there shall be no alteration or change, neither shall they have any trouble or injury done them by the Portugals for that cause. And if any customs be to be demanded from the subjects of the King of Great Britain, on any cause, in the castles, islands, and places aforesaid, they shall not be greater or more grievous than those which shall be demanded from other nations in league with the King of Portugal; and the subjects of the King of Portugal wanting foreign ships for their navigation and commerce to the coasts and islands aforesaid, may freely, at their own pleasure, hire the ships of the subjects of the King of Great Britain: and that commissioners and ambassadors shall be named by both kings, who shall treat and conclude concerning the commerce and free coming to the coasts, islands and places aforesaid, which hath been demanded by the commissioners of the King of Great Britain, for the subjects of their king: being persuaded out of the confidence of the ancient amity which hath been between the predecessors of the same kings, that the most renowned King of Portugal will grant to no nation more ample rights, immunities, and privileges, than he will grant unto the subjects of the King of Great Britain." Frances G. Davenport, *Treaties*, I. 337 n.

stantial foundation and one which should definitely unite the trade of Africa with that of the American plantations. Nothing came of this plan, nor are the names of those who fostered it known.

Crisp's difficulties presently involved the company and probably brought its trade to an end. In 1644 he was attacked in Parliament as a monopolist, and was charged with owing the state £16,000, for which his share of the property of the Guinea Company was sequestered.[36]

Despite these vicissitudes the patent of the company was still considered in operation when Cromwell's government was inaugurated, and the Puritan party soon called into question the monopoly which it granted. In 1649 and 1650 members of the group (unnamed) were brought before the Council of State to answer the charges made in the "Remonstrance" of Samuel Vassall and his company, that the grant had been obtained by "procurement of courtiers".[37] The defendants answered that, on the contrary, they had brought in to England £10,000, that they had settled a factory in 1632, had purchased Wiampa (Wyamba?) in 1633, had taught the son of the King of Aguna English, and would in future keep the Dutch from overrunning the coast if their patent were renewed.[38] On April 9, 1651, about a year and a half after the protest of Vassall, the Council of State, in accordance with the report of the Committee of Trade, renewed or regranted the patent, apparently to a new group altogether. The merchants who received and traded under the new order were Rowland Wilson, Thomas Walter, Thomas Chamberlain, John Woods, Maurice Thompson, John Frederick, and Samuel Vassall.[39]

The territory included in the patent was greatly reduced, being limited to twenty leagues "on each side of the two chief factories, or residences by the sea coast, the fort of Cormantin, and the river Cerberro [Sherbro], near Sierra Leone". Within these limits the patentees were directed to fortify and secure the trade for the Com-

[36] Carr, *Select Charters*, p. xlv. In 1709 his grandsons asserted that he had acquired all his partners' interest in the company and had in 1647 been given a twenty-year extension of the demise (*Commons Journals*, XI. 542, XV. 180; Carr, p. xlvi, n. 5). Bonnassieux states that Thomas Crisp, an agent of this company, purchased Cape Verde from a native king in 1649. *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*, p. 90, n. 3.

[37] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 331, 338; Scott, pp. 15-16. The Guinea traders called to support the "Remonstrance" were: Samuel Vassall, Peter Andrews, Mr. Frith, and Samuel Wilson.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340, 341, 342, 345; Carr, pp. xliv, xlv, n. 4. Their promise as to the Dutch indicates a degree of self-confidence by no means justified by their previous achievements.

[39] The men named in the grant of 1631 had by this time all resigned their interest to Crisp. The author of an account in Egerton MSS. 1162A, f. 173, states that the charter was confirmed to "Rowland Willson and others". The names of some of the others are learned from the letters of 1651-1652 printed hereafter. It is probable that these were not the only capitalists concerned in the company.

monwealth. South of these points the trade was to be open to all. The privileges given were for fourteen years.[40]

That the newly created patentees undertook trade promptly is shown by the documents hereafter printed (nos. 24-29). Their troubles began at once. Government patents were unavailing to protect them from foreign hostility and from the forces of the Stuarts. In 1652 the Guinea Company petitioned for redress because of the loss of the *Friendship* to Prince Rupert and the Portuguese, and asked for protection against the Dutch.[41] In 1653 the Swedes were the aggressors. The company was driven from its Accra factory and the minister to Sweden was instructed to enter complaint and demand remuneration for the losses sustained.[42] Altogether the losses on the African coast during the Interregnum were estimated at £300,000, and the company's efforts to develop the trade were soon abandoned.[43]

In 1657 the East India Company, having received a new charter and issued additional shares, expended a portion of the money thus available in leasing the property of the Guinea Company on the coast: Cormantine, Cape Coast, and Wyamba. The purpose of the lease was to unite the two regions by carrying the gold of Africa to India, thereby avoiding the mercantilist criticisms aimed at the company by its enemies.[44] This company attempted no exclusive control of trade on the coast but granted licenses to other vessels on the payment of a duty of ten per cent. on their cargoes. The experiment proved so satisfactory that at the time of the Restoration the company would gladly have continued it, and suggested that its new charter include the Guinea privileges. Two competitors stood in the way: Sir Nicholas Crisp, whose monopoly could be considered as legally continuing till June, 1662,[45] and the royal party led by Prince Rupert, professing anxiety to develop the gold mines of Africa. Even with the chartering of Prince Rupert's new company in 1660 the East India Company did not lose hope, and as late as the summer of 1662 it suggested to the Duke of York that the two trades could well be

[40] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 355; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, I. 248-250, II. 16. Though the statement of the region granted is perfectly clear, Scott and other writers following him have confused the location and extent of this grant.

[41] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 383, 389, 405. At this time the company stated that it had adventured £70,000 upon the coast.

[42] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 409.

[43] Carr, *Select Charters*, p. xlv; George Cawston and A. H. Keane, *Early Chartered Companies*, p. 230; Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 159. Malachy Postlethwayt's *Importance of the African Expedition Considered* (1758, p. 27) makes the exaggerated claim of a loss of from £600,000 to £700,000; in his *Universal Dictionary of Trade* (1751, I. 724) he places the losses at from £700,000 to £800,000.

[44] Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1655-1660, p 141, 1661-1664, pp. 41, 156.

[45] The East India Company, in the negotiations of 1662 with the Duke of York, speaks of its rights as resting on an "assignment from Sir Nicholas Crispe, which expires in December, 1664". Sainsbury, *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1660-1663, pp. 202-203. How the year 1664 was arrived at is not clear.

united. It next asked to retain its West African possessions until Christmas, 1664, and to share the trade with the Royal Adventurers. The offer was not accepted, and after some negotiation the East India Company paid the balance that it owed on the lease and concluded a formal agreement for withdrawing its goods and factors,[46] at least one of whom, and probably more, remained on the coast in the employ of the Royal Adventurers.[47]

How much these privileged groups or the independent traders who harassed them traded in slaves it is impossible to say. The earlier discussions in Parliament and the official records of various kinds make no references to the slave trade, yet there can be little question but that the English were becoming habituated to it. A stray list of names of 1623 is endorsed, "Adventurers in the slave trade taken out of the map", with no further explanation.[48] In 1629 and 1630 Crisp and his companions were asking for restitution for the *Benediction,* carrying 180 slaves, which with the *James Bonaventure* had been seized by the French while they carried on their "accustomed trade".[49] "Accustomed" here may imply the slave trade, or it may mean merely that the *Benediction* was trading in her usual place. The *Talbot,* restrained by order of the Privy Council from venturing into company regions, was fitted to "take nigers, and to carry them to foreign parts".[50] One looks in vain for any indication that this is unusual or surprising. In 1642 two British merchants, by name Burchett and Phillips, offered to supply the Spanish-American plantations with 2000 negroes a year from Angola, but no conclusion can be drawn from this as to the English trade since these men were acting as intermediaries for the Dutch.[51] The instructions sent by Warwick to Captain John Severn of the *Elias* suggest a source of supply of which the English may have made frequent use. He

[46] Sainsbury, pp. viii, xxxi-xxxii, 42, 88, 259-263, 264, 265-267, 337-341. Cawston and Keane state that it built two forts on the coast during its five years' occupancy (*Early Chartered Companies,* pp. 230-231). The value which this company attached to its African lease certainly suggests that the English possessions were not so reduced as was later stated.

[47] Gilbert Beavis. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 206.

[48] Feb. 1622/3, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report,* pt. II., p. 38, b.

[49] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 114; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1629-1631, pp. 39, 133, 466; P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870,* p. 41. The statement sometimes found, that the *Benediction* carried 900 negroes, is most improbable, as she was a vessel of but 300 tons.

[50] *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1637, p. 533; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 259-260, 273. John Crisp was the promoter of the *Talbot's* voyage; Maurice Thompson, Oliver Clobery, Oliver Read, George Lewine, and "others" were the venturers concerned in the Guinea voyage of the *Star* of London the next year. Thompson, as has been remarked, was one of the planters of Providence Island, which was at this time receiving negroes (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 295-296). Bonnassieux takes it for granted that the chief business of this company was carrying negroes to the American colonies. *Les Grandes Compagnies,* pp. 90-91.

[51] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* I. 487-488, n. 2.

writes: "Captured negroes [are] to be left at my island of Trinidad."[52]

The letters of 1651 printed in this volume make unquestionable the fact that the company of that year traded in slaves, but they do not offer evidence as to whether the project they describe was a customary form of traffic or a new venture.

In the list of depredations committed by the Dutch, which the English presented in 1664, seven vessels are enumerated as having been seized on the Guinea coast or bound for it, before 1660. Of these, three certainly carried negroes. The cargoes of the others are not specified.[53] There is no evidence that the East India Company, when it leased the Gold Coast factories, intended to purchase negroes beyond those needed as company servants.[54]

With the Restoration the potential wealth of Africa gained immediate attention. A patent was granted on December 18, 1660, but once the patentees attempted trade under it, the strength of the Dutch on the African coast was manifest, and their hostility forced a reorganization of the company. The first charter was replaced by a grant of larger powers, on January 19, 1663.[55] That the rights of the patentees of 1631 were not yet legally extinguished is suggested by the cautious wording of this charter, which makes the new grant, whose term is one thousand years, contingent upon the expiration, forfeiture, surrender, or other determination of the earlier privileges.[56] The list of patentees was an imposing one, most of them being cavaliers who had supported Charles II. during his exile. At

[52] June 7, 1643, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1547-1660, p. 324.

[53] *Post*, no. 43, n. 6.

[54] A letter from the company in England to India, Sept. 12, 1660, stated that "ten lusty blacks, men and women", were to be transported from Guinea for the "intended settlement at Pulo Run"; in November of the next year the agent at Bantam was told: "By the *Berbadoes Merchant* wee sent you seven slaves, and doe now, by order from the Honourable Company, send more ten coffrees, men and women, that they appoynted to come from Guiney on the *Royall James and Henry*, to bee transported from hence to you for service in the isle of Pollaroone. And we have added more to them thirteen slaves of these natives, understanding you want such people for servile offices in the factoryes subordinate to your Agency." In August, 1661, fifteen blacks were to be provided to the company by the Guinea factors. Capt. Stephen Mitchell, in 1662, was directed to procure twenty blacks. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1661-1664, pp. 43, 50-51, 157, 275.

[55] Patent Rolls, 12 Car. II., pts. xxi, xxvii; Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. 172-177, 177-181; Public Record Office, Treasury Papers 70: 1390, f. 3 (hereafter cited to as T 70); C. O. 1: 17, no. 2; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 120-122. For an account of the records of this company see Hilary Jenkinson, "Records of the English African Companies" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, third ser., VI. 198-201); for its history see Zook, *Company of Royal Adventurers*.

[56] The charter of 1631 would expire in June, 1662. The East India Company, in its negotiations with the Duke of York in 1662, speaks of its rights as resting on "an assignment from Sir Nicholas Crispe". By the time of the reorganization of 1663 the old grant had legally expired. The supersensitiveness displayed toward this long-unused patent was probably a result of the desire to ignore the government of the Interregnum and emphasize the continuity of the actions of the Stuarts.

their head was the Duke of York, and the king was one of the shareholders.[57]

The new company undertook as the first necessity the restoration of the ruined English forts on the West Coast [58] and the recovery of English property in the hands of the Dutch. This property, partly that of the independent traders, partly that of the older company, amounted to £300,000.

The expenses of the struggle with Holland which occupied much of the next decade, the unceasing conflict with the interloping trader, the volume of debts which the company was unable to collect, soon exhausted the resources of the Company of Adventurers and within ten years it gave way to a reorganized group, the Royal African Company, of 1672. All its claim to forts and factories on the West Coast was surrendered, in return for £34,000 in shares in the new venture.[59] The larger number of the documents which follow deal with the history of the new company, which retained an unrestricted monopoly until the Revolution of 1688, and by the act of 1698 gained, instead of complete monopoly, the right to exact a duty from other traders on the coast.

The development of the West India market for slaves, which accompanied the addition of Jamaica to British possessions and the increasing population of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, seems a plausible reason for enhanced interests in the Guinea traffic after 1660. Most writers on the subject have assumed without question that the purpose of the incorporation of 1660, as well as of the earlier grants, was to further the slave trade for the West Indies and perhaps for Spanish America.[60] Yet in the list of commodities to be traded in, enumerated in the patent, there is no mention of blacks. Dr. Zook's belief that the primary purpose of the establishment was the exploitation of African gold, in which Prince Rupert had become interested during the Interregnum, gains some support from the fact that Pepys first heard of the company from the Earl of Pembroke,

[57] "Only there was walking in the gallery some of the Barbary Company, and there we saw a draught of the arms of the Company, which the King is of, and so is called the Royall Company, which is, in a field argent an elephant proper, with a canton on which England and France is quartered supported by two Moors. The crest an anchor winged, I think it is, and the motto too tedious: 'Regio floret patrocinio commercium-commercioque Regnum'." Pepys, *Diary*, May 23, 1663.

[58] The *Case of the Royal African Company* (p. 5) stated that at the time of the Restoration Cormantine and a fort on the Gambia were the only English possessions of consequence in Africa.

[59] Of that sum Nicholas Crisp was to have received £20,000 for the castle of Cormantine and "other factories built by him", at an expense of £100,000, so his grandson stated in 1696 and 1709 (*Commons Journals*, XI. 542, XII. 166, XVI. 180). For an account of the trouble in adjusting the conflicting claims of Crisp and the old and new companies see Zook, pp. 14-16.

[60] Newton, *Colonising Activities*, p. 35; V. T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (1926), p. 310.

one of the incorporators, as destined to develop African gold mines.[61] Clarendon's account of the inception of the company is annoyingly vague and raises questions rather than answering them.

"Some merchants and seamen made a proposition by Mr. William Coventry and some few others to the Duke of York 'for the erection of a company in which they desired his royal highness to preside' . . . The chief end of this trade was, besides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures according as the trade should advance, to return with gold, which that coast produced in good quantity, and with slaves, blacks, which were readily sold to any plantation at great prices." Though this statement seems sufficiently explicit as to commerce in negroes, it is not clear whether Clarendon is speaking of the first or the second company, or whether he has fused the two companies in his account.[62]

The patent itself lends no aid to either interpretation of its purpose but offers the "recent interruption of orderly trade" as the reason for the establishment. This explanation was further emphasized in 1663, when the company stated that in 1660 the African traffic, carried on by individual traders, was a constant prey to the Dutch, who would have driven the English from the trade had a company not been established.[63] This is also the view of the author of the *Case of the Royal African Company,* who ignores any desire to establish a new trade but contends that, because of the abuses of the Dutch, England without a strong company would have lost her existing trade on the coast.[64] The "existing trade" was doubtless in part a trade in negroes but it cannot be assumed that every reference to African trade can be translated into "slave trade". England had long traded on the West Coast in other commodities before she traded extensively in slaves, and the terms African trade and slave trade were by no means synonymous in 1660. The failure not only of the patent itself, but also of much of the contemporary material to mention negroes, leaves one in great uncertainty as to the degree of importance which was attached to the slave trade in 1660.[65]

Whatever its purpose, there can be no question but that the company was expected to trade, and did trade, in negroes from its crea-

[61] Pepys, *Diary,* Oct. 3, 1660; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 176; Zook, *Royal Adventurers,* p. 8.

[62] *Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* (1759), II. 374-375. Clarendon was in this account concerned not with the origin of the company but with its relation to the Dutch war, which he had persistently opposed.

[63] G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System* (1912), pt. I., vol. I., p. 325, n. 1; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 175-176.

[64] *Case of the Royal African Company,* pp. 6-7.

[65] Even as late as 1665 the African Company estimated its yearly returns from ivory, wax, hides, woods, and grain (pepper) at £100,000, that from negro slaves at £100,000, and that from gold at £200,000. 1665 (Jan.), "Brief narrative of the trade and present condition of the Royal African Company", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 266.

tion. James Earl of Marlborough, even before the actual issue of the charter, was endeavoring to induce the company to make Jamaica a base for the sale of negroes. Before the formal issue of the patent the company had ready five vessels bound for Gambia with stores and factors on board.[66] The next year, 1661, eight vessels were hired by the company for its African trade.[67] Eight of the vessels listed in the *Catalogue of Damages* submitted by the English in 1664 were trading on the Guinea coast during the period of this charter; two were unquestionably trading for negroes.[68] In April, 1662, Lord Windsor, governor of Jamaica, was notified that the company would within ten months deliver three hundred negroes to that island. Governor Willoughby was also informed that Barbados and the Caribbee Islands were to have three thousand annually at £17, and was asked to discover how many could be disposed of at that price.[69]

Of the intentions of those responsible for the reorganization of the African Company there is no doubt. In the two years that elapsed between the granting of the first charter and its revision it had become manifest that great profits were to be obtained from carrying laborers to the Sugar Colonies, and the revised charter of 1663 for the first time mentioned the trade in negroes as part of the recognized activities of a chartered African company.[70] Between August 11, 1663, and November 17, 1664, Dr. Zook estimates that the company had sent 3075 negroes to Barbados.[71] References to trade in the correspondence passing between the islands and England support the belief that the early years of the company were years of considerable activity. On March 20, 1664, Sir Thomas Modyford and Peter Colleton, the factors of the company in Barbados, wrote:

[66] Dec. 7, 1660, T 70: 1221. Pepys names one additional Guinea vessel, and records disasters to two of the vessels before they left England. *Diary*, Dec. 9, 10, 1660.

[67] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 65; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1661-1662, p. 209. In 1660 the company's vessels were: *Henrietta, Sophia, Amity, Griffin, Kingsdale, Assurance*; in 1661, *Victory, Dolphin, African*, frigate, *Faithful Advice, John, Martha, Charles, Blackamoor*.

[68] See no. 43, n. 6. It does not of course inevitably follow that a vessel trading on the coast was a company vessel. Some of these vessels had certainly gone out before the charter was issued, others may have been individual traders, not disposed to accept their exclusion from the trade. John Young and Company petition for the *Merchants Delight*, Arnold Brames and Company for the *Black Boy*, James Birkin for the *Charles*, all seized not far from Elmina (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 65; 1669, p. 588). They may or may not have been leased to the company.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1661-1668, p. 88; Zook, *Royal Adventurers*, p. 74.

[70] "The whole, entire and only trade for the buying and selling bartering and exchanging of for or with any negroes, slaves, goods, wares and merchandises whatsoever to be vented or found at or within any of the Cities" on the west coast of Africa (Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. xlvii, 180). For the activities of the company between 1660 and 1663, see Zook, *Royal Adventurers*, pp. 10-13.

[71] Zook, p. 82. The items recorded by Zook total only 2261: 1051 men, 1018 women, 136 boys, 56 girls; those transcribed by Harlow, with the date of the cargoes, equal 2264. Harlow, *History of Barbados*, p. 312.

"The *Speedwell* arrived with 282 negroes, who have greatly lost in value owing to small-pox breaking out among them. The *Success* brought 193 blacks, and these, with Capt. Norbrook's have produced the best of any." Ten days later they wrote that they were sending 300 to Nevis and St. Kitts, and had on their hands 200 that nobody would buy. This did not imply that the island had been surfeited with negroes but resulted from the sickly character of the cargoes.[72] In August, 1664, twelve ships were being prepared for the coast. The company by this time reckoned its trade as worth from £200,000 to £300,000 annually.[73]

The activity in trade had been accompanied by a strengthening of the English establishments on the West Coast. In 1663 the factories and lodges were Cormantine, Commenda, Takoradi, Anto, Anashan, Ardra, and Wyamba.[74] By January, 1665, eighteen settlements were reported.[75] These constituted a threat to Dutch control which the Hollanders could ill brook. Two methods of attack on the English were possible. Their vessels on the sea could be seized, and the natives could be incited to oppose their trade along the coast. Both methods were used. A dozen or more English vessels were seized for venturing into waters over which the Dutch claimed control.[76]

In June, 1663, the Dutch regained Cabo Corso. With it in their possession, they felt themselves strong enough to put forth vigorous claims to exclusive trade on the coast. This they did not only by

[72] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 194. "There has been a great mortality amongst them, which our chief physician, Dr. La Rouse, assures them is through a malignant distemper contracted, they think, through so many sick and decaying negroes being thronghed together, and perhaps furthered by the small-pox in Capt. Carteret's ship. Most men refused to receive any of them, and Philip Fusseire, a surgeon, to whom they sold 20 at a low rate, lost every one" (Mar. 31, 1664, Modyford and Colleton to the African Company, *ibid.*, p. 196). The letter of Mar. 20 referred to the arrival of the *Susan*, with 230 negroes, who could not be sold until the officers of the ship proved that they had not been within the limits of the company. So extensive was the territory granted to the company that it is difficult to see where else negroes were obtained unless from East Africa.

[73] Jan. 2, 1665, "Petition of the Company to the King", *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp. 159-160, 666, 671-674; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 266.

[74] Zook, p. 46.

[75] They report that they have settled "Poriadally, Goally, Trevisco, Gambia, Rio Nunes, Rio Grande, Sierra Leon, Cerborow, Cestos, . . . Anasham, Anta, Cantoucory, Cormantin, Cape Corso, Wyamba, Acra, Ardra, Benin". *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 266.

[76] See no. 43, n. 6; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 65, 91, 113. A list of the earlier of these seizures was prepared and submitted to the Dutch by Sir George Downing in 1662. Downing's protest, concerned almost wholly with attacks on the African trade, brought from the company, on Sept. 25, 1663, an expression of its obligation to him (Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 332, n. 4). The commercial treaty between the two nations, agreed to in September of that year, essayed to settle African difficulties, but it scarcely accomplished a temporary cessation of hostilities. For details of the company's part in the Anglo-Dutch struggle see Zook, pp. 30-60.

paper representations but by a judicious use of the natives.[77] Letters from the company's agents on the coast describe this phase of Dutch activity as seen through English eyes:

June. The Dutch give daily great presents to the King of Futton and his "capeshiers" to exclude their Honours (the Royal African Company) from the trade, and to the King of Fantyn and his capeshires, to make war on the English castle of Cormantin, saying if they could but get that place never Englishman more should have trading upon that coast. Had not Capt. Stokes arrived, it's much to be feared the Flemish flag had been on Cormantin, as it is now on the castle at Cape Corso. The Dutch prevailed on the King of Aguina treacherously to lay hold on John Cabessa, who was a great defence to Cormantin, and on the 28th May to plunder the house at Wiamba. *Sept.* From Capt. Stokes at Annashan: The English got a treaty with them of Futton in spite of the Dutch, and four hostages that they should build a castle there, but the Dutch would not suffer them to land. From Capt. Stewart at Ardra: The Dutch told the King of Ardra that they had conquered the Portugals, the potentest nation that ever was in those countries, and turned out the Dane and Swede, and in a short time should do the same to the English, and by these discourses hindered the Company's factors from trade. From the Council of Factors at Cormantin: The Dutch have given bribes to the King of Cabessaland, who seized some goods going from hence, and killed the negroes that bought them. Have settled two Englishmen at Commenda, where the King sent two hostages, one his own son; but the Dutch have a great ship before the place, firing at all canoes that pass in or out. *Aug.* From Mr. Brett, factor at Commenda: Came to the place on the 21st, and the Dutch man-of-war told them they must not go ashore; in two days more the *Amsterdam* came from Castle de Myne, and sent two men on board to see if they belonged to the Royal Company, pretending if they had been interlopers that they (the Dutch) had power to take them. Next day the Dutch manned out three long boats, and continued firing at all canoes that would have traded with the English, and those canoes that were made fast to the English ship the Dutch cut from the ship's side, which one of the seamen endeavouring to prevent, a Dutchman cut him in the leg. So the English ship weighed anchor the long boat's men giving us such base language as was not to be endured.[78]

This was the situation on the coast when Captain Robert Holmes made his second African expedition, an expedition so successful that on his departure the Dutch held Elmina only. The retaliatory harrying of the coast by De Ruyter restored Dutch control at every point save Cape Coast Castle, and inflicted upon the Guinea Company

[77] 1663, June 1/11, "Protest of John Valckenburgh, Director-General of the North coast of Africa and the island of St. Thome, on behalf of the States General and their authorised West India Company, against Francis Selwyn, agent of the Royal English Company trading to Africa" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 135-136). A second protest followed on Sept. 2/12 (*ibid.*, p. 158): "No person with a knowledge of the coast of Africa can be ignorant that the Portuguese, as the first discoverers, have maintained against all, the Gold Coast of Guinea; and the Dutch Company, who have obtained such conquests at the expense of much treasure and blood, ought to be left undisturbed." The English reply was a claim to the ownership of Cape Coast, which was rested on an agreement made with the natives in 1649.

[78] 1663, June to Sept., "Extracts of letters from Cormantin and other places in Africa", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 146-147; see also pp. 91, 156; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote MSS.*, pp. 146, 149, 150.

damages which it estimated at some £50,000.[79] With such acts of open aggression committed by both nations war could no longer be avoided; but war did little to restore the failing fortunes of the African Company. The treaty of Breda, July 21, 1667, placed the Dutch again in command of those posts which they had held before these hostilities began.

Of trade few traces are to be found during the Dutch war.[80] At its close the impoverished company made some attempt to deliver laborers to the plantations and also sold licenses to others who wished to trade in Africa. The arrival of the *Barbadoes Merchant* in the West Indies with more than 300 negroes was reported in June, 1667, and also "Two ships of the Royal Company had arrived and two licensed ships from Guinea with 1000 negars".[81] It is difficult to accept the statement made by the company in the autumn of 1667, that it had sent 6000 slaves to the plantations annually.[82] Complaints of scarcity continued and it became evident by 1669 that the ruined company could never re-establish English prestige in Africa and supply the West India demand.

To the difficulties of the company the West Indies had made no small contribution. In its struggle with the Dutch, the company found little sympathy in the plantations, which from the first had looked with suspicion at the monopoly granted by the patents of 1660 and 1663, and had lost no opportunity to complain of their own exclusion from the trade and the scarcity and the high price of the company's negroes. The council and assembly of Barbados in 1662 petitioned the king for freedom of trade upon the African coast. If that were not allowed they asked that the island be furnished with negroes by the pending incorporation, at the same rate as that of the merchants who had formerly supplied them.[83] Resentment over the inadequate supply of negroes and the accompanying high prices continued to find frequent expression.[84]

In 1666, Francis Lord Willoughby wrote to the king that a standing guard might be supported without calling upon his Majesty's

[79] Holmes's first excursion down the West Coast was in December, 1660. For a brief account of these expeditions and the damage they wrought see Zook, pp. 10-11, 42-47, 61-64; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourth Report*, App., *Bath MSS.*, p. 230; and references in the *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668.

[80] Complaints of the need for negroes are frequent: Feb. 12, 1665, Lynch to Bennet, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 278; Sept. 29, 1666, governor and council of Barbados to the king, *ibid.*, p. 413; July (?), 1667, William Lord Willoughby to the king, *ibid.*, p. 487.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 468, 476.

[82] Nov. 22, 1667, "Answer of the Royal Company to the petition of merchants trading to Guinea", Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, I. 348.

[83] Dec. 18, 1662, "Minutes of Council and Assembly of Barbadoes", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 116-117.

[84] May 10, 1664, Modyford to Sir Henry Bennet, *ibid.*, pp. 208-209; Feb. 12, 1665, Thomas Lynch to Bennet, *Ibid.*, p. 278.

revenue, except the first year, "if his Majesty would allow them free trade, and also to Guinea for negroes".[85] In 1667 he stated his belief that unless two grievances of the Barbados were speedily remedied the plantations would be ruined. Of these grievances the more acute was the Guinea trade. "The island must be granted free trade to Guinea for negroes by which they may be as plentifully furnished as formerly, so excessive scarce and dear are they now that the poor planters will be forced to go to foreign plantations for a livelihood."[86] In September Barbados again petitioned for free trade to Guinea for negroes, "or else that the Royal Company be obliged to supply them at the price mentioned in their first printed declaration, though that too, like the canker of usury, will soon be the bane of a laborious planter".[87]

The company had agreed to supply Barbados at £17 per head or 2400 pounds of sugar, Jamaica at £18. In the representation of 1667 the petitioners maintained that negroes had sold in the island before the establishment of the company at from £12 to £16 each; while now, for the poorer ones, they were sometimes obliged to pay £30, the better sort going to the Spanish for £18, a statement the company was quick to deny.[88] Dr. Zook, from the material in the company's ledgers, estimated that the average price in 1663-1664 was about £16, the price for women and children bringing it below the £17 agreed on. While some negroes sold for as much as £20, an increasing number of refuse negroes which sold for very small prices lowered the average.[89] Complaints of scarcity the company met with an unanswerable retort; it had furnished more slaves than the planters could pay for. In 1668 it wrote,

> As to their metaphor of proving as usury, like a canker to the planters, it will prove a worse canker to the Company, if they never pay for the negroes they have, which hitherto has been their practice. And as it was testified they had so great a glut of negroes that they would hardly give them their victuals for their labour, and multitudes died upon the Company's hands, cannot omit to beseech his Majesty to write so effectually to the Governor of Barbadoes, that they may be assisted in recovering their debts, and that some method be pro-

[85] May 12, 1666, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 382-383.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 487.

[87] Sept. 5, 1667, petition of the "Representatives of Barbados to the King", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 495; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, I. 342-345. In this representation, signed by the speaker of the assembly, all the grievances of the plantation against the home government were presented.

[88] Stock, I. 345. The complaints of Barbados are set forth at length in this petition of Sir Paul Painter and others, with a paper of grievances attached, which was presented to the House of Commons Nov. 15, 1667. It is printed with the answer of the company (*ibid.*, pp. 342-350). On Nov. 28 Pepys wrote: "Each of us taking a copy of the Guiney Company's defence to a petition against them to the Parliament the other day." *Diary*, Nov. 28, 1667.

[89] Zook, p. 82; Harlow, *Barbados*, p. 312. In 1664 Modyford, in the letter to the company already cited, wrote: "The price of 12 *l.* to 15 *l.* for boys and girls shall be observed but it would have been well to have expressed their age." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 194.

posed that their negroes may be paid for, except (which would be better) Barbadoes will give security in London to pay at the rate agreed on for negroes, on notice of their delivery there, which is conceived the only way to secure the Company from being first not paid, and then loaded with complaints not founded on solidity of reason or truth of fact.[90]

At the same time the company proposed to deliver negroes at £17 per head, but asked that Barbados report the number desired and the time of year as well as give security for the payment. Undeterred by the company's charge that the island had more negroes than it could or did pay for, the planters asked again in 1668 and in 1669 for free trade in slaves, and were assured that they would be supplied, at reasonable rates, with negroes who were to be retained on the island and not sold to other nations.[91]

By 1669 the company, which was now granting licenses to others rather than carrying on its own trade, was still hopeful that additional capital might be obtained, provided the king paid the remainder of his subscription, but its affairs were in so desperate a state that there was no remedy but the drastic reorganization of 1672.[92]

With the affairs of the reorganized company, the Royal African Company, the papers which are hereafter printed largely deal, and little need be said here of its history, its trade, or its problems. A few questions however call for explanation. Throughout its existence the protection of its monopoly rights was to the company a matter of prime importance, and much of its energy was devoted to that end.

The maintenance of complete monopoly required that Dutch and French be excluded from the West Coast, that English and colonial vessels other than those sent out by the company be prevented from trading in slaves, and that no supply be drawn from parts of Africa outside the company's territory. While the slave trade from Madagascar never assumed large proportions, it appears from time to time as a vexation to the company, a constant, though a minor, threat against monopoly. Eastern Africa lay within the territorial limits of the East India Company and only by its co-operation could the African Company check the slave trade from this region. In 1663 two private merchants, Samuel Higginson and Truston Miner, applied to the East India Company for permission to trade to Madagascar for blacks. The petition, "along with the desire of the Royal Company", was referred for consideration to a committee which

[90] 1668, Jan. 23, "Answer of Sir Ellis Leighton to Petition of Representatives of Barbados", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 542-543. For some discussion of the debt see no. 44, notes.

[91] Aug. 3, 1668, "Address of the Representatives of Barbados to the King", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 541, 601; May 12, 1669, *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 518-520. The reference to sale refers to possible sale to the Spaniards.

[92] Aug. 25, 1669, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1668-1669, p. 459.

reported that in its opinion it would not be to the company's interest "to allow others to trade within the limits of their charter".[93] All would-be traders did not ask for a license however. In the year 1677 the attention of the company was directed to the possible rivalry of Madagascar by news from the plantations that several colonial vessels had been sent thither, as well as by the fact that certain English vessels seemed to be equipped for such a voyage. In April two members of the African Company, Benjamin Skutt and Proby, were desired to propose to the East India Company that it prohibit vessels from Madagascar from watering at St. Helena.[94] In November Sir John Banks was instructed to represent to the East India Company "that this Compa. is credibly informed that the Ships *Greyhound* and *Governor* are bound to Madagascar to carry negroes from thence to the plantations, if they doe not restrain it, it will be of much damage to this Company". A week later he reported that upon his acquainting the company with this word two of its committees were instructed to meet with committees of the African Company. The company thereupon appointed the committees of shipping and correspondence to go on with the matter under the direction of John Bence.[95]

Later events suggest that the companies were not entirely successful in executing whatever plans they may have laid in these conferences. The factors in Barbados wrote that three ships from Madagascar had come in, bringing a total of 700 negroes.[96]

Robert Holden of Jamaica also reported the arrival of a vessel carrying Madagascar negroes.[97] In 1681 Governor Dutton stated vaguely that during the last seven years "many" slaves had been brought into Barbados from Madagascar.[98] The company's factors reverted to the subject from time to time, once expressing a fear that the trade to Madagascar might be prejudicial to the company, as 900 negroes had been brought in from Madagascar within two months.[99] In 1700 the *Fidelia,* owned by Charles Noden, had made an experimental voyage to Madagascar, with orders to return by way of the West Indies with negroes.[100] Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia had each received East African negroes. Governor Bradstreet of Massachusetts stated that about 1678 there had ar-

[93] *Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, p. 323.

[94] R. N. Toppan, *Edward Randolph: including his Letters and Official Papers* (Prince Society), II. 249; P. R. O., T 70:77. For an account of the papers in T 70 see no. 53, n. 1.

[95] Nov. 8, 15, 1677, T 70:77.

[96] Mar. 22, 1678/9, Stede and Gascoigne to the Royal African Company, T 70: 10.

[97] Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 374.

[98] June 11, 1681, report of Dutton, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 71.

[99] Apr. 11, 1683, Apr. 9, 1684, Stede and Gascoigne to the Royal African Company, T 70: 10; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 119.

[100] Feb. 5, 1700, "Journ. of the Lords of Trade and Plantations", *ibid.,* p. 59.

rived in that colony a cargo of these negroes.[101] Bellomont reported that several vessels carried on a constant trade between New York and Madagascar.[102]

One powerful ally in discouraging this trade the company could count upon. While pirates were occasionally troublesome on the West Coast of Africa, the East Coast was constantly infested with them and few traders escaped their attentions for long. News of their raids was bound to deter all but the stout-hearted, or those allied with them, from venturing into this territory, and even the boldest masters were often not anxious to repeat the voyage.[103]

The rôle in the African trade played by the French during the seventeeth century was a minor one as compared with that of the English and of the Dutch. To them as well as to the English it was a period of experimentation, to find a form of business organization suitable alike to the conditions in Africa and to the needs of the West India plantations. The success of the various experiments was slight and bankruptcies and reorganizations were frequent. Until 1664 this commerce remained largely in the hands of the merchants of Normandy, either as private individuals or as small private associations. The first of these groups enduring enough to receive notice was that of Rouen merchants, formed in 1626 to exploit the region of the Senegal. In 1633 this group asked for the protection of the government, and with the formal issue of letters patent to it, March 7, 1634, the French organization of African trade may be said to have its beginning.[104] Shortly after this the trade of two other groups was given official sanction, the first to trade between Sierra Leone and Cape Lopez, the second from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leone, save at certain points reserved to the Norman traders.[105]

When Colbert, as part of his project for the aggrandizement of France, created the French Company of the West Indies, these smaller companies received 150,000 livres for their African property, all of which lay between Cape Blanco and the Gambia River. South of that the French had no foothold in Africa, though the new patent granted a monopoly to the entire West Coast from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope.[106] Colbert's hopes for his creation, un-

[101] This work, vol. III., Massachusetts and New York.

[102] Mar. 11, "Complaints against the Earl of Bellomont", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 119.

[103] May 7, 1700, "Owners of the *Beckford* galley to the Council of Trade and Plantations", *ibid.*, p. 236, see also pp. 351, 352. John Harris sailed on the *Beckford* in June, 1698, for slaves from the East Coast and Madagascar, to be carried to the West Indies. He was seized by the pirates under Ryder, Mar. 30, 1699. The danger to slave traders venturing into the waters about Madagascar, which were thickly infested with pirates, was great, yet they not infrequently traded together peacefully. See J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, pp. 180-187.

[104] P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870*, pp. 37, 47.

[105] Lucien Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises avant 1789* (1897), pp. 7-8.

[106] Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal*, pp. 52-56; S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, pp. 68-82.

doubtedly modelled upon the Dutch West India Company, were never realized, and in 1672 the company was released from its obligation to carry on the African trade. Indeed, as an active organization, it was by that time at an end, though its formal dissolution did not take place until 1674. A second company, the Company of the Senegal, the leaders of which were Maurice Egrot, François François, and François Raguenet, was formed in 1673. To its predecessors in the trade it paid 78,000 livres and received the exclusive right to traffic as far south as the Gambia River.[107] In 1679, after a half-dozen successful years, this group was enlarged and given the more extended territory of the earlier patent.[108] It proved inadequately capitalized for its increased undertakings and by 1681 it was practically bankrupt.[109]

Again Colbert tried a royal company, the second Company of the Senegal, similar to the Company of the West Indies. The new company, composed not of merchants but of officials, who entered to gratify Colbert and the king, unwillingly assumed the debts of the earlier group. Before long it had completely demonstrated its inability to meet the demands made upon it. Its extended charter was revoked in 1684, and the Company of Guinea established, with a monopoly of that part of its territory south of the Gambia,[110] it retaining its right north of that river. In the West Indies the two companies shared the privilege of trade. The reduction of its territory failed to make permanent improvement in the condition of the Company of the Senegal. In addition to the difficulties created by its insufficient capital, it was involved in quarrels with the English on the coast, and in 1692 it confessed itself ruined, having expended over a million livres on its African property. Two years later it surrendered its privileges, for 300,000 livres, to the Sieur d'Apougny, one of the directors. Under him a new company was organized in 1696, the Royal Company of the Senegal, Cape Verde, and the Coast of Africa. With France restored to her earlier position on the African coast by the Peace of Ryswyk, the new company sent out to that coast Andre Brue to re-establish the damaged power and prestige of the French.[111] This Senegal Company, which existed until 1709, was in no way to interfere with the Guinea Company of

[107] Cultru, p. 58.

[108] Raguenet had died; his widow and Egrot had ceded their interests to René Bains, Louis le Brun, and others (Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal,* p. 59n.; Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises,* p. 41). The company's factories were on the island of St. Louis, at Arguin, Goree, Joal, Portudal, Rufisque, and Albreda on the north bank of the Gambia.

[109] Cultru, p. 60; Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy,* pp. 294-295.

[110] Bonnassieux, pp. 227-228; Moreau de Saint Méry, *Loix et Constitution des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le Vent* (1784-1790), I. 409.

[111] E. F. Berlioux, *Andre Brue ou l'Origine de la Colonie Française du Sénégal* (1874), p. 36; Peytraud, p. 49.

1685, which still possessed the right to the trade of the southern Guinea coast.

To estimate the accomplishments of these short-lived companies one must look both to Africa and to the West Indies. In the latter, the introduction of sugar cultivation, about 1643, made it at once evident that if this new industry were to yield its potential profits the labor supply must be rapidly increased. The obvious source of such increase was West Africa. The French market for slaves was therefore ready as soon as organization of the business in France and exploitation of the African coast could combine to utilize it.

The African activities of the Norman traders were concentrated in the region of the Senegal. At the mouth of this river Captain Thomas Lambert, who had been frequenting it since 1626, built the first French habitation in 1638, though there seems to have been no resident establishment for some years after that time. Lambert's expedition of 1637-1638,[112] narrated by Claude Jannequin de Rochefort, traded up the river to Terrier-Rouge on the northern shore and along the coast south of the river. To the natives the French offered iron bars, cottons, linens, brandy, beads, and silver trinkets, for which they received gum, gold, hides, and pepper.[113] Just when the French scruples against dealing in slaves were discarded is not clear, but by the time French planters called for negro labor for their growing sugar plantations French merchants were willing, though not always able, to provide such labor. The first recorded attempt of the French to meet the demand for negroes is that of 1643, when the Company of the Isles of America contracted with the Rouen merchant Rozer for sixty negroes, at 200 livres each, to be delivered at Guadeloupe.[114] Though this is the first evidence of French traffic in slaves which has come to light, the French colonists were at this time by no means unacquainted with negro labor. Belain d'Esnambuc, landing at St. Christopher in 1625, had found forty negroes or thereabouts already on that island, and in 1635 a Dutch trader had added to that number.[115]

[112] Cultru, pp. 40-43; Astley, II. 3; Claude Jannequin de Rochefort, "Voyage en Libye, particulièrement au Royaume de Sénégal sur le Fleuve Niger" (Paris, 1643), in C. A. Walcknaer, *Histoire Général des Voyages* (1826), II. 328. Astley gives an abstract of the narrative, II. 20-27. Two Capuchins of Rouen, who visited Cape Verde in 1635, have also left an account of the French Senegal. "Relation des RR. PP. Alexis de Saint Lô et Bernardin de Renouard", Walckenaer, II. 304.

[113] Astley, II. 23.

[114] Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, pp. 33-34, 283n. Rozer's negroes, who were to be delivered by a Captain Droualt, were to be paid for one-third at once, two-thirds on delivery; but in October Rozer asked for immediate payment, offering as his reason the fact that the negroes were costing more than he expected because of the great demands the Dutch were making on the coast. In 1648 Houel, governor of Guadeloupe, stated that he personally had paid for these negroes, and asked that he be granted the island Marie Galante and be allowed to take them there, since the company seemed unwilling to repay him for them.

[115] Mims, pp. 283-284; Peytraud, p. 5.

It would be strange if the Dutch had not more than once left blacks with the French planters, but the Dutch may not have been wholly responsible for the increasing black population of the French islands. The scanty records of the early companies, like those of the English, do not mention blacks, yet it is quite probable that the transaction with Rozer in 1642 was not the first of its kind between the French merchants and the French company.[116] The Dutch however were the main reliance of the planters for the next twenty years. In 1654 there were 600 or 700 negroes brought into Martinique, and by 1655 there were from 12,000 to 13,000 blacks in the French islands. In 1664 the Dutch brought to Martinique at least one cargo of 300. A decade earlier the negroes sold for 2000 pounds of sugar each; for this cargo they asked 3000 pounds per head. De Tracy, regarding this as exorbitant, arbitrarily reduced it to 2000 pounds, at which price the Dutch were apparently content to traffic.

The profit which they were deriving from this commerce, extravagantly estimated at 266 per cent. by De Tracy,[117] made it seem a most promising field for the company of 1664. On its establishment a force of sixty men was sent out to the island of St. Louis in the mouth of the Senegal, Sieur Villault de Bellefond was directed to make treaties with the black chiefs, and Sieur Jacquet was made director of the commerce on the coast.[118] The company was however not yet ready to undertake the negro trade directly, and instead, on February 8, 1665, it contracted with Carloff [119] to carry negroes to the French West Indies for six years. All his negroes were to go to the French possessions, where, after allowing the company to retain seven per cent. of them, he might sell the remainder at whatever price he could obtain. The sugar received in payment he must transport to France.[120] Carloff's privileges did not include the monopoly of the traffic, since Colbert was not yet ready to deprive the colonists of the Dutch supply. Throughout 1668 Dutch vessels bringing slaves were freely admitted to French ports.

What use Carloff made of his grant we do not know. Apparently he traded on the coast, and if so he may have delivered negroes to the islands, but no record of such delivery before 1669 has come to light. In that year he seems to have been co-operating with officials of the company rather than fulfilling an independent contract. The company by that date was ready to undertake its own trade.[121] Two

[116] See Peytraud, pp. 5, 36-37.

[117] Mims, pp. 45, 284-285.

[118] Villault de Bellefond's *Relation des Costes d'Afrique appelées Guinée* (1669) is a result of his voyage to the coast in 1666 and 1667. See Astley, II. 374-387; Mims, p. 117.

[119] See *ante*, n. 13.

[120] Mims, pp. 117-118.

[121] De Baas, governor general of the French West Indies, was explicitly instructed in 1668 to admit Dutch vessels bringing slaves.

vessels, *Justice* commanded by the Sieur d'Elbee and *Concorde* under Carloff, carried from Ardra to Martinique 997 negroes, 753 of whom were safely delivered.[122] So satisfactory was this expedition that for a short time Colbert cherished dreams not only of supplying the French planters, but also of depriving the Dutch of their lucrative Spanish trade. In 1672 Carloff delivered 350 to Guadeloupe, and the *St. Francis,* Captain Mallet, brought in 200 on the company's account.

This seems to have been the end of the company's short-lived attempt to provide the islands with laborers.[123] With the entrance of the company into the slave trade Colbert had ordered the exclusion of the Dutch.[124] Having successfully driven them from the French islands, he now found that the company was unable to meet the demands of the planters, and tried in vain to induce private traders to enter upon the trade in slaves. The special tax which had rested on private trade had been removed in 1670. In 1672 the bounty of thirteen livres a head for each slave imported by the company was extended to private traders.[125] At a time when English monopolists were engaged in a losing struggle to maintain themselves against the competition of the interloper, few independent French merchants could be induced to enter the trade even by a bounty, and the French planter's prosperity was seriously threatened.[126] Du Clerc, secretary to de Baas, reported to Colbert in 1675 that no one was bringing negroes to the islands. This condition the Company of the Senegal of 1673 was apparently not expected to remedy immediately. It was given a few years in which to establish itself on the coast before it was called upon to supply the islands with slaves. At least, the fact that on October 16, 1675, the liquidators of the West India Company bargained with Jean Oudiette to supply the French islands with 800 negroes a year lends itself to this interpretation. This contract Oudiette failed to carry out, and after nearly four years of

[122] "Journal du Voyage du Sieur Delbée, Commissaire général de la Marine, aux Isles, dans la Coste de Guynée, pour l'établissement du commerce en ces pays, en l'Année 1669", in Jean Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre Ferme de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1671), II. 347-494. D'Elbee gives an account of his negotiations with the Prince of Ardra for permission to establish a lodge at Offra and an excellent description of the process of trade with the natives, though it is not especially limited to trade in blacks.

[123] Mims, pp. 118, 165-171.

[124] Colbert's resolve to exclude the Dutch was apparently reached in the summer of 1669, when he sent out a French patrol to capture Dutch intruders. Mims, pp. 184-197.

[125] Mims, pp. 225-226, 286.

[126] Mims, p. 287. This of course should not be interpreted to mean that no private traders engaged in the trade. From incidental records we know that French trade did not entirely cease after 1672. For example, in June, 1673, the French complained to the English government that, though the countries were at peace, one of the agents of the African Company had fired upon the *St. Etienne* while she traded for slaves. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, pp. 502-503.

unfulfilled promises it was annulled and the government turned to the company for negroes.[127]

Meanwhile, the company, despite troubles with its neighbors on the coast of Africa, had prospered. Goree and Arguin had been taken from the Dutch.[128] Du Casse, sent out to protect these possessions, which remained in French hands by the terms of the Peace of Nymwegen, had made treaties with native chiefs at Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal.[129] The trade of the company had increased and in 1677 it had sent eighty negroes to Martinique. In 1679, as it was preparing to offer negroes to the Dutch and Spanish, it was asked to supply 2000 annually for eight years to the French islands, and also those required for the royal galleys. For the negroes sent to the West Indies, where they were to be sold at any price which the company could obtain, a bounty of thirteen livres per head was to be paid. In addition to this favor the company was freed from all duties on goods imported from France to Africa or the West Indies, and from half the duty on goods sent from the West Indies to France.[130] All other French subjects were excluded from the trade for twenty-five years. Sixteen ships were soon engaged to carry negroes: four to Marseilles with slaves for the galleys, four to Spain, and eight to the West Indies. With this enlargement of its activities the success of the company's earlier years deserted it. Vessels were wrecked, many blacks died in the Middle Passage,[131] planters failed to pay. At the end of the first year the debt of the company was 1,200,000 livres.[132] Twice the king postponed action by its creditors. May 26, 1680, an agreement was reached between the entrepreneurs and the creditors, but the company was unable to carry out its terms. It was declared bankrupt and came to an end July 2, 1681.

[127] Mims, pp. 290-291; Bonnassieux, p. 226; Peytraud, p. 41.

[128] Comte d'Estrées had taken Goree in 1677, du Casse, Arguin in 1678. Du Casse was not so successful on the Gold Coast. The natives, probably at the instigation of the Dutch, drove the French from Commenda. Astley, II. 3-4; Berlioux, pp. 30-31; Mims, pp. 288-298.

[129] Astley, II. 17-18.

[130] Mims, pp. 291-292; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique*, I. 314-317, 325-326; Bonnassieux, p. 226.

[131] The figure quoted by Mims, 2000, is not credible. Though the number may have been large, it can hardly have been three times as large as the number of negroes delivered, which is what this figure means. Two hundred one might accept, though that involves a heavier mortality rate than is shown by most figures for the period. Mims, p. 294.

[132] The conflicting figures relating to the brief history of this company are perplexing and refuse to be reduced to consistency. Mims has shown the impossibility of accepting the bounties paid as any clue to the number of importations. De Blenac, in July, 1680, said that in the preceding sixteen months, the period during which the company had possessed the monopoly, but six or seven hundred had been brought into the islands. If this is accepted, it is evident that the eight vessels preparing for the island trade never made the voyage and also that a very small part of the difficulties of the company could be attributed to the debts of the planters. Mims, pp. 296-297.

The organization which immediately replaced this one, Colbert's second Company of the Senegal, perhaps because it was not made up of merchants, displayed more interest in exploration and less in commercial matters than had its predecessor. Records of exploration and accounts of the visit of members of the Academy are left to us, but we have little information about its trade.[133] It was not inactive however. By 1684 it had four vessels ready to carry negroes and had already delivered 290 to Santo Domingo. Labat states that this company in the brief period of its active life carried 4561 negroes to America. An anonymous writer of the time, explaining why the company had failed to carry the 2000 contracted for annually, maintained that 1200 was all the islands could pay for and that they were already in debt more than 5,000,000 pounds of sugar. The islands maintained that they needed from 2500 to 3000 negroes annually, but Peytraud's calculations indicate that had they actually received this number a large part of their sugar production would have been absorbed in paying for them.[134]

Despite the arguments of the company that it was supplying as many negroes as the islands could profitably use and pay for, it was deprived of its exclusive privilege and, as has been stated, a supplementary Company of Guinea was established in 1685.[135] Even with the two companies, complaints that the supply was inadequate were frequently heard.[136] This new company was to furnish 1000 negroes annually, receiving the usual bounty and exclusive rights in territory south of the Gambia for twenty years. At this time Louis XIV. questioned whether the sugar planters needed 2000 annually, since if 6000 pounds of sugar were paid for a negro *pieza d' India,* such an importation would require 12,000,000 pounds of sugar a year. The maximum production of the islands being 20,000,000 pounds, but 8,000,000 pounds would remain to satisfy all other needs. The response was that 2000 were none too many, that indeed they needed more than this to provide for the expansion of the islands. At this point the king suggested that he send a vessel to Cape Verde for negroes and sell them in the islands on his own account. Having no mind to lose on the venture, even though it was wholly for the good of the planters, he wished to be assured that the cargo would all be sold and paid for.[137] The colonists suggested that they supply their needs by buying negroes from neighboring lands, belonging to the competing powers, this serving two purposes: they would be strength-

[133] An account of Dancourt's voyage is contained in *Les Voyages du Sr. le Maire aux Iles Canaries, Cap Verd, Sénégal et Gambia.* A voyage to Goree, made in 1682, carried three members of the Academy of Science. Berlioux, *Brue,* pp. 32-33; Mims, p. 301.

[134] Mims, pp. 303-306; Peytraud, pp. 45-46.

[135] Cultru, pp. 62-63.

[136] Peytraud, pp. 45-48.

[137] *Ibid.,* pp. 46-47.

ened, their neighbors weakened. For this project the king expressed no enthusiasm, though he admitted that it might possibly be employed in Cayenne and Surinam. In this correspondence the king took occasion to warn the colonists that they must avoid allowing the price of blacks to fall. Since past companies had suffered heavy losses in this business, the present organizations could hardly be expected to maintain the trade in the face of falling prices.[138]

War made increasingly difficult the transportation of negroes to the islands, and by the nineties the fact that the companies could not be relied upon for a sufficient labor supply was tacitly accepted. On August 27, 1692, du Casse, governor of Santo Domingo, was told that the planters might obtain negroes wherever they could get them.[139]

When the Sieur d'Apougny came into control of the company in 1694 its trade was at a low ebb and its resources dissipated by conflicts on the coast, the English having taken both Goree and St. Louis. Taking the aggressive at once, the company sent Comte de Gennes to Africa in 1695. With but little difficulty, on July 22, he captured James Fort, which the French retained until 1697, when it was restored to the English by the treaty of Ryswyk.[140] During the two years that the Gambia was under French control the French strengthened themselves at Albreda, on the mainland, and established a factory up Vitang Creek, a southern tributary of the Gambia. The Sieur Brue came to the coast possessing a larger grant of authority than had hitherto been allowed to French officials. His work belongs to the eighteenth century, but the beginning of it was accomplished in the last years of the seventeenth. He established factories, made treaties with native chiefs, traded for slaves, explored the country, carried on friendly negotiations with the English. All in all, he was one of the ablest directors that the French ever maintained upon the African coast.[141]

[138] Sugar had fallen in price and negroes would naturally be expected to follow. Peytraud, p. 47.

[139] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

[140] Berlioux maintains that it was not the war but the character of its organization which ruined the company (pp. 35-37). François Froger, in *A Relation of a Voyage made in the Years 1695, 1696, 1697 on the Coasts of Africa* (London, 1698), describes the expedition of de Gennes. Berlioux sums up the French position on the coast at this time by saying that they possessed two poor forts, their trade had been without profit, and their war without glory (p. 37). James Booker, governor of Gambia, had taken Goree and St. Louis from the French in 1692.

[141] Cultru, pp. 64-65. There are few accounts in English of the French in West Africa. That of Astley, to which reference has here been made, rests heavily upon that of Jean Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* (1728), which in turn is compiled from the narratives of La Courbe, "Premier Voyage du Sieur La Courbe au Sénégal en 1685", Froger's *Relation*, and Brue's papers. Berlioux, in his *André Brue ou l'Origine de la Colonie Française du Sénégal*, accepting in good faith Labat's statement that he wrote from Brue's own memoirs, devoted his effort to untangling Labat's confused and perplexing chronology. Pierre Cultru, by an analysis of contemporary material, has shown that not only the chronology but also the integrity of Labat's work is to be questioned, since he attributes to Brue the work of La Courbe, and in the very words of La Courbe's own narrative. See Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal*, pp. 6-14, and throughout chapters I.-V.

The West Indies were slow to see improvement however. Soon after the company was established the complaint was made that the scarcity of negroes was such that the price had gone to 12,000 and 15,000 pounds of sugar per head. Two thousand blacks, the number the company was to send, would be purchased in eight days by Martinique alone, so great was the need.[142] Perhaps because of pressure from the plantations, the king granted certain other privileges of trade in blacks which seem to have violated the company's monopoly, but since the grant was made in May, 1698, and revoked in February, 1699, the injury to the company's trade could not have been serious.[143] The company about this time bargained to deliver to Santo Domingo one thousand negroes whom it attempted to procure from the plundered Spanish colony of Cartagena. This enterprise failed. It delivered but 438 negroes, and was directed to recompense the inhabitants of Santo Domingo for its failure to complete the contract.[144] On the whole, France can scarcely be said to have solved, by the close of the seventeenth century, the problem of supplying the laborers necessary to her colonies.

As might be expected from its location and history, Brandenburg's interest in Africa was roused much later than that of other European states. As part of the Great Elector's plans for the aggrandizement of his country he cherished the idea of developing its maritime power. In 1676 Benjamin Raulé proposed an expedition to the West Coast of Africa, which he himself was willing to finance. Three years later he suggested the formation of a Guinea company.[145] Brandenburg in the meantime was negotiating with France for permission to carry slaves to the French West India islands.[146] Raulé's plans were in part realized in 1680, when an expedition set forth under Captain Joris Bartelsen, who was to take negroes from Guinea and Angola and dispose of them at Lisbon or Cadiz.[147] The company received letters patent in 1682 or 1683, two settlements were made on the Gold Coast, and an expedition was promptly sent out to take 600 negroes.[148] The African settlements were Great Friedrichsburg, three

[142] Peytraud, p. 49.

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[144] *Ibid.*, p. 51. In 1698 had been created the Royal Company of Santo Domingo, which was to send out within the next five years 1500 white settlers and 2500 blacks, and after that 150 white and 200 black inhabitants annually. Here again, the policy of the government was a vacillating one; they first ruled that these negroes might be purchased anywhere, then expressed disapproval of purchases from the Dutch. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

[145] Richard Schück, *Brandenburg-Preussens Kolonial-Politik unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Leipzig, 1889), I. 137, II. 89-92. Volume II. is a collection of documents, many of which relate to the African expansion of this period. This collection contains copies of a number of treaties made with the natives.

[146] *Ibid.*, I. 135.

[147] July 7/17, 1680, "Instructions for Capt. Joris Bartelsen", *ibid.*, II. 95-96.

[148] *Ibid.*, I. 158, II. 120-133, 136-142.

miles east of the Dutch fort at Axim, and Fort Dorothea at Akwidah. There was also a lodge at Takoradi. Because of the fact that the headquarters of this company were at Emden, it is frequently referred to as the Emden Company.

Coupled with the desire of the Great Elector to enter into world commerce by way of the African coast was his desire to obtain possessions in the West Indies, but here as well as in Africa he was hampered by the tardiness of his attempt. The Brandenburgers tried first for Tobago, which was excellently situated for the slave trade. Here they met the opposition of the Dutch, and plans for obtaining it were not pushed.[149] Owning no West India base, the company used St. Eustatius [150] and the Danish island of St. Thomas. In 1698 the English Commissioners for Trade and Plantations wrote to the king that the African Company of Emden had quarrelled with the Danes and was about to buy from a Rotterdam merchant the island of Tortola, which it would use as an entrepôt for European goods. In 1685 the Brandenburgers, taking advantage of the fact that the French had abandoned Arguin, established themselves there. Though the French Senegal Company protested, the Peace of Ryswyk left the Prussians in possession. Here they were a thorn in the side of the French company, not because of their great strength, but because of the contraband trade originating there.[151] After the death of the Great Elector interest in the company waned, and in 1717 the principal fort, Great Friedrichsburg, was sold to the Dutch.

The insatiable desire of Spanish America for negroes continued throughout the seventeenth century to provide Spain with a troublesome domestic problem, as well as to affect her relations with other countries. More than any other one factor, the need for negroes eventually ended Spanish control of her own markets. Fear of this eventuality, while it affected Spanish policy, could not prevent the outcome. Reference has already been made to the death of Pedro Gomez Reynal in 1600, with the term for which he held his assiento uncompleted. On his death the Consulado transferred the contract, for the three years that remained, to a Portuguese, João Rodriguez Coutinho, who had been for many years a factor in Angola.[152] Coutinho did not live to complete the term of his contract, which soon made a bankrupt of the brother who took it over. For some half-dozen years the government retained to itself the privilege of selling licenses, during which time few were sold, and many negroes were in-

[149] Schück, I. 207, 231-235.

[150] Bonnassieux, p. 464. The Dutch, jealous of this rival, created many difficulties for it.

[151] July 9, 1698, Council of Trade and Plantation to the king, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1697-1698, p. 328; Berlioux, p. 4.

[152] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud*, p. 247.

troduced illicitly. Recognizing the failure of this method, the Spaniards turned again to their natural purveyors, the Portuguese. Antonio Rodriguez Delvas, a rich Portuguese merchant, in 1615 paid 115,000 ducats a year for the privilege of importing from 3500 to 5000 negroes annually into Spanish colonies, held it until 1623, and yielded it to Manoel Rodriguez Lamego, also a Portuguese, and the first holder of the contract who made it a financial success.[153] Lamego was followed in 1631 by Melchior Gomez Angel and Christoval Mendez de Sossa, whose operation of it was uneventful.[154]

Up to this time, whatever the contraband trade may have been, the official supplying of negroes for Spanish-American markets had been a domestic affair. Spain, through the Contratación,[155] had dealt only with Spanish subjects or Spanish dependents, who alone had been admitted to Spanish ports. But with 1640 a change in policy seemed inevitable. At that time Portugal broke away from Spanish dominance, and Spain, aggrieved, refused to grant the favor of her trade to citizens of the rebellious country. Turning from Portugal, she might have found the Dutch able and willing to supply her needs, but of Holland she had similar reason for resentment and greater fear: once allow traders from Curaçao the right of entry into ports of the Spanish main, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to confine their entries to negroes. The result of the dilemma was that for fifteen years Spain made no negro contract. Complaints of this neglect of the interests of Spanish America were at first frequent and bitter, but they presently diminished, as the colonists found methods by which they could supply themselves without the help of the home government.[156]

To check the volume of illicit trade which threatened the very foundations of Spanish commercial policy, as well as to restore to the Spanish treasury the revenue from the assiento, Spain was at length driven to re-establish the contract system. A bargain with two wealthy Genoese, Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin, was completed July 5, 1662, to go into operation May 1, 1663.[157] By this

[153] *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 256, 268; Georges Scelle, "The Slave-Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America: the Assiento", *American Journal of International Law*, IV. 622-625. This article (pp. 612-661) in a measure summarizes the greatly elaborated history of the assiento by Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille.*

[154] Scelle, I. 437-458.

[155] The Casa de Contratación, established in 1503, centralized the administration of American affairs, even hearing civil cases relating to America.

[156] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, I. 482-487. The English were not to be considered as aspirants for the assiento, not only because they had little foothold in the trade, but also because of their heretical faith, a handicap which the Dutch also suffered. *Ibid.*, I. 487-489.

[157] An account of this contract will be found in Scelle, I. 497-523. Zook (*The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa*, pp. 93-95) describes it briefly. The latter account is drawn from the Colonial Office Papers in the British Public Record Office, the former from the papers in the Spanish archives.

contract the Italians were to deliver in Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Cartagena twenty-four thousand *piezas d'India* within the next seven years, on which they were to pay a duty of 300,000 pesos. If at the end of that time they had not yet completed the number they were to have two years of grace, while if they had delivered more they were to pay duty on the excess.[158] For their negroes the assientists were to contract only with countries at peace with Spain. Because of the Anglo-Dutch War, which worked havoc with Spanish-American trade as well as with that of the participants in the struggle, the assientists were unable to meet their engagements and their transactions fell into great confusion.

In 1668 Lomelin, who had gone to the Indies to set in order the affairs of the assiento, died before he had accomplished this purpose.[159] Grillo offered a revised plan for the assiento, which was accepted, but the enemies of his monopoly in Spain and America prevented him from carrying it out. Though his contract was declared terminated in May, 1671, he was, as late as 1674, hopefully bargaining with the Dutch company for three thousand negroes to be delivered within six months.[160]

Despite Spanish fears and Spanish opposition it had, during the term of this contract, become a recognized fact that blacks for the Spanish market must be drawn from Curaçao and the English islands, rather than from Africa. The intercourse which Spain most feared was steadily increasing, despite all her precautions. Antonio Garcia, the next holder of the assiento, though a Portuguese, purchased his cargoes in large part from Curaçao,[161] drawing upon capital advanced by the Amsterdam house of Coymans. The failure of the Spanish banking house which acted as his security brought his purchases to an end, and left him imprisoned for debt.[162] The Spanish government declared his contract forfeited, and for a brief time the body of Seville merchants, the Consulado, undertook to obtain negroes in Africa and deliver them in Spanish America,[163] hoping to put an end to the smuggling trade. Their method was by the sale of licenses, the purchasers of which were forbidden to go to Curaçao for their blacks. Inex-

[158] Scelle, I. 505. The term *pieza d'India* was not synonymous with negro. While a black of unusual quality might be considered a *pieza*, it usually required two and sometimes three negroes to constitute one. Age, height, and details of physical condition were considered and careful instructions given as to the circumstances under which three negroes constituted two *piezas d'India*, or two, one. Indeed, in 1699 Heathcote, agent for Barbados, wrote with exasperation that the English merchants were forced to stand by and see eleven negroes counted as a single *pieza*.

[159] Scelle, I. 528-529, 533.

[160] *Ibid.*, pp. 545-546.

[161] *Ibid.*, pp. 565-578, 599. The use of Curaçao as a base for negroes for the Spanish-American market, as the Spanish government had foreseen, greatly increased the clandestine entry of negroes.

[162] Garcia was, in five years' time, to deliver 20,000 *piezas de India*. Scelle, I. 567.

[163] Their contract was made in February, 1676, to go into effect in four months.

perienced in the trade themselves, unable to find experienced middlemen who could aid them, and with the Portuguese and Dutch factories in Africa closed against them, they were obliged before long to turn to the Dutch company, and take their negroes from Curaçao.

Throughout the period of Garcia's imprisonment and the exclusion of the Dutch the Dutch West India Company had been endeavoring to obtain from the Spanish government redress for its losses and to dispose of the negroes which it had gathered together at Curaçao for Garcia. This it failed to do, the government contending, and rightly, that the Dutch contract with Garcia was a matter of private business with which the government had nothing to do.[164] In 1679 the Consulado resigned its undertaking to Genoese merchants, Don Juan Barroso and his son-in-law, Nicolas Porcio, with full knowledge that 1800 of the negroes were to be obtained from the Dutch West India Company.[165] In other words, the Spanish government had accepted the fact that its laborers must be obtained from foreigners and heretics. The disaster that overtook this bargain and its transfer to the hands of Balthazar Coymans is described in the documents hereafter printed.[166] The opposition of the Inquisition was powerful enough to make Coyman's possession of the privilege short-lived. With the passing of years Spanish bitterness toward Portugal had lessened and in 1694, through the agency of Bernardo Marin de Guzman, a merchant of Carácas, the assiento was entrusted to the Portuguese. Though they were the first to carry slaves from West Africa, they had been the last of the European nations to place the trade in the control of a joint-stock company. With the Portuguese Company of Cacheo, organized in 1692, Guzman contracted for negroes, and from this company Spain was drawing her licit labor supply at the end of the seventeenth century.[167]

In these official contracts with the Spanish government England had no part, but it by no means follows that she had no concern in Spanish trade. Her interest in it must be traced along two distinct and often opposing lines. The African Company, with its monopoly of home markets, was naturally desirous of engrossing Spanish markets as well. The plantations saw possibilities of gain in Spanish trade, provided the company did not dominate it. The governors are

[164] Scelle, I. 599, 620. To the protest of the Dutch ambassador that negroes had been collected at Curaçao for Garcia for which the Dutch company ought to receive recompense, Spain retorted with acuteness that they had by that time probably all been fraudulently introduced into Spanish possessions. The diplomatic interchange between Holland and Spain, in which Holland aimed at official recognition of Curaçao trade and Spain requested that the Dutch open to her the trade of her African factories (especially Ardra), brought about no great results at this time, but it paved the way for the entrance of France and England into Spanish trade in the eighteenth century. Scelle, I. 607-625.

[165] *Ibid.*, pp. 621-632; the contract is printed *ibid.*, pp. 831-836.

[166] Nos. 123 ff.; see I. A. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento (1685-1689)", *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, reeks VI., deel I., aflevering 1-2.

[167] Saco, pp. 288-290; Scelle, II. 3-68.

sometimes found forwarding the interests of the company, sometimes trying to foster independent trade.[168] The date of Grillo's contract with Spain coincided with England's entry into the trade on a large scale. Here there seemed a chance for England to share in the profits of this branch of the commerce. While Spain herself would not traffic directly with English heretics, the Genoese were troubled by no such scruples. At the time the Company of Royal Adventurers was chartered (Jan. 10, 1663) the Italian contractors had made two bargains for negroes, one with Carlos Hisbert for four hundred, and one with the Dutch West India Company for fourteen hundred.[169] These were to be brought to Curaçao, at which place the Spaniards would call for them. Grillo was prepared to make a third agreement with the Guinea Adventurers, who, along with the rest of the world, regarded the Spaniards as possessed of unlimited buying power, and as a veritable gold mine to all comers. The negroes for the Spanish market they hoped to obtain from Old and New Calabar, regions whose negroes were not in high favor with the English. Thirty-five hundred negroes sold annually to Spain would, they reckoned, bring into England £86,000 of the eagerly desired Spanish silver. To complete the details of the bargain, Grillo's agent, one Richard White, came from Madrid to London, authorized to bargain with any nation in Europe, Africa, or the Indies, save Portugal.[170] By the terms of the subcontract arrived at, the company was to deliver 3500 negroes annually, at Jamaica and Barbados, where the Spaniards were to come for them.[171]

The obscurity which surrounds the making of this contract is rendered greater by the contradictory nature of the records of it which are available. Rightly or wrongly, Grillo maintained that it would have been dangerous for him to allow the Spanish court to know that he was buying his negroes from the English company. To avoid this

[168] One of the great difficulties encountered in attempting to reduce to order the meagre record of the commerce between the English islands and Spanish America results from the fact that both England and her colonies were often acting in ignorance of what had been done by the other. The result was a confusion of orders and requests, and explains many apparent discrepancies in the records.

[169] 1663, Feb., *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 211; Scelle, I. 524.

[170] T 70:75, pp. 11, 15, 20, 47, 48. See also Scelle, I. 523-524; Zook, p. 93. White had evidently none too good a reputation in England. Before he ventured to London he obtained, or so he thought, the assurance of the Duke of York that he would be unmolested while transacting the business of the assiento. Nevertheless he was arrested shortly after his arrival and spent some time in prison, in spite of his protest to Secretary Bennet that he had come "to do the King great service by the importation of vast sums of bullion not by the business of the blacks alone" (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 144, 152, 168-169, 196, 211, 215-216, 225; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 158). Alexander Bence, the member of the African Company delegated to conduct the negotiations with him, seems also to have fallen under suspicion, for a warrant was issued to search his house for seditious papers. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1663-1664, p. 144.

[171] This according to Zook (p. 93), who cites a statement made by the company to this effect (C. O. 1:19, ff. 7, 8). Scelle gives the number as 5000 (*La Traite Négrière*, I. 524). Payment was to be made to Sir Martin Noell.

difficulty he resorted to a covert bargain, which was in part explained three years later. Alexander Bence and John Reid hired in England two vessels which carried the negroes. The freight for these vessels was to be paid to a Spaniard, who in turn assigned it to George Wallis, an Englishman living in Cadiz. From his hands it apparently was to be transferred to Bence and Reid. Payment was to be made every four months, but on May 14, 1667, one John Allen wrote to Arlington that the English vessels had been in use two and a half years, with no payments. He asked that the aid of the English ambassador at Madrid be enlisted, and that, in the event of his failure to obtain the money from Grillo, the truth of the matter be carried to the Queen Regent of Spain.[172] From this one would certainly infer that the English supposed the Spanish government to be ignorant of the source of Grillo's negroes. Scelle however states that Spain at first ordered Grillo to annul the contract with England, and specifically forbade him to treat with countries which had not freedom of trade with Spain. Upon further consideration however the government's opposition was withdrawn, and the assientists were told that they might complete the English bargain.[173] The Duke of York was asked to obtain permission for Grillo's agents to live in Jamaica and Barbados,[174] on the same terms as English subjects, and the company made its first sale to Grillo and Lomelin,[175] receiving from the king safe conduct for the vessels carrying the negroes.

To understand the further course of events it is necessary to review the relations between the English and the Spanish colonies.

During the fifteen or more years in which there had been no contract for negroes for Spanish America the Spanish planters had developed a considerable illicit importation. While this was chiefly from Curaçao, they were not oblivious to the desirability of trade

[172] May 14, 1667, "John Allen to Sec. Lord Arlington", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 466-467, 471; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, pp. 98, 133; Scelle, I. 525-526. The English experience with this assientist was throughout the entire history of the contract unfortunate. On Jan. 14, 1676, Alexander Bence complained to the king that he had hired two vessels in which Grillo was to transport the negroes that he purchased from the company in the West Indies. These vessels were never returned and the petitioner was obliged to pay the owners £8000, for which he received no recompense. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 647.

[173] Scelle, I. 527. This suggests sufficient knowledge on the part of Spain to make the elaborate machinery for concealment entirely unnecessary. In the light of the Spanish reluctance to allow even a subcontract for negroes to be made with the English, the directions sent to Sir Richard Fanshaw, early in 1664, to demand an assiento which would "insure to the Royal African Company a monopoly of the profitable slave trade to the Spanish colonies", were, to say the least, over optimistic ("News letter from Williamson to Fanshaw, Feb.-Mch., 1664", Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote MSS.*, p. 146; Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington*, p. 74). Fanshaw was a shareholder in the Company of Royal Adventurers.

[174] 1663, "Memorial of Sir Ellis Leighton to the Duke of York", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 158; see also pp. 174, 466-467, 471.

[175] 1663, "King's Warrant to the Governors of Barbadoes and Jamaica", *ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

with the English islands. Here the obstacles to free trade were great. Both Spanish and English legislation forbade it, and the objectives of those who desired it were too conflicting for them to co-operate harmoniously in evading the laws. What the Spaniards desired was access to English markets in the islands; what the English chiefly desired was access to Spanish markets. The English company looked toward a monopoly of the Spanish trade, while the planters wished an opportunity to develop their own commerce with the Spanish colonies. On the whole, the planters, finding, after some attempts at trade, that they were to be shut out from it, obstructed rather than promoted its development. In general the English governors favored the development of trade, even after the planters had come to oppose it.

In Barbados the Spanish merchants took the initiative in the effort to establish a traffic in negroes. Spanish merchants visited the island in March, 1662, and proposed to Walrond, president of the council, that they buy negroes for Peru, where the market price was then 1000 pieces of eight. On all goods brought to the island in payment for the negroes they offered to pay ten per cent, and assured Barbados of at least five million pieces of eight yearly.[176] The Spaniards professed to be ready to expend £100,000 at once. Though the council hesitated to agree to a transaction which obviously violated the navigation laws, Walrond was unwilling to close the door on so promising a trade, and allowed the Spaniards to purchase 400 negroes, at from 125 to 140 pieces of eight per head. Modyford, speaker of the assembly, while not supporting Walrond, could not but see the advantage of a sale which "filled the island with money", and urged that permission be granted to the Spaniards to buy negroes in the island. Such a transaction would aid Barbados and have the added advantage of driving the Dutch from the trade.[177]

In Jamaica the situation was reversed and the English took the first steps looking to trade. In 1661, when Lord Windsor was sent out as governor, he was instructed to obtain for Jamaica free trade with Spain, by force if necessary. His effort to open a trade peacefully was met by a refusal on the part of the Spanish governors to whom he made proffers of traffic, and, following the suggestion of his instruction, the Jamaica council in 1662 resolved upon a trade by force. The Spaniards were not to be won in such fashion. In 1663, when the deputy governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, wrote that he hoped to establish Spanish trade, he had given up forcing the way into

[176] Harlow, *History of Barbados*, p. 141; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 329-331.
[177] Thomas Modyford recounted these events to his brother: 1662, Mar. 30-Sept. 13, "Extracts of letters from Thomas Modyford", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 123-124.

Spanish ports but hoped to induce the Spanish merchants to come to Jamaica as they had to Barbados.[178]

Owing to past enmity between Spanish and English, this proved difficult. In May, 1664, Thomas Lynch wrote to Secretary Bennet that the Spaniards were drawing their supply of negroes from the Genoese, who had contracted to supply them with 24,500 in seven years, to be drawn from the Dutch at Curaçao, on which "cursed little barren island they have now 1500 or 2000". In complete ignorance, apparently, of the fact that the English company had already made a bargain with the Italians, he went on to suggest that the company sell negroes to the Genoese in order to divert the trade from the Flemings and exclude them from Africa.[179]

The home government was not only willing to accede to the wishes of the colonial governors, but it had already made an effort to facilitate the coveted trade. The governors of Barbados and Jamaica had been instructed to allow Spanish subjects to purchase negroes in the islands on the payment of a ten per cent. duty. From this export duty negroes of the Company of Royal Adventurers were exempt. Any trade with the Spaniards, whether that of the company or that which had its origin in the West Indies, since it violated the navigation acts, must be conducted by special license, and in January, 1663, the new company, with the prospect of the assiento contract before it, requested that such licenses be confined to it alone. This the various orders sent to the West Indies failed to do.

The action of the government pleased neither the West Indies nor the company. The latter resented the fact that trade was not confined to its vessels, the former that the exemption from duty granted to the company served as a subsidy to the company at the same time that it deprived the islands of a source of revenue. The planters, seeing themselves deprived of all possible advantages from the Spanish trade in negroes, soon became conscious of its disadvantages. From it they not only gained no income but they saw transferred to the Spaniards large numbers of negroes that, had they remained in the English plantations, might have lowered the prevailing prices. The petition of Sir Paul Painter and others against the monopoly of the company charged it with having "contracted with forreiners for the supply of the Spanish plantations with negroes, which do leave the English plantations in America, which produce the same commodities with the Spanish, either ill supplied, and at excessive prices, or not all supplied; by reason whereof . . . all his Majesties plantations

[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 106. The assumption underlying trade by force was, of course, that Spanish merchants were eager to trade but were prevented by government officials, against whom the force was to be used.

[179] May 25, 1664, Thomas Lynch to Sir Henry Bennet, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 211.

in America are at present much decayed".[180] To this the company replied that by the Spanish trade it had prevented the Spaniards from bargaining with the Dutch (the expression of a hope rather than a consummation) and had brought ready money into the West Indies. Also, it had delivered but 1200 negroes to the Spaniards, and was obliged to deliver no more, as the contractors had broken their contract. The company further stated that the trade had not prevented it from supplying the colonists with a bountiful supply of labor, and that it could hardly be true that the trade with the Spaniards was injurious to the islands since the colonists themselves indulged in it. Nor was it true that the negroes were used by the Spaniards to raise the same commodities which the English raised. The Spaniards used them as domestic servants and in their silver mines.[181]

Though the company thus defended the Spanish trade, it was hardly less unhappy over it than were the planters. The imminence of war made it probable that the bargain with the Genoese could not be met and as early as in 1664 the English were casting about for ways of inducing Grillo to lighten it.[182] In 1665, upon countering Grillo's complaint that the company was not fulfilling its contract, it obtained permission from the king to buy negroes in the plantations and ship them to the assientists' agents without duty.[183] In their turn the assientists were unable to meet their engagements. The closing years of Grillo's activity were also the years of the dissolution of the Company of Royal Adventurers and the formation of the Royal African Company. The treaty of Madrid, signed July 18, 1670, by checking the perpetual warfare between England and Spain in the Caribbean, had made illegal trade easier and also had roused hopes that legal trade might now be established,[184] but the nearly defunct company was in no condition to make use of any advantage offered by the treaty. All it could do was to attempt to forestall a development of Spanish-American trade on the part of the islands, by petitioning the king to confine such trade, if it was to be permitted, to the company alone.[185]

During the next few years the greatest interest in this commerce

[180] Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 342, 344.

[181] 1667, Nov. 15, Stock, I. 347-348. The complaint of 1667 against the Spanish trade was by no means the first which the island had expressed. In January, 1665, Barbados charged that the scarcity of negroes and the prevailing high prices were to be attributed, not to the Dutch war, but to the trade with Spain. January, 1665, "Brief Narrative of the Trade and present Condition of the Royal African Company", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 266.

[182] Zook, p. 94.

[183] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 215. Letters directing that this be allowed were sent to the governors of Barbados and Jamaica.

[184] The author of the *Importance of the British Plantations* (p. 41) regarded the signing of this treaty as the beginning of trade between Jamaica and the Spanish colonies.

[185] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 57.

was displayed by the colonial governors, who, in general disposed to support the company's desires, were not averse to developing a direct trade with the assientists if it were possible.[186] Sir Thomas Lynch, avid for any gain to be derived from this alluring Eldorado, was willing to lend all possible assistance to the company in establishing the trade. His correspondence shows his equal willingness to dip into the profits of Spanish commerce by any other method. "I gave Major Beeston and Mr. Read (who was Factr to the Royall Company) ord'r to treat with the Assientistas Factor to come hither for Negros, thinking it might have help'd to Reestablish the Royall Company, But Hee was soe Hated and the Gent. soe Watched that nothing cd. bee Done", Lynch wrote to Arlington in 1671.[187] Some months later he recounts the prices paid by the Spaniards: "The Men of War have sold Spanish sixty or eighty at 150 to 200 pieces of eight which makes a great noise and will draw abundance of negroes here", but adds, "there is no possibility of doing anything, the Governors [Spanish] are so fearful and the Grillos factors so careful".[188] His desire to share in the traffic had already led him to offer his services as Jamaica factor to the new company which was being organized, and about this time he essayed an independent venture in the trade, sending a ketch loaded with negroes to Cartagena. This the Spaniards captured and destroyed, inflicting on him a loss of some £1500, enough to check his zeal for independent action.[189]

Before this catastrophe Lynch had approached the trade by still another route. Since his overtures to the company and his letters to Arlington failed to bring results, he wrote directly to Sir William Godolphin, English minister at Madrid. This move he himself described to Arlington:

> His chief hope was to have stolen into a little commerce with the Spaniard, but finds this Peace makes them cautious and that it is difficult, so has considered doing it more overtly by way of the Asientistas at Madrid. His Lordship will see by enclosed how he proposes it to Sir W. G(odolphin) and if he can effect anything like this Sir Thomas will provide the negroes and take on him the charge and care of managing all, and his Lordship shall have one third of the whole profit, only paying proportionably when loss happens. Cannot foresee that anything can be done but this way: has sent three times to Cartagena, yet could never buy so much as an emerald, but others have sold some few straggling negroes for it is only for that the Spaniards will venture.[190]

[186] The Council at one time shared the belief that the sale of negroes to Spanish America would benefit the island. Council Minutes, Nov. 28, 1671, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 276.

[187] Aug. 20, 1671, C. O. 1:27, no. 22; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 247.

[188] Jan. 13, 1672, Lynch to Secretary Joseph Williamson, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 316-317. Grillo's contract had already been terminated but his agents probably continued to hope that it would be re-established.

[189] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 316-317; Sept. 28, 1672, Richard Browne to Williamson, *ibid.*, 415.

[190] Mar. 2, 1672, Lynch to Arlington, *ibid.*, p. 335.

One more effort Lynch made to turn the attention of English officials to the benefits of this trade. On April 4, 1673, he wrote to the Council for Plantations: "They say the contract with the Grillos for negros expires in eight months, and the cities of Carthegena, Mexico, etc., are offering a yearly payment to the King of as much as he got by that assiento for permission to buy negroes where they can best." Should this be so, he believed Jamaica could be serviceable to the Royal African Company.[191]

While Lynch was giving persistent attention to the establishment of Spanish trade for negroes, the planters themselves seem for the most part to have either ignored or opposed his efforts. One exception to this is to be noted. On November 28, 1671, the council of Jamaica considered the sale of negroes to the Spaniards at 80 pieces of eight or fifty doubloons each, "which will bring money to the island to buy better of our own merchants".[192] This argument, however, did not prevail with the planters. Lord Vaughan, who succeeded Lynch, wrote to the Council for Foreign Plantations:

> I heare, My Lords, That the Contract with the Grillôs is nôt like to be renewed, and that the Spanish Gov'rs here have Some of them received Licenses from Spaine, to buy a certain Number of Negroes, where they can procure them, if it bee soe, it were a good opportunity for our R. Compa. to endeavor the making of a Contract with them, which would exceedingly contribute to the Interest of England and of this Island.[193]

That there would be difficulties was recognized. One of the greatest lay in the tradition of hostility between Spaniards and English:

> The next thing to be wished for in that world is a trade with the Spaniards, but will find so many obstructions from their jealousies and interests in the beginning, that will require a more than ordinary care in conducting it and some assistance here at home by making it practicable. It is not to be thought that the Spaniards can quickly forget all the mischiefs continued upon them by us in those parts . . . it is not unlikely that we, instead of the Flemings, had been the convoys and shares in their rich flotas, if we had given them no frequenter cause of enmity to us in those parts than the Dutch had done. But, my lord, to gain a trade with them, I cannot but think the likeliest way would be, first, to make some new contract with the undertakers at Madrid for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negroes, and this would be easy to be done, if your lordship would induce his royal highness and the African company to endeavour it; since I once tried the matter and found, by advice from Spain, that they were very ready to treat with us, and to break with the Hollanders, who supply them at present from Curaçoa.[194]

[191] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 478. Jamaica apparently did not yet know the actual conditions of Grillo's contract.

[192] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[193] Jan. 25, 1675/6, Vaughan to "Lords of the Councill for forrain Plantacions", Recd. 17 May 1676, Library of Congress, Br. trans., Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 523; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 342.

[194] Letter from Mr. Nevil to the Earl of Carlisle, on the "Present State of Jamaica", *Interesting Tracts relating to the Island of Jamaica*, p. 107; also in Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (1774), I. 598-599, App.

The feasibility of trade was to be put to the test with Barbados, not Jamaica. A vessel left Spain for Barbados in 1677. In order to avoid any display of hostility, which might frustrate its plan or prevent future trade, the good offices of the Duke of York or the Council of Trade were solicited:

Memorial of some persons concerned in a Spanish ship, the *Santo Domingo,* Captain Pedor de Lagos, lately left Spain for Barbadoes to purchase negroes and transport them to the Spanish West Indies. That the Royal African Company will procure letters from His Royal Highness or the Council of Trade and to the Governors of Barbadoes that said ship may receive all encouragement, and continue a further trade from the Spanish West Indies to Barbadoes for buying and transporting blacks without exacting more duties or other impositions than the law appoints.

Orders were sent to Vaughan and to Sir Jonathan Atkins of Barbados, directing them to

take special care that such ships or persons be civilly treated, and receive all fitting countenance in their design, provided they do nothing contrary to the Acts of Navigation or the laws of the island, and that said persons have free admission, bringing in either money or goods of said countries and that no other duties or impositions be demanded than the law appoints.[195]

For once the home government and the determined and outspoken governor of Barbados were in agreement. At about the same time that these orders were issued Atkins was writing to the Lords of Trade of the arrival of a Spanish vessel, and pointing out the advantages it promised:

Arrival of a Spanish ship from Cadiz desirous to trade for negroes. Finds they at once obtained a trade but lost it again by the petulancy of the then Lieutenant Governor, but are resolved to come again by the persuasions of the Guinea Company, being a new society of merchants who have contracted with the Crown of Spain to furnish them with negroes. Advantageous to the Guinea society and the island, which will also be rid at good rates of refractory, dangerous, and bad negroes, and there will be always a stock ready upon the island for the Spanish to come and buy within ten or twelve days sail of Hispaniola, where they carry them all.[196]

On July 24, 1677, the *Concord,* returning from Barbados, reported that the Spaniards were trading there for refuse negroes, and that one vessel had carried away upwards of three hundred at £25.[197] In November "by beat of drum it was proclaimed, that trade with the Spaniards for negroes or any other goods was free and open for everyone".[198]

[195] 1677, May 12, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 84. In October, 1677, Vaughan wrote that he "had received the order and two Spanish ships, which he treated with friendliness". *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[196] 1677, May 13/23, Gov. Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, "Read 17 July, *ibid.*, p. 85.

[197] *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1677-1688, p. 263.

[198] Nov. 13, 1677, "Journal of Col. William Beeston", *Interesting Tracts relating to Jamaica*, pp. 271-300.

In England the Council of Trade and Plantations consulted with the African Company over the course suggested by Governor Atkins. The company, as was to be expected, expressed its entire agreement with his faith in the advantages which would accrue to the residents of the island from Spanish purchases of blacks,[199] and appointed a committee to come to an agreement with Spain over the details of carrying the negroes.[200] Curiously enough, it seems not to have occurred to the Lords of Trade up to this time to ascertain the legal status of the trade in question. They now addressed a query to the Solicitor General, which brought from him a positive statement. Since negroes were undoubtedly commodities, it was therefore forbidden to have traffic in them with the Spaniards.[201] There seemed nothing for the Lords of Trade to do but to report, early in 1678, that trade in negroes with Spain was forbidden.[202]

This is the period of the assiento of Barroso and Porcio, when Spain had become much more lax as to the source of the negroes furnished by the assientists. In 1680 John Crocker appeared in Jamaica, bearing license from the King of Spain to trade with English, French, or Dutch in America, for negroes for the Spanish colonies. Lieutenant Governor Morgan wrote: "it is confidently reported that we shall shortly have free trade with Spain. . . . This will speedily make this Island very considerable, for all the current cash that we now have is brought here by private trade with them."[203] But to trade in negroes, it was necessary to have the negroes and these Jamaica could not supply.[204] Crocker was still waiting for negroes in January, 1681, with hopes that vessels of the company were soon to arrive.[205]

To the scarcity of negroes the planters now added another obstacle to the trade. In 1681 the Jamaica assembly laid upon the negroes exported from the island a duty of £5. According to Morgan's apologetic letter explaining his acceptance of the measure, it was occasioned "by the merchants supplying the Spaniard with great numbers of negroes rather than the planters whose necessities pressed them much for a good supply". Morgan goes on to say:

I wanted not reason enough to refuse the Bill, but two Madeira ships were just arrived whose duties amounted to about 800 *l.*, and were in hazard to be

[199] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 134-135.

[200] T 70: 77.

[201] C. O. 268: 1, pp. 74-75; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 84-85, 118, 120.

[202] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 120, 209-210. Beer believes that this information was never transmitted to the colonies. *Old Colonial System*, I. 362.

[203] Nov. 12, 1680, Sir Henry Morgan to Lord Sunderland, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 630; Jan. 27, 1681, Morgan to Lords of Trade and Plantations, *ibid.*, 1681-1685, p. 5.

[204] Sept. 3, 1680, "A Spaniard for negroes, in a streite how to supply him", T 70: 10.

[205] Jan. 27, 1681, Morgan to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 5.

lost, and moreover abundance of interloping negroes were on the Island, purposely reserved for the Spanish trade. I was anxious also myself to avoid anything that might make them uneasy on the first entrance into business, so by the advice of the Council (one only excepted) I gave this bill the Royal Assent, but with a caution to the Speaker and Assembly that they should not make it a precedent for any such bill in the future.[206]

Lynch, again governor of Jamaica in 1682, never ceased to be interested in the possibilities of the trade and to record his hopes and disappointments concerning it. In April the scarcity of negroes discourages the Spaniards;[207] in July the governor of Panama sends for negroes;[208] in September the interruption of the assiento because of Porcio's difficulties discourages him, but he feels that trade is certain to come to Jamaica if they can but obtain negroes;[209] in November he concludes that the assiento must be ended, since the Spaniards have not called for 2000 negroes held at Curaçao for them, while ships from Havana and Panama are trying to buy from Jamaica.[210] In February, 1683, the agents of the African Company and Lynch both report that Spanish buyers after waiting four months have purchased from an interloper.[211]

In the autumn Lynch reported the purchases of Gill, who wished to carry away three hundred to four hundred negroes and would gladly do business at Jamaica.[212] That Barbados had at least a desultory share in the trade may be inferred from the fact that Governor Dutton was charged with accepting six dollars a head for allowing 1000 negroes to be sold to Spain. Dutton readily admitted this, saying that it was a customary payment.[213] By the next year, 1684, the involved affairs of Porcio had drawn Jamaica into their circle, and Lynch's letters were filled with details of the quarrels between rival factions (no. 119). Porcio's agents, who were endeavoring to safeguard the trade of their principal until he could obtain justice in Spain, seemed to Lynch to be interfering with an embryonic trade of considerable promise. The home government gave its consent to the trade;[214] the Royal African Company was supplying negroes in sufficient quantities and the Spaniards were thought ready to buy were it not for the obstructions put in their way.[215]

[206] May 18, 1681, Sir Henry Morgan to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 55.

[207] T 70: 10.

[208] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 302.

[209] Sept. 29, 1682, Lynch to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.*

[210] Nov. 6, 1682, Lynch to Jenkins, *ibid.*, pp. 319-320; Nov. 16, 1681, T 70: 10.

[211] Feb. 20, 1683, Molesworth and Penhallow to the Royal African Company, T 70: 10; Feb. 22, 1683, Lynch to William Blathwayt, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 393.

[212] Nov. 2, 1683, Lynch to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, *ibid.*, p. 535.

[213] *Ibid.*, pp. 553, 561.

[214] Apr. 29, 1685, *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 81.

[215] May 9, 14, 1684, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 629, 633, 636; Nov. 30 1684, *ibid.*, p. 739; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 362-363, n. 4.

During the time that Coymans held the assiento the trade was by no means confined to the Dutch. In June, 1685, Diego Maget arrived in Jamaica, with permission to buy negroes. He requested that he might have the privileges of trade granted to Englishmen and be allowed to carry the fruits of the Spanish colonies to Jamaica in payment. The Lords of Trade to whom he petitioned referred the subject to the Commissioners of Customs, who replied that of the assiento they knew nothing. As to that, they suggested consultation with the Royal African Company; as for the introduction of Spanish products into Jamaica, that was clearly forbidden.[216] Ignoring the unfavorable nature of the report of the commissioners, and probably ignorant of it, the agent of the new assiento took 300 negroes and left instructions with a resident factor to carry on the business.[217] The home government seemed equally blind to the objections of the commissioners. When Sir Philip Howard went to Jamaica as governor he carried instructions directing him to encourage the Spanish trade.[218] The vigorous assistance lent to the business of the assiento by Hender Molesworth during his service as acting governor of Jamaica, though strongly opposed by the Jamaica planters, gained the commendation of the Lords of Trade.[219]

By 1688, after four years of wrangling and uncertainty, Porcio was re-established in the assiento; but Jamaica, at last determined to protect what she regarded as her own best interest, had forbidden Spanish trade.[220] In 1689 the council and assembly of Jamaica made vigorous protest that while thousands of negroes had been imported by the company during the last years, but few had fallen to the planters, the factors grasping all. The negroes were picked to suit the Spaniards, the factors reaping the benefit. The planters received the refuse at £22 each. Their ready money was often refused because it was not pieces of eight. Though Jamaica had an act providing that two planters should always be joined with two merchants in "lotting" the negroes, this was disregarded.[221]

[216] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 54, 55, 64.

[217] Aug. 29, 1685, Molesworth to Blathwayt, *ibid.*, p. 84. Hender Molesworth, one of the African Company's factors, was acting governor from 1684 to 1687.

[218] Nov. 25, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 122.

[219] May 10, 1686, Lords of Trade to Hender Molesworth, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 185; Beer, *op. cit.*, I. 365-366. No sooner had Molesworth gained governmental consent on both sides than he encountered a fresh vexation. The shipments of negroes were interfered with by the pirate crews infesting the Caribbean (Nov. 5, 1686, Molesworth to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 277-278). At times trade must have gone forward without the obstacles which, from the interchange of letters between the governors of the islands and the officials at home, appear continuous. On Aug. 4, 1687, Molesworth wrote to the Lords of the Treasury that he had made something while the assiento trade was in Spanish hands and he was a factor of the Royal African Company. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 406-407.

[220] Scelle, I. 672; July 19, 1688, the Royal African Company to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 573.

[221] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 106-107.

The protest of the colony had no apparent effect on the action of the company and little on the policy of the government, which continued to support and encourage Spanish trade in negroes. Lecky, along with numerous other historians of England, states that in 1689 England and Spain completed a convention whereby England was to supply the Spanish West Indies with negroes.[222] This is far from having been the case. The assiento had been granted by the Spanish government to Porcio, and whatever agreement was reached must be between him and the Royal African Company, not between the two governments. The English government was, however, ready to give whatever protection the traffic needed. Porcio's agent, Santiago Castillo, arrived in England shortly before the end of June, 1689,[223] and began negotiation with the Royal African Company for negroes.[224] Meanwhile, before either party to the negotiation could bargain with confidence, the interpretation of the navigation laws must be determined. On August 22 the law officers reported that while unloading to careen was lawful, negroes were merchandize, and under the act could be exported only on the same terms that other goods were.[225] From the law officers the question was transferred to the Commissioners of Customs, who saw no objection to the presence of Spanish factors in Jamaica if the prohibition of alien ships trading in British countries were dispensed with by law.[226] Again, on November 11, the "Judges" ruled that negroes were merchandize and their report was laid before the king.[227] Those concerned in the assiento contract were growing impatient at the protracted consideration of the legality of the trade and the Spanish ambassador requested that the purchase of negroes in Jamaica be permitted while those in authority reached a conclusion. Such purchase had, he said, been allowed for twenty years.[228]

On February 5, 1690, an Order in Council granted freedom to Barbados and Jamaica to trade in negroes with Spain. The governors were directed to grant protection to Spaniards coming to the islands for negroes.[229] On April 17 Castillo and Captain Thomas Hewetson

[222] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878), II. 12. The statement is made by Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (1790), III. 120, and frequently quoted on his authority. Bryan Edwards, *History of the West Indies* (1819), vol. II., ch. 2, p. 55; Saco, p. 288.

[223] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 134.

[224] The African Company, by the Revolution of 1688, had lost its charter privileges, and, though the company did not admit it, the trade was legally open to anyone. Scelle (I. 686-687) says Castillo also bargained with a group of private merchants of England who were planning to enter the trade, as well as with the Dutch.

[225] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 132, 133.

[226] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[227] *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172, 173.

[228] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[229] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 153; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, p. 217. How great the trade between the Spanish and British plantations was cannot be known, but the minutes of the Jamaica council July 29, 1692, ask for a king's ship to remove from Porto Bello £40,000, the remains of the Jamaica merchants' estates there. *Ibid.*, p. 678.

completed an agreement for negroes.[230] The troubles of the assientists were not over. Though England had consented to the Spanish trade, Jamaica was by no means reconciled to it and the Jamaica assembly reimposed a duty on the exportation of negroes, which roused the governor's indignant protest.[231]

The amount of the trade in 1690 was probably small. The *Swan* convoyed one small ship from Jamaica to Cartagena.[232] In 1692 John Bird, John Pargiter, and others, owners of the *Mary*, petitioned for arrangements to protect their purchase in Jamaica and transportation for 200 negroes, who were to be sold in Havana for £28 each.[233]

When Colonel Beeston, lieutenant governor of Jamaica, in doubt as to the apportionment of negroes among Spanish contractors, asked for instructions and the African Company was called before the Lords of Trade to arrange details,[234] the company said that it had no contract with the assientists and had ordered all negroes in Jamaica to be sold by inch of candle, that is, by auction.[235] Two months later instructions to Beeston directed him to encourage the trade of the assientists.[236] Soon after his arrival in Jamaica he wrote that Castillo, with £300,000 to expend, had been there for negroes, but, unable to procure them, had departed to Danish St. Thomas. Meanwhile 700 had arrived in Jamaica and more were expected.[237] In the conflict of interests between the island and the merchants at home Beeston leaned toward the side of the planters, so far as to defend the export duty of 20 *s.*, as aiding an empty treasury and doing no harm to the assientists.[238] At the close of 1695 Kast repeated to the king the old complaint, that the factors sold the best slaves to the Spaniards and gave to the planters nothing but refuse.[239] Then the trade languished and Beeston wrote: "the Assiento and all other trade being gone, the merchants have little money."[240] This period corresponded with that in which Guzman and the Portuguese company were coming to terms and organizing the new assiento. Whether or not this company hoped at the outset to supply the required number from its own African factories, it soon gave up such hope and turned to the English for assistance. The Portuguese were prepared

[230] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, p. 247.

[231] Aug. 12, 1691, Inchiquin to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.*, p. 523; July 20, 1691, Inchiquin to the assembly, *Interesting Tracts relating to Jamaica*, p. 236.

[232] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, p. 296.

[233] Mar. 17, 1692, *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 169.

[234] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, p. 667.

[235] *Ibid.*, p. 677.

[236] *Ibid.*, p. 710.

[237] June 10, 1693, Beeston to Nottingham, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1693-1696, p. 114.

[238] Oct. 9, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

[239] Dec. 26, 1695, Kast to the king, *ibid.*, pp. 633-634.

[240] July 22, 1696, Beeston to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.*, 1696-1697, p. 43.

to make Jamaica an entrepôt for blacks, and asked to establish Castillo there as their agent. They had also contracted with a group of London merchants, Sir Stephen Evance, Jeffrey Jeffreys, John Stafford, and William Richardson, to carry their negroes to Cartagena.[241] In accordance with English restrictions, all English ships which contracted to deliver negroes for the Portuguese assiento were obliged to unload their cargoes in one of the English plantations. This, in addition to being an inconvenience and expense, increased the mortality of the voyage. For these reasons English memorialists asked to be delivered from the regulations.[242]

The merchants also found cause for grievance in their treatment in Spanish-American ports. Heathcote wrote to the Board of Trade that the English had been ill used in Cartagena, and would doubtless be in Vera Cruz, to which two vessels were now bound.[243] To facilitate the efforts of the Portuguese, the London merchants asked that once again the colonial governors be directed to give assistance. Customs commissioners and admirals received the same directions.[244]

In this mass of details, in the letters putting forth the grievances of the colonists or the avarice of the colonial governors, the legal hesitancies of law officers, the old and recurring hostility of English and Spanish, the envy of the Dutch, the quarrels of rival factions, one thing stands forth unmistakably. Slowly the rigidity of trade restriction was breaking down. The Spanish desire for negroes and the English desire to sell were contriving to destroy an outworn commercial system and England was moving steadily nearer to the agreement with Spain which in 1663 could not be given to heretics.

[241] June 6, 1698, Beeston to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1697-1698, pp. 100, 115, 265-267. The petition of Sir Stephen Evance and his companions to receive the assistance of the governors of Barbados and Jamaica in fulfilling their contract with the Portuguese company of the assiento was reported upon favorably by the Board of Trade as something beneficial to the islands, but the assiento passed to France before anything came of the bargain. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 340; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, pp. 291, 324, 329-330, 344, 366, 420.

[242] Oct. 12, 1698, *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1702, p. 224.

[243] Mar. 4, 1699, Heathcote to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, pp. 55-56; also, depositions of John Chapman and John Neill, *ibid.*, p. 88.

[244] June 21, 1699, *ibid.*, pp. 291, 324; *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 340.

19. Voyage of Pierre van den Broeck to Cape Verde, 1606.[1]

Pendant-que nous faisions de l'eau à la même isle du Cap Vert, où nous avions terri, il y vint une chaloupe Angloise de Juvale,[2] pour nous donner avis que les Anglois savoient oú il y avoit un vaisseau chargé de riches marchandises et d'esclaves, ofrant de nous y conduire, si pour leur part du butin, nous voulions leur donner les esclaves Noirs de l'un et de l'autre sèxe. Nous acceptâmes le parti, et aïant trouvé le vaisseau ancré à Juvale, il se rendit à nous.

Il étoit de Lubec, du port de 240 tonneaux, chargé de sucre de S. Thomas,[3] de dents d'éléfant, de coton, d'une partie de réales de huit, de quelques chaînes d'or, de 90 esclaves des deux sèxes, de 4 Portugais, et de 11 hommes de Lubec qui étoient malades. Le Maître étoit mort, et ils alloient terrir à Lisbonne.

Nous emmenâmes la prise au Cap Vert, pour y mettre de nos gens, et pourvoir à ce qui pouvoit lui manquer. Nous laissâmes les esclaves entre les mains des Anglois; puis nous remîmes à la voile le 16 de Juillet 1606, et prîmes la route de Hollande, étant trois vaisseaux de compagnie. Nous entrâmes dans la Meuse le 5 d'Octobre suivant. . . .

La plupart des Portugais qui résident dans ces pais-là sont de vrais bandits. Il en demeure une partie à Portodale[4] et a Juvale, où ils trafiquent avec les Anglois, et avec nous. Ils rassemblent dans ces deux places autant d'esclaves qu'ils peuvent, et les mènent à S. Domingo, ou à Catsiao,[5] d'où ils les envoient au Bresil, et ils les y

[19] [1] R. A. C. de Renneville, ed., *Recueil des Voiages qui ont servi à l'Établissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam, 1703-1710), IV. 306-473. Astley published an English translation of an extract from Van den Broeck's narrative, made from a French version published in Amsterdam in 1725 (Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 247-248). This voyage was the first of several made by the author, who sailed from Holland Nov. 10, 1605, as supercargo. The vessel anchored at the island of Goree, opposite Cape Verde, on Jan. 15, 1606. Here were found two Dutch, three French, and five English vessels. Van den Broeck was sent to Portudal on the mainland, where for four months he traded with the natives. He then rejoined the vessel, which was preparing to return to Holland. At that point the incident here narrated took place.

[2] Joal, on the mainland, south of Goree. In 1591 Richard Rainolds named it one of the chief places of trade between the Senegal and the Gambia rivers. Astley, *Voyages*, I. 242.

[3] São Thomé or St. Thomas, an island not far north of the equator, was the seat of many Portuguese sugar plantations. Save for a brief interval after 1648, when it was in the hands of the Dutch, the Portuguese held it throughout the century. Frequent references to it are found in the accounts of the slave trade, as it was a convenient place at which to obtain wood, water, and provisions, before the long voyage to the West Indies.

[4] Portudal, north of Joal, also named by Rainolds as an established trading place, later became one of the centres of conflict between French and Dutch, and French and English.

[5] On some eighteenth-century maps Santo Domingo appears as an alternative name for the River Cacheo. There may have been two settlements on opposite banks of the river, bearing the two names. Cacheo continued to be a trading centre for the Portuguese throughout the seventeenth century.

vendent bien cher. Il y en a qui aiant amassé de grosses sommes à ce négoce rache tent leur ban, obtiennent remission de leurs crimes, et s'en retournent en Portugal (pp. 308-309). . . .[6]

20. Brother Luis Brandaon to Father Sandoval.[1]

[March 12, 1610.]

Your Reverence writes me that you would like to know whether the negroes who are sent to your parts have been legally captured. To this I reply that I think your Reverence should have no scruples on this point, because this is a matter which has been questioned by the Board of Conscience in Lisbon, and all its members are learned and conscientious men. Nor did the bishops who were in São Thomé, Cape Verde, and here in Loando—all learned and virtuous men—find fault with it. We have been here ourselves for forty years and there have been [among us] very learned Fathers; in the Province of Brazil as well, where there have always been Fathers of our order eminent in letters, never did they consider this trade as illicit. Therefore we and the fathers of Brazil buy these slaves for our service without any scruple. Furthermore, I declare that if any one could be excused from having scruples it is the inhabitants of those regions, for since the traders who bring those negroes bring them in good faith, those inhabitants can very well buy from such traders without any scruple, and the latter on their part can sell them, for it is a generally accepted opinion that the owner who owns anything in good faith can sell it and that it can be bought. Padre Sánchez thus expresses this point in his Book of Marriage, thus solving this doubt of your Reverence. Therefore, we here are the ones who could have greater scruple, for we buy these negroes from other negroes and from people who perhaps have stolen them; but the traders who take them away from here do not know of this fact, and so buy those negroes with a clear conscience and sell them out there with a clear conscience. Besides I found it true indeed that no negro will ever say he has been captured legally. Therefore your Reverence should not ask them whether they have been legally captured or not, because

[6] A few years before this venture, on Nov. 1, 1600, Pieter de Marees set forth from Holland with two vessels, returning in March, 1602. The second part of his account of his voyage (*Beschrywinge ende Historische Verhael vant Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea,* 1602, 1912) describes the Guinea coast, the third, the coast of Benin and Gaboon. After its first appearance it was translated into German (1603), Latin (1604), and French (1605).

[20] [1] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud,* pp. 253-254. Father Sandoval, considerably in advance of his age, was greatly troubled by scruples regarding the legality of the slave trade. To quiet his doubts, he had questioned Brother Luis Brandaon, rector of the College of the Society of Jesus at St. Paul de Loando, in Angola, from which place many of the negroes for the Portuguese colonies were taken. Saco prints the above answer to his questions.

they will always say that they were stolen and captured illegally, in the hope that they will be given their liberty. I declare, moreover, that in the fairs where these negroes are bought there are always a few who have been captured illegally because they were stolen or because the rulers of the land order them to be sold for offenses so slight that they do not deserve captivity, but these are few in number and to seek among ten or twelve thousand who leave this port every year for a few who have been illegally captured is an impossibility, however careful investigation may be made. And to lose so many souls as sail from here—out of whom many are saved—because some, impossible to recognize, have been captured illegally does not seem to be doing much service to God, for these are few and those who find salvation are many and legally captured.

21. Announcement of a Contract for Negroes, 1614.[1]

Know ye all that his Majesty commands that a contract should be made as to the hiring and general trading of negro slaves for the West Indies, on the following conditions:

First: that said contract should be made with the Portuguese for eight years; that the number of negroes to be shipped be 3500 effectives annually, allowing twenty per cent. for those who might die; that the pilots and seamen of the vessels in which they are shipped be old Portuguese Christians (avoiding the use of others who might be used but who are not Christians); that the negroes be shipped by the most direct route, without coming to Seville, as many as possible being taken from Cape Verde; that they be landed in the harbors of Cartagena and New Vera Cruz, to be thence distributed to other places where they might be needed in accordance with the orders of the Royal Council of the Indies (thus avoiding under severe penalties sailing for and landing at other ports); that no negroes should be brought into Buenos Ayres and Rio de la Plata; and that the ships making these voyages should clear under the orders and registry of the House of Trade in Seville or in Cadiz, but of no other place, giving the necessary guaranty for their return. Whoever desires to bid for this contract can come to Licenciate García Páez de Araciel, his Majesty's fiscal, in his Council of the Indies, in the city of Madrid. On the 13th day of the month of October, 1614, before me, the present scribe, being in the port of Guadalajara where the meetings of the people of this region take place, the preceding announcement relating to the shipping of negro slaves to the Indies was made by voice of Francisco Hernández, town crier of the said port, exactly in accordance with its contents and the condition therein set forth,

[21] [1] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, I. 828-829.

and in loud and distinguishable manner, in the presence of many people. All the foregoing I attest, and offer my signature herewith.

Before me, JUAN DE RETUERTA.

22. THE VOYAGE OF RICHARD JOBSON TO THE GAMBIA RIVER, 1620.[1]

They [the Portuguese and mulattoes] doe generally imploy themselves in buying such commodities the countrey affords, wherein especially they covet the country people, who are sold unto them, when they commit offences . . . all which things they are ready to vent, unto such as come into the river, but the blacke people are bought away by their owne nation, and by them either carried or sold unto the Spaniard, for him to carry into the West Indies, to remaine as slaves, either in their Mines, or in any other servile uses, they in those countries put them to.

23. GEORGE DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.[1]

August 26, 1645.

If you go to Barbados, you shal see a flourishing Iland, many able men. I beleive they have bought this year no lesse than a thousand Negroes, and the more they buie, the better able they are to buye, for in a yeare and halfe they will earne (with God's blessing) as much as they cost. . . .[2]

A man that will settle ther must looke to procure servants, which if you could gett out of England, for 6, or 8, or 9 yeares time, onely paying their passages, or at the most but som smale above, it would do very well, for so therby you shall be able to doe something upon a plantation, and in short tim be able, with good husbandry, to pro-

[22] [1] Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade or a Discovery of the River Gambra, and the Golden Trade of the Aethiopians* (London, 1623), pp. 28-29, in ed. of 1904, pp. 35-36.

[23] [1] *Winthrop Papers*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, fourth ser., VI. 537, 539. The celebrated George Downing, cousin of the younger Winthrop, at the age of twenty-two visited Barbados, Nevis, and St. Christopher, in the capacity of ship's chaplain. For the opinions of Downing's father as to the value of negroes, see this work, vol. III., Massachusetts, 1645.

[2] John Scott's "Description of Barbados" gives the number of negro slaves in Barbados at this time as 5680 (Beer, *The Old Colonial System*, I. 320n.). On their source there is a note in the Harley Papers, Welbeck Abbey MSS.: "The Earle of Carlisle sent a Governor to Barbadoes who did dispossesse the Governor for the Earle of Pembrooke, and he granted Land as others did before to severall personns, heitherto the Collonies did not thrive, but were like to bee extinguish [ed] for want of provision untill it happen'd that the Duch loosing Brasille, many Duch and Jews repairing to Barbadoes began the planting and making of sugar, which caused the Duch with shipping often to releive them and Credit when they were ready to perish. Likewise the Duch being ingaged on the coast of Giney in Affrick for negros slaves having lost Brasille not knowing where to vent them they trusted them to Barbadoes, this was the first rise of the plantacion that made it able to subsiste and trafficke." From a paper endorsed, "toucheing Barbados", the endorsement in the handwriting of Sir Robert Harley, who was appointed keeper of the seals of Barbados in 1663.

cure Negroes (the life of this place) out of the encrease of your owne plantation.

24. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO JAMES POPE.[1]

LONDON, the 17 September, 1651.

Mr. James Pope.

Loving Freind, Wee desire you in the first place to performe your duty unto Allmighty God that so wee may expect a blessing from him upon your endeavors, w'ch God graunt. You are to imbarque your selfe upon the shipp *Freindship* Captaine John Blake Comaunder, and being dispatch't from Gravesend you are to desire the said Captaine Blake to hasten into the Dowens, and from thence with the first opportunity of winde and weather that God shall send to saile directly for the river of Gambra [2] in Guinney, taking in your Compa the *James* bound for Siera Leon and any other good ships that you shall there finde, and when it pleaseth God you arrive in the river of Gambra, in the first place you are to sett upp your two Barges, with the two Pinaces, and having man'd, victualled, and fitted the Barges, you are imediately to send them away up the River, w'th one or both of the small boats, as you shall see occasion, to finde out Mr. Langley w'th our Letter directed unto him, leaving one Factor at Baraconda [3] by the way.

Upon this shipp wee have laden a Cargo of goods and provisions as per Invoice and bill of Lading amounting unto £ Consigned unto you, or your assignes, which wee desire may be put off to our most advantage, for hides, wax, and teeth, gold, Ambergreez, or any other merchantable Comodity you shall meete withall, disposing of our Factors at severall places as you shall see occasion *vizt.* Mr. Benjamin Clark, whome wee conceave wilbee fitting to bee our Accomptant for the receaving in or delyvering out of the *Freindship* any goods, Richard Swan, who hath had experience for many years of the trade with Negers and Portugals at Siera Leon, him you may imploy at any of our Factories, as you shall see convenient, Richard Dobb, and Nicholas Bowles, all w'ch Factors you are to settle there, except Mr. Clark, who is to retorne for England upon the *Freindship.*

[24] [1] The letters of 1651 and 1652 here printed are from the Portland MSS. at Welbeck Abbey, and were obtained through the kindness of Richard W. Goulding, Esq., Librarian of the Duke of Portland. They are calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Thirteenth Report,* App., pt. 2, *Portland MSS.,* II. 28-29. The first letter is endorsed, "Commission for Mr. James Pope the 17 of 7'ber 1651".

[2] Gambia. The forms Gambra and Gambo continued to be used until the second half of the seventeenth century. The term Guinea still applied in 1651 to the northern as well as to the southern section of the West Coast.

[3] The distances recorded by the early explorers lend little aid in locating the villages on the Gambia. According to Jobson's account, Barracunda was between three and four hundred miles up the Gambia; it was about two hundred and fifty miles from the location of the present Bathurst.

Captaine Blake hath promised to give you his best asistance in your Trade, so in your absence you may desire him to manage your Trade aboard the ship with the helpe of Mr. Benjamin Clark, desiring you, and all the subordinate Factors to have a speciall respect unto Captaine Blake, and that you live in love and freindship together.

At your arrivall upon the Coast you may stop at Refisco[4] to give those people notice that you are coming upon the Coast to trade, and bound for Gambra, that if they will provide any goods, you will deale with them, the like word you may send from thence to Porto Dally and Joally,[5] giving them notice of your arrivall. The french Aquavitae, and most part of the Christall is not yet come, you may expect it by the Pinace *John,* w'ch wee stay here to carry it after you, by whome wee will write you, and send you the Invoice and bill of Lading. For your Trade in the river for wax, hides, and Eleph'ts teeth, wee desire you to cut the price at as low rate as you can, and to ease us what you may of the Also's[?], desiring you to procure as many hides, teeth, and wax, as you can, that the ship may bee full Laden, whereby to countervaile our great charge of fraight, victuall, and wages, having a speciall regard that the hides bee well cured, and that they be well dried and beaten, before you lade them aboard.

The two Barges etc. wee desire may bee dispatch't with all expedition up to Mr. Langley as aforesaid, fitted and vitled with all things necessary, w'ch arriving with him, they are to bee at his order and direction, and when it pleaseth God that Mr. Langley shall retorne in the *Freindship,* wee desire that hee may have all due accomodation and respect from Captaine Blake and your self, taking a particuler accompt of what Gold hee retorneth, and to bee safe put up in the Iron chest, w'ch he hath with him, and if hee bring downe any minerall Ore, sand, or earth in Barrells, that they bee also safely stowed in the ship, untill their arrivall here, Consigned here in London by bill of Lading to us that signe your Comission, for the use of our selves, and the rest of the Adventurers in this new Discovery, and in like manner for the hides, teeth, and wax etc. that you shall lade aboard the *Freindship.* When God shall send Mr. Langley aboard the *Freindship,* and bring us a Comfortable retorne, our order is, that you doe with all expedition dispatch away the Pinace *John* for London with large advice, that wee may prepare against the next yeare timely, both for the discovery and Trade, and if any thing be omitted in this our Comission, w'ch you thinke may bee for the good and benefit of our voyage, wee leave it to your discretion to doe therein, as you shall see cause.

[4] Rufisque or Rio Fresco.
[5] Portudal and Joal. These directions indicate that the English had settled factors both up the river and at the trading posts on the coast.

Wee desire you to settle a Factory for us at the most convenient place to have the Comaund of that river. For what debts wee have owing in the river of the last voyage by Francisco Vaz de franca and Andreas Perdegon etc., wee desire may be recovered in,[6] and that you trust as little of our goods for the future as you can, and for the goods left with Mr. Langley, desire an Accompt for them, wee have left it to Mr. Langley's Choice, either to stay in the Countrey or to retorne home upon the *Freindship,* either way wee desire you, hee may be accomodated to his Content. And Mr. Shalcrosse, whom wee have enterteyned to goe Master of the Barge up the river, wee pray you give him so much of those instructions which Mr. Langley left with you, as may direct him to finde the said Mr. Langley up in the river, and in Case Mr. Langley should miscarry (w'ch God forbid) Our order is, that Mr. John Wall proceed to performe the said designe, who is acquainted with all Mr. Langley's intentions.

Wee pray you prohibite all private Trade of the Seamen or others what you can, forbidding all men the buying of hides, for wee will have none laden aboard the *Freindship* but what is for our accompt. Wee pray you buy for us 15 or 20 young lusty Negers of about 15 yeares of age, bring them home with you for London, laying in that Countrey provisions for them, as you shall see needfull. Also bring a Certificat home with you that the 4 Butts of wine laden the last voyage in the *Dolphin* and the 3 pipes of wine nowe laden in the *Freindship,* were all sold to Portugall Merchants and others in the River of Gambra, putting your owne name and some other of your men there unto the said Certificat, w'ch wee pray you faile not to doe. The keyes of all the Cargasoon Chests are herewith delivered you as also the 2 keyes for Mr. Langley's 2 cases of strong waters and 1 key for a box of quick silver for Mr. Langlie. Wee have not further to inlarge only praying the Almightie to bless you with life and health for a prosperous success upon our affaires we rest.[7]

Your loving freinds

ROW: WILSON
MAURICE THOMSON
JOHN WOODS.

[6] The Order in Council approving the grant of the Guinea trade to the group whose names are here affixed was not issued until Apr. 9, 1651. Apparently these merchants had been trading in the Gambia before the deliberations of the Council of State over the African trade were completed, and probably had been trading without a patent. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1651, p. 107.

[7] The last paragraph of a similar letter of the same date but containing no reference to negroes, sent to Capt. John Blake, reads, "Wee doubt not of your care and vigilancy to prevent any surprisalls by the French in regard you know of the

25. The Guinea Company to Bartholomew Haward.[1]

London, the 9 of December, 1651.

Mr. Bartholomewe Haward, First we pray you performe your dayly dutie unto Almightie God, that so we may expect a blessing upon your endeavours.

You are to hasten with your ship to Gravesend, and being cleered there into the Downes, and from thence with the first faire winde and weather, in Compa. with such ships as you shall finde, to saile directlie for the River Gambra in Guinny, where you shall finde the ship *Freindship* Capt. Jno. Blake Comaunder, upon w'ch ship Mr. James Pope is our cheif factor, to whome you are to deliver our Letter, and such Cargo as we have laden in you (excepting the cases of suger chest boards belonging unto Mr. John Wood) unto whome we have written to buy and put aboard you so many negers as yo'r ship can cary, and for what shalbe wanting to supply with Cattel, as also to furnish you with victualls and provisions for the said negers and Cattel, as also with such Caske as Capt. Blake can spare, to be filled with water, all w'ch we have desired Mr. Pope to effect in as short a time as may be, and when he shall have laden your Cargo of negers or Cattel aboard, you are to signe bills of ladeing for what you shall receive desireing his letter to Mr. Francis Soane Mercht at Barbados[2] unto whome we have written effectually for

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differences wee have with them". On Oct. 6, 1651, Captain Blake in a letter "To the wor'll Guiny Compa. thes present In London At the Guiny Cort to Mr. Jo'n Balloe In Bushipgaite stret" reported that he had anchored in the Downs the day before and would sail with the first favorable wind. On Oct. 10 instructions were sent to the master of the pinnace *John,* signed by Wilson, Woods, and Samuel Vassall.

The three merchants who signed the letter here printed were among those to whom the charter for African trade had recently been granted, after an investigation by the Council of Trade. Rowland Wilson may have been the elder bearer of that name, a wealthy London merchant, who died in 1654, but probably he was the younger, who was a member of the Council of State in 1649 and 1650. Maurice Thompson had been interested in trade and colonial development for twenty-five years. In 1626 he equipped three ships, which carried Warner and 60 negroes to St. Christopher. (The source of these negroes remains a matter of conjecture. Williamson's surmise that the vessels took them from the African coast on the voyage to the West Indies is at least possible. J. A. Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under Proprietary Patents,* p. 31.) He was a trader to Virginia and an owner of sugar plantations in Barbados. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 195, 197.

[25] [1] The "Commission of Rowland Wilson, John Woods and Samuel Vassall to Mr. Thomas Bluck, 10 October 1651", is not here printed. Bluck, master of the pinnace *John,* was to accompany the *Friendship.* In this commission there is no mention of negroes. Samuel Vassall, whose name here appears, had in 1650 remonstrated against the monopoly privilege on the coast, and had been charged by the company with burning its establishment at Wyamba. He was a London merchant with extensive interests in New England, Virginia, the West Indies, and Guinea. Whether his earlier African trade included negroes is still an unanswered question. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 331, 339.

[2] Barbados had become, in the preceding fifteen years, an important source of

the sale of your negers, and ladeing your ship for London, whose order and directions you are to followe untill he shall give you your dispatch for London. Wee desire you to be veary carefull in the well stoweing of your ship and that none of the goods you shall take aboard be abused, and being dispatched from thence we pray you hasten for London, and when you come int[o] our Chanell be veary vigilant and carefull for feare of surprysalls, not trusting any. And our ord'r is that all the while you lye in the River Gambra untill your Cargo be provided that you followe the directions of Mr. James Pope and from all places where you shall touch send us advice of your proceedings. There is put aboard your Pinck *Supply* 30 paire of shackles and boults for such of your negers as are rebellious and we pray you be veary carefull to keepe them under and let them have their food in due season that they ryse not against you, as they have done in other ships.

When you shall come into the Downes you are to send unto Mr. Thomas Waad at Dover for a case of Cristall beads w'ch he will put aboard you there w'ch you are to cary with you for Gambra and deliver with the rest of the Cargo unto Mr. James Pope. So Comitting you to God's protection we rest Your loving freinds.

ROW: WILSON
THOMAS WALTER
THO: CHAMBRELAN
JOHN WOODS
MAURICE THOMSON.[3]

26. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO JAMES POPE.[1]

LONDON, the 9 of December, 1651.

Mr. James Pope.

Loveing freind, Upon receipt of your letter out of the Downes bearing date the 7th of October we dispatched away the Pinnace *Jno.*: Thomas Bluck master, without the French Spirrets, depending upon

sugar, and therefore an excellent market for slaves. The estimates of the negro population about this time vary from 20,000 to 30,000, both of which, it is safe to say, were considerably exaggerated. Most of these negroes were brought by the Dutch, about whose trade at this period little information has come to light. The white population shows a decrease during the decade 1645-1655. For the sources of population figures, see V. T. Harlow, *History of Barbados*, p. 338; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 320 n.

[3] Endorsed, "Comission for Mr. Bartholomewe Haward M'r of the Frigot *Supply* the 9 December 1651".

[26] [1] Addressed: "To Mr. James Pope Merchant aboard the Ship *Freindship* in the River Gambra by the Frigot *Supply* whome God preserve."

it that you had taken aboard those of Mr. Delavalls, w'ch we wrote him to lade aboard, but the winde comeing faire you set saile before our letter came to hand. So nowe to furnish you with those spirrets etc. we have brought this Pinck named the *Supplye,* by whome you shall receive those Spirrets and other goods mencioned in the Invoice and bill of Ladeing here inclosed, w'ch you are to receive and dispose of to our most advantage, wherewith or any other goods you caryed out we pray you buy as many good lusty negers as shee can well cary and so dispatch her for the Barbados, with Invoice and bill of Ladeing Consigned unto Mr. Francis Soane and in case you cannot procure negers enough to lade her then you are to supply what shalbe wanting in Cattel, that shee may not goe emptie, putting in water and provisions for them, to w'ch effect we have writt Capt. Blake to let him have what Caske he can well spare, out of the *Freindship.*

Wee pray you let this Vessell be dispatched with all the convenyent speed that may be, and in the meane time you may imploy her in trade there in such places as you shall thinke fitting for the furtherance of your Voyage.

Wee have an intent against the next yeare to buy 200 Negers in that River. So we desire you to contrive howe wee may procure them, that our ship stay not long upon it, and if it may be to make a certaine agreem't for them because we desire to be at a certainety before we send a ship, Also we desire you to inform yourself what quantity of negers have beene bought there this yeare, and whither shipped and upon what ships by name ether English Duch or French and the masters names. . . .

We also desire you to assist Mr. Haward M'r of this pinck *supply* in the fitting of his ship for the better accomodacion for his negers or Cattle and advise us by the *Jno.* what you have laden aboard her and when she departed, and furnish him the said Mr. Haward, with victualls for himself and ships Compa., so long as he shall stay there, and for the Negers passage to Barbados that he may not spend of his ships provisions, and for what elce is needfull for our trade and factorie in Gambra we referr you to the instructions given you at your goeing out in the *Freindship.* So praying for your health we Comit you to god resting Your loveing freinds

Row: Wilson
John Frederick
John Woods
Thomas Walter
Tho: Chambrelan
Maurice Thomson.

[P.S.] We pray you inquire for some of that Country Marybucks bookes [2] of the Mahomitants religion and send us them if cheape.

Wee have delivered to Mr. Haward in a black box our Guinny Patent [3] and have obtained the broad seale of the Comonwealth to be affixed thereunto whereof Capt. Blake and yourself may serve yourselves as you see occasion. Also we have delivered unto Mr. Haward 6 strings of East India Cristall beads 2 of a round small sort, 2 of a great round sort, and 2 of squre cristall, they goe for a sample at the request of a good freind, you may sell them to the most advantage and enquire what quantitie will there vend

Your Loving Frend

JOHN BALLOWE

for the Guinny Compa.

27. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO FRANCIS SOANE.[1]

LONDON, the 9th of December, 1651.

Mr Francis Sone.

Loveing Freind, This Serveth only to Accompany the bearer heereof Mr. Bartholomew Haward Master of the Frigot *Supply,* whome we have consigned unto Mr. James Pope in the River Gambra to lade aboard her as many Negors as shee can carry, and in default Thereof to fill her up with Cattle, and to consigne them unto you in the Barbados as by Bill of Lading for our accompt. All w'ch negors or cattle we desire you to take into your custody, and make Sale of them for present payment in Suger lading it upon this our Frigot, and for what Shee Shall want of her lading to supply it at fraight at the rate accustomed. We doe not inlarge further at present in regard we Shall wright you from hence directly by the first Ship after we heare of the peace of the Island [2] only we pray you dispatch our Ship home for London with as little loss of tyme as may be.

Wee have agreed with Mr. John Wood that such negers as shall come from the River Gambra in our said Frigot *Supply* that you take them upon his plantation makeing sale of them so soone as you can for our most advantage for ready payment, not trusting any, and in

[2] Meaning, books of the marabouts of that country. The word marabout, which is found in half a dozen forms, comes from the Arabic word for a hermit or holy man of the Mohammedans. These men were common among the Moors and Berbers of North Africa.

[3] See *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 355.

[27] [1] Addressed: "To Mr. Francis Sone, Merchant In the Island of Barbados, by the Frigot *Supply* whome God preserve." The company also sent a letter to Captain Blake, asking for his co-operation in loading and caring for the negroes.

[2] The royalist party, under Francis Lord Willoughby, on Jan. 11, 1652, made peace with the parliamentary expedition sent out to take Barbados.

the Interim before you shall have solde them you may make use of their Labour in Lieu of their dyet, we doe this to prevent the makeing of debts upon the Island and in case any of the said negers should be sick and not able to work you may charge their victuals to our Companyes acco. untill such time as they are recovered. So praying for your health etc. we comit you to God, resting

Your Loveing freinds

ROW: WILSON
JOHN WOODS
THO: CHAMBRELAN
JOHN FREDERICK
THOMAS WALTER
MAURICE THOMSON.

28. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO BARTHOLOMEW HAWARD.[1]

LONDON the 11th of Decemb. 1651.

Mr. Bartholmew Hayward.

Loving frend, Conserning the procecution of your voyadg refer yow to the compa. Comition given yow, this only sarving to desire yow that when god shall send yow to arrive in the Barbados in safty that yow delliver those Eaighteene casses with suger Chests bords unto my Kinsman francis Sone and in the time thay remaine abord your ship that thay bee Carfully looked unto that thay bee not broken, but if the Iland should not bee reduced wherby yow cannot come to land your negros: then I desire yow at the port or ports, wher the Compa. shall order yow to goe that there yow make sale of them to my best advantaig for redy paym't in Indico or sugar, and bring the proceed of them home w'th yow and for care and paines therin I shall requitt. ther is in the Casses bords for 90 Chests: that is 5 Chest in eatch casse redy fitted with heads, ther wants nothing but to putt them together. soe not elce at present but to desire god to prosper your voyage and send yow to retorne in safety.

Your Loving frend

JOHN WOODS.

[28] [1] Addressed: "A Remembranc for Bartholmew Haward m'r of the frigott *Suply* deliverd him by John Woods."

29. Captain John Blake to the Guinea Company.[1]

Vintan River In the River Gambae this
15th off February [1651/2].[2]

Wo'll Rouland Willson, Samuell Vasall, Morese Thomson and the Rest of the Compa.

After my Servese presentend I having this opportunity Could doe noe lesse then present you with thes Lines Conserning the passages In thes parts Sence our Arivall w'ch are Sad. The 14th of 9'ber wee Cam Into this River and arived at Gillifre[3] whear wee Set up our Barges and being Set up thay departed from us; the 25th dito wee Set Saill with them for this place, at our arivall In the river wee had the sad newes of Mr. Langlyes deth and all the rest of theme but three w'ch remain'd alive w'ch Sence wee find too trwe. Mr. Boules one of your factores went up In one of the Barges with a Cargo to Baracundie and after himself and goods was landed being taking of a pipe of Tobaco In one of the negroes pipes went to your gould Chist w'ch was left the last yeare with Mr. Langly, and having the pipe in his mouth having opened the Chist many times before and knowing what was In the Chist being powder with other Small thinges the powder tucke fire and blwe up part of the house and the other part burnt with many other howsen In the town with all the goods and the prosed therof w'ch was left of the last yeare as Teth and other goodes allso the Cargoe w'ch hee had with hime, noe mane hurt but hime Sellfe and he was very much Burnt So that our men of the barges Sent him downe abord In the wheary w'ch was left with Mr. Langly and the three men that was left alive as I sort [said] befor w'ch to of them weare very weake and one dead Senc[e] hee Cam abord; allso Mr. Boules lived too dayes after that he Cam abord but dyd a most misirabell Creatuer being allmost Eaten up with magates thay being So long Coming doune; our barges departed from Baracundae the 8th of Desember. Sence our Coming Into this River It hath pleased the Lord aflickt us with much Sicknes that wee have bured three and twenty men. My Chefe and my Second maites and botswaine are three of them; both my Guneres maites and botswaines mait, three more, Mr. Dobes one of your factores

[29] [1] Addressed: "To the wor'll Rouland Willson and Compa. Adventreres to Guiny these In London".

[2] Vintang or Bintam River is the largest southern tributary of the Gambia, entering it about twenty-five miles from Bathurst.

[3] Gillifree or Jillifree was a small settlement on the north bank of Gambia opposite James Island. The later reference to an island probably means that close to the settlement was an island which bore the same name. Later in the century the Royal African Company established a factory here, opposite its fort on James Island. Francis Moore described it in the next century as a large town inhabited by Portuguese, Mandingoes, and Mahommedans. *Travels in Africa*, p. 67.

foure, the rest of them the lustiest men wee had In our Shipe, my Sellf having bine very Sicke being taken Sick one of the first So that noe man that see mee that did ever thincke that I should a recoverd, but It hath pleased the Lord to raise and restore mee and many more of us to our health againe, I hope to his glory and our Comfortes; most part of all our men hath bine sicke and are Sicke at present, but all upon the mending hand but vere weake and febell. Wee have noe more well mene at present then will man our long boat w'ch Is sum tenne; my Sellfe at present very well and lusty and I hope with In a short tyme to see all the rest up againe and lusty. God sending the pines [pinnace] *Jo'n* from Jualg,[4] as wee Expeckt hir every day, then wee doe Intend to get our hides abord and goe out of this river for It Is a very unhoulsom place that wee are burnt up for want of Are and breses, here Is noe but what Comes from the shore and thay are so hot that thay doe allmost Stifell us that It weare beter to have non at all. Conserning our Traid wee have about Sume nyne thouson hydes ashore and abord not a Tune of teth, and les waxe, but I hope wee Shall have more; heare Is Too Traders more In the River besides our Sellves, a Fleming that was here the last yeare, allso A Deaine [5] whoe hath bult a Castell upon the litell Iland of Gillifre. I thincke hee maye bee likened to the man that bult his howse upon the Sand, for when the raines Comes I belfe It will wash all away. Mr. Pope Is within thes too dayes at farthest going up In one of the pinases To Baracundae to see after the barges and when hee returnes then we are to depart the river w'ch I beleve will be the medell of maye or longer as hee Concludes. I becech you If our Companyes wifes Comes to Inquire for newes to put them In as go[o]d Comfort as you may, becase they may not discomfort my wyfe. I dout not but by gods asitance wee shall doe well enoufe, for thancks bee to the Lord allmity that his hand Is Stayd amongst us for I never See men dye So soudainely In my Life, Concluding It to be Sum straing deses as you may gese, for wee have beuried all thes men In a months tyme, Sum tymes three and four In a day; thus having not Ellse at present desire you not to bee dishartened at the newes. I hope by gods asistance that wee Shall have good newe[s] by our barges of a hopfull voige ther and I shall doe my Indever here to acte what I cane and I becech god to give his blesing and I hope all will bee to

[4] Possibly one of the many ways in which Joal was written.

[5] The Danish foothold on the Gambia was slight and has been entirely ignored by most writers. This factory was probably built by the Danish Company created under Christian IV., which established itself on the Gold Coast about 1642, though it is conceivable that it belonged to an independent trader with no company behind him.

his glory and our Comfortes, and unto his protectione I commite you and so take leave and rest.

[P. S.] This Letter Cometh by the Daine. I pray bee pleased to Send the Inclosed to my wyfe.[9]

30. Vice-Director Beck to the Amsterdam Directors of the West India Company.[1]

[Curaçao, June 11, 1657.]

Honorable, Respected, Wise, Prudent and most Discreet Gentlemen, . . . and further [the Biscayan] made a proposal and even wrote a letter to me with his own hand, the original whereof I am sending herewith to your Honors, tending to trade the company's negroes, that is, all that are here at present for sale, on the following conditions, to wit; That the company shall have a ship with their own crew here ready for the negroes to embark in, and when resolved to accept his offer, to let him know at the place designated by him, and where our people have recently visited him, when he will without loss of time repair in person to this harbor, and enter into an agreement and contract for what articles and at what price the negroes shall be delivered at the place where he hopes to take them in safety and without danger; and that he will not receive any negroes before payment for them shall be made on board the ship, and he or his partner shall remain on board the ship, with the negroes, until the

[9] The letter to his wife adds details concerning the health of the men and comments on their habits, but does not increase our knowledge of their trade. Obviously Captain Blake had not yet received the instructions to load with negroes and sail for Barbados. The *Friendship* was destined never to carry out these directions. On Mar. 2, 1652, she, the *Supply*, and the *John* were still trading in the Gambia when Prince Rupert's squadron entered the river. At this time the Duke of Courland was building a small fort near the mouth of the Gambia and a seaman from one of his vessels gave to Prince Rupert's men news of where the English ships were to be found. Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert* (III. 357-358) refers to the capture of the *John* but makes no mention of the *Friendship*. There were apparently other English vessels not far away, for William Coxon, mate on the *Supply*, said later that he might have caused all the English ships belonging to the company to be seized, as he knew where they were. As reparation for the loss of these three vessels the Guinea Company, in June, 1652, asked for £10,000. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 383.

[30] [1] Albany, State Archives, New York Colonial MSS., 17: 27; *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1663* (New York Colonial Tracts, no. 3), pp. 113, 118-123. The translations which follow have been revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer and will be found to differ somewhat from those printed in the *Voyage of the St. John*. Beck was the vice-director of the Dutch West India Company stationed at Curaçao. By the directors at Amsterdam is meant the directors of the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company, which was organized into five divisions or chambers, the Amsterdam chamber representing four-ninths of the whole. The plan outlined by Beck for surreptitious trade with the Spaniards was one which had been recently laid before him by an unnamed Biscayan with whom the Dutch had been secretly trading in commodities other than negroes. The relations between Curaçao and New Netherland at this time were close and the material on the trade of New Netherland in vol. III. of this work should be read in connection with this correspondence between Beck and the company.

conditions and agreement which will be made here shall be fully carried out.[2]

He reports that the place to which he says he will convey them is on the north side of Cuba, where their [Spanish] nation has no fortress nor means to prevent the project or to disturb them; also that he will leave his own cousin, who is likewise closely related to the friends to whom he will convey the negroes, here at Curaçao as a hostage and security, until it be manifest that he shall have performed in good faith all he has promised; as more fully appears by the annexed relation and report of Cornet Balthazar van Ess and Johan Rombouts on the subject. He has requested an answer to this, for his information. I therefore wish your honors' early instructions hereupon, as to what I shall do or omit in this matter, and that in the meanwhile I may receive a supply of provisions sufficient for the negroes to enable me to wait for him. . . .

I have received the agreement and contract which your honors have concluded with Mr. Henrico Matthias, merchant of Amsterdam, respecting the negroes. On looking and reading it over, I find it very favorable for the said Mr. Henrico Matthias, but can readily understand that your honors have done it to begin and introduce the trade here. I shall not be wanting, God willing, in obeying and executing your honors' orders and instructions in this regard faithfully and to my best ability. Meanwhile, should it happen that Mr. Henrico Matthias's expected ship did not arrive here, as it has not yet done, I shall expect your further order and answer whether we shall dare to proceed or not with the negroes on the aforesaid Biscayan's presented proposals set forth as above. In the strong hope and expectation that we shall be able to open a trade with our nearest neighbors, I shall purchase on your honors' account a small cargo from Skipper Simon Cornelissen Gilde, so that they may at least find something on coming here; and our vessels in going to Bonayre[3] may advise the Biscayan and the other inhabitant mentioned above

[2] The natural source of the supply of negroes for Spanish America, since Spain herself had no access to the African coast, was the Portuguese factories; but when Portugal freed herself from Spanish domination in 1640 such was the resentment of Spain that she cancelled her contract with Portugal and refused to accept Portuguese offers for a new one. Toward the Dutch, at this time the most powerful people upon the African coast, she cherished both resentment and fear, and Dutch offers fared no better. The English were scarcely strong enough commercially to be considered seriously as a possible source for negroes. In addition the English were heretics (as were the Dutch also) and therefore could not be allowed to introduce negroes into Catholic America. Spanish merchants who offered to attempt direct trade with native chiefs were discouraged lest their actions on the West Coast embroil Spain with other European nations, as they undoubtedly would have done. The result of all this was that for a period of over twenty years Spain had no contract for negroes, and illicit purchase must frequently have been resorted to. Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, I. 473-495; see introduction, this work, p. 105.

[3] Bonaire or Buen Ayre, a Dutch island not far from Curaçao.

in the inclosed letters what goods they can obtain in coming here, taking a sample of each article along to show them, should occasion present, and, at the same time, inform the Biscayan that I have not received any orders to allow negroes to leave the island until payment for them has been made, and that I shall let him have, within four months after date, a fuller and more explicit answer which I hope I shall receive from your honors in the meantime. . . .

I am confident that on these conditions he would give at least two hundred pieces of eight for a merchantable negro or negress, one with another. . . .[4]

31. VICE-DIRECTOR BECK TO THE AMSTERDAM DIRECTORS.[1]

[CURAÇAO, July 28, 1657.]

Gentlemen, . . . As I advised your honors in my last letter, I dispatched the freight-boat to the Biscayan at the appointed and designated place—a certain small island near the Main—and sent him word on the subject of his proposed trading for negroes, as I had informed your honors more at large in my last. . . . Whereupon he resolved to visit this place in person, in our aforesaid freight-boat. He was accomplished by a certain Padre, named Friar Francisco, to purchase a few parcels of merchandize with one or two little negro girls., I also sold to the above named Biscayan a small negro boy with a few goods, for which he had brought with him some hides and tobacco in our aforesaid boat; these are sent herewith as a specimen by the aforesaid ship *Voogel Struys,*[2] the price of the hides being fifteen shillings each and of the tobacco six pieces of eight the arobe of twenty-five pounds as per invoice,[3] I have sold to the aforesaid Padre Friar Francisco goods to the amount of over four hundred pieces of eight and two little negro girls, all at a fair and reasonable price, in order to encourage and stimulate them to come to these ports to trade, which I think is greatly for the company's interest. Wherefore, I let the Padre have the two little negro girls at one hundred and fifty pieces of eight each, which together amounts to three hundred pieces of eight, and to the aforesaid Biscayan a little boy at one hundred and twenty pieces of eight. . . .

With regard to the trade in negroes, the aforesaid Biscayan, now here, has given me such explanations and further information on that point, that we can come to no other conclusion than that a good

[4] If a piece of eight be reckoned at 4 *s.*, this would indicate an extravagantly high price for negroes, £40, in contrast to the £18 for which, shortly afterward, the Company of Royal Adventurers agreed to furnish them to the British islands.

[31] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17:28.

[2] The *Ostrich.*

[3] Arroba, a Spanish weight, which varied locally from twenty-five to thirty-six pounds.

and favorable result is to be expected from it. He has communicated to me the most direct and shortest route, how and in what manner not only one shipload of negroes, but gradually more, with good saleable merchandize besides, could be traded off. Were a ship with necessaries in the harbor here he would be willing, on receiving notice thereof at the appointed place, to come here and enter into such agreement with the company, from which, as he firmly believes, he and the company would derive great advantage.

The place the negroes should be conveyed to is called Porto Bello, the staple place of trade. Permission can be obtained to dispose of the cargo freely there on paying one hundred and thirteen pieces of eight for each negro, which is the royalty. But such permission is not given except to persons of their own nation; but it can be obtained under the pretext that they had chartered a Dutch ship and crew to fetch and bring over the negroes, and that the negroes and merchandize in the ship are the property of their nation.

Such is the manner in which the aforesaid Biscayan would contract for and purchase negroes from the company on the following conditions: That he, or his companion, with five or six more of their nation, shall embark at their own expense with the company's skipper, commissary, crew, and matrosses in the ship lying ready to sail and prosecute with them their voyage to Porto Bello, and after receiving a permit there from the governor, sell the negroes, which they know they can sell immediately after their arrival at such a high price that the outlay of the aforesaid royalty in order to obtain the permit, may be easily repaid. Therefore, they will undertake this themselves, and pay to the company, after safe arrival there, for each negro and negress between eighteen and thirty years of age, two hundred reals or pieces of eight, in silver bars or pieces of eight; further they will be able to obtain there a proper permit to trade then to other places, to load the ship with such cargo and freight as the countries supply and are most profitable to the company. In like manner, the price for the goods being agreed upon and arranged here, the payment there for them shall be made in the same manner as for the negroes, but the risk of the sea and the expenses of the negroes, until they arrive at the above place, must be borne by the company, but when arrived there, they will be responsible for them. For the full performance of the conditions which shall be made with them here on the part of the company, the aforesaid Biscayan offers to stake his life, and even to remain here in person in the fort, or at the option of the company to leave another responsible person here at the risk of his life, if any fraud is or has been intended or designed. And it is further conditioned that the negroes in their minority, as well as old

and deformed ones, must be disposed of at a special and lower price. On these terms he is resolved, at all times from now henceforth, whenever a ship with negroes will be ready here, at the time and place to be named where advice is to be sent him, to come hither and with God's merciful help faithfully to perform whatever is above-mentioned.

The other plan or proposal mentioned in my last, to run the negroes in at the north side of Cuba, is not, he says, so feasible as this.

32. Vice-Director Beck to Director Stuyvesant.[1]

[Curaçao, August, 1659.]

Honorable, Valiant, Wise, Prudent and most Discreet Sir.

Sir, I now transmit to your honor duplicates of what I have already sent by the galiot *Nieuw Amstel,* Skipper Augustinus Heermans, and it will be very agreeable to me if I may be informed by the earliest opportunity of their speedy and safe arrival. I would not forego the present favorable occasion and opportunity of the ship *Sphaera Mundi,* Jan Pietersen skipper, to acquaint you of the circumstances of this island up to the present time (God be praised!) in regard to the continuation of the trade with our nearest neighbors. Hitherto all current articles of commerce have been sold, no matter how many were imported, especially negroes, the trade in which at this place the company reserves to itself.

There are lying here at present, practically ready to sail hence directly for the Fatherland, two ships, which keep me so busy that I have not enough time left to write to your honor at length. One is the company's ship called the *Coninck Salomon,*[2] which arrived here on the 2d of July from Guinea, with three hundred and thirty-one slaves. Of these I have sold upon delivery 300 at one hundred and fifty pieces of eight each, to a certain Spanish trader whom I am daily expecting to come here and receive them, which I wish may occur before the departure of the aforesaid two ships in order to be able to transmit the proceeds to the lords masters.

Franck Bruyn selected from the aforesaid lot of negroes for your honor, two boys and a girl who go over in this ship. I have done every thing possible to protect them against the cold. The said Franck Bruyn has also selected two for Commissary Van Brugh, who likewise go by this conveyance on said commissary's account. Your honor will please to have such payment collected therefor from said Van Brugh for the company, as you will consider just. Commissary Laurens van Ruyven has also purchased two young negroes

[32] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 41.
[2] *King Solomon.*

here for account of his brother the secretary of your province, at the same price as the lot sold for here, *viz.*, one hundred and fifty patacoons.[3] I am still in daily expectation of a ship with negroes. I wish they were come, even were they a thousand head. I expect the abovementioned merchant here, as already stated, to take away those of the *Coninck Salomon*. He is well able and will eagerly buy the whole lot at once.

I have received orders from the lords masters to send your honor against the spring some fifteen or sixteen negroes, whom I could have easily dispatched now, but we have no coarse cloth to clothe them, and are fearful that they will not be able to endure the winter there. As negroes will be plenty here in future, I thought it best, according to the orders of the lords masters, to postpone sending them until the spring, when I shall be sending a young negro girl for Mr. Augustinus Heermans according to his request. Meanwhile, I hope to receive for my instruction your honor's advice and order as to whether you will require any more negroes than the above, and of what age and in what numbers you wish them sent. . . .

33. Journal of the Slaver *St. Jan*.[1]

Journal kept on the ship "St. Jan", begun on the fourth of March of the year 1659.

We weighed anchor, by order of the Hon'ble Director, Johan Valckenborch, and the Hon'ble Director, Jasper van Heussen, to proceed on our voyage to Rio Reael,[2] to trade for slaves for the hon'ble company.

March 8. Saturday. Arrived with our ship before Ardra,[3] to take on board the surgeon's mate and a supply of tamarinds for refreshment for the slaves; sailed again next day on our voyage to Rio Reael.

17. Arrived at Rio Reael in front of a village called Bany,[4] where we found the company's yacht, named the *Vrede*,[5] which was sent out to assist us to trade for slaves.

In April. Nothing was done except to trade for slaves.

May 6. One of our seamen died; his name was Claes van Diemen, of Durgerdam.

[3] A Spanish coin, about $1.12.

[33] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17:43 (a).

[2] The modern Rio del Rey, just east of the Old Calabar River. The *St. Jan* was proceeding from Elmina, on the Gold Coast, to the Slave Coast.

[3] Arda or Ardra, one of the first settlements on the Slave Coast, a low, open coast extending from the Gold Coast to the Bight of Benin.

[4] Bonny, a village near the mouth of the New Calabar River.

[5] *Peace.*

22. Again weighed anchor and ran out of Rio Reael accompanied by the yacht *Vrede*; purchased there two hundred and nineteen head of slaves, men, women, boys, and girls, and set our course for the high land of Ambosius,[6] for the purpose of procuring food there for the slaves, as nothing was to be had at Rio Reael.

26. Monday. Arrived under the high land of Ambosius to look there for victuals for the slaves, and spent seven days there, but barely obtained enough for the daily consumption of the slaves, so that we resolved to run to Rio Cammerones to see if any food could be had there for the slaves.

June 5. Thursday. Arrived at the Rio Cammerones[7] and the yacht *Vrede* went up to look for provisions for the slaves. This day died our cooper, named Pieter Claessen, of Amsterdam.

29. Sunday. Again resolved to proceed on our voyage, as there also but little food was to be had for the slaves in consequence of the great rains which fell every day, and because many of the slaves were suffering from the bloody flux in consequence of the bad provisions we were supplied with at El Mina, amongst which were many barrels of groats,[8] wholly unfit for use.

We then turned over to Adriaen Blaes, the skipper, one hundred and ninety five slaves, consisting of eighty one men, one hundred and five women, six boys, and three girls for which bills of lading were signed and sent, one by the yacht *Vrede* to El Mina[9] with an account of, and receipts for, remaining merchandise.

July 25. Arrived at Cabo de Loop de Consalvo[10] for water and wood.

27. Our surgeon, named Martyn de Lanoy, died of the bloody flux.

Aug. 10. Arrived the company's ship, named *Swartem Arent*,[11] from Castle St. George d'el Mina, bound for Patria.

11. Again resolved to pursue our voyage towards the island of Annebo,[12] in order to purchase there some refreshments for the slaves,

[6] The high land of Ambosius is southeast of the Rio del Rey, north of the mouth of the Kamerun River.

[7] The Kamerun River is southeast of Calabar, near the curve of the Bight of Biafra.

[8] Hulled or crushed grain, either oats, wheat, barley, or corn.

[9] Elmina had been acquired by the Dutch in 1637 and since that time had been their headquarters on the coast. For a period somewhat later than this, descriptions of the castle of Elmina abound, all describing it as the strongest and handsomest fort upon the coast. It had about one hundred white men and fifty cannon. Astley, *Voyages*, II. 589-590. The term Gold Coast is a more or less flexible one, but it may be considered to include the coast line from Axim, west of Cape Three Points, to the River Volta.

[10] The name of this cape, more commonly spelled Cape Lopez de Gonçalvez, later becomes simply Cape Lopez. Just south of the equator, it was regarded as the southern limit of the Bight.

[11] *Black Eagle.*

[12] Annobon, south of São Thomé.

We have lain sixteen days at Cabo de Loop hauling water and wood. Among the water barrels, more than forty had fallen to pieces and were unfit to be used, as our cooper died at Rio Cammerones, and we had no other person capable of repairing them.

Aug. 15. Arrived at the island Annebo, where we purchased for the slaves one hundred half tierces of beans, twelve hogs, five thousand cocoanuts, five thousand sweet oranges, besides some other stores.

17. Again hoisted sail to prosecute our voyage to the island of Curaçao.

Sept. 21. The skipper called the ships officers aft, and resolved to run for the island of Tobago and to procure water there; otherwise we should have perished for want of water, as many of our water casks had leaked dry.

24. Friday. Arrived at the island of Tobago and hauled water there, also purchased some bread, as our hands had had no ration for three weeks.

27. Again set sail on our voyage to the island of Curaçao, as before.

Nov. 1. Lost our ship on the Reef of Rocus,[13] and all hands immediately took to the boat, as there was no prospect of saving the slaves, for we must abandon the ship in consequence of the heavy surf.

4. Arrived with the boat at the island of Curaçao; the Hon'ble Governor Beck ordered two sloops to take the slaves off the wreck, one of which sloops with eighty four slaves on board, was captured by a privateer.

List of the Slaves who died on board the Ship "St. Jan" from 30th June to 29th October in the year 1659.[14]

[1659]	Men	Women	Children[15]
June 30	3	2	
July 1	2	1	
3		1	
5		2	1
6		1	
7	1		
8	2	1	
9	2		
10		2	
12		1	

[13] Los Roques, southeast of Curaçao, almost directly north of Carácas.
[14] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17:43 (b).
[15] The Dutch text says *Jongens* (boys), but the note at the end of this table makes it clear that both sexes are included.

[*List*—continued:]

[1659]	Men.	Women	Children
13	2		1
14	1		
16	3	2	
17	2		
18	3	1	
19	1	3	
20	1		
21	1	1	
23		2	
24	1	1	
25	2	1	
26	1		
28	3		
29		2	
Aug. 2	2		
3	1		
6	1		
8	2		1
9		1	
11		1	
16	1 man leaped overboard		
18	1		
20		1	
22		1	
23		1	
24	1		
29		1	
31	1	1	
Sept. 3		1	
6	2		
7	1		
8	1	1	
13	1	1	
14	2	2	1
16	1		
19	1		
23		2	
24	1	3	
26		1	
Oct. 1	2		
3	1	1	
4		1	
10	1	2	
12	1		
13	1		
19		1	
23	1		
29	1		
	59 Men	47 Women	4 Children

On the first of November, two hours before day, have we lost the ship *St. Jan,* upon the reef of Rocus and fled with the boat to the island of Curaçao, and left in the ship eighty-five slaves, including men, women, boys and girls, and arrived on the fourth of this month at Curaçao.

34. Deposition of Adriaen Blaes, 1659.[1]

Appeared Adriaen Blaes van der Veer, and says, that he was commanded by Johan Valckenburch, general of El Mina and the Gold Coast, on the 4th of March last to sail as skipper of the ship *St. Jan* from the roadstead of the Castle del Mina aforesaid, with commissary Johan Froon and the accompanying crew or sailors, in the company's service, to the Calabari or Rio Real, there to trade for slaves and to proceed with them, by order of the aforesaid general, to this place. In obedience to these orders, two hundred and nineteen slaves, big and little, were actually traded and purchased, wherewith we sailed in order to prosecute our voyage and carry out our instructions. Not obtaining at the Calabari such sufficiency of provisions as this voyage demanded, for the sustenance of the aforesaid slaves, we resolved to go to the highland of Ambosius where we were unable to procure any provisions, as was our desire. We therefore went to the River Camerones, where we obtained a few articles, but not as much as we wanted. Nevertheless, we pursued our voyage towards Capo de Lopo Gonsalves, at which place we took in wood and water, and thence stood across although experiencing great misery and want of food, to Anabo, where we got some provisions and went on our voyage and made land in the month of October last at the island of Tobago, the greater portion of the slaves having died from want and sickness, in consequence of such a very long voyage, so that we saved only ninety slaves, out of the whole cargo. Having taken in water and a few refreshments from the surrounding islands, we set sail from there, passing around the islands, and after we fixed our course on the first instant, west by south, we ran ashore, two hours before day, on one of the reefs of Rocus, on the north east side of the island. At day break, perceiving our danger, we saved ourselves with all the crew in the boat, leaving the negroes in the ship, taking our course to this place, in order to inform the Hon'ble Director M. Beck of our misfortune. After we had left some of the men at Bonayre, because the boat was too heavily laden with the crew, we arrived here on the fourth instant. Having reported ourselves to the aforesaid Hon'ble Director, he dispatched me with the above boat to Aruba,[2] whither the company's vessels had sailed, the day

[34] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 52.
[2] Oruba, a Dutch island just northwest of Curaçao.

before, on the company's business, with orders to proceed in said vessels with five of my men, and Jan van Gaelen, the company's servant. Arriving there on the following day, we went over in the company's vessel, whereof Hans Marcussen Stuyve was skipper, with Jan van Gaelen, and two of my crew, and the other three of my men in the bark, called the *Jonge Bontecoe,*[3] of which Jan Ryckertsen was skipper, all in the service of the company.

We pursued our voyage without any mishap, pursuant to the orders we had received from the aforesaid hon'ble director to this place, and so on to Rocus, to save the aforesaid slaves and ship's property, and having sailed on the evening of the seventh after remaining half an hour here, we arrived in the afternoon of the following day off Bonayre where we met an English privateer,[4] who having the wind of us, overtook us and compelling us to strike and to send off a boat, the aforesaid Jan van Gaelen went on board him, who told him, we came from Curaçao and were going to Bonayre. Thereupon, the said privateer dispatched in our boat, in which Jan van Gaelen whom he detained had gone to his ship, on board our vessel a party of his men to search for pieces of eight which, they said, we had. Then not finding any, as we had none, they forced us to run with them up the roadstead of Bonayre, where we arrived about two hours before the privateer. Some of my men who were on shore, not knowing anything of these proceedings, called out, If I were on board? The privateer's men taking up the word before me, asked, "Who?" Thereupon they answered, "The skipper of the ship wrecked at Rocus", adding, Had we been to the slaves, or were we going to save them? The privateers answered that they were going to save them; manifesting great joy thereat, saying, when the privateer cast anchor, "Captain, we have a good Prize". Thereupon they forced the deponent to go on board the rover which was a small frigate, carrying four guns, and about thirty men, whereof Jan Pietersen, a native of Denmark, was captain. This vessel was called the *Casteel Ferget.*[5] Coming on board, the captain enquired how many negroes he had left on his ship? Deponent answered, "over eighty". When he heard that, he sent the vessel in which the deponent came, belonging to the company, to Little Curaçao, to bring his lieutenant and some of his men, who were lying there in a periauger, which they had taken from the Spaniards, to watch the company's vessels. Meanwhile this deponent remained on board the rover, and they returning to us in the roadstead of Bonayre, the rover permitted this deponent

[3] The *Young Brindled Cow.*

[4] *Caper,* hereafter translated rover, a term sometimes used to designate pirates rather than the slightly more law-abiding privateers.

[5] The *Castle Frigate.*

to go back to the bark, on board of which still were, Skipper Hans Marcussen aforesaid, with one of his hands, who had been compelled to go to Little Curaçao to fetch his aforesaid lieutenant and men. To this vessel I came, as stated, from the aforesaid rover with two of my crew, being then in all five servants of the company on said company's vessel. The captain of the rover having then placed his lieutenant and pilot, with some of his hands, on board the bark, we set sail under compulsion, leaving Jan van Gaelen aforesaid and some of our men behind, whom the rover retained by force on board his ship, not heeding any protests or requests as free men, which they themselves admitted us to be, having cognizance of the commission granted by the hon'ble director to the aforesaid Hans Marcussen Stuyve, as skipper of the aforesaid company's vessel, and that therefore, they used force and violence towards us who were not in any manner in their service, but indeed in that of the company, to whom alone we owed obedience, and that for the purpose of executing the orders of the hon'ble director, to which end and to no other were we sent out. All this notwithstanding, we were compelled to accompany the aforesaid rover who set sail at the same time, taking his course towards the main land of Caraccas where he drove on shore a Spanish ship mounting six guns, and with our bark, in our presence and before deponent's face, drove a Spanish periauger ashore. Thence they forced us to cross over with the rover and cast anchor under Little David's Island, and having put more people in our bark, until they numbered in all fourteen men, whilst he remained there at anchor, we set sail for Rocus.

On arriving at that place, we found the other of the company's vessels, named the *Jonge Bontecoe,* whereof Jan Ryckertsen aforesaid was skipper, with three of my men on board, who had gone over to him at Aruba, out of my aforesaid boat. They went thither, as already stated, by command of the aforesaid Hon'ble Director, also with orders and to no other intent than to save the aforesaid slaves etc., and had lain there four days and had so far succeeded as to pass a line on board my ship, two of the negroes coming on board swimming. The aforesaid line breaking loose, and finding themselves too weak in consequence of the strong wind, the men resolved to wait our arrival, having been informed of our approach, so as, when thus reinforced and when the weather would moderate, to save with our sloops or boats the aforesaid remaining slaves etc. from my ship which also belonged to the company. Then they, the rover's men, who were on board our bark, supposing that the aforesaid skipper Jan Ryckertsen with his crew and my three men had saved all, coming near to them went on board with our bark, according to the orders

they had to that effect from their captain, who had been informed of the departure of the aforesaid company's bark for the same purpose for which we were sent out, by a Frieslander named Jacob Petersen from Belcom, a sailor in the company's service, under Skipper Hans Marcussen Stuyve, who had voluntarily deserted to them on the same day that we came on board the rover. Which [orders] were to board them, and in case they had saved the slaves etc. to seize and forcibly remove them. They accordingly did attack them in a hostile manner in the presence of the deponent and the other four of the company's servants who could not refrain from pointing out the injustice which was being done to them. Finding that no more than the two aforesaid slaves had been saved, they took away perforce our boat together with Jan Ryckertsen's boat, all belonging to the company as appurtenances of the aforesaid vessels, and with them, the weather moderating somewhat, removed the slaves from my ship, making use for that purpose of one of my sailors named Martin Michielsen van Hulst, who was on board Jan Ryckertsen's bark aforesaid. By his assistance, for the negroes knew him and called him by name, the aforesaid Jan Ryckertsen got the line on board, and went over together with one of the rovers at which time all the slaves etc. were still on board. Then came also swimming on board the lieutenant of the rover with two of his men, who then being four in number brought back on board a rope for the company's vessel by which they let all the negroes who were capable of swimming, swim off to the reef, whilst they brought those who could not swim in one of the boats belonging to the aforesaid vessels to the same reef, and having meanwhile made the other boat dry inside the reef, they brought in her on board the aforesaid Jan Ryckertsen's bark eighty two slaves and two sucklings. And this deponent having, before they removed any of the slaves, requested of the lieutenant and his men belonging to the rover, permission to go with his aforesaid sailor, he was unwilling to grant it until some of the slaves had been removed out of the ship, so that when this deponent went on board his ship there remained on board no more than about thirty slaves. After all the negroes had been removed from his ship, this deponent was also brought to Jan Ryckertsen's bark, with the instructions which General Johan Valckenburch aforesaid had given him, together with all the papers and accounts of the said commissary, relating to his cargo and trading, done pursuant to the company's orders. Then the deponent was conveyed by them with the aforesaid bark and negroes, to David's Island, where the rover lay at anchor waiting for us, leaving behind them the vessel whereof Hans Marcussen Stuyve aforesaid is skipper, to save two negroes whom the deponent had left on board when he quit the ship. That vessel

joined us the next day at said David's Island, bringing along the two aforesaid slaves, some kettles, rope and about 70 pounds of elephants' tusks, also some flags, compasses, and other articles. The rover having removed the slaves and everything else out of the company's vessels, took from the deponent the instructions given him by the general, with all the commissary's papers, notwithstanding the protests and requests to the contrary, giving the deponent for answer, that all belonged to him. He moreover commanded them to remain by him until he had hauled wood and water, and afterwards took said Hans Marcussen Stuyve's vessel, saying he needed her. He made the deponent remain on board Jan Ryckertsen's bark, compelling him to make room for said Hans Marcussen Stuyve with all his crew and some of the deponent's men. Then he ordered them not to sail for this place until he had taken his departure, which was on the 23d instant, steering his course towards the Main. And this deponent with his crew and that of the company's bark, took their course with the aforesaid Jan Ryckertsen's bark, to this place where they arrived in safety on the 25th instant.

This he declares to be the truth, and to have thus occurred, and will if need be confirm the same on oath, in presence of Mr. Ghysbert de Rosa and Pieter de Leeuw, witnesses hereunto invited. Curaçao in Fort Amsterdam the 27th November A° 1659.

ADRIAEN BLAES

Witnesses,
GHYSBERT DE ROSA
PETER DE LEEUW

In my presence NICOLAES HAEK, Secretary.

35. RECEIPT OF PEDRO DIEZ TROXXILLA FOR SLAVES, 1660.[1]

I, underwritten, hereby acknowledge to have received from the Hon'ble Matthias Beck, governor over the Curaçao Islands, sixty two slaves, old and young, in fulfillment and performance of the contract concluded on the 26th June, A'o 1659, by Messrs. Hector Pieters and Guilliaume Momma, with the Lords Directors at the Chamber at Amsterdam; and as the negroes by the ship *Coninck Salomon* were disposed of, long before the arrival of the undersigned, and the ship *Eyckenboom*,[2] mentioned in the aforesaid contract, has not arrived at this date, the said governor has accommodated me, the undersigned, to the best of his ability with the abovementioned sixty two slaves, and on account of the old and young which are among the aforesaid negroes, has allowed a deduction of two negroes, so that

[35] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 57.
[2] *Oak Tree.*

there remain sixty head in the clear, for which I, the undersigned, have here according to contract paid to the governor aforesaid for forty six head, at one hundred and twenty pieces of eight, amounting to five thousand five hundred and twenty pieces of eight. Wherefore, fourteen negroes remain still to be paid for, according to contract in Holland by Messrs. Hector Pieters and Guillaume Momma in Amsterdam, to Messrs. the directors aforesaid, on presentation of this my receipt, to which end three of the same tenor are executed and signed in the presence of two undersigned trustworthy witnesses, whereof the one being satisfied the others are to be void. Curaçao in Fort Amsterdam, the 11th January, A'o 1660. It being understood that the above fourteen negroes, to be paid for in Amsterdam, shall not be charged higher than according to contract at two hundred and eighty guilders each, amounting together to three thousand nine hundred and twenty Carolus guilders. Dated as above.

PEDRO DIEZ TROXXILLA,
EVERT JANSEN.

Witnesses,
NICOLAES HAECK,
L. V. RUYVEN.

36. VICE-DIRECTOR BECK TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.[1]

[CURAÇAO, February 4, 1660.]

Noble, Honorable, Respected, Wise, Prudent and most Discreet Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, My last to your honors, dated 5 January, as per copy enclosed, was by the ship *Gideon,* skipper Simon Cornelissen Gilde, by way of the Caribbean Islands. . . .

You will learn from my last letters, and from the annexed papers sent again herewith, the fate of the ship *St. Jan,* which was due here from Guinea with negroes, and which according to your honors' orders was to replace the aforesaid ship *Diemen* here. What causes us most grief here is, that your honors have thereby lost such a fine lot of negroes and such a fast sailing bark which has been our right arm here.

Although I have strained every nerve to overtake the robbers of the negroes and bark, as stated in my last, yet have I not been as successful as I wished. I shall communicate the particulars to your honors, God willing, by the ship *St. Joris,*[2] which is about to sail

[36] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 57. The government of the West India Company was vested in a board of nineteen, of whom eighteen were representatives of the five chambers, one was named by the States General. The charter of the company outlined its organization in detail. Van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS.,* pp. 87-121, esp. pp. 95-97,101.

[2] *St. George.*

direct from hence this month. If no remedy can be found to prevent such robberies and villainous crimes as the carrying away of the company's slaves and bark, and no prosecution and redress follow, they will not only persist therein, but even strike terror into the Spanish merchants who come here to trade. . . .

We regret exceedingly that such rovers should have been the cause of the ill success of the zeal we feel to attract the Spanish traders hither for your honors' benefit, by previous notices and otherwise, for the augmentation of commerce and the sale of the negroes which are to come here more and more in your honors' ships and for your account. . . .

I have witnessed with pleasure your honors' diligence in providing us here from time to time with negroes. That will be the only bait to allure hither the Spanish nation, as well from the Main as from other parts, to carry on trade of any importance. But the more subtly and quietly the trade to and on this island can be carried on, the better will it be for this place and yours. . . .

Inasmuch as Mr. Ghysbert de Rosa and I have been authorized by The private persons interested in the ship *Hoop*[3] to apply to the governor of the Havana, by whom we understand the rover has been arrested, and to that end have received from them such papers, letters, and proofs as may serve for the recovery of said ship and cargo, nevertheless up to this time have we had no opportunity to effect the work according to our good inclination, except that Mr. Gysbert de Roosa has recently sent his yacht, the *Jongen St. Paaulo*,[4] with a cargo to St. Jago de Cuba, by which we wrote conjointly a letter to the governor at Havana (a copy of which is inclosed) to be sent overland from Cuba, to give said governor some preliminary advice, until a more favorable opportunity shall present itself to carry out your honors' intentions and those of the private friends who are interested, whereof your honors shall later be punctually informed.

I only now received the contract entered into by your honors with Messrs. Hector Pietersen and Guilliaume Momma, by the ships *Gideon* and *Liefde,* after the negroes that had come by the ship *Coninck Salomon* had all been sold, and although the ship *Eyckenboom* has not yet arrived, two Spanish vessels with a yacht from Cadiz have cast anchor in this port on the 2 January. They are come pursuant to express orders exhibited to me by the captain of the aforesaid vessel Pedro Sorilbo by name, and Skipper Evert Jansen, for the purpose of taking away those negroes, according to contract; and they gave me to understand, that in case they should leave here without negroes, the whole object of their voyage would be thereby frus-

[3] The *Hope.*
[4] The *Young St. Paul.*

trated, and they should in consequence suffer excessive damages. I found myself, therefore, obliged to solicit as well the freemen as the company's servants, to loan from their plantations to the company as many negroes as they could possibly spare, under the promise that good stout negroes should be returned in their stead, out of the first lot which would come for the company. In this way, what with the Cape Verde negroes, and those of the company and of private individuals, I have collected together with great trouble sixty-two head. As there were among them some old and some young, two were deducted for them, as appears by the original receipt transmitted herewith. They have accordingly paid me here for forty-six head, as per contract, at one hundred and twenty pieces of eight, amounting to five thousand five hundred and twenty pieces of eight, leaving fourteen head of negroes, for which the aforesaid Messrs. Hector Pietersen and Guillaume Momma are to pay your honors in Holland, as is more fully set forth in the receipt to which for brevity sake I refer. . . .

The aforesaid captain, highly gratified and contented, sailed from here with his aforesaid two ships on the 15th January for Porto Bello, as he informed me. . . .

I received by the ship *Gideon,* from Cape Verde only twenty eight slaves, old and young, as appears by the receipt delivered to the skipper. In consequence of their condition and age, they are not worth so much on the average as the negroes lately brought by the *Coninck Salomon.* But I have since been informed that if an effort were made a handsome lot of negroes could be imported from that place, who would bring a proportionately higher price. . . .

The Spaniards seeing that we are so weak, can get up one pretext or another, especially those who come from Spain, who look on this trade with a jealous eye. For some merchants who arrived in this port with the aforesaid two ships have, as I am informed, alleged here to one and another, that the trade which we carry on here with the Spanish nation on the coast or elsewhere would not be permitted in Spain, and such a prohibition would be issued that no Spaniard belonging to any place would dare to come hither for the purpose of trade. On the other hand, I have understood from the captain himself that they are confident the trade here will flourish more and more, and he hoped that his ship, the *St. Catalina,* would return here in four months with three to four thousand pieces of eight to invest in negroes and merchandise. This was confirmed to me by the Dutch skipper Evert Jansen, in case they arrive safe at Porto Bello. The Spanish frigates which have been previously here, and trade to New Spain, have also told me the same thing, and said that

they came yearly from New Spain up to Carácas, with considerable cash to trade there for cocoa and merchandises, and that they then would seek a pretext to touch, on their way from Carácas, here to purchase negroes and stock goods.

37. The Case of the *Martyn van Russen*.[1]

February, 1661.

Serenissimus Dominus noster Rex contra navem quandam vocatam the *Martyn van Russen* de Middleburrough in Zealand cujus Leonardus Johnson fuit Magister ejusque apparatus et accessiones et Ethiopes pecuniam Riallos de octo et alia bona in dicta navi per navem the *Dyamond Friggot* cujus Richard Whiteing fuit capitaneus apud vel prope Jamaica mense Februarii 1661 aut eo circiter seizitam ac contra dictum Leonardum Johnson in specie ac omnes etc. . . .[2]

Item That shortly after the makeing or enacteing the said Act of Parlim't, the same was publickely made knowne and proclaymed In this Kingdome of England, and all Merch'ts Both natives and Forreigners did take notice thereof, and the same was sent into all Forreign partes and more especially into Holland and Zealand, or the effect thereof was made knowne to or imparted unto the Merch'ts there by their correspondents and Factors resident in England, and that the Master of the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen,* and her owners or some of them did know of the passeing and publisheing of the said Act of Parli'ment before the comeing forth of the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* from [*blank*][3] upon this her last Voyage, wherein she brought Negroes to the Island of Jamaica,[4] and that the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* came out of the said Port of [*blank*] or some other Port belonging to the States Generall of the United provinces since the first day of the moneth of Novem-

[37] [1] P. R. O., Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 115, no. 102, pt. 2. The *Martyn van Russen* (or *Rosen*) was a Dutch vessel of about 300 tons. This attempt to enforce the navigation act may have been prompted by the Guinea Company just established.

[2] A quotation from the act of Parliament for encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation is here omitted: 12 Car. II., c. 18 (*Statutes of the Realm,* V. 246-250). It will be recalled that this act, the so-called first navigation act, forbade importation into British possessions of any commodities in foreign-owned or foreign-built vessels after Dec. 1, 1660. It was charged that the *Martyn van Russen* was trading in violation of this act.

[3] Middelburg.

[4] Jamaica, captured by an expedition sent out by Cromwell in 1655, had now been six years in the hands of the English. Under the Spanish rule which preceded the English capture it had been the centre of the illicit trade of the Caribbean, which certainly included a trade in negroes. Edward Long (*History of Jamaica,* I. 375) states that in 1658 there were 1400 negroes on the island in a population of 5900. This may be an exaggeration, as in 1661 the island had but 514 (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1665, p. 65). Shortly after Jamaica's capture, the inhabitants sent to Cromwell a request to be allowed a direct trade with Africa for negroes but there is no evidence that it received attention. Harlow, *History of Barbados,* p. 303, n. 1.

ber 1660 at Least wise the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* her M'r and Company or some of them had notice of the said Act in some Forreign parte before her comeing unto Jemaica, *Et ponit ut supra.*

Item that in or about the moneth of February In the yeare of our Lord God 1661 the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* did arrive at the said Island of Jamaica with severall Negroes in her, And did there send ashoar severall of the said Negroes, and sell them in the said Island, and Received severall summes of mony for them, and did trade and traffique in the said Island, and that the said ship the *Martyn Van Russen* was and is a Dutch Built shippe, and doth belong unto Dutch-men, Subjects of the States Generall of the United Provinces and That she was sayled, was [with] a Dutch M'r and Company.

Item That By reason of the premises the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* and the Negroes and mony seized in her and her ladeing were seized by the Captains officers and marriners of his Majestyes shippe the *Dyamond,* And That by reason of such her ladeing contrary to the foresaid Act of Parli'ment, The Shippe, Tackle and furniture, moneys, and Negroes seized in her ought to bee condemned and adjudged unto his Ma'tye as goods forfeited and confiscated by vertue of the said Act, Ac ponit ut supra.

Item Quod praemissa etc.[5]

38. Petition of John Knight, Thomas Knight, and Company.[1]

Whitehall, 11 April [1662].

The humble petition of John Knights, Thomas Knights, and Company late Owners of the ship called the *Daniell* whereof Henry Oakes

[5] Endorsed: "Martin van Russen. Dominus Rex contra eandem et Leonardum Johnson et alios. Allegatio Cheeke". Various questions arose in connection with this troublesome vessel, some of them illustrating the difficulties incident to administering the navigation acts by means of officials not wholly in sympathy with them. The *Martyn van Russen* is first heard of in Jamaica when Governor D'Oyley and the council order that the captain, Leonard Johnson, be allowed to sell a sufficient number of negroes to obtain provisions and necessary repairs (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 69). Her capture as an unlawful trader was reported by Captain Whiting of the *Diamond,* Mar. 10, when 48 of her negroes had already been sold. D'Oyley seized the remaining negroes and money on board and sent the vessel away. In February, 1664, the officers and mariners of the *Diamond* had not yet received from D'Oyley the prize money due them, in spite of two orders from the king (*ibid.,* pp. 80, 134, 171, 182, 189). A petition of December, 1663, recounting the circumstances of the seizure of a Dutch vessel in "June last", by the *Diamond,* is indexed in the *Calendar* under *Martyn van Russen* but it seems probable that it refers to a Dutch vessel with 180 negroes which came into Jamaica harbor June 14, 1661. D'Oyley urged the council to trade for its negroes, which were greatly needed on the island, and on their refusal he angrily announced that he would buy them all. Whiting seized the vessel but the governor held the negroes and sold forty to "Major John Coape, a Quaker and ancient rebel", and the rest to a Spanish vessel to which he gave a safe conduct. For all these offenses he refused to answer to the council when he was called to account. *Ibid.,* p. 36.

[38] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 328-330. The first of the African companies of the Restoration had, by the time of the *Daniel's* voyage, been established, but it is not possible to make certain how many of the vessels bound for Guinea in the years 1660-1663 sailed under the aegis of the new company and how many were private ventures.

was Master was this day read at the Boord,[2] wherein they sett forth, that being the true and lawful Owners of the Ship, about May last 1661 sett forth the same from the Port of London with severall Goods and Merchandizes for their owne Accompt, and did give Order to the said Henry Oake the Master to sayle to, or neere the Gold Coast at Guinny, and there he safely arrived, and did barter away part of his Ladeing for 82 Negroes, a parcell of Elephants Teeth, and some Gold, and had as much goods left, as would have produced 100 Negroes more, and Provisions for them, and the said Oakes was to have sayled with the same from Guinny, to the Barbadoes there to have refreshed his Negroes and soe to have gone to Cadiz in Spaine, there to have sould them, but as he was in his lawfull Employment, one Jasper Vanhuison Generall for the Dutch West India Company resideing at Guinny first seized his Boate and five of his men, goeing towards Cormantine [3] and carryed them away Prisoners, and some few daies after, a ship of Amsterdam, of which one Aron Couzens was Commander belonging to the Dutch, being mounted with 30 Guns, and the ship *Daniell* haveing but Four, the said shipp of Amsterdam . . . tooke her and all the Goods and Negroes, stripping and plundring the Company, and carried the said shipp and Goods to the said Jasper Vanhuisen at Castle de Maine,[4] . . . And had not the said Dutch soe interrupted the Petitioners Trade the said Negroes would have yielded 7000 *l.* sterling. The shipp cost 800 *l.*, and the Gold Elephants Teeth, and other Goods were worth neere 1000 *l.* The petitioners have caused their proofes to be made in the High Court of Admiraltie and have summoned the Dutch by a publique Edict, upon the Exchange, and procured legall notice by Letters to be given to their Ambassador and have done all that the Law requireth on their part. The Boord haveing taken the perticulers into consideration It was this day ordered his Majestie present in Councell that Mr. Secretary Nicholas and Mr. Secretary Morice,[5] or one of them, should make the Case of the Petitioners to be one of those they putt upon the English demands, and also that the Petition be sent over recomended to Sir George Downing his

[2] That is, the Privy Council. After the Restoration, affairs relating to trade and the colonies were handled by the Privy Council, usually through its Committee for Trade and Plantations, or by one of the two councils, the Council for Trade and the Council for Foreign Plantations. C. M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils, 1622-1675* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. XXVI.), pp. 62, 67, 74 ff.

[3] The English had had a trading post at Cormantine on the Gold Coast since 1624, and a fort of some sort since the time of the company of 1631. Until the incorporation of the Company of Royal Adventurers this had been the headquarters of the English trade, but under that company Cape Coast Castle became the centre of the Gold Coast commerce. In February, 1665, De Ruyter took Cormantine and there established the Dutch Fort Amsterdam.

[4] Elmina.

[5] Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I. and Charles II. Sir William Morice, Secretary of State 1660 to 1668.

Majestys Resident at the Hague,[6] to represent the same effectually to the states Generall there.[7]

39. The Company of Royal Adventurers to Francis Lord Willoughby.[1]

My Lord, The Royal Company being very sensible how necessary it is that the English Plantations in America should have a competent and a constant supply of Negro-servants for their own use of Planting, and that at a moderate Rate, have already sent abroad, and shall within eight days dispatch so many Ships for the Coast of Africa as shall by Gods permission furnish the said Plantations with at least 3000 Negroes, and will proceed from time to time to provide them a constant and sufficient succession of them, so as the Planter shall have no just cause to complain of any Want: And for the Price, and terms of Payment, they have for the present resolved, to order all their Servants and Factors not to sell any Negroes higher than is expressed in this following Resolve.

Resolved, That Orders be given to the Factors in the Plantations of the Charibee Islands, to sell all Blacks that are found in Lotts[2] (as hath been customary) at

[6] Sir George Downing had been English resident at the Hague almost continuously since 1657. For the English demands see no. 43, n. 6, *post.*

[7] The Dutch contention was that the *Daniel,* which had obtained its cargo at Amsterdam, was in reality a Dutch vessel, masquerading as English in order to avoid seizure by the Dutch West India Company as an interloper (Zook, p. 38). This was but one of many captures by the Dutch. See no. 43, n. 6, *post.*

[39] [1] "The Letter of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the rest of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa: to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lieutenant General and Chief Governour in and over all His Majesties Islands, Colonies, and Plantations commonly called the Charibee Islands in America", *The Several Declarations of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa* (1667), pp. 8-9. For a brief account of this company and that of 1660 which it supplanted, see this work, introduction, pp. 85-88; for a more extended account, see G. F. Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers*; for the charters of the companies, see Cecil Carr, *Select Charters of Early Trading Companies* (Selden Society), pp. 172-181, 186-192. The royal interest in the African companies was an actual financial interest. Of the company of 1660, Carr says only that the king might come into it if he chose (*Select Charters,* p. xlvi). Pepys writes that he was a member of the company (Wheatley ed., III. 139), and this statement is supported by the fact that on June 29, 1661, a warrant was issued to pay Thomas Holden, treasurer of the company, £90 for the king's additional share. Additional sums of £250, £180, £60 are later referred to (*Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1661-1662, pp. 22, 25, 250, 314). After the reorganization a warrant for the remainder of the king's subscription of £6000, the unpaid amount being £5200, and for £400, the queen's subscription, was issued (*ibid.,* 1663-1664, p. 184). The company later requested from him £7600, due on his shares (Carr, p. 181., n.). James Duke of York, refers to his investment in the reorganized company as £2000.

Francis Lord Willoughby had left Barbados on its surrender to the parliamentary forces in 1651, but was reappointed governor in 1663, not only of Barbados but of all the Caribbean Islands, and held office until his death in July, 1666.

[2] "In lots", *i. e.,* good and bad together. This practice, a common one in the West Indies, never prevailed in the continental colonies. Mrs. Aphra Behn, in her novel *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave,* published in 1688, describes this method of sale: "Those who want slaves, make a Bargain with a Master, or a Captain of a ship, and contract to pay him so much apiece, a Matter of twenty Pound a Head, for as many as he agrees for, and to pay for 'em when they shall be deliver'd on such a Plantation. So that when there arrives a ship laden with Slaves, they who have so contracted, go aboard, and receive their Number by Lot; and perhaps in one Lot that may be for ten, there may happen to be three or four Men, the rest Women and Children. Or be there more or less of either sex, you are obliged to be contented with your Lot." *Works* (1915), V. 133.

£ 17. sterling p. head in Money (ps. of 8/8 Sivil and Mexico at 4 sh.) or Bills Exchange for England with good assurance of payment, or at 2400 ℔ of well cured Muscovado Sugar[3] in Cask, with express condition, that no Blacks be delivered without present payment in Money, Bills, or Sugar, viewed and accepted by the Factors, or in Cotton or Indico, according to the price currant between them and Sugar.

And do desire your Lordship, that you will be pleased to communicate these Resolutions of the Company to your respective Deputies in all His Majesties American Dominions under your Lordships Government, and direct them to publish the same within their respective Limits and Jurisdictions, and to gather from the Planters and Inhabitants, and to transmit to us as soon as they conveniently can, the certain number of Negroes which they desire, and will engage to receive yearly from Us on those reasonable Terms proposed, that so we may proportion our Care for them accordingly.

And further, The Company doth desire your Lordship to order this inclosed Paper of Conditions to be declared by your respective Deputies, in the most usual manner, and to receive such Subscriptions as shall be accordingly made, and to transmit to us Authentique Copies of them by the first Passage that shall present for England, after the time of subscribing is expired.

By Order of the Royal Company:
ELLIS LEIGHTON, SECRET.

Dated at WHITEHALL, January 10, 1662[/3].

40. DECLARATION OF THE COMPANY OF ROYAL ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO AFRICA.[1]

To all His Majesties Native Subjects in General: the Publique Declaration and Invitation of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa.[2]

Whereas the Kings most Excellent Majesty hath seriously considered what Profit and Honour did formerly accrew to His good Subjects by the Trade of Africa, while the same was supported, and regulated by the Authority of the Charters granted by His Majesties Royal Predecessors; and His Majesty finding that of late years the Sovereign influence of those Charters hath not had its former good

[3] Muscovado was unrefined sugar. This is based on sugar at about 14 *s.* 3 *d.* per 100 lbs. To obtain the money price of the negroes sold in Barbados 1663-1664, Harlow uses 15 *s.* per 100 lbs. as the average value of sugar. *History of Barbados*, p. 312.

[40] [1] From *The Several Declarations of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa*, pp. 1-4.

[2] A similar declaration was issued to "all his Majesty's subjects resident in any of his Majesty's Dominions of America". *The Several Declarations of the Company*, pp. 5-7.

Effects, by reason of the universal intestine Confusion of the Times; by the advantage whereof, other Nations have taken confidence so far to invade and disturb His Majesties Subjects in the said Trade, that it is in danger utterly to be lost to this Nation, and thereby His Majesties Dominions in America in apparent hazard to be rendered useless in their growing Plantations, through want of that usual supply of Servants which they have hitherto had from Africa; which mischief cannot be prevented but by His Majesties Re-establishing the said Trade, and erecting a Corporation under the special Protection of His Royal Authority, consisting of such persons of Honour and Experience, as may by a considerable Joynt-Stock, and Common Counsel, vigorously assert the Right thereof.

And His Majesty having to that end been graciously pleased to grant to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and others, (who have already formed and employed a Joynt-Stock of seventeen thousand and four hundred pounds) His Letters Patents for the Incorporation and Regulation of the whole Trade of Africa from Cape Blanc to Cape de bona Esperanza: His Royal Highness therefore, and the rest of the Royal Company, desiring to communicate the advantage of the said Trade to all His Majesties Subjects in general, thought fit to give notice, and do hereby give notice, and publish to all His Majesties native Subjects of England;

That all or any of them that live within the City of London, or twenty miles thereabouts, may at any time before the twentieth day of October next ensuing the date hereof, and those that live in other parts of the Kingdom before the fifth of November following, freely be admitted into the said Corporation and Joynt-Stock, subscribing at least four hundred pounds respectively to be paid to such Treasurers as shall be thereunto appointed; The one half thereof on or before the first of December; the other half on or before the first of March next following.[3]

And to that end a Book shall lie open for the said Subscriptions, during the time aforesaid, at the Insurance-Office in the Royal Exchange in London, every day from Eight to twelve of the clock in the morning; before such Subscriptions, they shall find such equal and indifferent agreements prefixed, as may satisfie all rational persons, that nothing is designed but Publick Good, and the just Right of every Individual interested.

By order of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa,
ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

Dated at WHITEHALL, January 12, 1662[/3].

[3] Those subscribers who resided in America were allowed one month after the publication of the declaration in America. Their subscriptions were to be paid in London, within one year of the date of the declaration, with interest at the rate of six per cent. from the first day of March following the date on which the final payment was to be made by the subscribers resident in England.

The Condition for Subscriptions.

We whose Names are hereunder written, do hereby promise and engage our selves, to adventure these several sums of Money by us subscribed, to be imployed (by Gods assistance) in a Joynt-stock in the Trade of Africa, according to such conditions as is hereafter expressed, and as shall be further thought fit by the generality of Adventurers at any Court hereafter to be holden by them, or the major part of them that shall be present.

And we do by our said subscriptions, oblige our selves, our Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, to pay to the Treasurer, or Treasurers of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa, or to such as shall be thereunto appointed for this Joynt-stock, the several sums of Money by us hereafter particularly subscribed, according to these dayes prefixed; to wit, the one half thereof on or before the first of December, and the other half on or before the first of March next following, or within ten daies at the furthest after each of the said fixed daies of payment.

Otherwise it shall be free for the Company to exclude us from their Society; and notwithstanding such exclusion, to recover the Moneys by us subscribed, according to our Obligation, by our subscription.

And we the Subscribers do severally further agree, that at the end, or expiration of seven years, to commence from the time of the first payment aforesaid, then by a Committee who shall be chosen by the generality of Adventurers for that purpose, a just and indifferent valuation shall be made of all the remains of Stock then undivided, whereby any Adventurer that shall please to draw forth his Remains, may be paid the same in money according to that valuation at three six months time: And it is also agreed, That the like indifferent valuation of all Remains of Stock, as aforesaid, shall be duly made once in every three years, after the expiration of the aforesaid seven years, and the same liberty as aforesaid, to the Adventurers.

And we the several Subscribers do severally further agree, That any Adventurer, who shall be present at any General Court, shall vote, and rule in the Government of this Stock and Trade according to his Adventure, that is, for every four hundred pounds adventure to have one Vote.

And we the said several Subscribers do hereby further agree, and engage our selves, that if at any time during the continuance of this Stock, it shall duly appear that any of us shall use any other Trade to the parts of Africa (contained in the Patent) than in Joynt-stock, or what shall be allowed of by the Committees of the Stock,

that in such case, that person, or persons so trading in a Clandestine manner, contrary to this our intention, he or they shall wholly lose and forfeit all their Stock or Adventure, and the same shall go to use of the rest of the Adventurers in general.

And we the several Subscribers do hereby further agree, That the management of the whole Trade shall be committed to a competent number of the Interested, to be Elected by the generality of the Adventurers.

And that the Committee (so Elected) shall not sell any Goods (whatsoever) that shall be received from beyond the Seas by any particular contract, but publickly by the Candle only.

And that no Dividend of any profit of the said Stock shall be made in Goods, but in money onely.

By Order of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa

ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

Dated at WHITEHALL, January 12, 1662[/3].

41. DECLARATION OF THE COMPANY OF ROYAL ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO AFRICA.[1]

To all His Majesties Native Subjects of England; The Publick Declaration and Invitation of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa.

Whereas His most Excellent Majesty for the Reasons declared in our former publick and general Invitation, hath been graciously pleased to grant his new Letters Patents to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and others (therein mentioned) for the Government of the Trade of Africa from Sally inclusive, to the Cape de Bona Esperanza, under a Joynt-Stock, and hath enlarged the Powers and Privileges of the said Company; and hath according to his accustomed Royal Universal Care of all his good Subjects, now made it a National Company, under the Name and Title of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa.

The said Company in Conformity to the said Royal Intention of His Majesty, and to evidence to the whole World, that they intend not to confine the Benefit of the said Trade to a Few, or exclude any from it that will be governed; Notwithstanding that they have already a Subscription of a competent sum of Money, that may answer to the necessary Occasions of the Trade, and have already dispatched a very considerable number of Ships, and sufficient Cargoes for the present supply of the respective Markets of that Coast: Yet they do hereby once more invite all His Majesties Native Subjects

[41] [1] *The Several Declarations of the Company,* pp. 9-10.

of England in general inhabiting in the City of London, or within twenty miles thereof, within a Month of the Date hereof, and all others without those Limits within two Months, to subscribe by themselves, or their Attorneys what sum or sums they shall please to adventure in the said Joynt-stock, to which, and the freedom of the said Company, they shall be admitted without any Fine, on the Conditions and Terms following, which are but equal to those on which the present Members have been admitted.

That is to say,

That every man shall subscribe what sum he pleaseth, not under Fifty pounds: and that whatsoever shall not exceed Four hundred pounds, shall be paid unto the Treasurer of the Company within eight days after such under-writing.

And that for what any part of any mans Subscription shall exceed Four hundred pounds, he shall have Terms of payment for the same in eight Quarterly portions, commencing the twenty fourth of June next.

And to this end the Book shall lie open for such Subscriptions in the Glass-house in Broad street, London, during the time aforesaid, every week day from eight to twelve of the clock in the forenoon, and from three to five in the afternoon,[2]

By Order of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa.

ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

Dated at WHITEHALL, Febr. 16, 1662[/3].

42. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO FRANCIS LORD WILLOUGHBY.[1]
WHITEHALL, 11 March, 1663.

Whereas Wee are certainly informed, that the Spanish Planters of West India have lately attempted to trade with Our Island of Barbada for a supply of Negro Slaves, and did to that end resort thither, first with their monies onely, and afterwards with both money and other commodities, But then departed thence abruptly in greate dissatisfaction, in regard that they were given to understand that they could not lawfully import into that or any other Our American

[2] This subscription, with another opened Aug. 25, 1663, brought the stock of the company to £102,000, of which about £57,000 was paid. In September, 1664, it was increased to £120,200. Zook, pp. 17, 19.

[42] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 345-349. The privilege of supplying the Spanish markets with negroes had been long coveted by England before the assiento of 1713. In 1660 James, earl of Marlborough, had tried without success to come to some arrangement with the newly established company whereby Jamaica should be made the base for negroes for the Spanish colonies. With the reorganization of the company in 1663 the instructions here printed were sent to Willoughby. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574, p. 491, 1661-1668, pp. 106, 123-124, 125, 143; and Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote Papers*, pp. 88-89, deal with the attempts to build up this trade.

Dominions the Commodities of the manufacture and growth of their Plantations and yet left behind them a promise, that if they might have assurance of free accesse and recesse with their Shipps moneys and Goods, and free Pratique [Trafique] and commerce with Our Subjects in Our said Plantations, they would make them Martes from whence they would purchase their supply of Negro Servants, and such other European Comodities of all sorts as their owne Plantations may want, and pay Us a reasonable Custome for the same,

And whereas Wee find upon good and mature deliberation, that Our graunting of such Assurance as is desired by the said Spaniards may redound not only to the increase of Our Revenue, but also to the signall Advantage of Our good Subjects both at home and abroad, in point of their trade and Navigation, and judging that the cause doth not in any wise crosse the generall or speciall intention of the Act for Navigation,

Wee have therefore thought fitt and do hereby declare, That Our Royall Will and Pleasure is to give and graunt, and Wee do hereby give and graunt free licence and Warrant to any of the Spanish Subjects of America, to come from any Port of America, and to enter into any Road, Port or Haven, of Our said American Dominions, with their Shipps, Moneys, Bullion, and Goods, and freely to sell, barter, and exchange the same to and with Our Subjects there, and as freely to returne to any of the said Spanish American Ports with their Shipps, and such Goods and Negroes as they shall have bought in our said Dominion, without any lett, trouble or molestation to be made or given by you, or any other Our Officers or Subjects military or civill, whatsoever, And Wee do hereby command that both you and they do lend the utmost assistance for the inviolable observance of this Our Graunt, and free Licence aforesaid, Any thing in the Act of Navigation, or any other Law, Statute or Ordinance, or any Letters of Mart or Reprizall given or to be given to the contrary Notwithstanding.

And Wee do further hereby impower and require you to make and give free Passeports and protections accordingly to any such spanish Shipps, Monies and Goods trading to or from any of Our said American Dominions under your Government, when and as often as you shall be thereunto requested and desired.

Provided allwaies, that such Spaniards do agree, and accordingly well and truly pay for Our use to such Person or Persons as Wee shall appoint to collect and receive the same,

For all Goods and Merchandizes whatsoever either imported or exported the same duties of Tonnage and Poundage as is now established by Law in this Our Kingdome of England, to be paid in peices of Eight Royalls at the rate of Four shillings the peice,

And for every Negro person or Slave, that the said Spaniards or any other shall transport for any other Port or Place in America, other then such who are actually under Our obedience, Tenn peices of Eight for each Head.

Excepting allwaies all such Negro Slaves as are or shall be brought directly or immediately by Contract made here in England with our Company of Royall Adventurers of England trading to Africa. All which Our Royall Will and pleasure is, shall and may be free exported without the payment of any Duty or Imposition whatsoever to Us or Our Successors.

And further Our will and Pleasure is, and Wee do hereby require you to give your expresse Order and assistance to Our Collectors, and other Officers of Our said Customes, That no Negro Persons be exported from any the Islands or places within your Government under pretence of furnishing any Plantation of Our owne American Dominions, untill the transporter or Lader of them shall have first given good and sufficient Security by Bond to the use of Us and Our Successors, that he will returne Certificate within a Competent time from the place to which they are bound that the said Negros are there landed and disposed of to the use of the said Plantations.

And Our further will and Pleasure is, and Wee do hereby strictly command and enjoyne you, and all Our other Ministers and Officers under you, that you do not permitt or suffer any Goods, Monies, or Merchandizes whatsoever, that shall be so imported on Spanish Ships by virtue of this our Licence to be reshipt and exported thence, on any other Shipps or Vessells, then those that do and shall properly belong unto Our Subjects of England, and for which the Merchants and Laders thereof, and the Commanders of the said Shipps and Vessells do give you good security by Bond to our use, that the same shall be brought into Our Kingdome of England directly and there landed, and not elsewhere,

And further Our Will and Pleasure is, that you give to the Commanders of every such Ship a Certificate of the quantity and quality of all such monies, Bullion, Goods and Merchandizes as he shall have given you such security for, to the end, that the same might be exhibited to the cheife Officers of Our Customes here in the port, where the same shall be entred and landed,

Provided allwaies that the King of Spaines Subjects shall not by virtue or colour of this Our Licence be permitted to import into our said Island of Barbada, or any other Our American Plantations, any Goods, Ware or Merchandizes whatsoever of the Growth or manufacture of Europe, Asia, or Africa, It being the true intent of this our gratious Licence, that the said Spaniards shall import no Goods or Merchandizes whatsoever, saving only such as are the proper

product of the Spanish American Plantations. Provided also that the said Spaniards shall not by virtue of this Our Licence have Liberty to export from any of Our American Plantations any Comodities whatsoever of the Product of Our said Plantation, saving onely such necessary provision, as shall be requisite for the feeding of themselves and such others as they shall transport from thence.

43. The Company of Royal Adventurers to the King.[1]

1663.

Humbly represent that the trade of Africa is so necessary to England that the very being of the Plantations depends upon the supply of negro servants for their works. This trade was at the time of his Majesty's restoration managed by particular adventurers, who were so far from any possible design of having forts or asserting the honour of the nation that they were a constant prey to the Hollanders and were quite tired out of the trade by their great and frequent losses, of which they brought in clear proofs to the Court of Admiralty; so if his Majesty had not established a company the nation had probably by this time been quite driven out of it. The Company under the special management of the Duke of York sent out this last year above 160,000 *l.* in cargoes,[2] have plentifully supplied the coast to the great satisfaction of the natives, furnished all the Plantations with negro servants, set up new manufactures at home and improved the old, vented a great many native commodities, employed above 40 ships, and doubt not they shall import very considerable quantities of gold and silver, as they have already begun. They have built forts and factories in Africa and repaired others, and have no European rivals but the Hollanders; but as to them, experience of the past gives just cause to apprehend what is intended for the future. For as the annexed extracts of letters prove, the Dutch have endeavoured to drive the English Company from the coast, have followed their ships from port to port, and hindered them coming nigh the shore to trade;[3] they have persuaded the negroes to destroy their servants and to take their forts, have seized their boats and goods, violently taken possession of Cape Coast, and shot at his Majesty's Royal flag. To complete the former indignities, one Valckenburgh, Director-General of the West India Com-

[43] [1] Abridgment, from *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 175-176. Endorsed, "The Royall Company, losse of whole trade in Affrica".

[2] The company later said that it had sent forty ships to Africa during 1663. Zook, p. 19.

[3] See n. 6., below.

pany in Africa, has sent a protest[4] to their factors, in which he challenges the whole trade of Guinea as their propriety, by right of conquest from the Portuguese; of which having sought remedy by means of Sir George Downing[5] the Company have received no satisfaction. In a word, notwithstanding a stock so considerable, and the many good ships of force and the land forces they have sent, had it not been for the countenance of some of his Majesty's ships, to give the Company a respect in the eyes of the natives and preserve their forts, the Company had ere this been stripped of their possessions and interest in Africa; Cormantin Castle itself being in extreme danger when the *Marmaduke* and *Speedwell* arrived there. The Dutch have sent a second protest,[6] in which they say they will force the English from their forts if they do not quit them.

44. Consideration of a Petition of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa [1]

Whitehall, 24 August, 1664.

Upon the humble petition of the Company of Royall Adventurers of England trading into Africa, with a Paper annexed, read at the Board the Third of August instant, Shewing, That the Petitioners have given his Majestys Island of Barbado's a liberall Supply of

[4] 1663, June 1/11, *ibid.*, pp. 135-136.
[5] 1663, Aug. 26, *ibid.*, p. 156.
[6] 1663, Sept. 2/12, *ibid.*, p. 158. The "Kings Narrative of Dutch affairs", Nov. 24, 1664, stated that about twenty ships had been taken on the Guinea coast (*Parliamentary History*, IV. 299). The English, in accordance with the commercial treaty of 1662, later demanded reparations for the following seizures: *Constant Mary*, for Guinea, seized May 8, 1654; *Brotherhood*, seized on Guinea coast, February, 1655/6; *Sarah*, for Guinea, seized August, 1656; *Fortune*, for Guinea, seized August, 1656; *Lyon Providence*, for Guinea, seized August, 1656; *Rappa Hanoeck*, for Guinea, seized near Cape Lopez about Sept. 11, 1656; *Brazil Fregat*, seized between Angola and Fernambuck (Pernambuco), 1657; *Aethiopian*, sent to Bohuee (?) for negroes, seized January, 1661/2 (?); *Daniel*, for Guinea, seized February, 1661; *Saint-John Baptist*, Emanuel Hart, who had carried negroes from Guinea to "Baghia in Brazil" and there bartered them for sugar, seized June, 1661; *Black Boy*, seized near Commenda, Apr. 13, 1661; *St. John*, sent to Calbarine (Calabar ?) for negroes, n. d.; *Content*, for Guinea, seized 1661; *Charles*, for Guinea, seized 1661; *Merchant's Delight*, seized near Cape Coast, about August, 1661; *Paragon*, for Guinea, seized about Oct. 15, 1661. *A Catalogue of the Damages for which the English demand Reparation* (London, 1664), pp. 5-12; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 65, 113, *ibid.*, 1699, p. 588.

If 1661 be the correct date for the seizing of the *Charles*, she (or possibly another vessel of the same name) was released to trade again in 1662. William Crawford, master of the *Charles*, made affidavit that in October, 1662, his frigate and the *James*, Captain Merritt, were prevented from trade by the *Golden Lyon*, a Dutch vessel. A skiff sent to the shore to buy slaves, was seized by the Dutch with its goods and men. The men were later returned with warnings against further trade. That these threats did not prevent Crawford from trading is certain, for on Oct. 26, 1663, the King of Spain directed Francisco Salmon, accountant of the navy, to allow the 128 slaves from the *Charles*, master William Crawford, to be brought into Cadiz and sold. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 113; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote MSS.*, p. 132.

[44] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 381-382. Incurable optimism as to their future ability to pay was common to the planters of all the colonies and the reluctance of the colonial assemblies to allow the forcible collection of debts created constant friction between the

Negro-Servants; And have given the Planters long time of Payment for them, for their greater Incouragement; Who are, at this time Indebted to the Petitioners, at least, forty thousand pounds sterling; And that the Petitioners finde themselves very much abused by the intollerable delayes of Payment [2] amongst the most of the Planters, against which the present Forme of Judiciary proceedings in that Island afford no Remedy, but what is worse then the disease, So that, unless some better Constitution and Execution of Justice be suddenly established in that Island, the Petitioners whole Stock will be exhausted, and buryed in the hands of the Planters, and not recoverable but at the pleasure of the Debtors; And thereby the Growth of the Plantations, and just Interest of the honester Pay-Masters is obstructed And praying Redresse herein.[3]

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company and the assemblies. Most, if not all, of the laws relating to debt were passed with an eye to the debt for slaves, and rested heavily on the African Company, the largest creditor to be affected. Against these laws the only recourse of the company was an appeal to Privy Council and King. The usual method of debt collection was for the creditor to bring suit in the local court. If he obtained a judgment, the provost marshal was directed to sell the debtor's goods by public outcry. The planter maintained, and rightly, that his negroes were frequently seized for small debts, and he was thus left with no means of working his plantation. It was to obviate this possibility that many of the laws were passed to which the company objected.

[2] Slaves purchased by contract with the company were to be paid for in three installments, two, four, and six months after their arrival. Six, nine, and twelve months' credit soon became the usual terms.

[3] A letter to Lord Willoughby urging him to see that this evil be remedied follows (*Acts P. C. C.*, I. 382-383). The matter of the planter's debts continued to be an acute vexation to the company. In 1665 the planters owed £49,895 (Zook, pp. 75-76, n.). On Aug. 27, 1669, the Privy Council again considered it, the company having alleged that the debtors refused to pay and that the laws of the island protected them in this course. This statement on the part of the company was supported by evidence from other sources. Willoughby wrote, July 22, 1668, "There is such animosity between the planter and merchant that all ways are studied by some of the Assembly to make the merchants quit the island, and they have proposed an Act that no merchant shall sue for a debt this four years to come" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 594).

The law left property attached for debt in the hands of the debtor for eighty days after attachment. If the property were negroes, as was frequently the case, by the expiration of the eighty days the attached goods had disappeared. The complaints of the company caused the Privy Council to consider the matter again and to suggest that land as well as goods be subject to attachment, since land could not be spirited away during the interim before sale (Harlow, *Barbados*, pp. 202, 315; *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 528-529, 532). To this suggestion the assembly refused to accede. A year later Governor Willoughby pointed out to the speaker that the laws relating to the collection of debts had not as yet been remedied. Four years after this Governor Atkins, himself none too friendly to the African Company, urged the assembly to repeal the laws that protected the debtor, by means of which the company was defrauded. Though the assembly brought counter charges against the company it at last repealed the offending law Jan. 22, 1677 (Atkins to Williamson, C. O. I: 39, no. 9; Harlow, *Barbados*, p. 219; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 540, 544). The laws of the other islands regulating the relations between debtor and creditor were likewise distasteful to the home government. In Antigua, by the act of extent, goods were to be valued by sworn appraisers, then taken in fixed order. Slaves were attached to the freehold. If the personal property were insufficient to clear the debt, then the creditor must work the estate. In appraisal, sugar was valued at twice its market price. This act, in response to criticism, was amended in 1676. C. S. S. Higham, *Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 157-159.

45. Vice-Director Beck to Director Stuyvesant.[1]

Curaçao, 16 April, Anno 1665.

Sir, . . . A ship, named *Joffr. Catarina,*[2] whereof Jacob Dircksen Willree is skipper, arrived here on the 14 January last, from Arder, on the coast of Guinea, with one hundred and fifty slaves. She was sent in the service of the company from Amsterdam to the Castle del Mina to carry a message to Mr. Valckenburgh with some supplies for that place, and succeeded very well, notwithstanding many English ships were off that coast. . . .

Since my last, I have sold here to the Genoese [3] all the slaves which had come here on the company's account in the last ships and were remaining at this place and were considered merchantable and could be spared from the country, one hundred and twenty pieces of eight. And because of these English troubles, and because for some time no slaves were expected here from the coast of Guinea, the aforesaid Genoese have taken their departure hence with their ship and the above-mentioned purchased slaves, on the 23 January last for Cartagena. We shall learn betimes whether this trade shall be renewed in Holland with the company, or whether it will be pursued and continued at this place by other Spaniards.

I have, since that, been informed that the principals of the above-mentioned Genoese in Spain have contracted with Royal Company of England for the delivery of slaves, such delivery to be made at the island of Jamaica, and that a large ship belonging to the said Genoese has already arrived at Jamaica, to carry away the slaves, according to the contract concluded with the Royal Company. But inasmuch as no slaves had reached there for the Royal Company, they were allowed to purchase as many slaves from the English planters and inhabitants as they were to receive. In regard to this contract, all commissions of privateers and ships against the Spaniards in these West Indies are revoked, and they are forbidden to inflict any damage on the Spanish nation by land or water; and when a rich Spanish prize was brought by the English privateers into Jamaica, they were obliged to restore her, free of costs and charges.

I doubt if this English royal company will be able to fulfill their contract with the Genoese, if it be of any magnitude, in consequence of the disturbances and troubles caused by themselves on the coast of Guinea and the great obstruction they will encounter as long as these troubles continue, in their slave trade and in all their other commerce, from the privateers of Holland and Zeeland, of which they have had, hitherto, no suspicion.

[45] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 104.

[2] *Miss Catarina.*

[3] The assientist Grillo and Lomelin had bargained with the Dutch West India Company for 1400 negroes.

46. The King to Francis Lord Willoughby.[1]

Worcester House, 30 March, 1666.

Whereas the Company of Royall Adventurers of England trading into Africa did by their Petition desire they might have Leave to support the Bargaine they have made with Signior Grillo by such Negroes as shalbe procured by Signior Grillo himself, or any Agents employed by him, the better to comply with a Contract they have made with him, His Majesty in Councill having taken the said Petition into Consideration, and finding that in the present juncture of Affaires the Agreement cannot otherwise be complyed with, Wee do in his Majesties name pray and require you to permit all such Negros as shalbe comprized within the numbers, that ought to be delivered to Signior Grillo by the said Contract, whether brought in by Signior Grillo himself in the Ships of any Nation in Amity with his Majesty, or by the Company into Jamaica or Barbados, or by either of them procured upon the place, to be reimbarked and transported from thence, paying no other Duty or Custome for the same than the Petitioners are lyable to pay for such as they have sold, and do and shall deliver unto the said Signior Grillo, the Company sending under their Seale a Certificate of the Number that are to be delivered yearly to Signior Grillo, Which Indulgence his Majesty is pleased to graunt as a Favour to the said Royall Company that they make use of it so far forth as they shall find it for their Interest and extend it, or withdraw it, as they shall see occasion, they signifying from time to time their desire to you.[2]

47. The Privy Council to Francis Lord Willoughby.[1]

Whitehall, 6 April, 1666.

[A letter to Lord Willoughby of Parham. The Company of Royal Adventurers having complained] That Captaine Nicholas Pepperell Commander of the Petitioners Ship *Charles* having seized in the Coast of Guinny the Ship *William and Susan* trading there in contempt of his Majesties Charter, and brought her to Barbados to be there adjudged in his Majesties High Court of Admiralty, the said Captaine was at his Arrivall arrested by the Owners of the said Ship in an Action of 500,000 pounds of Sugar at Common Law, Whereupon the Petitioners Factors applyed themselves to Your Lordship and desired that the said Action may be dismissed from the Common Law to its proper Judicature the Admiralty, which your Lordship

[46] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 409-410. See introduction, p. 168.

[2] A similar letter was sent to Sir Thomas Modyford, governor of Jamaica.

[47] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 411-412. The brackets used here and in a few other selections from the *Acts* are those used in the texts to indicate material which has been summarized.

refused, and sitting in the Court of Admiralty would not take any Cognizance of the Cause there, but left them to defend his Majesties Charter at Common Law, as by the Petition a Copy whereof is herewith sent your Lordship may appeare, Which his Majesty having taken into Consideration, hath commanded us to signify unto your Lordship That it is his expresse Pleasure and Command That you forthwith dismisse the said Action Bayle out of the Court of Common Pleas in that Island, in which it is depending and transmit the whole Case and pretence of the Plantiffs together with all Writings and Papers thereunto belonging to this Boord, His Majesty intending to take Cognizance thereof himself.[2]

48. A List of the Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa, 1667.[1]

The Kings Most Excellent Majesty
The Queen's Majesty
His Royal Highness the Duke of York
His Highness Prince Rupert
The Duke of Albemarle
The Earl of St. Albans
Earl of Anglesey
Lord Arlington

[2] While the Dutch struggle actually brought about the ruin of the company of 1663, the obstacles encountered in the West Indies were contributing factors which should not be ignored. Not only did the Barbadian planters fail to pay for their negroes, but their sympathies, and sometimes those of the government of the island as well, were often with the interloper rather than the company. That Willoughby was thought to have neglected the above order is shown by the fact that nearly two years later, Jan. 31, 1668, the Privy Council called a second time for the transference of this case to England. Zook, pp. 76-78.

[48] [1] *The Several Declarations of the Company*, p. 10. This list, printed in order to show sources of capital and influence, is not dated and appears with material of 1663, but since William Rumbold, whose executors are here included, did not die until 1667, and since it was published in 1667, it must belong to that year. The original list of subscribers contained in the charter of 1660 is as follows (Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. 172-177): James Duke of York, Maria Princess of Orange, Princess Henrietta, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, George Duke of Buckingham, George Duke of Albemarle, James Marquis of Ormond, Philip Earl of Pembroke, Henry Earl of St. Albans, Edward Earl of Sandwich, John Earl of Bath, Thomas Earl of Ossory, George Lord Berkeley, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Charles Lord Brandon, Sir George Carteret, Charles Howard, William Coventry, Sir Charles Sidley (Sedley), Sir John Warner, Sir Charles Berkeley, Henry Jermyn, William Legge, John Denham, Sir Anthony de Marces, Sir Ellis Leighton, Sir Edward Turner, Edward Gregory, Richard Nicholls, Cornelius Vermuyden.

By 1663 this list had doubled. While it still contained a large group of courtiers, it had added a number of the merchant class, chief among whom were Backwell, Noell, Povey, and Riccard; Queen Katherine, Mary the Queen Mother, James Duke of York, Henrietta Maria Duchess of Orleans, Prince Rupert, George Duke of Buckingham, Mary Duchess of Richmond, Edward Earl of Manchester, Philip Earl of Pembroke, Henry Earl of St. Albans, John Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Sandwich, Charles Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Lauderdale, George Lord Berkeley, William Lord Craven, Lord Lucas, Charles Lord Gerrard, William Lord Crofts, John Lord Berkeley, Thomas Grey, Sir George Carteret, Sir Charles Sidley (Sedley), Sir Ellis Leighton, Edward Gregory, Sir Edward Turner, Sir Anthony de Merces, William Legge, Richard Nicholls, Sir William Davison, William Cutler, Sir James Modyford, Thomas Cullem, George Cock, Charles Porter, Sir John Colleton, John Buckworth, Sir John Robinson, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir Richard Ford, Sir William Rider, John Bence, Sir George Smith, Sir John Shaw, Sir Martin Noell, Abraham Brigges, Thomas Povey, Edward Backwell, Matthew Wren, Tobias Rustat, Martin Noell, jr., Henry Johnson, James Congett, John Ashburnham, Edward Noell, James Noell, Francis Meynell, John Cooper, Sir Andrew Riccard, William

Lord Ashley
Sir Allen Appesley [2]
Col. William Ashburnham [3]
Mr. John Ayres
The Duke of Buckingham
The Earl of Bath
Lord Bellasis
John L[ord] Berckley
Henry Brounkerd Esq;
Edward Backwell, Esq;[4]
Alderman John Bence
Mr. Alex. Bence
Mr. John Ball
Mr. Birkhead
Mr. John Buckworth
The Earl of Carlisle
William Earl of Craven [5]
William L[ord] Crofts
Sir George Carteret
Sir William Coventry [6]
The executors of
Sir John Colleton
The Executors of
Sir Nicholas Crispe
Sir Anthony Craven
Capt. George Cock [7]
Mr. William Cutler
Mr. Thomas Cullom [8]
Mr. John Collvill
Thomas Crispe Esq;
Mr. Jeremy Copping
Capt. Edward Crispe
Mr. Thomas Childe
Mr. John Conny
Sir William Davison
Mr. Francis Dashwood.
The Countess of Falmouth
Sir Richard Ford
Sir Philip Frowd [9]
Mr. Robert Foley

Harbart, Sir John Jacob, Sir John Harrison, Sir John Wolstenholm, Sir William Wake, Sylas Titus, Peter Proby.

C. M. Andrews points out that eleven members of the African Company (by which he evidently means the Company of Royal Adventurers) were members of the Council of Trade created in 1660, and that eight members of the African Company were also members of the Council for Foreign Plantations: Lord Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir Andrew Riccard, Sir John Shaw, Thomas Povey, Martin Noell, and Sir John Colleton. Andrews, *British Committees*, p. 68.

[2] An older Sir Allen Apsley was deputy governor of the company of 1618. This member of the family was treasurer of the household of the Duke of York, and a member of Parliament from 1661 to 1678.

[3] William Ashburnham, described by Pepys as an "experienced man and a Cavalier", was cofferer of the household after the Restoration. In the patent of the company John Ashburnham is named, but no William.

[4] Edward Backwell, alderman and goldsmith, was one of the most successful bankers of the time. Cromwell and Charles II., as well as many members of the nobility, the city companies, and the East India Company, at times called upon him for funds.

[5] William Earl of Craven, to whom Charles I. and Charles II. were heavily indebted, was one of the proprietors of Carolina, and a member of the Privy Council. Throughout his life he was devoted to Elizabeth of Bohemia and was probably familiar with Prince Rupert and his plans for an African company.

[6] Sir William Coventry, private secretary to James, Duke of York; a member of Parliament in 1661; in 1665 made privy councillor and knighted.

[7] Capt. George Cock, a prosperous merchant, had served in the Royalist forces, and in 1660 had been made searcher of the port of Newcastle. Pepys referred to him in the entry, "This morning Captain Cocke did give me a good account of the Guinny trade". *Diary*, Nov. 4, 1663.

[8] Sir Thomas Cullum, alderman, who had made a fortune in the draper's business, married the daughter of Nicholas Crisp, and been knighted in 1660, had died in 1664. This Thomas may have been his son.

[9] Richard Ford, the London merchant trading between Rotterdam and Exeter in 1652, may well have been Sir Richard Ford, M. P. 1662-1677. Sir Philip Frowde, knighted Mar. 10, 1665, was secretary of the Council for Foreign Plantations, established in 1660.

Thomas Grey, Esq;
Col. Ranald Graham
Sir Dennis Gawden [10]
Lord Hawley
William Harbert Esq;
Mr. James Hore
Mr. Henry Johnson
Thomas Killigrew Esq;[11]
The Earl of Lawtherdale
Lord Lucas
Sir Charles Littleton [12]
Sir Ellis Leighton
Sir John Lawrence
Sir John Lawther
Col. William Legg [13]
Christopher Lawther, Esq;
Mr. Robert Lee
John Letten
Sir Anthony de Marces [14]
Sir James Modyford
Sir Thomas Modyford [15]
Alderman Francis Meynel
Mr. Richard Middleton
Mr. Richard Mountney
Mr. Henry More
The Execut. of Sir Martin Noell
Edward Noell Esq; [16]
Thomas Noell Esq;
The Earl of Peterburgh
Edwards Prodgers Esq;
Thomas Povey, Esq;[17]
Charles Porter, Esq;
Mr. Peter Proby
Mr. John Portman
Duke of Richmond
Sir John Robinson
Sir William Rider
Sir Andrew Riccard [18]
Tobias Rustat Esq;
The Execut. of
Mr. William Rombald
Mr. Rosse
Mr. George Robinson
The Earl of Sandwich
Sir Charles Sidley
Sir John Shaw
Sir James Shane
The Execut. of Sir George Smith

[10] Sir Dennis Gauden, attached to the victualling office.

[11] Thomas Killigrew, who had been with Charles II. throughout his exile, was upon the Restoration made groom of the bedchamber, and given the right to erect his playhouses in London.

[12] Sir Charles Lyttleton, knighted in 1662, accompanied Lord Windsor to Jamaica as lieutenant governor. When the latter returned home he remained a short time as governor.

[13] Col. William Legge, who had served under Prince Rupert, after the Restoration was made treasurer of the Ordnance and groom of the bedchamber. He was a member of Parliament for Southampton.

[14] Carr prints the name de Marces as de Martes. *Select Charters,* p. 173.

[15] Sir James Modyford, younger brother of Thomas, was merchant, colonial agent, and deputy governor of Jamaica. Between 1664 and 1666 he was in London as colonial agent, later he was appointed by his brother chief judge of the admiralty court of Jamaica. Sir Thomas Modyford in 1647 arrived in Barbados, where he owned a sugar plantation. Originally a Royalist, he had gone over to the parliamentary side in 1652. He was appointed governor of Barbados before the Restoration but the place was shortly afterward bestowed upon Willoughby. In 1664 he was sent to Jamaica as governor.

[16] Sir Martin Noell, one of the most important merchants of the Restoration period, was the owner of some 20,000 acres in Jamaica. For an account of his manifold activities, see Andrews, *British Committees,* pp. 49-55. His brother Thomas was well known in Barbados and Surinam. The list in the charter contains the names of Martin Noell, jr., and James Noell, but not Thomas.

[17] Thomas Povey, in spite of the fact that he had not been an active Royalist, was in high favor after the Restoration. He was treasurer to the Duke of York, master of requests, and receiver general for rents and revenues of the plantations. *Ibid.,* pp. 51-52.

[18] Sir Andrew Riccard, one of the wealthiest of London merchants and a land owner in Jamaica, was father-in-law of John Lord Berkeley.

Edward Seymour Esq;
Mr. John Sweeting
Mr. George Snell
The Execut. of
Mr. Francis Simpson
Mr. Arnold Sartillon
Sir Edward Turner
Capt. William Thomas
Mr. George Toriano
Mr. James Temple
The Execut. of Sir Thomas Viner
Sir Robert Viner
Brome Whorwood Esq;
Sir William Warren
Sir John Wolstenholme
Matthew Wrenn Esq;
Joseph Williamson Esq;
Mr. Francis Warner
John Wolstenholme Esq;
Mr. John Young[19]

By Order of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa.

ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

49. PETITION OF SIR THOMAS BLUDWORTH AND OTHERS.[1]

WHITEHALL, 16 July 1669.

. . . Sir Thomas Bludworth, Knight, Sir William Ryder, Knight, Roger Chappell and others Merchants,[2] Shewing, That in October, 1667, they set out the Ship *Thomas and William*, Robert Bartlet Master with a Cargo of Goods to trade on the Coast of Guinea, there to take in Negros, and to returne for Cadiz in Spaine, in which Voyage she sprang a Leake, insomuch that she was forced to put in at Surinam, where at her Arrivall, the said Master found the same contrary to his Expectation to be in the possession of the Dutch,[3] and being no waies able to proceed any further with his said Ship was necessitated to contract for his Slaves to be paid in heading

[19] The following members of this company were in 1663 also members of the East India Company: Edward Backwell, who in 1661-1663 held a license to supply the East India Company with coin and bullion; John Bence; Sir Richard Ford; Francis Meynell, who likewise had the privilege of supplying the company with coin and bullion; Sir Andrew Riccard, who was governor of the East India Company from 1660 to 1662; Sir William Rider; Sir John Shaw; Sir George Smith; and Sir John Wolstenholme, who was a heavy stockholder in the East India Company. Sainsbury, *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1660-1663, pp. v, xxx, 23, 24, 146, 241, 366.

[49] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 528.

[2] Sir Thomas Bludworth was a member of the East India Company and had in 1662 served on a committee which endeavored to continue that company's interest in the West African coast (introduction, pp. 83-84). Sir William Rider was deputy governor of the East India Company at the time the African company of 1663 was formed. Rider became a member of this company; both Bludworth and Rider were stockholders in the African company of 1672 (*Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1660-1663, pp. 36, 105, 200, 237, 259). Roger Chappell had been a factor of the East India Company on the Guinea coast. *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 356.

[3] Surinam had been captured by the Dutch in February, 1667, a fact which one would suppose Captain Bartlett might have known when he set sail in October, while he could hardly have known that it was recaptured by the English in October. This however he may have heard while trading on the West Coast. By the Peace of Breda Surinam was restored to the Dutch, probably not long before the *Thomas and William* arrived there. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 599-600.

for Caske, and to hire two Dutch Pinkes to carry part thereof to Barbados, engaging all the Petitioners Estate at Surinam to returne the said Pinkes, but at their Arrivall at the Barbados, the said Pinkes and their Lading were seized condemned and sold by which meanes the said Master cannot comply with his Engagement at Surinam, and the Petitioners Estate there being to the value of Three Thousand pounds wilbe lost, And therefore humbly Praying, That if the said Two Pinkes and their Lading cannot be delivered unto them, they may receive the full Proceed thereof according as they were sold towards the Satisfaction which they must make out of their Estates at Surinam for the said Pinkes and Goods in them, which the Dutch value at Two Thousand pounds.[4]

50. Reflections on Jamaica Slave Trade, 1670 (?).[1]

Some Reflections on the Royall African Companys Interest in the Plantations and the use of a Major Generall in the Island of Jamaica.

The preservacion of the Royall African Companys interest in supplying our Plantations with Negros is as necessary as any one matter w'ch concernes them, for though by the Interloping Trade both from Affrica and the Dutch Island of Cuirisa [2] they may in time of Peace bee supply'd and perhapps att 10 p Cent lower rates, yett would they prove but a petty Recompence for the Stop of them in time of Warr, w'ch would infallibly happen if the Compa. should by Interlopers bee discouraged from minding that matter, as they must needs bee if things there proceed, as lately they have done.

The Remedy of this mischiefe seemes att present principally to bee Intrusted to His Ma'ties Governours there; w'ch it is true might bee effectuall, if the Governo'r was not to need the Country for his own propper support: but that being so, if hee [be] zealous for the Company, hee loses the Country, and if hee favour the Country, to which hee is necessitated by his interest, hee as certainly loses the Company and is Slander'd, as one guilty of Tricks, w'ch destroys him att Court.

These mischiefes might bee remedyed and the African Companyes interest might bee with ease preserved, if some necessary Rules were made concerning that Trade here, and the inspection of them placed in A Major Generall who by usage there officiated in some sort like a Comissary of the Musters a place absolutely necessary for the safety of all their Lives.

[4] The petition was referred to Lord Willoughby for his report.

[50] [1] Library of Congress, British Transcripts, Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 466. Endorsed, "R: Affrican Company in Jamaica and Concerning a Maj'r Genn'll". This manuscript, itself undated, is found between one of Dec. 22, 1669, and one of Mar. 30, 1670.

[2] Curaçao.

For they considering that the advantage arising by Blacks in Planting compared to that of white Servants is very considerable have in their Laws att Jamaica Fourseene that the proportion of Blacks might in short tyme bee such, that a Rebellion of them would bee easy and therefore have in their Assembly Enacted that to every Eight Blacks, as I take it, every man should bee obliged to keep one white man.

This Law soe necessary and made considerably penall is in the plantations frequently broken and will in the end signifie nothing if a due Register or Muster bee not kept both of the blacks and Whites in the Island and the particular Planters to whom they belong.

This might bee easily done if the King by his Letter should take notice of the Premises: And appoint that for the safety of his Subjects there An Office for Tolling Blacks and Registring all Sales of them should bee held att every place where Quarter Session Courts are kept and that these Registers should bee duly returned to the Major Generalls Office, to bee compared with the Muster Rolls of the Whites belonging to every plantation in the severall precincts of the Island.

It might bee further ordered that once a quarter the Number of the dead Blacks might bee returned.

It might bee further necessary that all Blacks now in the Island or hereafter to bee brought thither should bee marked with one Generall Brand. And that any which should after bee found without that Brand should bee forfeited, Branded and Sold, the proffitt to bee ½ to the Governor and the other ½ to the White Informer, with Freedome to him that is a White Servant who discovers a concealed Black of his Masters.

This Office would absolutely prevent Interloping, prevent clamour against the Governo'rs either there or here and secure the Island of Jamaica from Rebellions of their Blacks, which is most in danger by its severall Mountainous Woody Fastnesses to receive them.

The Company for a Law of this sort might afford and would be ready to allow a sufficient support by way of Factorage for maintaining the Office, as suppose it was 5 *s* per head for every new Black they brought to bee pd. att his first Branding.

51. Proposals for Resettlement of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa, 1671.[1]

Present stock, 122,000 *l.* to be valued at 10 per cent., and so reduced to 12,200 *l.* Creditors to receive two-thirds of their debts in old stock

[51] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 119-120 (summary). These proposals are calendared under the date 1663, which is probably a mistake, since the financial plan here proposed is that used in 1671. The document bears three indorsements, the first of which is undated, the second is "Guiney Company, 1671", the third, a late pencil indorsement, is "Guinea, 1671, 63, Jan.", which perhaps accounts for its place in the *Calendar*.

and the remainder in ready money;[2] 84,000 *l.* new stock to be raised, in subscribing which present adventurers and creditors, who shall subscribe two-thirds of their debts into the old stock, shall have the preference; every 100 *l.* adventurer to have a vote in the management. Government in England to be by committee of five, or at most seven persons, to be chosen by plurality of votes in general court; two of the five, or three of the seven, to retire annually, and others substituted; the committee to meet three days a week and stay three hours at each meeting, and to receive 20 *s.* apiece for each meeting; no member to be absent except he have first petitioned the general court to lay down his place; the committee to have power to suspend any of the Company's officers hereafter mentioned, unless upon their appeal the general court restore them; the said officers to give security for faithful discharge of duties, *viz.*, a treasurer and chief accountant at 150 *l.* each per ann. salary, second accountant at 100 *l.*, warehouse-keeper at 60 *l.*, surveyor of ships at 30 *l.*, and messenger at 20 *l.* Resolutions of the committee to be by majority of votes, and binding on the Company unless contradictory to some order of the general court. Any member of the committee defrauding the Company or receiving any gift or bribe to forfeit his whole stock, and any officer so guilty to be forthwith discharged and made incapable of being ever restored. Posts in Africa to be Cape Corso, Anashan, Commenda, Aga, and Acra;[3] castle of Cape Corso to be head factory and residence of the agent for the whole of Africa; also of two merchants, a gold-taker, a warehouse-keeper, a chief accountant and second accountant, and three younger factors; garrison to be 50 English soldiers and 30 negro slaves, a captain, and four sergeants or corporals. Anashan to have chief and second factor, a sergeant, ten English soldiers, and eight negroes. Commenda, Aga, and Acra to have each a house, two factors, two soldiers, and two negroes. For the Caribbee islands[4]

[2] The creditors were to receive £19,000 in cash, and £38,000 in shares of the old company, which would be written down to £3800. Of £100,000 capital of the new company, £16,000 went to shareholders and creditors of the old company, £19,000 as cash to creditors, and £65,000 was to be used as working capital. For every £100 of his debt a creditor would thus receive £33. 6. 8 in cash, and £6. 13. 4 in the stock of the new company. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 19.

[3] Cabo Corso (Cape Coast), not far from Elmina, remained throughout the period of the English slave trade the chief English factory upon the Gold Coast. This form of the name was retained by the English throughout most of the seventeenth century but by the eighteenth it had been transformed into Cape Coast. Excellent pictures of this fort are to be found in Churchill, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. V., and in Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. II. Anashan was less than ten miles east of Cape Coast; Commenda, west of Cape Coast; Elmina, about half-way between them; Agga or Adga, east of Anashan, in the Fantyn province; Accra, about 150 miles east of Cape Three Points, near the eastern limits of the Gold Coast. Portuguese, French, and Danes had had forts or factories at Accra before this time.

[4] By 1671 the British were in possession of Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, and the Caymans.

the Company to allow the factors two per cent. for sales and returns in goods, and one per cent. for returns in bills of exchange; the factors to make good to the Company all their debts, and the Company to be at no further charge. For the supply of the plantations with negro servants; the Company to grant license to all his Majesty's subjects to fetch negroes on payment of 3 *l.* per ton on the tonnage of their ships, but binding them not to touch at certain points; also to make offer to governors to furnish them annually with as many negroes as they will contract for at 17 *l.* per head at Barbadoes, 18 *l.* at Antigua, and 19 *l.* in Jamaica, with a reduction of 1 *l.* per head at each place to any one contracting for a whole ship-load and paying one-fourth of the price in advance with security for the remainder; the Company not to be bound to supply negroes to any planter indebted to them for a former supply. If the Company's creditors will not accept of one-third in money and two-thirds in old stock, the whole effects to be made over to them and a new patent taken out. Endeavours to be used to obtain an Act of Parliament for confirmation of the Company's charter.

52. The King to William Lord Willoughby.[1]

Whitehall, 22 November, 1671.

It is of a long time That Wee have been made acquainted with the hard measures the Royall Company trading to Africa have received in Our Island of Barbados in relation to the great debts due to them and the delay and fayler of Justice they have mett with in their endeavors for the recovery thereof. But now lately they have by their complaint made to Us so fully represented their case in that Particular, and the ruine impending upon their whole Stock, and Trade, to the Scandall of the Government there which is like to be followed with a totall losse of that beneficiall Trade to us and Our Kingdomes, and even ruine to that and other Our Plantations, That Wee have taken the same into Our most serious and Princely consideration, and by advice of Our Privy Councill have resolved to interpose in the most effectuall manner, Our Justice and Royall Power, that full right may be done to the said Company, and that by no Artifice or combination upon pretence of Law or Custome in that Island they be any longer withheld from what is due to them.

And though Wee might justly send for some of their cheif Debitors hither to answer this complaint, and to abide such rule as shalbe found expedient for their plenary satisfaction, and the recovery of their Trade which is in great hazard by the proceedings used there, in this

[52] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 572-574. William Lord Willoughby, brother of Francis, succeeded him as governor of Barbados, reaching the island in January, 1667.

Case, Yet being desirous to recommend Our Justice by all waies of lenity and moderation towards such as We hope will not continue Obstinate in a course of wrong and injury to their fellow subjects Wee have thought fitt first to settle this way and method for the obteyning Justice to the said Company *Vizt.*

That you Our Governor or Deputy Governor of that Island, do employ your utmost Care and diligence in assisting Mr. Robert Beven and Mr. Edwin Stede Agents now purposely sent by the said Company for recovery of their said debts procureing him with all the Interest you have speedy and full justice therein, And that none may shelter themselves under Our Authority, or as persons employed by Us, and in Our Service Our Will and pleasure is, That if upon the prosecution of the said Agent, and such assistance and Countenance as you shall give him, which Wee command you to doe in the most effectuall manner, as in an affair, which Wee take much to heart, the said Debitors or any of them, shall not make payment to the said Agent of the debts due to the said Company within four Moneths after demand that every person neglecting or refuseing such payment be discharged from his Office, place, or Imployment, or proffitt, trust, or honour in that Island especially of his place of Judicature they being altogether unworthy to have a hand in the distribution of Justice, that are not just in their owne particular Concerns. And if this course shall not take the Effect Wee hope and desire Wee are resolved to apply the utmost and most severe remedies Our Royall authority is furnished with to compell the refractory to pay their just debts, and to lett them see, That distance of Place shall shelter none from Our Justice and Power.

And Wee doe further streightly charge and Command you . . . That this Our Letter be published in the accustomed Places and then recorded in the Generall Assembly of Our said Island, whereof, and of your punctuall execution of these Our Commands in all Points, Wee shall require a strict account of you.[2]

53. Charter of the Royal African Company.[1]

Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas all and singular the

[2] A similar letter was sent to Jamaica May 25, 1672. A letter of Nov. 26, 1672, duplicates this. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 363-364, 436.

[53] [1] T 70: 1505. By far the most valuable single source of material for the slave trade is the body of records of the Royal African Company in the Public Record Office, known as Treasury Papers 70, and here cited as T 70. For a description of these papers see Hilary Jenkinson, "The Records of the English African Companies", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (third ser.), VI. 197-220; a list will be found in *Lists and Indexes*, no. XLVI. (Public Record Office, 1921), pp. 52-76. A more extended study based on these papers will be found in a forthcoming book on

regions, countrys, dominions and territories, continents, coasts and places, now or at any time heretofore called or known by the name or names of Guinny, Buiny,[2] Angola and South Barbary or by any of them, or which are or have been reputed esteemed or taken to be parcel or member of any region country dominion territory or continent called Guinny or Binny, Angola or South Barbary and all and singular ports and havens, rivers, creeks, islands and places in the parts of Africa to them or any of them belonging, and the sole and onely trade and traffic thereof, are the undoubted right of Us our heirs and successors and are and have been enjoyed by Us and by our predecessors for many years past as in right of this our Crown of England,

And whereas the trade of the said regions, countries and places is of great advantage to our subjects of this Kingdom, and for the improvement thereof divers attempts have been made and several charters granted by our Royal Progenitors to several persons with such powers and authorities, as were then conceived proper for the carrying on of the said trade, but all the said endeavours proved ineffectual untill We by Letters Patents under our Great Seal of England bearing date the tenth day of January in the fourteenth year of our reign did give and grant unto our Royal Consort Queen Katherine, Mary the Queen our Mother (since deceased), our dearest Brother James Duke of York and others therein named the propriety and government of all the said regions territories, countries, dominions, continents, coasts and places, in trust for the Company of Royal Adventurers of England, trading into Africa, And for the better managing of the Trade and traffic thereof, did create and make them and such as they should think fit to receive into their Society [a?] body politick and Corporate by the name of the Company of the Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa, Granting to them and their Successors the sole Trade of the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Coasts and places, with prohibition to all others, and several other liberties and priviledges as by the said Letters Patents may appear, whereby the said trade is very much advanced and improved,[3]

Nevertheless, by accidents in the late wars and other casualties the said Company have sustained great losses by means whereof their

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the Royal African Company, by Dr. George F. Zook. The letter-books, ledgers, minute-books, cash-books, waste books, and journals, amounting to some 1600 volumes, offer an embarrassment of riches from which to make selections illustrative of the history of the companies. Most of the extracts here printed have been taken from the letter-books and journals, as more illuminating when removed from their context than would be detached portions of the ledgers. Extracts from these papers, selected by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, were printed in the *Journal of Negro History*, XIII. 286-394.

[2] Benin.

[3] For the charter of 1663 see Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. 177-181.

stock hath been so impaired that, besides the great Debts they were payable unto, there remained not sufficient to manage the said trade, whereupon all persons refused to advance any more money upon that account lest it should be subject to the payment of those debts and not be employed in the said trade,

And it being found also by experience that the powers and privileges in our said Letters Patents granted were not sufficient for those purposes for which they were designed,

Thereupon the said Company, to enable them to pay and satisfy their just debts so far as the value of what remained unto them will extend unto, have treated with the persons hereafter named who upon that occasion have made subscriptions towards a new stock, and have for valuable considerations undertaken to assure unto them all the said regions, dominions, territories, continents and places by Us granted as aforesaid, and all their rights and privileges in the trade thereof, And for that end to become humble suitors to Us that We would be graciously pleased to accept a surrender of all their rights and interests either in law or equity in the said regions, dominions, territories, continents, coasts and places, and of all their whole rights and privileges of trade unto those parts, And that We would be pleased to make the said persons hereafter named a new Society or Corporation to whom the said regions, territories, continents, coasts and places and the sole trade thereof may be granted with such powers and privileges as shall be most convenient for the advancement and carrying on the said trade,

And the said Company have accordingly besought Us on that behalf and have under their Common Seal surrendered the said property and sole privileges unto Us for the purposes aforesaid,

Now know ye that We graciously tendering the encouragement and advancement of the said trade and to the end the new Company or Corporation hereafter erected and constituted may be the better enabled to maintain and enlarge the said trade and traffic into and from the parts and places in the said Letters Patents and hereafter in these presents expressed, and at the humble petition of the said Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa and also of the persons hereafter named, We have accepted of the said surrender and of our more especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, We have given and granted, and for Us our heirs and successors do hereby give and grant unto our dearest Brother James, Duke of York, Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. John Buckworth, Sir John Banks, John Bence, Esquire, William Earl of Craven, Mr. Jarvis Cartwright, Mr. Samuel Dashwood, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Thomas Farrington, Captain Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Edward

Hoopegood, Mr. John Jeffries, Sir Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Esquire, Mr. Samuel Moyer, Mr. Peter Proby, Mr. Gabriel Roberts, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Benjamin Skutt, Sir Robert Vyner, Mr. Thomas Vernon, Mr. Nicholas Warren and Mr. Richard Young,[4] their executors and assigns, all and singular the regions, countrys, dominions, territories, continents, coasts and places lying and being within the limits and bounds hereafter mentioned (that is to say), beginning at the port of Sallee in South Barbary inclusive, and extending from thence to Cape De Bona Esperanza inclusive, with all the Islands near, adjoining to those Coasts and comprehended within the limits aforesaid, which regions, countrys, dominions, territories, continents, coasts, places and Islands have been heretofore called or known by the name of South Barbary, Guinny, Binny or Angola or by some or any other name or names, which are or have been reputed, esteemed or taken to be part, parcel or member of any Country, region, dominion, territory or continent within the limits aforesaid, and all and singular Ports, Harbours, Creeks, Islands, Lakes, and places in the parts of Africa, to them, or any of them, belonging or being under the obedience of any King, State, or Potentate of any Region, Dominion or Country within the limits aforesaid,

To have and To hold all and singular the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Coasts and places aforesaid, and all and singular other the premises within the limits aforesaid, to the said James, Duke of York, Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. John Buckworth, Sir John Banks, John Bence, Esquire, William Earl of Craven, Mr. Jarvis Cartwright, Mr. Samuel Dashwood, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Thomas Farrington, Captain Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Edward Hoopegood, Mr. John Jeffries, Sir Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Esquire, Mr. Samuel Moyer, Mr. Peter Proby, Mr. Gabriel Roberts, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Benjamin Skutt, Sir Robert Vyner, Mr. Thomas Vernon, Mr. Nicholas Warren and Mr. Richard Young, their ex'ors and assigns, from the making of these, our Letters Pattent, for and during the term, and unto the full end and term of one thousand years, yielding and rendering therefore unto Us, our

[4] This group of twenty-four constituted the "assistants" of the new company, named later in the charter. The names in this list which had not heretofore appeared in African charters are: John Banks, Jarvis Cartwright, Samuel Dashwood, Thomas Farrington, Ferdinando Gorges, Edward Hopegood, John Jeffreys, Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Samuel Moyer, Gabriel Roberts, Benjamin Skutt, Thomas Vernon, Nicholas Warren, and Richard Young. Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginnings, who, according to Evelyn, had by 1676 amassed a fortune of £100,000 (*Diary*, ed. Dobson, II. 393). The colonizing activities of Gorges are too well known to need description. John Jeffreys and his brother Jeffrey, both London merchants, were closely associated with the slave trade throughout the remainder of the century (see their activities in the Virginia trade, this work, vol. III). Samuel Moyer had been a London alderman in 1652, and in 1653 was a member of the Council of State (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1652-1653, pp. 62, 339). Benjamin Skutt and Gorges had been signers of a petition for free trade to Africa, in 1667. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, I. 342-345.

heirs and successors, two Elephants, whenever we, our heirs and successors, or any of them, shall arrive, land or come into the Dominions, Regions, Countrys, Territories, Plantations and places before mentioned, or any of them.

Nevertheless, our Will and pleasure is, And we do hereby declare the true intent and meaning of these presents to be, that this, our present grant and demise of the Regions, Countrys, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Coasts, and places aforesaid, and all the benefits, comodity, profits, and advantages made and to be made and gotten out of the same, or by reason of the term aforesaid, shall be and shall be interpreted to be in Trust and for the sole use, benefit and behoof of the Royal African Company of England hereafter mentioned, and their Successors, and after, in and by these presents Incorporated, or mentioned to be Incorporated, And, therefore, for the setting forward and furtherance of Trade intended, in the parts aforesaid, and the incouragement of the undertakers in the discovering the Golden Mines and settling of Plantations, being an enterprise so laudable and conducing to so worthy an end as the increase of Traffic and Merchandize wherein this nation hath been famous; of our further and more ample [*torn*] Grace and favour certain knowledge and mere motion, We do will, ordain, constitute, appoint, give and grant unto our said dearest Brother James, Duke of York, His Highness, Prince Rupert, Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, Henry, Earl of Arlington, [*and 199 others*] that they and all such others, as they shall from time to time think fit and convenient to receive into their Company and Society to be traders and adventurers with them to the said Countries, shall be one body Politick and Corporate of themselves, in deed and in name, by the name of the Royal African Company of England: and them, by that name, one body Politick and Corporate in deed and in name, We do, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, ordain, constitute, appoint and confirm by these presents; and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and that they and their successors, by the name of the Royal African Company of England, at all times hereafter, shall be persons able and capable in Law to have, take, purchase, receive, possess and enjoy Manors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, rents, liberties, priviledges and hereditaments of whatsoever kind, nature, or quality to them and their Successors, and by the same name shall and may be persons able and capable in law to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in whatsoever Court and places, and before whatsoever Judges, Justices, Officers and Ministers, of us, our heirs and Successors, and in all and singular pleas, accompts, Suits, Causes, and demands whatsoever of what kind,

nature or sort soever, and in such manner and form as any other of our Liege People of this Kingdom of England, or other dominions, being persons able and capable in Law to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, have, purchase, receive, take, possess, give and grant, let and dispose by any lawful ways and means whatsoever. And that it shall, and may be, lawful for the said Royal African Company of England and their successors to have and use a Common Seal for all the causes and businesses of them and their Successors, which seal our will and pleasure is shall be engraven and set forth in manner and form following, that is to say, On the one side the image of our Royal Person in our Parliament or royal robes, and on the other side an elephant bearing a castle supported by two negroes or black mores:

And for the better ordering and Governing of the said Company we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do give and grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their successors that there shall from time to time, be a Governor, Sub Governor, and Deputy Governor and twenty-four assistant members of the said Company, which said Governor, Sub-Governor, and Deputy Governor and assistants, or any seven or the major part of them (of which the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy Governor to be one) and their successors, we will shall be called the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of England, shall be and are hereby authorized and impowered according to such Rules, orders and directions, as shall from time to time be made and given unto them by the General Court of the said Company, and for want of such order rules or direction by the said General Court then they the said Governor, Sub Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants or any seven or the major part of them, Whereof the said Governor Sub Governor or Deputy Governor to be one, are hereby authorized and impowered from time to time to have the Whole management and direction of all the Affairs and business of the said Company as well in buying and selling of all goods and merchandizes as in providing Ships, erecting factories, and in the Choice of their factors and all their other Servants and ministers Whatsoever, and generally to act and do in all other things Whatsoever they shall Judge necessary to the well ordering and Government of the said Company and the trade thereof, and to so enjoy, perform and execute all the powers, authorities, priviledges, Acts and things to all intents and purposes as if the same were done by the said General Court, and that our dearest and intirely beloved brother James Duke of York shall be the present Governor and Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury shall be the present Sub Governor and

Mr. John Buckworth shall be the present Deputy Governor, and that Sir John Banks, Capt. John Bence, Esq., and William Earl of Craven, Mr. Jarvis Cartwright, Mr. Samuell Dashwood, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Thomas Farrington, Capt. Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Edward Hopegood, John Jeffries, Esq., Sir Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Esq., Mr. Samuell Moyer, Mr. Peter Proby, Mr. Gabriel Roberts, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Benjamin Skutt, Sir Robert Vyner, Mr. Thomas Vernon, Mr. Nicholas Warren, and Mr. Richard Young shall be Assistants of the said Company, together with three such other persons as shall be chosen at the next general Court of the said Company or any other General Court by the major part of the persons there assembled before the fifth day of January next ensuing to be Assistants, and that the said Governor, Sub Governor and Deputy Governor and the said Assistants shall continue in their said respective places and Offices untill the twentieth day of January next ensuing the date of these presents, and from thence untill there shall be a New Choice duely made of Governor, Sub Governor and Deputy Governor and twenty four persons as Assistants of the said Company to succeed them according as is hereafter directed, unless they or any of them shall die or be removed by Order to be made by the General Court of the said Company before the expiration of the said time; and in case any of them shall die or be so removed before the expiration of the said time it shall, and may be, lawful for the major part of the persons assembled at any General Court of the said Company to make choice of any member of the said Company in the place of such persons so deceased or removed, which person so to be chosen shall continue in the said office during the residue of the said time.

And we do further, for us our heirs and successors, give and grant to the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Company at any time between the first day of January and the said twentieth day of January next ensuing, the date of these presents, and so from time to time between the first and twentieth day of January in every year successively, to assemble a General Court of the Royal African Company of England, and by the major part of the generality there present, to make a general Collection and choose a Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and twenty four assistants for the purposes aforesaid, which are to continue in the said office for the ensuing year next after the twentieth day of January following the said election, and from thence until other persons be duly chosen in their rooms; and upon the death or removal of any Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor, assistant or assistants at any time

within the year and before the said twentieth day of January, it shall be lawful for the Generality of the said Company, at any General Court to be for that purpose assembled by the major part of the persons present at such General Court, to elect and choose a Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor or assistants, as there shall be occasion, in the place and room of such person as shall be so dead or removed: Provided Always, that the Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and assistants, in this patent named, shall, before he or they enter upon the execution of the said places respectively, take their Corporal Oaths, for their true and faithful execution of their respective Trusts and places, before the Lord Keeper or Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, who are hereby authorized to administer the same accordingly. And Provided also, that all and every the other persons above mentioned, members of the said Company, and all such other persons as shall from time to time be admitted members of the said Company, before they shall have liberty to act as members of the said Company or have any benefit, profit or advantages thereby, shall before the said Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor, or any three of the assistants above named, who are hereby respectively authorized to administer the same, take an Oath of Fidelity to the said Company, which oath We will and appoint shall be in these words following, You do swear to be good and true to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty and to his heirs and successors and that you will be faithful to the Royal African Company of England trading into Africa, in the management of their said trade; the secrets of the said Company which shall be given you in charge to conceal by the said Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor you will not disclose, and during the present joint stock of this Company you will not trade to any of the limits of this Company's Charter without leave of the General Court or Court of Assistants, So help you God; And also, that the said Court of Assistants shall have power and authority to administer an Oath of Fidelity to all their Inferior Officers and ministers that shall be chosen and employed under them in the services of the said Company, for their faithful and due execution of their several places and Trusts reposed in them, to the best of their skill, so that nothing be contained in the said oath that is or shall be repugnant to the laws of this Kingdom: And upon the choice of any succeeding Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor and assistants, We do give and grant power unto the preceding Governor Sub Governor or Deputy Governor, or any three of the assistants to administer a Corporal Oath, to the Succeeding Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor, for the due and faithful execution of their respec-

tive Trusts and places, which they are to take before they enter upon the execution of their several Trusts and places.

And for the better ordering and managing the affairs of the said Royal African Company of England, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and Successors, grant unto the said Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and assistants, or any seven of them, of which the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor to be one, full power and authority at all times convenient to assemble themselves together in any place or places convenient, for the direction and management of the affairs and business of the said Company, and to hold Courts and as often as they find cause to summon a General Court of the said Royal African Company, who from time to time, upon their meeting, shall have power to make and may make, ordain, constitute and establish, such, and so many good and necessary and reasonable laws, ordinances, orders and constitutions, as to the greatest part of them so assembled shall seem necessary and convenient for the good Government of the said Company and their affairs, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, make void, and if need be, make anew, as they shall think fitt and convenient, and to impose and set such pains and punishment upon the offenders and breakers of the said Laws and ordinances, either by imprisonment or fines as in their, or in the greater part of their discretion shall be thought reasonable; which said Laws and ordinances shall be put in execution by the said Court of Assistants. And, our will and pleasure is the said fine and fines shall be levied and received to the use of the Company and their Successors, in such manner as the said General Court or Court of Assistants shall direct and appoint, and by them to be enjoyed, without any account to be made to us, our heirs or successors for the same; all which Laws, ordinances and constitutions, so to be made as aforesaid, We Will and Command, to be observed and kept so as the said Laws, ordinances, orders, constitutions, imprisonments, fines and amerciaments, be reasonable and not repugnant to the Laws of this our Realm of England.

And we do hereby further grant, that if the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor or any of the Assistants for the time being shall at any time hereafter be convicted for any misdemeanour and declared to be removed by the judgment of the generality of the said Company or the major part of them or so many of them as shall be then duly assembled upon summons issued for calling of a General Court by the Governor Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor or any three of the Assistants, which summons the said Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor, or any three of the assistants, are hereby required to issue forth when and as often as they shall

be thereunto required by any twelve of the Generality of the Company, that then, and in every such case, such Governor, Sub-Governor Deputy Governor, and assistant or assistants as shall be so convicted, and declared to be removed shall be *ipso facto* removed and deprived of his said office, and the said Company may proceed to the New Election of other persons in their offices at the same Court or any other Court, in manner as is herein before prescribed.

And we do, moreover, for us, our heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said Company and their Successors that it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons of the said Royal African Company of England, or their, or either of their Executors, Administrators or Assigns, and every of them to grant and assign over to any person or persons whatsoever, any of their Stock and Stocks, and the proceeds and profits thereof: Provided always, that for the preventing of all mistakes, the said Assignment be made in open Court before the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor and assistants, or any seven of them, of which the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor to be one, and there registered, and not otherwise, and so as the said party making such assignment be not indebted to the said Company, or being indebted to the said Company, do give them satisfaction for the same before such assignment be allowed; And, so as such Assignment [Assignee], before he or shee be admitted to take the said assignment, or any benefit thereby, in case he or she be not then a member of the said Company, as shall be admitted a member thereof, in open court, before the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor and Court of Assistants, who are hereby impowered to give the same, do take the Oath above prescribed to be taken by all the members of the said Company. And that all and every such Assignee and Assignees from and after the making of any such assignment or assignments and taking the Oath aforesaid, shall and may have and enjoy the same rights, benefits as the assignor or assignors had or might have enjoyed.

And further, of Our more especial Grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, We do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Company and their Successors, and none others, from time to time to set to Sea such and so many shipps, pinnaces, and barks as shall be thought fitting by the said Court of Assistants for the time being, of [which] the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy Governor to be one prepared and furnished with Ordnance, Artillery and Ammunition or any other habiliments in warlike manner fitt and necessary for their defence;

And shall for ever hereafter have, use and enjoy all mines of Gold and Silver (subject to the proviso and limitation in that behalf hereinafter contained) which are or shall be found in all or any the places above mentioned, And the whole, entire and only Trade, liberty, use and privilege of Trade and Traffic into and from the said parts of Africa above mentioned (that is to say): into and from all and singular Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Coasts and places now or at any time heretofore called or known by the name or names of South Barbary, Guinny, Buiny or Angola or any of them, or which are or have been reputed, esteemed or taken as part, parcel or member of any Region, Country, Dominion, Territory or Continent called South Barbary, Guinny, Buiny or Angola, or any other Region or Countries or places within the bounds and limits aforesaid, and into and from all and singular Ports, Havens, Rivers, Creeks, Islands and places in the parts of Africa to them or any of them belonging, or being under the obedience of any King, State, or Potentate, of any Region, Dominion or Country in South Barbary, Guinny, Buiny or Angola, or limits aforesaid, for the buying, selling, bartering and exchanging of, for, or with any Gold, Silver, Negroes, Slaves, goods, wares and merchandizes whatsoever to be rented or found at or within any of the Cities, Towns, places, Rivers situate or being in the Countries, Islands, Places, Ports and Coasts aforementioned, any statute, Law, grant, matter, customs or privilege to the contrary in any wise, notwithstanding.

And likewise that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, and none others, from henceforth, at any time or times, from time to time, after the date of these presents, to use, prepare and set to Sea such and so many Ships, Barks and Pinnaces and such number of men to sail therein for the further discovery of the said Rivers and places before mentioned, And all Lands, Dominions and Territories within the compass of the same, paying always unto us, our heirs and Successors such customs, subsidies, imposts and other duties as shall be due and payable for and in respective of the exportation and importation of any goods, Wares and Merchandizes by them or any of them, to be exported or imported by virtue of these presents.

And of our further Royal Favour, We have granted and by these Presents for us, our heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors that the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Continents, Territories, Islands, Coasts, Rivers, places and passages within the limits and bounds aforesaid, or any of them, or the Lands, Seignories or Dominions thereunto adjoining shall not be visited, frequented or traded unto

by any other of our subjects, or by any other of the subjects of our heirs and Successors, either from any Ports or Havens belonging or appertaining or which shall belong or appertain to us, our heirs and successors, or to any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate whatsoever, and therefore we do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, charge and command, prohibit and forbid, all the subjects of us, our heirs and Successors, of what degree or quality soever they be, that none of them directly or indirectly, presume to visit, frequent, trade or adventure to traffic into or from the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Rivers, and places aforesaid or any of them or to import any Red Wood, Elephant's Teeth, Negro Slaves, Hydes, Wax, Gums, graines or any other the Commodities of the said Countries, from any port or places, within the limits aforesaid whatsoever into any of our Kingdoms or Dominions, other than the said Company, their Successors, Factors, Deputies, and Assignees, unless it be with license and consent of the said Company, first had and obtained in writing under their common seal, upon pain of our indignation and imprisonment of their bodies during the pleasure of us, our heirs and Successors, and the forfeiture and loss of both their ships and goods wheresoever they shall be found, either within any of our Kingdoms or Dominions or any other place or places out of our Dominions.

And our further will and pleasure is, and we do also hereby further charge, prohibit and forbid all and every the Factors and Masters of Ships, Mariners and Members of the said Company and their Successors that they or any of them do not, directly or indirectly, presume to trade, adventure or traffic for themselves, or any of them, in or from the Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Rivers, and places aforesaid, or any of them, unless it be with license and consent of the said Company first had and obtained in writing under their common seal aforesaid; and for the further effecting of our pleasure herein, We do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, grant and give full power and authority unto the said Royal African Company of England and their successors for the time being, that they, by themselves, their factors, deputies and assigns, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, enter into any Ship, Vessel, house, shop, Cellar or work-house and attack, arrest, take and seize all and all manner of ships, vessels, Negroes, Slaves, goods, Wares and Merchandizes whatsoever which shall be brought from or carried to the places afore mentioned, or any of them, contrary to our Will and pleasure, before in these presents expressed, the moiety or half of all forfeitures thereupon arising, We do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said Company

and their Successors, to their own proper use and behoof without account, And the other moiety or half part thereof, We will, shall be and remain to the use of us, our heirs and Successors.

And for the better preventing of Secret and clandestine trading contrary to our intentions herein before expressed, our further will and pleasure is, and we do for us our heirs and successors grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, that no Commissioner or other officers whatsoever that are or shall be appointed to manage the affairs of the Customs payable to Us our heirs or successors shall permit any entries to be made of any goods or merchandise to be exported from any of our ports in our Kingdom of England for or to any of the parts aforesaid or of any goods or merchandise of the growth and production or manufacture of the parts or places aforesaid of Guinny, Buiny, Angola and South Barbary above limited or appropriated to the said Royal African Company of England, to be imported other than such as from time to time shall be allowed of by the said Court of Assistants of the said Company, or their successors under their common seal or the hands of the officer to be by them appointed to sit in the Custom House for that purpose:

And we do of our more especial grace and favour certain knowledge and mere motion for us our heirs and Successors give and grant unto the said Royal African Company of England, that the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company for the time being or any seven of them duly assembled in manner aforesaid, shall and may have the ordering rule and government of all such forts, factories and plantations as now are or shall be at any time hereafter settled by or under the said Company within the parts of Africa aforementioned, and also full power to make and declare peace and war with any of the heathen nations that are or shall be natives of any countries within the said territories in the said parts of Africa as there shall be occasion, as also that the said Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and assistants, for the time being, or any seven of them, duly in Court assembled as aforesaid, shall have full power, license, and authority, to name and appoint Governors and Officers, from time to time, in the said factories and plantations, which said Governors shall have, and by these presents we do, for us, our heirs and Successors, give to them full power and authority to raise armies, train and muster such military forces as to them shall seem requisite and necessary and to execute and use within the said plantations the Laws called the Marshall Laws, for the defence of the said plantations against any foreign invasion or domestick insurrection or Rebellion, according to such Rules, directions and

instructions as, from time to time, shall be given them by the Court of Assistants of the said Company, the Sovereign right, power and dominion over all the said plantations, to be at any time settled in the parts aforesaid. And power of making Peace or warr when we shall be pleased to interpose our Royal Authority therein, to us, our heirs and Successors, Always reserved.

Provided also, and our further Will, and true intent and meaning is, that we, our heirs and Successors shall and may have, take and receive two thirds parts of all the Gold Mines which shall be found, seized, possessed or wrought in the parts and places aforesaid, We, our heirs and Successors, paying and bearing two-thirds part of all the charges incident to the discovering, buying, keeping, defending, maintaining, working and transporting of the said Gold. And that the said Company and their Successors shall, and may have, take and enjoy the other third part of all the said Gold Mines, found or to be found, they the said Company and their Successors from time to time bearing and paying the other third part of all the charges for Working and transporting the said Gold as aforesaid.

And for the more effectual encouragement of merchants that shall trade into the places aforesaid and for the attracting of trade to these parts We have thought fit to erect and establish and we do by these presents erect constitute and establish a Court of Judicature to be held at such place or places, fort or forts, plantations or factories upon the said coasts as the said company shall from time to time direct and appoint, which Court shall consist of one person learned in the Civil Laws, and two merchants, which said persons and such offices of the said Court as shall be thought necessary shall be nominated and appointed from time to time by the Court of Assistants or the major part of them, and which said person learned in the Civil Law and two merchants or the major part of them, whereof the said person learned in the Civil Law to be one, shall have cognizance and power to hear and determine all cases of forfeiture and seizures of any ship or ships, goods and merchandizes trading and coming upon any of the said coasts or limits contrary to the true intent of these presents, and also all causes of mercantile or maritime bargains buying selling and bartering of wares whatsoever and all policies or acts of assurance all bills bonds or promises for payment of money on mercantile or trading contract all charter parties or covenants for afreighting of vessels and wages of mariners and all other mercantile and maritime cases whatsoever concerning any person or persons residing, coming or being in the places aforesaid, and all cases of tre[s]passes, injuries and wrongs done or committed upon the high sea or in any of the regions, territories, countries or places afore-

said concerning any person or persons residing coming or being in the parts of Africa within the bounds and limits aforesaid.

All which cases shall be adjudged and determined by the said Court upon due examination and proof according to the rules of equity and good conscience and according to the laws and customs of merchants by such methods and rules of proceedings as we shall from time to time direct and appoint either under our Great Seal or Privy Seal, and, for want of such direction and until such direction shall be made, by such ways and means as by the judges of the said courts shall in their best judgment and direction think meet and just whether it be a summary way or otherwise according to the exigency of the several cases that shall be brought in judgment before them, and all judgments determinations or decrees made in the said courts are to be put in writing and signed by the persons that were present at the making of the same, and shall contain a short state of the matter of fact as it appeared to them and their sentence and adjudication thereupon.

And further, We do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Royal African Company of England, that they shall enjoy to all intents and purposes all privileges in the City of London, as fully as any company of Merchants established by any Letters Patent granted heretofore by us, or any of our predecessors at present do or may enjoy. And further, we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command all and singular, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Commanders, Captains, Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, comptrollers, collectors, waterers, searchers and all other officers and ministers of us our heirs and Successors whatsoever to be from time to time, in all things, aiding, helping and assisting unto the said Company and their Successors or any employed by them, upon request made as they tender our displeasure; And will avoid the contrary at their peril.

And our Will and pleasure is, and by these presents we do grant for us, our heirs and Successors, unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, that these our Letters Patent, and all and singular grants, clauses and things therein mentioned under the limitations and conditions therein contained and expressed shall be and continue firm, valid, good and sufficient in the Law and shall be construed, reputed and taken as well in the meaning as to the words of the same, most favorably and to the benefit of the said Company and their successors, any omission, uncertainty or defect in these presents or any other clause, matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, although express[ly?] mentioned of the

true yearly value, or uncertainty [certainty?], of these premises or of any of them, or of any other gifts and grants by us, or any of our progenitors or predecessors heretofore made to the said Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa in these presents is not made, or any statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation or restriction heretofore had, made, enacted, ordained or provided or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding.[5]

In Witness etc. Witness the king at Westminster the seven and twentieth day of September [1672].

By the King

[Pygott] [6]

[Enrolled 17 July, 1674.]

54. The Trade of the Royal African Company, 1672.[1]

Account of the Limits and Trade of the Royal African Company. The company's limits under his Majesty's Charter begin at Sally in South Barbary new Tangier and end at Cabu Buen Esperança where the East India Company's limits take place. . . .[2] Next begins the North coast of Guinea. On James Island in the River Gambia the companies have a fort where are kept 70 men, and a factory whence elephants' teeth, bees-wax, and cowhides are exported in very considerable quantities; the river is very large and runs up much higher than any discovery has been made, and the gold is supposed to come most from places at its head; in this river they have small factories at Rio Noones, Rispongo, and Calsamança, and trade by sloops to Rio Grande and Catchao,[3] for those commodities and negroes. At Sierra Leone River they have a factory for the same commodities, whence they sail into Sherboro River, where there is a factory, and trade chiefly for redwood . . . thence they trade to Cabe Mount and Cestos for elephants' teeth, where there was formerly a factory; and all along by ships staying a day or more they trade on the Grain and

[5] To facilitate the reorganization of the African business, the Company of Royal Adventurers granted to Thomas Matthews and Francis Mann, merchants resident in Jamaica, power of attorney to deal with all property belonging to or owed to them. At the same time the Royal African Company granted to them and to Thomas Skutt similar power, thus making easy the transfer of property from one company to the other. *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society,* VI. 54-58.

[6] Sir Richard Pygott, clerk of the patents.

[54] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, pp. 412-413 (summary).

[2] A description of Barbary and the Canary Islands follows.

[3] These are not places on the Gambia, as one might think, but rivers southeast of the Gambia. The order is, the Casamance, the Cacheo, the Grande, the Nuñez, the Pongo.

Quaqua coast,[4] for Guinygrains or Mallagruetts,[5] which is physic for negroes, and Quaqua cloths which are sold on the Gold Coast, and for teeth. At Cape Trespontes [6] begins the trade for gold, and on that coast they have factories, not laid down in the maps, at Ashinee, Abinee, Dixiscove, Anashan, Anto, Succondee, Anamaboo, Wyamba and Aga; Cormentine was taken from them in the first Dutch war, when Mr. Selwyn was agent, and at the same time they took Cabo-Corso Castle from the Dutch, which is now their chief port and place of trade, with 100 English, besides slaves, and the residence of their Agent-General, who furnishes thence all their under-factories with goods, and receives from them gold, elephants' teeth and slaves. Near Cabo Corso is the great Dutch castle called the Mina; and more leewardly the company have another factory at Acra for gold. Their next factory is at Ardra for slaves only, which are there very plentiful; next follows Benin with a factory where they procure great quantities of cotton cloths to sell at Cabo-Corso and on the Gold Coast; then more leewardly lies the Bite, whither many ships are sent to trade at New and Old Calabar for slaves and teeth, which are there to be had in great plenty, and also in the rivers Cameroons and Gaboons which are near, but no factories, those places being very unhealthy. A trade for Angola is begun, and they have ordered a factory to settle near the Portugals' chief city at Sunis, whence it is hoped great quantities of slaves and copper may be got. They have not yet discovered any other places within the limits of their Charter. The slaves are sent to all his Majesty's American Plantations which cannot subsist without them. . . .

55. Thomas Clifford to the Commissioners of Customs.[1]

December 21, 1672.

By the order in Council of the 20th inst., made on the petition of the Royal African Company, I am to order the stopping of any ships

[4] The Quaqua coast extended from the River Lagos to the Cobre or Ancobre River, between the Ivory and Gold coasts. The origin of the name is uncertain but the most common explanation offered is that it was given by travellers because of the peculiar sounds made by the natives as they paddled their canoes.

[5] Mallaguetta (spelled in many fashions), occasionally called Paradise grains, was not unlike Indian pepper. The English early discovered it and, after they had ceased carrying it to England, purchased it to mix with the food for their negro cargoes.

[6] Cape Three Points was about sixty miles west of Cape Coast Castle. It consisted of three headlands, perhaps ten miles apart. Assini was the first commercial town on the Gold Coast; Abinee, a trading post five or six miles east of Assini; Dixcove, variously spelled, was a few miles east of Cape Three Points; Anamabo and Cormantine were east of Cape Coast, Sekondi was west, about half-way between Cape Three Points and Cape Coast.

[55] [1] *Cal. Treasury Books*, 1672-1675, p. 19. From the first, the company realized that it must be unremitting in its vigilance in opposing the independent trader. The laxness of the enforcement of its monopoly privileges during the past years had given fresh impetus to a trade always difficult to hold under legal restrictions. The company first directed its attention to detaining possible interlopers before they sailed.

bound out upon private accounts to any places between Sallee and the Cape of Good Hope to the prejudice of and contrary to the Charter granted to the said Company. On behalf of said Company I am informed that the ship *George,* William Shafte, master, and the *Benjamin,* Abraham Major, master, are now outwards bound from the Thames upon the said [Guinea trade] account. Until further order herein you are to lay a stop on said ships and to hinder them to proceed on their voyage.[2]

56. By the King: a Proclamation.[1]

Charles R.

Whereas it is found by Experience, That Traffique with Infidels and Barbarous Nations not in Amity with Us, and who are not holden by any League or Treaty, cannot be carried on without the Establishment of Forts and Factories in places convenient, the maintenance whereof requires so great and constant Expence, that it cannot be otherwise defrayed, then by Managing the whole Trade by a Joynt Stock; We in Our Royal Wisdom taking the same into Our serious Consideration, and more especially having found by experience, That the whole Trade of the Coast of Guiny, Buiny and Angola, and other parts and places of Africa, so much importing our Service, and the Enriching of this Our Kingdom, was very much abated, and attempted to be Ingrossed by Foreigners, and in eminent danger to be utterly lost, and taken from Us, and Our loving Subjects, not onely by Foreign Force, but by the Violence and Inconstancy of the Heathen Natives: For the Recovery and Preservation whereof, We were Graciously pleased to encourage and invite Our loving Subjects to Raise a Joynt Stock to be used and imployed therein: And in consideration thereof, and for the better Securing of such as should come

[2] On Dec. 28, Clifford reported that the owners of the vessels in question had given assurance that they had no intention of going to Africa, and he had ordered their release, receiving security that they would not enter the territory of the company's grant. *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1672-1675, p. 23.

[56] [1] *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,* XII. 121-123. See *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 626; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1673-1675, p. 437. This proclamation came as the result of a request from the Royal African Company, which notified the Privy Council that ships from New England and "divers other parts of his Majestys Dominions in America", as well as ships of the Dutch and other foreigners, were carrying on the trade of which the company had the monopoly, and, more than that, were carrying it on at the invitation of the plantation governors themselves. Sir Francis North, attorney general, was ordered to prepare this proclamation, which was approved on Nov. 25 (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 614-615). The governors of Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Bermuda, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, New England, and New York received copies, with orders to see that it was punctually obeyed, "not only by discouraging and hindring as much as in you lyes all Attempts and Endeavours contrary thereunto, but by affording your utmost Assistance to the said Company or their Agents in taking the Forfeitures of such Persons as shall presume to transgresse the said Proclamation, and otherwise, as to you shall seem best for procuring all due obedience to his Majestys Comands in this Particular". Dec. 2, 1674, *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 616.

in and be concerned in the said Joynt Stock and Trade, We did by Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, bearing date the Seven and twentieth day of September, in the Four and twentieth year of Our Reign, Grant unto several of Our loving Subjects, the whole entire and onely Trade into and from Africa, from the Port of Sally in South Barbary inclusive, to the Cape de Bona Esperanza inclusive, with all the Islands near adjoyning to those Coasts, and comprehended within the Limits aforesaid, and did Incorporate them by the name of The Royal African Company of England; And the said Company having raised a very great Stock sufficient to Manage the Trade thereof, have since, at their great Expence and Charge, Fortified and Settled divers Garisons, Forts and Factories, by which means they have so Secured the said Trade, that the same doth now begin to flourish, and if not disturbed, is likely to be further improved to the great benefit of this Our Kingdom; Nevertheless, We are Informed by the humble Petition of the said Company, That divers of Our Subjects in several of Our Plantations in America, who are not Members of the said Company, nor any ways concerned in their Stock, do endeavour to reap the Benefit and Fruit thereof;[2] and to that end have already sent several Ships into those parts to Trade, and are providing more, the which if it should be permitted, and not strictly and presently prevented, will disable the said Company from supporting the great Charge of maintaining the said Forts, Garisons and Factories, and consequently, unavoidably occasion the loss of the whole Trade of those Countreys:

Wherefore for remedy thereof We have thought fit, with Advice of Our Privy Council, to Publish and Declare Our Royal Will and and Pleasure to be, And We do hereby strictly Prohibit and Forbid all and every of Our Subjects whatsoever, Except the said Royal Company and their Successours, at any time or times hereafter, to send or Navigate any Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, or Exercise any Trade from any of Our Plantations, Dominions, or Countreys in America, to any of the Parts or Coasts of Africa, from Sally to Cape de Bona Esperanza, or any of the Islands near thereunto, as aforesaid, or from thence to carry any Negro Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, or any other Goods or Merchandizes of the Product

[2]The assembly of Jamaica had, early in 1674, passed an act authorizing the free importation of negroes in all ships conforming to the requirements of the navigation acts. It is difficult to interpret this as anything but sheer defiance of the company's charter, but Governor Lynch explained it by saying that the company's patent was not yet in the island when the measure was passed (Sir Thomas Lynch to Secretary Sir Joseph Williamson, Nov. 20, 1674, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 559, 564, 622). At the suggestion of the Council for Trade and Plantations, in addition to the customary instructions for governors, Vaughan was adjured to take care that there be no trading from Jamaica to any place in Africa within the charter of the Royal African Company, and not to suffer any ships to be sent hither. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 625.

or Manufacture of the said Places, to any of Our American Dominions or Plantations, upon pain of Our high Displeasure, and the forfeiture and loss of the said Negro's, Gold, Elephants Teeth, and all other Goods and Merchandizes, and the Ship or Vessels which shall bring or carry the same. And We do hereby also strictly Require and Command all Our Governours, Deputy-Governours, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Judges of Our Courts of Admiralty, Commanders of Our Forts and Castles, Captains of Our Royal Ships, Justices of the Peace, Provost-Marshals, Marshals, Comptrollers, Collectors of Our Customs, Wayters, Searchers, and all other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, by Sea or Land, in every of Our said American Dominions or Plantations, to take effectual care, That no person or persons whatsoever within their respective Limits or Jurisdictions (except the said Company and their Successours) do send or Navigate any Ships or Vessels, or Exercise any Trade from any of Our said Dominions or Plantations, to any part of the said Coast of Africa, within the Limits aforesaid, or from thence to Import any Negro Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, or other Goods of the Product of any of those Parts, into any of Our said Dominions or Plantations in America; And if any person or persons shall presume to act or do in any wise contrary to this Our Royal Proclamation, to the end Our Will and Pleasure herein may be the better observed, We do further Will, Require, and strictly Command all Our said Governours, Deputy-Governours, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Judges of Our Court of Admiralty, Commanders of Our Forts and Castles, Captains of Our Royal Ships, Justices of the Peace, Provost-Marshals, Marshals, Comptrollers, Collectors of Our Customs, Wayters, Searchers, and all other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, by Sea or Land, in every of Our said American Dominions and Plantations, That as often as need shall require, they be Aiding and Assisting to the said Royal African Company, their Successors, Factors, Deputies or Assigns, to Attach, Arrest, Take and Seize all such Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, Negro Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, or Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, wheresoever they shall be found, for Our Use, according to Our Royal Charter Granted to the said Company, upon Pain of Our high Displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their Perils.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the Thirtieth day of November, in the Six and twentieth year of Our Reign [1674].

God save the King.[3]

[3] The proclamation was read and ordered to be published "by beat of drum, and set up in some public place", by the Jamaican council, Mar. 17, 1675 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 186). John Latimer, the historian of Bristol trade, who regards the incorporation of the Royal African Company as the triumph of the London monopolists

57. Considerations on Spanish Trade.[1]

Jamaica Feb'ry 2 1674/5

Considerations about the Spaniards buying Negros of the English Ro'all. Company and receiving ⅔ att Jamaica and ⅓ at Barbado's.

The English having now peace may more certainly and cheaply supply both which imports the Catholick King and the Assientistos, otherwise his Dues and their proffitts may bee delayed or lost.

The English Company now consisteth of most Merchants that conduct the Company businesse better, and will most certainly Comply with any contract they make, if the Assientisto's bee Spaniards, it is the better for them the Indies and his Cath: Ma'tie the[y] should agree with the English, because the Negros will come att lower rates, it being near 20 ps 8: cheaper to give 110 ps: 8 per hd. att Jamaica then att Curosao. The cheaper they Buy the cheaper they may sell with little Risques and greater quantities and better pay the Cath: King's dues.

From Jamaica Negroes may bee easily transported to S'ti Martha [2] and soe to all the ports Leeward soe farr as La vera cruz.

From Barbados to all the Windward parts of the Continent.

The Spaniards need not fear agrandizing Jamaica by any such contract, for it is rather believed by the Planters there such a contract would bee to the pr'judice of the Settlement, soe none of them desire it.[3]

But now were it so, such a consideracon comes now too late for the Island is already well fortified and peopled and soe planted that it will Loade 100 Shipps yearly, so it is their interest to live well by a bad Neighbour they cannot remove.

The English cannot give them such apprehensions of introducing goods and spoiling the Trade of the Flotes as the Dutch have done, for they have noe slight or Counterfeit goods, nor Silks, nor Linnens

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over Bristol merchants, writes of this proclamation as a flagrant violation of the rights of the Merchant Venturers, and as the first document in a new struggle between the two parties. While he finds no evidence that Bristol traders openly protested, he regards it as certain that the proclamation was quietly ignored, and the company's subsequent troubles with interlopers would indicate that he was right. *Annals: Seventeenth Century*, p. 368.

[57] [1] Library of Congress, Br. trans., Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 50.

[2] Santa Marta is on the coast of Venezuela.

[3] The governors of Jamaica and Barbados had, on the whole, favored supplying the Spaniards with slaves from their islands, but the planters had opposed it. See introduction, pp. 110-117.

which can bee transported soe cheape Via Jamaica as Cadiz and it is certaine such goods for these 3 or 4 yeares have been cheaper amongst the Spaniards then the English att Jamaica.

Nor is it the interest of England, the vent of their Manufacture by Spaine should be interrupted etc. the Planters doe lesse desire it fearing Jamaica should not bee supplyed.

To prevent further such importations of Goods the Negro's may bee transported in English Shipps and delivered in Rodes and Bayes before Officers that should see them imediately dispatched which will likewise avoid Risque of Enemyes, in Spanish Shipps neither one nor the other can bee avoided.

Who understood well the English interest and that of Jamaica, know it is for their advantage the Spaniards bee pr'served in the possession of the Countreys they have in the West Indies, and that the French grow not too Strong or numerous on Spaniola, the reasons are obvious and not to bee enumerated.

Such a Contract made and Settled att Jamaica would occasion a Factory being there, that would bee meanes of giving the Spaniards more advice more frequently from Europe and of all passages in those parts, and would bee a cause (att least a Witness) of the Governours good keeping the Capitulatorys.[4]

On such a Contract the King of England his Minist'rs and the Governour here, would effectually endeavour the due observance of the peace and the very Shipps the Spaniards hyred to attend the Negro's transportation would awe and reduce and punish all Pyrates, and then that severity would make them not dare approach the Island, but leave these Indies or that Trade which is that the Spaniards cannot doe, but with vast charges and in long tyme, and by Europeans and Subjects, which will much more endanger introduceing goods and underhand Trade, then the English who are Strangers.

Such a Contract would occasion an amicable end of the differences and pretentions betweene the Subjects of one and the other Crowne, and make them have as good a Correspondence as the Laws of their Nations will permitt; it may likewise make all the world see that as it is the English interest for the Spaniards to keep the Countreys they now possesse so it is not for the advantage of the English to have any other Collony but Jamaica.

If it bee 20 ps. 8. in the Assientist's way to receive the Negroe's att Jamaica and buy of the English, it is fitt they pay something more per hd. to his Cath: Maj'tie and will considerably advance the revenue.

[4] A reference to the terms of friendship which the treaty of 1670 attempted to establish. Davenport, *Treaties*, II. 95-98, 186-189.

58. Voyage of the *James*, 1675-1676.[1]

1675. March. A journall of my intended voyage for the gold Coast kept by mee Peter Blake Commandr of the Royall Companys Ship *James* in the searvis of the Royall Affrican Company of England. . . .

27. Saturday. the Committee came downe consisting of three persons *viz*: Mr. William Roberts Esqr. Capt. Abraham Holditch and Mr. William Stevens. . . .

Aprill, Thursday 1. . . . sent a pylott a shore with my lettr to the company and ordered him to ride through for London. . . . rec'd a packett from Mr. Heron [2] by ordr of the royall company directed to Agent Generall Mellish Esqr. at Cape Corsoe. . . .

Monday 5. . . . off Cows road . . . sent a letter to bee conveyed to the African howse [3] according to the Direction, and I made saile. . . .

Friday 30th. . . . made the Land of Bonevis [4]

Maie, Saturday 1. . . . eastermost pointe of Saintiaugoo [5] I halled in for Appaia roade . . . went ashoare to the Govern'r whome . . . informed mee that Geo: Parris had ben—but was gone—for Saintiauggoe roade, upon which I retturned aboard and fynding that hee was und'r commaund of the Portingall foarte wee thought it most conveinent to saile for Cape Mount and waite his comeing there. . . .

Monday 30. [*August*].[6] . . . came in sight of the towne of Assenee . . . sent my pinase with six of my passeng'rs to Cape Corso with all the lett'rs and pap'rs belonging to the Agent. . . .

Tuesday 31st. . . . severall canoes came aboard from this towne to whom I sold severall goods for gold and slaves.

Sept'r 1675, Wednesday 1st. . . . severall canoeoes came . . . to whome I sold severall goods for gold and slaves. . . .

Thursday 2d. . . . severall cannoes aboard of wich I tooke but littell gold and bought 3 slaves. . . .

Friday 3d. . . . I bought two slaves and tooke two ounces of gold. . . .

Monday 6th. . . . a neaggerman dep'ted this life whoe died suddenly. . . .

[58] [1] T 70: 1211.
[2] Samuel Heron was secretary of the Royal African Company.
[3] The African House was on Throgmorton Street.
[4] Bonavista, one of the Cape Verde Islands.
[5] Santiago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands.
[6] Meeting the frigate *Hawk*, Captain Blake examined her papers, and ordered her not to trade upon any part of the West Coast. He then sailed down the coast, stopping at most of the trading posts to exchange iron and pewter for mallaguetta and ivory, but apparently not for slaves.

Tuesday 7th. . . . had sight of the foart of axseine[7] standing close by the sea side sheweing redd with a redd Clift to the westward of it . . . came to Anchor. . . .

Sunday 12th. Mr. Fowle Aylmore came aboard of mee in a cannoe from suckindee w'th an ord'r from agent Mellish for mee to saile fore Cape Corsoe by reason that the footoo'rs had made a quarrell with him and fyred severall shott. . . .[8]

Thursday 30th. . . . rec'd a letter from Agent Mellish not to molest any of the commendoe peeple but . . . to saile to windward and there to sell what goods I cann postible and to sell as cheape etc. . . . came to Anchor . . .

Friday 15th. [*October*] . . . orders to sail for Wyemba[9]

Sunday 17th. . . . came to anchor . . . near the greate divill's hill of Wyemba. . . . From Wyemba to Accra looking for Capt. Howe.

Friday 22nd. . . . came to Anchor in Accra Roade . . . the cheefe of O'r foarte came aboard by whome I sent the king and the Cabbeseeres there Custome w'ch was one anchor of brandy. . . . I was informed, that the daine had bought most of p'te of Capt. Howe his cargoe and that it was to bee landed here, but I will prevent him of his desyne. . . .

Tuesday 16th. [*November*] . . . Anchored . . . the devills hill bearing W and by No. and the factory house bearing W and by N½ No. w'ch is the old Factory, but the new Factory which is now building lyeth some two miles to windward of the old one. . . . Mr. Arthur came aboard who informed me that he had not seen Capt. Howe in his Interlop'r pass to windward since my departure, and that he had writt to the Agent for me to take in his Slaves. . . .

Tuesday 23rd. . . . Anchored near Cormentyne and went ashoare to Aga.[10] . . . a Lre [Letter] from Mr. Harvey cheefe

[7] Axim, near the mouth of the River Cobre (or Ancobre), northwest of Cape Three Points. The Portuguese, who had established the first fort here, St. Anthony, had been driven out by the Dutch in 1642 (William Bosman, *Description of Guinea*, pp. 2-3). Here, Captain Blake, with the permission of the "Duch Coape man [mercantile agent] a shoare", took wood and water and purchased five chests of "courne" for his slaves, at 3 *d.* per chest. This business he had transacted when a new Dutch governor arrived from Elmina who refused to allow him to obtain further supplies.

[8] The "Footoo'rs" were the natives of Fetu, the "accaneys", with whom they quarrelled, were from the neighboring province of Akanna, north of Fetu. A few days later the captain was directed to join with Mr. Johnson, the agent at Commenda, and the caboceers or chief men of Fetu, in a palaver over some missing gold which belonged to the factory.

[9] At Sekondi Captain Blake took in corn for food for the cargo presently to be purchased. It is to be remembered that these places are close together, so that, though the journeys of the *James* were frequent, she was at no time far from Cape Coast Castle.

[10] Dutch, Danes, and English all traded here. The Dutch and Danes had each a fort, the English, a small factory. Churchill, *Voyages*, p. 177.

of Aga, wherein he did inform me that the Warsawes [11] and the Footoores had beaten the Accany's and that the Warsawes were at Ineshan [12] and also that he had severall slaves, 100 Chests of Corne w'th other goods and money of the Compa. w'ch was in much dainger . . . therefore desired my assistance. . . .

Wednesday 24th. . . . wee put aboard of my Long boate the Comp'a Gold and Slaves and . . . the other Goods, and I ordered them to return to Annamabooe w'th all speed to gett the goods out of that factory. . . .

Sonday 20th. . . . Det'd to keep our Negroes ap'te from our white men. . . .

December, Wednesday 8th. . . . Capt. Fowles in the *Vine* came to anchor close by me. I sent my pinace aboard him for my L'res, and he came aboard in my pinace and bro' me an ord'r to deliver him all my Slaves, but I resolved to speak w'th the Ag't before I parted with them, by reason they were good Slaves and the most of my own buying, in ord'r to the same I mand my pinace, and at midnight I put fro[m] o'r Ship bound for Cape Corso.

Thursday 9th. . . . landed at Cape Corso, and aplyed myself to the Agent, and gave him an acc't of what slaves I have aboard and the goodness of them as also the great trouble I have had in providing of them, upon w'ch he ord'red me to deliver him all those Slaves w'ch were put aboard by the Factors at Annamaboe, and at Agga w'ch was about 16. this evening the agent gave me an ord'r and also an ord'r for Capt. Fowles for the afores'd slaves, and I set saile w'th my pinace from Cape Corso, bound for Anamabee

Friday 10th. This morning . . . went aboard Capt. Fowles where I delivered him his Order from the Ag't to receive from me all such slaves as were put aboard by Mr. Bellwood and Mr. Harvey Factors at Anamabee and Agga, also I made him a tender of the sd slaves, but he was not ready to receive them. . . .

Saturday 11th. . . . rec'd from Agga, 6 chests of corn to feed the Slaves, having no corn aboard. . . .

Thursday 23. . . . Capt. Fowles came up from Wyemba and came to anchor of from Cormentyne, also this day I tooke of all Mr. Harvey's Corne and Slaves. . . .

Friday 24th. . . . Capt. Mingam who was bound for the byte [13] is arrived at Cape Corsoe and hath brought w'th him a ship w'ch he

[11] Wassau was a native province northwest of Fetu.
[12] Anashan.
[13] There are two bights, that of Benin, and Biafra, east of Benin. In the general region described as the "Bite" both may be included. When a narrower limit is intended it is usually the Bight of Biafra.

supposes to be prize . . . bound for Madagascar,[14] there Cargo consisting of p'es of 8/8 Iron barrs and brass Manelaes.[15] . . .

January [*1675/6*], *Thursday 6.* . . . myself and Carpenter went ashoare . . . to cutt wood to make head ledges and Comings [16] for a grateing is to be let down the aire among the Slaves. . . .

Saturday 8. . . . the great Man of this place made me pay 3 ounces for my wat'r w'ch he sd was by ord'r of the brassoe of Fanteene [17] by reason the Cabbesees of the place made a compl't that Capt. Fowles went away and did not give them a dosie [18] I was forct to make him paym't w'th ½ a brll of powder and halfe a Saye, and discount a peece in money w'th him other wise he would have panyard [19] my people, I deliv'd him a whole brll of Gunp'r and he pd me for the one half one boy and 1 woman Slave. . . .

Sunday 9th. . . . shipt of all my Corne and some wood . . . rec'd a lett'r from Ag't Mellish wherein he ordered me to saile for Wyemba and there take in w't Slaves Mr. Arthor had bought. I returned him this answer—to desire him I might goe for Accra and take in those good Slaves because I was afraid of having a parcell of their Slaves from Wyemba.

Monday 10th. . . . came to anchor in Wyemba road . . . went ashoare and aply'd myself to Mr. Adam Arthor the chiefe of this Factory and showed him the Ag'ts L're, also gave him a L're from the Ag't directed to himself, he sd the Slaves were already at the old Factory house, but I saw some 60, very thin ordinary Slaves w'ch he had by him at this new Factory. . . .[20]

Tuesday 11th. . . . Wee putt on board her (the longboat) 48 men slaves, and by my pinace I sent of as many Slaves as she would conveniently carry, being very thin Slaves and severall boys for men w'ch I did object aga't but Mr. Arthor said they came from the King and he rece'd them perforce for the Compa. debts. . . .

Wednesday 12. I went ashoare and sent of the remaining parte of Mr. Arthor's Slaves aboard w'ch made up the whole number to be 167 rec'd from him, also those last slaves were for the most parte very thin Slaves I was forct to receive them or none for he had no more, this night I stayd ashoare in expectation of more Slaves w'ch

[14] For an account of the attitude of the Royal African Company toward the slave trade from Madagascar, see introduction, pp. 93-95.

[15] Variously spelled. These were metal rings, worn by the African tribes. Towerson carried them to Africa, and from that time for many years they were one of the important commodities of European traffic on the coast.

A marginal note here reads, "Mingam bro[ught] a Boston man to Cape Corso".

[16] Commings, coamings, raised borders about the edges of the hatches and scuttles of a ship, which prevent water on the deck from running below; also called carlings, and combings.

[17] The chief man of the Fantine people.

[18] Dos, dashee, or gratuity.

[19] Kidnapped. The "Saye" referred to above is doubtless a piece of English woollen. See no. 62, n. 2, *post*.

[20] Here he made a new tank for carrying water for the slaves.

Mr. Arthor sd he should have from the King by day light w'ch he sd would be Choice Slaves. . . .

Thursday 13. . . . finding noe Slaves come down from the King I went aboard. Mr. Arthor came after me, I gave him a receipt for his Slaves . . .

Set sail fro' Wyemba Jan'y 1675/6.

Sonday 16th. . . . came to anchor athwart Anamaboe. I sent my pinace ashoare to the Factory to know if they would deliver me any Slaves and Corne, they sd they had no orders, but would have had goods, and I had no Ord'rs to goe into the road, I also sent for 30 paire of shackells I lent them and they told my mate they had Slaves in them and could not let them out lest they should run away. . . .

Wednesday 19th. Anchored in Cape Corso road, went ashoare and applied myself to Ag't Mellish, also made my Compl't of the Slaves I rece'd at Wyemba by his ord'rs, he replyed they were paid in by the King for a debt and it could not be helpt. . . .

Monday 24th. . . . sent ashoare the remains of all the goods, except Powd'r and Brandy, I went ashoare, gave the Agent an acc't of the sales of what goods I had disposed of, and what slaves I have bought. . . .

Thursday 27th. . . . Capt. Eaton (in the *Merchants Delight*) sett saile from this place bound for Anamaboe and Agga there to take in Slaves and Corne, and from thence to Accra and Wyemba, to take in theire Slaves, this morning W'm Bartlett and . . . by ord'r of Agent Mellish came aboard and counted and marked all our Slaves. . . . went ashoare and wee adjusted my acc't w'ch was all right onely 1 Chest of Knifes wanting. . . .

February, Tuesday 1st. . . . the Generall replyed he would not deliver him [21] upon w'ch I demanded leave to come into the road w'th my ship. He sd I might come into the road but he would not suffer me to touch the Interloper. Grible, the Master of the Interloper, made great Compl't how he tooke his goods and gave him w't price he pleased for them, also he made him pay extraordinary prices for slaves, I demanded by w't Commission he brought the sd Grible downe, he being an English man and English vessel. The fiscall sd . . . [they] thought him to be a hollander . . . he was brought down by mistake. I replyed I did think he had affronted the King of England in seazing his subjects and imprisoning them at Axem in time of peace and that he had affronted the Royall Compa. in harbouring and protecting English Interlopers w'ch were the Companies enemies. He

[21] Captain Blake had demanded that the Dutch general at Elmina surrender to him a London interloper, the *Alice*, anchored under the protection of the castle's guns.

replyed that his Masters at home would answer and that in a short time he did not doubt but he should have a Comission to take all English and Dutch Interlopers. . . .

Monday 7th. . . . Anchored in Suckindee road . . . Mr. Fowler Aylmore came aboard and said I should have my Corne as fast as I would take it . . .

Tuesday 8th. . . . they would have given my men old Corne w'ch was not fitt for o'r Slaves to eate—after some dispute I had other Corne. . . .

Wednesday 9th. rec'd 100 Chests of Corne. . . .[22]

March, Wednesday 8th. Sett saile from Dickey's road bound for the Barbadoes.

Thursday 16th. . . . a Turnadoe—w'th much thund'r lightening and raine this day I put all my slaves out of Irons. . . .

Wednesday 22th. . . . I called all my thin Slaves aft. w'ch came from Wyemba and found 25 of them . . . gave my slaves tobacco and pipes. . . .

Tuesday 28th. Caught fish and agreed to give for every 10 fish a pt. of brandy, gave my Slaves 10 fish in their suppis.

Wednesday 29th. Caught albycoures and sharks. gave the Slaves albycoures. . . .

Thursday 30th. . . . gave the Slaves tobacco and pypes and albyc'r in their Suppis. . . .

Friday 31st. . . . gave the Slaves fish in their suppis. . . .[23]

Monday 17th, [*April*] . . . a stout man slave leaped overboard and drowned himself.

May, Sonday 21st. Made the Island of Barbadoes Att Anchor in Kerley Bay.[24]

Monday 22nd. Mr. Steed [25] went aboard and looked on o'r Slaves

Tuesday 23rd. orders to prepare the Slaves for sayle on Thursday.

Wednesday 24th. o'r Slaves being shaved I gave them fresh water to wash and Palme Oyle and Tobacco and Pipes.

Thursday 25th. Mr. Steed and [*blank*] came on board to sell o'r Slaves—wee sould 163 Slaves.

Friday 26th. wee sould 70 Slaves.

[22] He continued to buy corn, at Dixcove receiving 1000 chests at 1½ accies per chest. An accy varied in value from time to time and place to place, but it was probably about five shillings.

[23] The slaves had fish daily and on April 14 and May 1 they were given beef. They also were given tobacco at least once on the voyage.

[24] Carlisle Bay.

[25] Edwyn Stede, one of the company's factors at Barbados.

Saturday 27th. Sould 118 Slaves.

Monday 29th. delivered 80 Slaves which were part of the 118 which were sould on Satturday. . . .

Tuesday 30th. . . . went on boord with a Planter to sell him some of o'r refuse Slaves but hee did not like them and I went on shoare and gave Mr. Steed an Acc't.

Wednesday 31st. . . . Mr. Man and myself came on boord and sould 5 of the refuse Slaves.

June, Thursday 1st. . . . Mr. Steed and —— begann to sell Capt. Seamans Slaves. . . .

Sonday 4th. . . . ordered with all expedition to fitt my Shipp to take in Capt. Reckords Slaves to carry them downe to Nevis by Reason that Capt. Reckord would nott carry them doune unless they would Insure him 40 Tunns of Sugar fraight at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per Tunn. . . .[26]

Tuesday 6th. . . . My men resolved for Nevis. Mr. Gascoyne fetcht ashoare the remaining Slaves being 7 Men and 10 Women. . . .

Saturday 10th. . . . took out my dispatches to sayle. . . . Capt. Reckord sent his slaves on board of mee being 223 Slaves and one from Collonel Newton. . . .

Sett sayle for Nevis. . . .

Wednesday 14th. . . . Went on board of His Majesty's Friggott the *Phoenix,* being sent for by General Stapleton,[27] the Governor of this Island . . . the General asked mee wherefore I brought downe byte Slaves [28] and did not bring downe mine owne Gold Coast Slaves Also said he did believe that I had on boord all the refuse of the Shipps that were att Barbadoes. I did assure him that they were the whole cargo of the *John Alexander.* Had they come downe in their owne shipp, it had been much moore for the Company's Interest—was always my opinion.

Thursday 15th. I went ashoare, to discourse about the disposall of o'r Slaves and they (the Agents) shewed mee the Company's instructions which was not to sell good Slaves under 19 *l.* per head and if they could not gett their price that then they should send their shipps downe to Jamaica and that they said that the Man of Warr had given out that they were refuse Bite Slaves soe that they could not sell them but att an Under Rate soe wee continued to Consider of

[26] The crew objected to this but were persuaded to undertake it. Captain Reckord had arrived May 30 from Old Calabar.

[27] Sir William Stapleton.

[28] The prejudice against slaves from the Bite (the Calabars), which is here shown, continued throughout the eighteenth century and frequently appears in the documents which follow.

what to doe with the Shipp untill the morrow and we went aboard to view the Slaves. . . .[29]

hee [Carpenter, agent] went upon the Quarter Deck and they sould 20 Slaves, 13 women and 7 men att [*blank*] per head being thin Slaves—wee concluded the day of Sayles to bee on Wednesday next and tomorrow wee would put upp bills to take suggar upon fraught and that I should Agree with the fraughters and that I should meet them att Mr. H's house.

Tuesday 19th. prepared o'r Slaves for the Sale tomorrow. . . .

Wednesday 20th. began o'r sale of the Slaves and sould the three fourths of the whole number. . . . Mr. H. tells mee that the whole number of Slaves would make out one with the other 18 *l.* Sterling per head.[30]

Thursday 22nd. . . . wee sould all o'r Slaves to 19 w'ch being very bad were carryed ashoar 18 of them were sould for a Thousand pound of Sugar per head and one which was a mad Meuth [Mute ?] was sould for 1400 li. of Sugar. Alsoe in the morning aboord 20 refuse slaves were sould att 1700 li. of Sugar per head. . . .[31]

An Acc'tt of the Mortallity of Slaves aboord the Shipp "James".[32]

1675	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Abbenee [September]	6	1				Departed this Life suddenly.
Temenn October	28			1		Departed this life of Convulsion Fitts
Agga December	20	1				Departed this life of a feavour
Cape Corso January 1675/6	20	1				Rec'd from Wyemba thin and Consumed to Nothing and soe dyed
Ditto	26		1			Rec'd from Wyemba very thin and wasted to Nothing and soe dyed
Suckingdee February 1675/6	8	1				Rec'd from Wyemba very thin and dropsicall and soe departed this life.
Thwort of Butteren[33]	23		1			bought to Windward and departed this life of a Consumption and Wormes.

[29] The captain protested against the order to carry the cargo to Jamaica; first, because the man-of-war which had spoiled his sale at Nevis would now report at Jamaica that the cargo was refuse from both Barbados and Nevis; secondly, because the crew had been promised that they might sail for England on July 15. Mr. Carpenter, the company's agent at Nevis, to clear himself from blame in disregarding the company's orders, made legal protest to the crew, then went forward with plans for sale at Nevis.

[30] This would make sugar slightly over 10 *s.* per cwt. A marginal note reads: "Noat. Good Slaves att 3500 lbs. of sugar per head."

[31] A marginal note reads: "made an end of selling o'r Slaves." They set sail for England July 8, and anchored in the Downs Oct. 12.

[32] T 70: 1211.

[33] Boutri (?), a Dutch post between Sekundi and Dixcove.

[*Account*—continued:]

1675	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Ditto	24			1		Received from Wyembah with a dropsy and departed this life of the same disease
Dirkeys Cove [34]— March	26		1			Rec'd from Wyemba thin and soe Continued Untill Death
Ditto	5		1			Miscarryed and the Child dead within her and Rotten and dyed 2 days after delivery.
Att Sea	13	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued untill hee departed this life.
Ditto	15	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and fell into a flux and soe Continued untill his death.
Att Sea 1676	18	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe fell into a Consumption and dep'ted this life.
Ditto	30	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued Wasting untill death.
Ditto	31			1		Very sick and fell overboard in the night and was lost
Ditto Aprill	6	1				Rec'd from Wyembah thin and Consumed very low and after dyed of a Great Swelling of his face and head.
Ditto	14	1				Rec'd from Wyembah thin and dyed of a flux
Ditto	15		1			Rec'd from Wyembah Sickned and would not eat nor take anything.
Ditto	16	1				bought by mee and dyed of a flux
Ditto	17	2				The one rec'd from Wyembah and dyed of a flux. The other rec'd ditto who Leaped Over boord and drowned himself.
Ditto	20		1			rec'd thin at Wyembah and dyed of a Consumption.
Ditto	21			1		rec'd from Weyembah with a dropsy and soe dyed.
Ditto	26		1			bought by myselfe and being very fond of her Child Carrying her up and downe wore her to nothing by which means fell into a feavour and dyed.
Att Sea May	1	1				Rec'd from Anamabooe departed this life of a flux.
Ditto	2		1			Rec'd from Agga and departed this life of a flux.

[34] Dixcove.

[*Account*—continued:]

1676	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Ditto	3	1				Rec'd from Wyembah and dep'ted this life of a dropsy.
Ditto	4	1				Rec'd of Mr. Ballwood att Amy Sea and dyed of a feavour by Lying in the Long boat, in the rain in the night which noe man knew of for hee went into her privately.
Ditto	5		1			Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and old and dep'ted this Life of the flux.
Ditto	6	1				Rec'd from Annamabooe and dep'ted this life of a flux.
Ditto	8		1			Rec'd from Wyembah with a Dropsey and departed this life of the same disease.
Ditto	9	1				bought by mee att Anamaboe and departed this life of the flux.
Ditto	12		1			Rec'd from Wyembah thin and Consumed away untill life departed from her.
Ditto	13	1				Rec'd from Wyembah thin and dep'ted of a flux.
		1				Rec'd from Anamaboe and dyed of the Cramp in all his Joynts and all over his body being lately recovered of the flux.
		1				bought by mee dyed of the Cramp.
Att Sea May	14		2			the one rec'd from Wyembah very thin departed this life of the flux the other recd from Anamabooe and departed this life of the flux.
Ditto	16	1				Rec'd from Annamaboe and departed this life of a flux.
Ditto	20		1			bought by mee and departed this life of Convultions.
Barbados	21	1				Rec'd from Agga and departed this life of a flux.
ditto	22	1				Rec'd at Wyembah and departed this life of a flux.
ditto	23	1	1			The woman bought by mee dyed of Convultions the man rec'd att Anamabooe dyed of the flux.
ditto	29		1			Rec'd from Wyembah and dyed of a Consumption.
ditto	31		1			Rec'd ditto and dyed of a dropsy.
June ditto	1	1				
	4		1			
	6	2	1			
		28	19	4		

Acc't of the Slaves mortallity rec'd out of the "John Alexander".

June 15th 1676	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
In Nevis	15		1			both very thin and Weake
	16		1			when rec'd.
	17		1			very thin when rec'd.
	19	1				
	20		1			
	21		2			
	22		2			
		1	8			

59. The Case of the *Susanna*[1]

11'mo Maii 1676.

Nautae sive Marrinarii Navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* contra Capitaneum Georgium Gallop

Exton Suckley

Quo die Exton nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus Nautarum Navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* omnibus melioribus et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris Effectum dicit allegat et in Iiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur.

Imprimis that on or about the twenty sixth day of February 1673 the shipp the *Susanna* whereof [*blank*] Lench was Captaine or Comaunder was taken and seized by the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis* whereof Capt. George Gallop was Commander and there was taken and seized in the said shipp six hundred and forty Negroes or

[59] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 117, no. 191. The case of the *Susanna* (which in some records appears as the *Dame Susan*) illustrates some of the domestic difficulties arising from negro prize vessels. On Nov. 6, 1674, the Privy Council referred to the Lords Commissioners of Appeals a petition from Gilbert Pickering, Thomas Peachy, Robert Coat, and others, seamen of the *Thomas and Francis,* stating that on Feb. 26, 1674, they had taken the *Susanna* from the Dutch off Curaçao, as she came from Guinea, with 600 or more slaves and 271 gold marks, besides other goods of considerable value. As the said ship carried letters of marque, the negroes, being between decks, belonged to the petitioners, but the captain (George Gallop) and the governor of Jamaica (Sir Thomas Lynch) sold them and converted the proceeds to their own use, contrary to his Majesty's proclamation for the encouragement of seamen (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 615-616). On Jan. 10, 1676, the Lords Commissioners of Appeals reported that the 300 negroes disposed of by the admiralty court in Jamaica were to be allotted according to the judgment there rendered, the 244 remaining were to be divided among the captain, the officers, and the seamen, any negroes that they had already received being subtracted from their allottment. Lord Vaughan, the new governor of Jamaica, who had arrived there Mar. 14, 1675, was to be charged to collect the payment for these negroes as rapidly as possible, in order that the rights of the captors might be speedily satisfied. This report was accepted by the Privy Council and acted upon on Jan. 19, 1676 (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 648-650; R. G. Marsden, *Documents relating to the Law and Custom of the Sea,* Navy Records Society, II. 95-101). In April, 1676, the complaint of the officers and seamen of the *Thomas and Francis* that the captain had had an illegal number of the negroes was referred by the Privy Council to the High Court of Admiralty (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 662). The Admiralty case here follows. Exton and Suckley were the advocates for the litigants respectively.

thereabouts [3] and not long after the takeing and seizeing thereof the said Captaine George Gallopp ordered forty, thirty five, thirty one, thirty, twenty nine, or twenty eight negroes to be taken out of the said shipp the *Susanna* and brought on board the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis* and there were from the said Prize brought on board the said shipp *Thomas and Francis* according to such order or by some other order or appointment of the said Capt. Gallopp or some of his Officers by and with his Consent forty, thirty five, or at least twenty eight Negroes before the said shipp the *Susanna* was brought into any Port att least before they arrived att Port Royall in Jamaica and were delivered to Coll. Collier and Coll. Benlosse at Jamaica or were all disposed of by the said Capt. Gallopp or with his privity and consent and converted to his owne use and not brought to any Accompt, nor are they any of the Negroes condemned or mentioned in the sentence given by the Lords Commission'rs of Appeale concerning the Negroes seized in the said shipp ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero et conmuni divisione et de quolibet.

Item that over and besides the said Negroes mentioned in the next precedent article and in the sentence aforesaid the said Capt. Gallop tooke into his custody thirty Negroes and branded them or marked them on one of their shoulders with his owne marke *vizt*, G. G. and disposed of them to some plantation which he had on the Island of Jamaica and converted them to his owne use att least did not bring them or any of them to Accompt soe that the said Capt. Gallopp ought and is bound by law to accompt for seaventy one and seaventy negroes to the said Marrin'rs and to pay the vallue thereof to be devided according to the usuall manner amongst the Seamen belonging to the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis*, ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero mancor[?] sive mancipiorum et ut supra.

4. Item quod praemissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera notoria publica manifesta pariter ac famosa ac de et super eisdem laboravit et laborat publica vox et fama unde facta fide de jure in hac parte requisita petit pars proponens.

5. Item that the paper or Schedule hereunto annexed was and is the [4] paper hand writeing of the said George Gallopp att least subscribed by him and sent and delivered to Capt. Gear according to his order. Et ponit ut supra.

Cap'tn Geair, Being ill disposed, and not in a Condition to come aborde my selfe, I have sent the Docktor to Looke After the sick Negroes, and by him these few Lines, to Request you to Rooke me out thirty stoute Negroe men,

[3] There were actually 544 negroes in the *Susanna.* The 244 adjudicated by the Lords Commonissioners of Appeals had sold for £4801. *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1676-1679, pp. 589-590; Marsden, II. 99.

[4] The word "pretended" is here crossed through in the manuscript.

and as soone as I shall see a Conveniency I will send the Longe boate for them Which is all at Present from Your Loveing frinde

sende the Portegese Negroe for one. GEORGE GALLOPP.

I am Resovled to ancor at the Keays where I would Likewise have you Come to an Ancor, and be shue to Keepe a strict gard and Lett noe Botes whatt soe ever come Aborde not soe mutch as our owne untill farther order.

From aborde the *Thomas and Francis* alias *Sainte George* the 4th Martch 1673 [/4].[5]

Robertus Cole, Ephraim Wareing, Stephanus Graunt et Socii Nautae Navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* cujus Georgius Gallop est vel nuper fuit Capitaneus et in schedula praesentibus annexa contra praefatum Georgium Gallop.

EXTON SUCKLEY

Quo die Exton nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus praefatorum Roberti Cole, Ephraim Waring, Stephani Grant et sociorum omnibus melioribus et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma nec non ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dicit, allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur.

1. Imprimis That the shipp the *Susanna* w'ch was taken on or about the 27th day of February 1673 English style in the West Indies by the shipp *Thomas and Francis* Capt. George Gallop Comaund'r and the *Flying Horse* w'ch was victualled and manned out of the sd. shipp the *Thomas and Francis* and und'r the Commaund of Edward Odway [6] at w'ch tyme of capture there were on board the said shipp 660 Negroes all w'ch were above the Gun Decke of the said shipp and there was not any provision made for them in the hold of the said shipp for any Lodging there, and that there was likewise at the said tyme of seizure 184 markes of Gold found above the Gunn Decke in severall parcells and all put into one Bagg which were of the Weight of 100 pounds all w'ch said Negroes and Gold were taken and seized in the said shipp and came to the Possession of the said Capt. George Gallop et ponit de quolibet alio numero Negrorum et de quolibet alio pondere aut valore auri et conmuni divisione et de quolibet.

2. Item that after the seizure of the said shipp and slaves and gold as afors'd the said Capt. George Gallopp tooke the said Negroes and sold and disposed of the same at his own will and pleasure *viz't.* he tooke out of the said shipp forty of the best men Negroes and sold and disposed of them before the shipps arrivall at Jamaica [7] and landed 26 Negroes more the first night which he came to Port Royall in Jamaica and put them into Capt. Coop[er']s house for his owne use and thirty others he marked or caused to be marked with the marke G.G. on one of their should'rs being his usuall marke and

[5] Endorsed: "For Capt'n Geire Aborde of the *Susanne*."
[6] "Otway" in the report of the Lords Commissioners of Appeals.
[7] From "and landed" to "for his owne use" is written in the margin.

sent them to a plantac'on which lieth upon the said Island to be their employed for his owne use and benefit and the remaind'r were sold or disposed of upon the said Island by him and for his use and benefit ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero et ut supra.

3. Item that every Negroe or Black slave was worth one with another 25 *l.* a peice and for soe much they were sold or might have (at the s'd rate) bene soe sold and that every pound weight of gold was and is worth the sum of 44 *l.* sterling or every marke of Gold worth 30 *l.* sterling et ponit de quolibet alio valore et pretio et ut supra.

Item that there belonged to the said shipps or men of warr the numb'r of [8] 200 men or marriners and that all and singul'r the persons menc'oned in the schedule hereunto annexed were at the tyme of the Capture afores'd seamen and mariners belonging to the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis,* and that they are by the Law [9] and usuall privileges in such cases entituled unto and ought to have there p'rticul'r shares thereof and that the s'd Captaine George Gallop hath and doth refuse to pay unto them there respective shares due unto them at least not their proportions as he ought to doe and did and doeth take the Advantage of there necessitys and would force them to take much lesse then what they ought by law and custome to have, thinking thereby to make a Gaine Extraordinary and beyond Equity and reason [10] That those that did take any mony in parte or otherwise for their shares the s'd Capt. George Gallop did promise . . . unto them that if the sume of money by them received did not amount unto what should be their just and lawfull due, it should be no prejudice to them but they should have as much as any other et ponit ut supra

Item that the p'rtyes above menc'oned haveing noe other wayes or meanes to recover their respective dues have caused the s'd Capt. Gallop to be arrested by vertue of a warr't from this Court and he is arrested.

Item quod praemissa etc.

60. The Case of the *Thomas and Francis.*[1]

5 Junii 1676.

Nautae sive Marrinarii navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* contra Capn. Gallop.

Exton. Suckley.

[8] The number "160" is here crossed through in the manuscript.

[9] 13 Car. II., c. 14, "An Act for confirming an Act, intituled, An Act for encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation, and several other Acts both public and private mentioned therein." *Statutes at Large,* III. 36.

[10] From "That those" to "as much as any other" is written in the margin. A part of the sentence is crossed through in the manuscript.

[60] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 117, no. 193.

Quo die comparuit personaliter dictus Capitaneus Georgius Gallop et sine Revocacione et omnibus melioribus et necnon ad omnem Juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dicit allegat et hiis scriptis in Jure proponit prout sequitur

1. Imprimis whereas it is expressed in the Answere of him the s'd Capt. Geo. Gallop to the latter end of the first Ar'cle that there were delivered to him the s'd Capt. Gallop for his proporcion as Commaunder of the shipp *Thomas and Francis* the number of 29 or 29 and a halfe Negroes the same is by error sett downe to be delivered as Comander of the *Thomas and Francis* for they were in Truth delivered unto him as he was a Quarter part Adventurer in the shipp called the *Flying Horse* w'ch was the Private man of Warre w'ch was in Consort-shipp with the said vessell the *Thomas and Francis* of w'ch he the s'd Capt. Gallopp was Comaunder whereof docendo de errore he desireth the same may be retracted and amended Ac petit jus et justitiam, ac ponit communem divisionem et de quolibet.

2. Item that all the Negroes that were brought in the said shipp the *Susanna* to Jamaica were all taken out of the s'd shipp before the s'd shipp and Negroes did come to Port Royall *viz't* att a Place called the Kayes and none of the s'd Negroes that were so brought to Jamaica were or could be disposed off by the s'd Capt. Gallop but by and with the order and privity of S'r Thomas Lynch the Governor of the s'd Island for as soone as ever the s'd vessell came but upon the Coasts of the s'd Island of Jamaica the s'd Capt. Gallop went to the s'd Governor and gave him notice of the s'd shipp and Negroes and he presently ordered Coll. Muddiford [2] Leiften't Coll. Beeston [3] and one Mr. Robert Hewett to goe imediately and take possession of the s'd vessell the *Susanna* and the Negroes, and they did goe on board accordingly and did see all the s'd Negroes disposed according to the orders of the s'd Governor except such Negroes as were got on shoare by the Marrin'rs in the Huddle and promiscuous deliv'y of the s'd Negroes on the shoare w'ch were ab't 30 or att least 26 Negroes, and soe much was and is well knowen to Leifen't James Gier, John Miller and others the Marriners of the s'd shipp the *Thomas and Francis,* and soe much or the like in effect they or some of them have confessed and acknowledged before credible witnesses Hocque etc. ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero etc. Ac ponit ut supra.

3. Item that the s'd Leiften't Gier and John Miller and others the marin'rs of the s'd shipp the *Thomas and Francis* had their parts

[2] Col. Thomas Modyford.
[3] Sir William Beeston was lieutenant governor of Jamaica from 1692 to 1702.

and shares of those Negroes that were soe promiscuously got a shoare, and the s'd Lieift't Gier hath also had and rec'd 50 *l.* in money and one Negroe man in full of all his share and proporc'on of the s'd Negroes and hath given his discharge in full for the same under his hand, and the s'd S'r Thomas Lynch hath or had the s'd discharge, and the s'd John Miller hath received ab't Thirty Pounds in full of his share, and given his discharge under his hand in full of all demaunds from the s'd Negroe Prize, and soe have sev'all others of the s'd Marrin'rs all which discharges the s'd Governor hath or had in his Custody and the s'd p'rty proponent desireth that for avoyding any further trouble or charge the s'd Receipts or discharges may be produced. Et petit jus et justitiam etc. Ac ponit ac supra.

4. Item that the s'd Capt. Gallop did besides the afores'd 29 Negroes and halfe or 30 Negroes w'ch he rec'd on board the *Thomas and Francis* as and for his Quarter part Adventure in the *Flying horse* receive on board his s'd shipp the *Thomas and Francis* Twelve Negroes for Capt. Henry Archbold w'ch the s'd S'r Thomas Lynch accompted for, and he the s'd Capt. Gallop also rec'd five others w'ch he also bought and payd for to the s'd Governor and he also received on board his s'd vessell the *Thomas and Francis* six Negroes for the Acc't of Capt. George Needham besides some Negroes w'ch were also deliv'd on board the *Thomas and Francis* for the Acc't of Capt. Mathews the certain quantity whereof he doth not know, but to the best of his remembrance they were five, all w'ch sev'all parcells are by error and mistake as he conceiveth reckoned to have been taken on board the *Thomas and Francis* for the peculiar Acc't of him the s'd Capt. Gallop. Hocque etc. ponit tamen de quolibet et alio numero Ac ponit ut supra.

5. Item that the s'd Negroes seized in the *Susanna* were never particularly mustered or numbred by the s'd Capt. Gallop or any of his Compa. that he knoweth off but only as they were told out upon the delivery by the s'd Coll Muddiford and others who were sent on board by the s'd Governor or by such others as they appointed and the s'd Governor hath given an Acc't both of the number and how the same were disposed, and his Acc't is allowed and confirmed by the Sentence of the Lords of the Appeale and there are only two hundred and Forty Four Negroes adjudged by their Sentence to be devided between the s'd Capt. Gallop and his Marriners and the s'd Capt. Gallop hath not had one Negroe of that 244 w'ch remaine to be shared and devided as more fully may appeare by the s'd sentence and the s'd Governors Acc't. Que pro hoc lecta et inserta haberi vult et petit etc. Ac ponit ut supra.

6. Item that there is noe Faith or Creditt Sufficient in Law to bee given unto the sayings and depon's of James Gier, John Miller, and

Richard Rogers for they sweare and depose in their owne Cause and for their owne advantage and benefitt, for the more they can gett from the s'd Capt. Gallop the more they expect to get for themselves and soe much is publiq[ue] and no[to]rious and the s'd Richard Rogers was lately convicted at Jamaica and condemned amongst others for running away with a Prize and the s'd Capt. Gallop begged and obteined his life from the s'd Governor. Hocq[ue] etc. Ac ponit ut supra.

7. Item quod praemissa sunt vera etc.[4]

61. Answer of the Royal African Company.[1]

October 26, 1676.

After which was read the answer of the Royal Company, received 6th July 1676. That it is therein alleged the Company very scantily supply Barbadoes with negro servants, and those at excessive prices; to which the Company reply that they have been settled little above four years, in the two first navigation was obstructed by the Dutch war and general embargoes laid on all ships, yet the Company sent forth seven ships to carry soldiers and ammunition, etc., to preserve the forts and factories in Guinea, whence they proceeded with negroes to the Plantations, and four of the ships to Barbadoes. The third year, the war being ended, the Company most vigorously prosecuted their trade, and thence sent out fifteen ships to the coast of Africa,

[4] The seamen again complained to the Privy Council that Captain Gallop was delaying settlement with them, and a hearing was set for Aug. 2, 1676 (*Acts P. C. C.*, I. 669). In 1677 a warrant was sent to Lord Vaughan for the full amount of the proceeds from the 244 negroes, which had not yet been remitted (*Cal. Treasury Books*, 1676-1679, pp. 589-590). From Jamaica meanwhile Lieut. Gov. Sir Henry Morgan had written to Secretary Williamson: "there is the greatest cheat in the world intended to be put on the King about Capt. Gallop's negro prize, which was condemned to the King, but there has been no return to his Majesty though above 7000 *l.* received; and the General [Vaughan] demanding the reason, Sir Thos. [Lynch] answered that he kept it for Capt. Gallop; but if Gallop had come he would have answered that it was condemned to the King. To keep people in the dark there was no register kept of the fees of the condemnation, and contrary to all custom she was condemned when without command" (Apr. 13, 1675, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 206). Governor Vaughan arrived in Jamaica to supersede Lynch on Mar. 13, 1675. After the rendering of the decision Vaughan wrote to Sir Robert Southwell that his Majesty had been misinformed about the facts of the case, but offered no further explanation. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

[61] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, pp. 387-388, "Memorandum. On 6th April and 26th October 1676 was read, at the Committee of Trade and Plantations, a paper of grievances presented to his Majesty, with a petition of the Council and Assembly of Barbadoes, and referred to the consideration of the Committee by an Order of 24th November 1675." This paper, the second article of which charged the Royal African Company with failing to supply enough negroes and with charging excessively high prices, resulted from the deliberations of the assembly of Barbados in February and March, 1675. It reached the King and Council in November of that year and was referred to the Privy Council's Committee of Trade and Plantations. Here it failed to obtain any attention until Apr. 6, 1676, and was not considered until October, when the Royal African Company, the agent for Barbados (Colonel Thornborough), and the Commissioners of Customs were asked to be present at a hearing of the grievances. *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 193, 373, 475.

and ordered six of them to Barbadoes with about 2000 negroes, which their factors disposed of at a much lower price than was usual before this Company was established. Last year they sent twenty ships to Africa, and appointed eight of them with about 3000 negroes to Barbadoes.[2] It is alleged the Company have sold their negroes at 20 *l.* and 22 *l.* per head, but an examination of the Company's books shows the price to have been about 15 *l.* per head.[3] By the Company's last letters there remained owing to them about 25,000 *l.* besides the 3000 negroes sent last year, which may swell the debt to 70,000 *l.* sterling or more.[4] This present year the Company have

[2] Never for any continued period were the islands satisfied with the numbers sent to them by the company. From the complaints and counter complaints which fill the pages of the Colonial Office records it is possible to gain some notion of the amount of the traffic carried on by the new incorporation. In January, 1672, 400 negroes were received in Jamaica, not a third the number which could have been sold, wrote Governor Lynch (Lynch to Williamson, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 316). Richard Brown, writing from Jamaica in September, 1672, referred to the arrival of cargoes of 350, 150, and 140 negroes, some of which were company cargoes (*ibid.,* p. 415). All this preceded the granting of the charter. Under the charter importation failed to satisfy the Jamaicans, who in 1675, having surrendered their law allowing free importation, importuned the Duke of York to see that they obtained from the African Company sufficient slaves (May 11, 1675, petition of the assembly and council of Jamaica, *ibid.,* 1675-1676, pp. 217, 229). In Barbados the complaint here answered was but one of many. In 1676 Governor Atkins wrote that not 2500 negroes had been sent to the island since his coming, whereas three times that number could have been absorbed (1676, July 4/14, Atkins to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.,* p. 422).

In its defense the company made various assertions about its shipments: on Jan. 29, 1674, it stated that seven ships, with 2320 negroes, had been sent to Jamaica; five ships, with 1720 negroes, to Barbados (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 552); between March and June, 1676, five vessels, carrying 1588 negroes, reached Barbados, where but 1372 could be sold. The remainder (called by the company 224) were sent on to Nevis, where there likewise had been complaints of an inadequate supply (*ibid.,* 1675-1676, p. 481, 1669-1674, p. 572). In 1676 four ships carried 1660 negroes to Jamaica, and plans for landing 1540 the next year were already made in November, 1676 (*ibid.,* p. 503).

[3] Coupled with complaints of scarcity of supply were those of high price. Lynch, writing in the spring of 1673, observed that negroes could not be obtained according to the Royal Company's proposals under £35, which would be a prohibitive price to the poorer planter (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 478). Appeals were made to the example of the Dutch, who supplied the Surinam planters with good negroes for 2400 pounds of sugar each (*ibid.,* p. 518). In 1675 Jamaica complained of a price of £22, rather than the promised £16. The fact that Barbados was making the same complaint rather lessened the force of the Jamaica charge that it was "good trade" to buy at £17 in Barbados and sell for £24 in Jamaica (*ibid.,* 1675-1676, pp. 281-282, 304, 411-412).

[4] The members of the new company, with the experience of the Company of Merchant Adventurers well in mind, realized that an over expansion of credit in the islands must be avoided. In 1673 the Barbados factors were instructed to investigate the laws for the collection of debts (*ibid.,* 1669-1674, p. 544). The king, in pursuance of his policy of lending royal aid to the incorporation, protested to Barbados over the amount of outstanding debt, a protest which was met by the indignant response of the colony that the Royal Company had the same opportunity to collect its debts that any inhabitant had (Mar. 4, 5, 1673, Minutes of Council, *ibid.,* p. 470). Barbados however yielded to royal pressure and modified her obnoxious legislation, abolishing the eighty-day interim between the attachment and sale of a debtor's goods (Harlow, *Barbados,* p. 318 n.; *ante,* no. 44, n. 3). Jamaica, for the first time an important market for negroes, protested that the outstanding debt in Barbados ought not to

already sent ships and intend more, by which the Company hope their Lordships may be satisfied what little reason they have to complain, which the Company believe they would not have done but to prevent the Company's complaint against them.

ANDREW KING, Sub-Governor,
GABRIEL ROBERTS, Deputy Governor.[5]

62. ACCOUNTS OF THE *SARAH BONAVENTURA*, 1676-1677.[1]

LONDON, 1676, November the 15.

Invoyce of Severall goods laden on bord the "Sarah Booneadventure" Henry Nurse comander: For Acco. of the Royall African Company of England to buy Negroes—marked and nomberd. Contents. Cost and Charges Foll.

		ll.	*s.*	*d.*
	Iron barrs 100 qtt.; 26c. 2[qu.] 2 lb. At 13. 6s. per Tunn	18	0	3
	Sayes[2] 1 balle			
No 1	20 p's at 42s per p's	42		
	Perpetuanos[3] 2 balles			
8:9	25 p's in each balle at 24s. per p's.	60		
	Sleties[4] 5 Casses			
86	20 peeces each			
87	20 " "			
88	20 " " } 100 p's at 11 s. per p's	55		
89	20 " "			
90	20 " "			
	Paper bralls[5] 1 Casse			
49	123 p's at 4s. and 7d. per p's	28	03	09
	Tallow 10½ Ferkings at 47s. per Cent.	05	04	06

prejudice the company against her (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 478), yet by November, 1676, her own debt was £25,000. *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, p. 503.

[5] At the hearing on the 31st the company "complained [that] they were extremely damaged by the interloping ships, notwithstanding they had been at 50,000 *l.* charge to build forts for the support of their trade" (*ibid.*, p. 388). Colonel Thornborough admitted that Barbados was well supplied with negroes, the scarcity having belonged to the period of the Dutch wars. Governor Atkins however had written, July 4/14, 1676, that negroes were still lacking, adding, "they that can stop the market when they please may make the market what they please". In reporting on this matter the Lords of Trade remarked that it was Governor Atkins's business not to encourage complaints but to suppress them. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 676-679; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, pp. 419-425, 484-485, 489, 510-511.

[62] [1] T 70: 1212.

[2] Sayes or says, a woollen cloth resembling serge. The amount in a "piece" varied locally, but it was about sixteen yards.

[3] Perpetuanos, frequently called perpets, an English woollen cloth of lasting quality.

[4] A thin linen cloth, taking its name from Silesia, though that form was soon lost.

[5] Brawls, with many spellings, was a striped cloth of Indian make, usually blue and white.

		ll.	s.	d.
	Brought forward	208	8	6
25	50 bright Muskeets at 8s. per p.	20		
	Tapsells[6] 1 Casse			
45	40 peeces broad at 12s. 2d. per p's	24	06	08
	Long Cloath 1 Casse			
64	10 Peeses m 20 half Peeces blew 29s. p's	14	10	0
	Old Sheets 4 Casses[7]			
65	65 in each Chest } 260 Sheets at 2s. 4d. per Sht.	30	06	08
66	65 " " "			
67	65 " " "			
68	65 " " "			
	Niccones[8] 1 Casse			
61	50 Peeces at 7s. 6d. per p's.	19	03	04
	Boysados[9] 1 balle			
16	4 Peeces at 49s. per p's	09	16	
	Knives one barrell			
41	41 doz at 35s. per grose is 5. 19. 7. } 40 doz. at 16s. per grose 2. 13. 4. }	08	12	11
	Powder 5 barrells at 55s. per barell	13	15	
	Charges For Custom and Shiping, all Charges	10		
		358	19	01

The Account of Negroes bought one bord the good Ship called the "Sarah Booneadventure" by Henry Nurs Comander For the Account of the Royall African Company of England on the gold Coast of Guiney from the 28 day of Feb. to the 18 day of July 1676/7.

Men Slaves	Women	Boyes	Gerles	the First Cost	P's Sayes	Perpetonos	Nittones	Tapsells	Paper brails	Sheets	Musketts	Sletes	Iron barrs	Knives	½ barr'll Powder		Oun.[ounces]	Ang.[angles][10]
2	1			Cost			4				5				½	Receid		3
1	1					2			3	1								
4						1	13		2	3								
		1	1			1	2			1								
3		1			2	2			4							Recd		6
4					1	2	1		6	1								
2	3				1	3			4	1								
2	2	1			2½				3½									

[6] Tapsells, an Indian cotton cloth.

[7] In 1653 the Guinea Company complained that the Customs Commissioners had seized old sheets imported for their Guinea trade to the value of £1000. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1652-1653, pp. 398, 435.

[8] A cotton cloth from India, variously spelled, niccanees, nichanees.

[9] Boysados, more commonly baysados, is probably some variation of the coarse English woollen stuff known as bays.

[10] On the African coast fifteen angles (or angels) were equivalent to an ounce of gold; in Europe, twenty. Bosman, *Description*, p. 75.

Men Slaves	Women	Boyes	Gerles	the First Cost	P's Sayes	Perpetonos	Nittones	Tapsells	Paper bralls	Sheets	Musketts	Sleties	Iron barrs	Knives	½ barr'll Powder		Oun.[ounces]	Ang. [angles]
2	2	1			1½	3			1½	2						Receid		6
1	5	1	1		1	5		4	4							Recd		6
2	2	2			1½				5			2		4				
2	1	2			1	1	3	5								Recd		6
5	2	1			2	4			7½			1		6				
3	1					4			6					4				
2	4	1				7			6	2				14				
2									2½									
2								4	½									
	3	1	1				3		14½									
2	3		1					2	13½				14	36				
2	1	1	1					6	1				7	8				
3	3							15										
		1	1					3	½									
46	34	14	6		14½	35	26	39	85	11	5	3	21	72	½		1	11

Account of goods belonging to the Negro Cargo: Sold For Gold one bord the "Sara boneventure" Henry Nurs Comander: For Account of the Royall African Company In Guiney Gold Cost in the yeare 1677.

	Mk's	Oun.	Ang.
To Forty Five Muskeetts	1	1	7
To Twenty Iron barrs at 16 per bendy		2	8
To Tenn Ferkings of Tallow		2	10
To Sixteene Sheets		1	2
To Fore barells Powder at 2s. 6d. per bar'll	1	1	8
To Twelve Sleties at 6d. per p's		4	14
To Twelve Perpetanos at 11d. per p's	1		4
To too Sayes at 22d. per p's		2	12
To half one Saye			11
	5	1	12

HENRY NURSE

Goods sold For Corn at Dickeys Cove before wee went to Cape Cost and Afterwards At etc

To one Saye at	16	Chests	Bought 111 Chests
to too Perpetanos	20	"	
to Twenty Seven bralls	54	"	
to Twenty one Sheets	21	"	
to Twenty Fore knives		"	

Occoda [Akwidah?]

To one p's boysado 12 Chests To Thirty six Sheets at Three Sheets for too Chests 24	bought 036 Chests

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HENRY NURSE

p's Sayes	Perpetuanos	Sleties	Muskets	Bar'll Powder	½ Fer Tallow	Iron Barrs	paper bralls	boysados	Knives	Sheets		[Marks]	[Oun.]	[Ang.]
2½	12	12	45	4	10	20				16	Chests	5	1	12
1	2						27	1	24	57	Bought 147			
3½	14	12	45	4	10	20	27	1	24	73	147	5	1	12

The Account of Charges At Occodah In buying Corne and other Necessaries For the Negros: From May the 18 to June 7th.

To the Brassooe of the towne For house rent to put the Corn in as wee bought it: and A negro man to watch it:—Three paper bralls

To new Corn Plantings and limes and red peper and Shugar Canes:—Too paper bralls and Forty eight Knives.

To Carring Corn out of the house to the bote by the Negros:—Too hundred eightyeight Knives.

To Foreteene gallons Palm Oyle For the Negros too paper bralls.

HENRY NURSE

To three Iron barrs for three hundred wct. of Mallegeeto.

To goods lost going one Shore att Occodah when the bote was lost —one peese of boysado: sixteen sheets: 36 knives.

HENRY NURSE

To goods Trusted Aloome at Pumponnee[11] at our going up to windward hee promising to Furnish us with Corne at Our going downe Againe—too p's boysados, Fore Paper bralls and Fore Iron barrs.

HENRY NURSE

Account of goods delivered one Shore At Cape Cost And Accra As by Recepts.

To too peeces Sayes: one perpetuanos: twenty Fore Niccones: One Tapselle: one hundred sixty Five Sheets: half one barrell of Powder: Eighty Five Sleties: Tenn Peeces blew Long Cloth: Five Hundred and Fore Knives: Fivety too Iron Barrs.

[11] Pumponnee or Pompena, east of Laye, near the mouth of the River Volta.

p's Sayes	Perpetuanos	Necones	Tapsells	paper brells	Sheets	Musketts	barells Powder	Sleties	Long Cloath	Boysados	Knives	Iron barrs	½Perkings Tallow		Men Slaves	Women	Boyes	Gerles	Chests Corn	Marks	Oun:	Ang:
14½	35	26	39	85	11	5	½	3			72	21	10	Bought	46	34	14	6			1	11
3½	14			27	73	45	4	12		1	24	20		For					147	5	1	12
				11	16					3	372	7										
2	1	24	1		160		½	85	10		504	52		Delivered on Shore								
20	50	50	40	123	260	50	5	100	10	4	972	100	10		46	34	14	6	147	5	3	7

HENRY NURSE.

Received one This Cargo Five Markes, Three Ounces, Seven Ang: of gold . . . and bought on bord one hundred Negro persons: *viz:* Forty Six Men; Thirty Fore women, Foreteene boyes: and six gerles, and one hundred Forty Seven Chests of Corn and the Rest of the goods delivered on shore to Cape Cost and Accra To Mr. Harbin.

Errors Excepted. By WILLIAM DEXTER.

The Account of Goods bought For the Account of the Royall African Company of England For the Negros at Saint Temay,[12] *Aug. 4th 1677.*[13]

	p's eight	
To One Con For the negros	06	84
To Too thousand Cockernuts	20	
To One Quarter Caske of Palm Oyle	06	
To One Thousand one hundred Fivety yames	30	
To Seventy Seven of Plantings	05	
To Six Thousand five hundred heads of corn	13	
To limes Oringes and Red Pepper	04	
peeces of Eight	84	
To eighty Fore Peeces of Eight At Five Shilings per peese is	£21	

[12] São Thomé or St. Thomas.

[13] Some notion of the purchases which this cargo permitted may be learned from a later item: "Capt. Henry Nurse demands freight for 474 negroes del'd at Jamaica out of the *Sarah Bonaventure.*" T 70: 77.

63. Petition of the Royal African Company.[1]

Whitehall, 22 November, 1676.

[The Council refer to the Committee for examination and report the petition of the Royal African Company, showing] That Edwin Steed their Agent residing in Barbados having in pursuance of his Majestys Charter granted to them seized a Vessel called the *Anne* of Barbados and her Lading of Negros imported thither contrary to the said Charter and the Priviledges thereby granted to the Petitioners, One James Vaughan, Bernard Schenckingh and Arthur Middleton Merchants [2] without regard to his Majestys Proclamation have lately brought an Action against the Petitioners Agent in the Barbados grounded upon the Statute of Monopolies for the recovering of Treble Damages against him for seizing the said Vessell and Lading, Which being contrary to Law as the Petitioners are informed, They most humbly prayed his Majesty would be pleased to issue out his Royall Comands to the Cheif Governor of the said Island of Barbados for the securing the Petitioners and their Agents in the quiet Enjoyment of all those Imunitys and Priviledges granted to them by his Majesty and that no such vexatious Actions may be brought and encouraged there against the Petitioners and their Agents contrary to Law, and in contempt of his Majestys said Charter.[3]

[63] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 680-681; see also *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, pp. 496-497, 504. Once the Dutch war was at an end the problem of the interloper became a much more troublesome one. In addition to the proclamation of 1674, letters had been sent to all the governors of the American plantations admonishing them to see that the monopoly of the company was respected. Barbados was one of the worst offenders, not only receiving and protecting interloping vessels which arrived there, but also sending vessels to the coast. On Sept. 15 and Nov. 26, 1675, and on Mar. 1, 1676, Stede and Gascoigne write of their troubles with the *Providence*, the *Speedwell*, and other unnamed vessels. The case of the *Providence* was a particularly flagrant one, which in March, 1676, the Council was asked to consider. It had carried 150 negroes to the island, where the company's agent had seized 80, only to have them taken from him by violence, while he and his assistants were severely beaten. An appeal to Governor Atkins brought no relief. The Council reviewed the facts in a letter to Atkins, directing him to deal more severely with violators of the charter (*Acts P. C. C.*, I. 655-656; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 359). The owner of the *Anne*, also guilty of interloping trade, had resorted to legal rather than to physical obstructions to the monopoly of the company.

[2] Sept. 15, 1675, Stede and Gascoigne wrote of an interloping ketch which, having made one successful trip as the property of Morris and Fowell, had been sold to Vaughan and Middleton, who prepared to use it in the same business. Regardless of the governor's orders, the owners of this vessel had continued their preparations in the harbor until it was forced to depart by the arrival of H. M. S. *Foresight*. Possibly this was the *Anne*, though one can not be certain of that, as of course Vaughan and Middleton may have owned a number of slaving vessels. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[3] "On the 24th the Council adopt the proposal of the committee to insert a clause to this effect in the letter prepared for Sir J. Atkins with a Reprimand to him for suffering the said Action to be comenced against the Petitioners Agent, for acting according to his Majesty's Royall Charter." *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 681.

The company's troubles with an interloper were by no means over once a vessel was seized. The sympathies of the island were often so strongly with the offender that it was difficult to obtain a conviction. On Apr. 2, 1676, Peter Beckford wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson that the admiralty judges, Sir Henry Morgan, Lieut.-Col. William Beeston, and Lieut.-Col. Robert Byndlosse, had dismissed the case of a vessel from the

64. The King to Governor Jonathan Atkins.[1]

1676, December 9.

. . . and to the end you may be so worthy of imitation by other Plantation Governors in all respects we think fit further to take notice of a complaint made to us by the Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa that an action hath been brought against their Agent residing under your Government for having seized according to the power they have by our Royal Charter, a vessel called the *Anne* of Barbadoes, with her lading of negroes imported thither, and to let you know that you failed in duty to us in suffering the said action to be commenced against the said Company's Agent for acting according to our said Charter, which ought not to be questioned or judged there, and therefore we require you to discountenance this action, and to prevent such proceedings for the future. And we, intending that the said company of Royal Adventurers shall not by any ways be invaded upon as the rights of our charter to them, have thought fit to order in Council that no ships but only such as are in the service of the said Company shall be permitted to go to sea on a trading voyage from any ports or places of any parts of our Plantations in America whose cargo may be suspected by the Agents of the said Company to be proper for any parts of Africa within the said Company's Charter, until such time as the masters, owners, or other proprietors of such ships and vessels have given good security that they will not go to any parts within the limits of the said Royal African Company's Charter, *viz.*, from Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope, and that they shall not import any negroes, gold, elephants' teeth, mallagetta, or other commodities of the countries within our said Charter to any of our said Plantations we have therefore thought fit to signify our pleasure to you and do hereby require you to take such bonds accordingly. . . .

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admiralty court to that of common law. This was apparently the *St. George,* from Angola, with 300 negroes, transferred to the island courts because of the plea that it was seized not on the high seas but in or near a harbor, and therefore came within parish jurisdiction. On learning of this action, the Lords of Trade appealed to the surrogate of the Admiralty and to the Attorney General as to English usage, and were informed that the case was unquestionably an admiralty case, whereupon they instructed Lord Vaughan, governor of Jamaica, to see that the jurisdiction of the admiralty court was sustained (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, pp. 366-367, 369, 411, 416, 418, 429-431). The belief in England was that if the case were to be brought into the common law court the judges would rule that the company's charter was void by the statute against monopoly.

[64] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 511. A similar letter was to be sent to the governors of the other American plantations.

65. The Case of the *Antego Merchant*.[1]

Whitehall, 26 January, 1677.

The Royal African Company of England by petition this day read at the Board [2] have presented that having formerly complained to the King of some ships going out to the coast of Guinea contrary to petitioners charter (which grants petitioners the sole liberty of trading on the coast of Africa from Sallee to the Cape Bon Esperance) the King did order the stop of such ships till the master gave security not to proceed to any of the said limits.[3] Since this those loose traders have been more cautious by entering at the Custom House for some other places the goods they intend for that trade, having at the same time other ships fitting out to take in the said goods at sea or at some convenient ports, and then proceed for the coast of Africa, as petitioners have very good ground for believing that sundry ships have lately done, and are now informed that one John Case, master of the *Antego Merchant,* is laden with goods proper for Guinea, though entered at the Custom House for Antigua. Therefore petitioners pray remedy against said ship and all others such. It is therefore hereby ordered that Treasurer Danby direct the Customs Commissioners not to permit said ship to depart till security be given that she shall not trade within the said limits, and if the master refuse to give such security the Lord Treasurer is to report it to the Council Board.[4]

[65] [1] *Cal. Treasury Book,* 1676-1679, pt. I., p. 529; *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 685-686; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 10. The sending out of interloping vessels was by no means confined to the West Indies. Efforts to prevent their sailing were frequent in London, whence many departed in spite of the watchfulness of the company. The interloper not only braved the danger of being seized by agents of the company; he was also a fair prey for the Dutch. The *Alice* of London, John Gribble master, was seized by the Dutch while being chased by the vessels of the Royal African Company (*ibid.,* 1675-1676, p. 345). For attempts on the part of the Dutch and English to combine against the interloper, see *ibid.,* 1677-1680, pp. 13, 144.

[2] Privy Council.

[3] The Orders in Council, Sept. 20, 1672, and Sept. 4, 1674; see "Petition of the Royal African Company to the King", Jan. 26, 1677, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 10.

[4] The *Antego Merchant* was but one of many suspicious vessels which the Royal African Company called to the attention of the customs officials. In May, 1677, complaint was made of the *Blossom,* owned by George Parris and John How, who had already traded within the company's territory. Though the *Blossom* was entered for the Canaries, her goods were suitable for Guinea and the gossip of the sailors was that they were carrying blacks to the plantations (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 78, 83, 182; *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 704; *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1676-1679, p. 619; C. O. 268: 1, pp. 69-73). Pp. 79 and 80 of the last-named relate to the detention of the *Mary,* also under suspicion. Earlier in the year John Thornborough, master of the *Tyger,* had left London for Guinea and Barbados, boasting that he would publicly expose his negroes for sale. The company requested that the governor of Barbados be directed to prevent this. *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 691.

66. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, May 24, 1677.

Arrival of an interloper belonging to Colonel William Sharpe, Chief Judge,[2] John Worsam and Major John Hallett, two of his Assistants (as our Stephen Gascoigne was informed by Colonel John Stanfast), Philip Cheeke and Roger Cowley, a Commissioner of Customs, which gives great encouragement to other people to take this liberty, seeing those that sit in great places and live by the King's Commissions presume to act as they do. The ship brought but 98 negroes and but few or no elephants teeth. Advice of her arrival came a little too late for they were twelve miles distant, and the negroes were landed and carried to Colonel Richard Bailey's plantation, close to the landing-place, about an hour before the factors got there. Acquainted the Governor with it who sent for Colonel Bailey, and he told him the negroes were sent for by Judge Sharpe and the other before named. These men have been very solicitous to turn out the Company's factors from their offices for doing their duty. "Sure it would discourage the whole fraternity of interlopers if some of these be displaced for their disobedience to the King's commands."

June 16, 1677.

Arrival of an interloper with 120 negroes landed on the back part of the island before the factors had notice, having been on board the Company's ship all day selling negroes. Leonard Woodfine was Commander and Richard Bate, Barnard Schenckingh, and Arthur Middleton Owners.

[66] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 93-94. Stephen Gascoigne was the second Barbados factor of the Royal African Company. Stede, his senior in appointment, was not long after this made a member of the council of Barbados, retaining his position with the African Company (*ibid.*, pp. 328, 647). The selections relating to the West India Islands printed in this work have been chosen to illustrate the history of the company rather than the history of the slave trade in its relation to Jamaica or Barbados. That history remains to be written, but a few excellent short accounts have been published: see G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 316-381; V. T. Harlow, *History of Barbados*, pp. 310-330; Frank Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies*, pp. 61-90; Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies*, pp. 137-156; C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands*, ch. VII.

[2] Sharpe was speaker of the Barbados assembly, as well as judge. Letters from Barbados, received in May, recount that Sharpe had in 1675 aided rioters against the Royal African Company's factors, who were seizing the negroes of a interloper. The circumstances are so similar that one wonders whether the incident is not the one here described, despite the discrepancy in dates (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 99). The king had ordered Sharpe's removal from his judgeship on May 18, 1677. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Impossible for the factors to prevent the landing, those employed to give notice being beaten and wounded without any cause given.[3]

67. JOURNAL OF THE *ARTHUR*, Dec. 5, 1677–May 25, 1678.[1]

Dec. 5th 1677. A Journall of a voyage att New Callabarr[2] in the shipp the *Arthur* Capt'n Rob't Doegood Commander: one the accompt of the Royall African Company of England, of all actions and transactions from Gravesend to New Callabar and from thence to the Island of Barbados our portt of Discharge.

Feb. 1677[/8]. Wed. 5 Wee Brake ground at Gravesend by five of the Clock in the mourninge and came to Anchor againe 7th day att twelve the wind att s. e. . . .

Munday 11 February 1677[/8]. This day aboutt nine in the morninge Came one Board the Kinge of New Calabarr with some others of his gen'tes [gentlemen?] and after a Long discourse Came to Agreem'tt for Currentt for negro man 36 Copper Barrs: for on negro woman 30 and for one monello[3] eight yames

Tuesday 12th Feb'y 1677[/8]. This morninge Came one Board of us some Cannowse [canoes] Belonninge to Bandy[4] with negroes but nott any wee did like: from which persons wee had Intelligence of Capt'n Wilkinse[5] your Hon'rs Ship and that he had been gone from thence aboutt two moones and whilst he lay there was enforced to putt his negroes all on shore By reason of fire which appeared to be in his

[3] Governor Atkins was far from being in sympathy with the African Company. On Sept. 16 he wrote that the Guinea Company took upon itself to be governor of Barbados. He was evidently convinced however that he must support the contentions of the company if he wished to retain the favor of the home government for, on Nov. 28, he wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations: "The complaints of the Royal African Company concerning interlopers are no small scandal to him. Account of an action which hath happened which cleared the whole point, by a vessel being brought in by his Majesty's frigate and the case publicly heard in the Court of Admiralty where the Governor presided, and the right of the African Company was fully asserted, which gave satisfaction to the whole Assembly, insomuch that Mr. Sharpe who otherwise is a very honest man, very popular and ingenuous, did before them all acknowledge he had been deceived and was sorry for what he had done, and that he would never more act in it, so hopes that uncertain trade will be given over." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 150, 183.

[67] [1] T 70: 1213. Items regarding the preparation of the cargo of this ship may be found in T 70: 77, for Nov. 8 and 20, 1677, and Feb. 19 and 26, 1678. The *Arthur* had made at least one earlier voyage to Guinea. On June 18, 1677, Thomas Holden wrote to Secretary Williamson from Falmouth: "The 14th came in here the *Arthur* of London in nine weeks from Jamaica laden with sugar for London. She has been twelve months out of England, for she went for Guinea to load negroes, of which she made but an indifferent voyage, many of them dying in their passage." *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1677-1678, p. 199.

[2] New Calabar was west of Old Calabar.

[3] Manello.

[4] Near the mouth of the New Calabar River.

[5] Probably William Wilkins of the *Golden Lyon*. Capt. Amos Wilkins, *Lenox*, was also in the service of the company at this time and had delivered 152 negroes in Barbados in August, 1677. T 70: 77.

forecastell insoemuch that hee was very Likely to have Lost his ship By fire had nott the inhabitants [on] shore been kinde to him and helped him in the quenching of the fire and did honnorably deliver him againe all his negroes

Wednesday 13 February 1677[/8]. The 12th day wee Bought 3 men 3 women as your hon'rs will finde one my Books of Acc'tt and this day we Bo[ought] 14 men and 18 women very good and young negroes with some provisions for them. . . .

Sunday 17th Feby. 1677[/8]. Bo't 10 men 5 women 1 Boy and 3 girles all very likely negroes nott one of them exceedinge 30 years nor one under 14 yeares

Monday 18th Feby 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't 4 men and 4 women havinge noe encouridgm't to By more by Reason of shore Remissniss in Bringing us provitions Doubtinge wee should have more Negroes then wee were Likely to have provitions and soe they to take advantage that did forbarre to Bye sendinge away again severall negroes and keepinge only such as we had minde to.

Wednesday 20th Feb. 1677[/8]. This day we had Cannows from Callabar and wee Bought 6 men 6 women and on Boye but had very Littell provitions from [for ?] them

Thursday 21st Feby 1677[/8]. This day we had severall Cannows on Board of us with Negroes Butt very few provitions wee Bo't 9 men and 11 women which were very stoute negroes indeed Butt nott many yames more then what before this day was promised to Bee Brought: the goods in our hands we kept till such Tyme as they had Brought enough for those negroes we had Bo't of them

Friday Feby 22 1677[/8]. This day we sentt our Boat att Donus to see whatt might be done there, wee findinge negroes to be Brought one Board of us fast enough but were nott free to deale in many fearing lest wee should take in negroes and have noe provitions for them and the Boate returned againe with 1000 yames which they had purchased from severall of those on shore findinge yames very scarce this day, wee Bo't 7 men and 4 Women with some provitions as your hon'r may finde one the Booke of acc'tt.

Sattday 23 Feb 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't butt one Negro woman with some provitions havinge but few Cannows one Board of us and noe choice of Captives

Sunday 24 Feb 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't 11 men 6 women and 3 girles, findinge the negroes to be very good and Likely stout and young negroes did purchase the more Butt those which had nott Brought provitions as wee expected for the passage of those negroes they sould us did detaine and keep in our hands soe much goods as would purchase those provitions and they to Bringe the same the next Cominge one Board. . . .

Munday 25 Feby 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't 6 very Likely men with some provitions more indeed we might have purchased Butt havinge Negroes plentie one Board and the Advantage of Takeinge our Choice did Resolve to take none but such as were very good indeed therefore sentt away againe severall negroes. . . .

Friday 1st March 1677[/8]. This day wee Bought 13 men and 4 women very good negroes with some provitions: wee have some of our seamen sick and doubt we shall Loose some: Butt the Incouragement and hopes of not stayinge Long here is our greatest Comfortt and Trust shall bee Ready to goe from this place in three weeks tyme more our Businiss fully perfected as to our Negroes and provitions. . . .

Sattday 2 March 1677[/8]. This day wee Brought 2 men and 2 women havinge nott many Cannows one Board of us did Forbare to Buy too many expectinge to have as wee did Resolve our Choice of negroes: wee have made Choice of negroes to the Best of our skill and Judgm'tt and as likely negroes as a man should see yett wee finde that some of them doe decay and grow Leane and some are sick they want for no thinge havinge dealy as much provition as they cann make use of neither doe the[y] want for any Comfortt not suffering any man one Board to strike them.

Acctt of what Negroes Dyd every day

Sunday 3 March 1677[/8]. This day wee Bought 5 men and 5 women and some provitions: aboutt 2 in the morning died one of our seamen after 5 days sickness and about 4 in the afternoon died one negro man: have 5 others sick.

Monday 4 March 1677[/8]. This day wee Bought 3 men and 4 women and 7 Girles very Likely Captives wee had some provitions and some oyle for them as will appere pr accontt

Tuesday 5. This day wee Bought 5 men and 5 women wee forgett nott your hon'rs Interests mindeinge if possible to gett most men: if they are any way promisinge Butt as yett wee finde the women generally Better then they men.

Wednesday 6. This day wee Bought 3 men: 1 women with some provitions as pr accompt will appeare very good negroes nott forgettinge your hon'rs orders that none exceed the age of fourteen neither under the age of twelve yeeres as heatherto had Been minded and accordingly Bo't

Fryday 8. This day wee Bought 2 men and 1 woman haveinge nott many Cannows one Board to take greater Choice therfore did

forbare to purchase expectinge more for to Chuse for your hon'rs Better advantage Resolvinge as was befor minded to Buye not any Butt such as might If Life might bee permitted Answer your hon'rs expectation and advantage:

The 7 day aboutt four in the afternoon died one woman. This day as will appeare y're accompt wee did nott purchase any Negroes Butt some provitions for negroes: wee have many sick Captives Butt take the greatest Care wee can to preserve [them].

Sattday 9, March 1677/8. This day wee Bought 8 men and 6 women very Likely Negroes with some provitions—wee had died this day one man and severall others that are sick nottwithstandinge our Care with the Docktors phisick there is nothinge wantinge to them. . . .

Tuesday 12, March 1677/8. This day wee purchased 1 man 4 women and 1 Boy with some provitions as will appeare pr Accontt and att 10 in the forenoon died one man which to our knolidge had nott been sick 12 houres.

Wednsday 13, March 1677/8. This day havinge many Cannows on Board wee Bought 9 men and 8 women with some provitions many others wee might have Bo'tt more but wee had noe Reason findinge many bad negroes and the sickniss of ours one Board did soe much troble us takeing them in very Likely and stout negroes to fall sick in soe short Tyme that wee Littell in Curagm'tt. this day died 1 man and 1 Boy.

Thursday 14, March 1677/8. This day wee Bought 1 man and 1 woman with some provitions wee are nott free to Buy to many all one Tyme our Complem'tt Beinge all most up Butt are very Likely to Loose more here havinge many very sick.

Fryday 15. This day wee havinge many Cannewes on bord and very Likely negroes wee Bought 11 men, 4 women, 2 Boyes and 1 Girle wee had not purchase soe many Butt findeinge them very Likely negroes and haveinge then many sick: . . . died this day one man

Sattday 16. This day wee Bought 3 men and 1 woman with some provitions wee hope to depart this place in few dayes our Complement beinge up: nether intend to purchase one negroe more except more dye to make our full number when wee shall come clare ofe: wee have many sick and doubt will not long live: the reason of ouer Byinge is bye the Loss of Negroes here. . . .

Monday 18. haveing soe many very sick expectinge in few dayes the Loss of some negroes and haveinge very likely Negroes By the side wee Bought 4 men and some provitions: this day died 1 woman.

Tuesday 19. Came down againe Fogo Towne[6] where wee lay two dayes to take in Water.

Wedsday 20. died this day on man and on woman.

Thursday 21. . . . wayd from thence . . . died on man haveing many more very sick. . . .

March, 1678.

Wednsday 27. . . . this day died one man. died of our negroes befor such tyme as wee could gett over the Barr 12 men 6 woman and 1 Boy: have sevarall others sick.[7]

Thursday 28. . . . in the afternoone I causd a muster of the negroes haveing all that were well downe btween deck and soe told them up, on and on, giveinge all tobaco as the came up: and found to bee one Board a life 175 men: 135 women: 9 Boyes: and 10 Girles and nott one Negro more in the shipp; myselfe sarchinge both betwen decks: and likewise the hold: and am very Certaine there was not one Negroe more Bought for I paied the goods my selfe for every Negroe was purchasd this voyage, this day died one man: and 2 women.

Fryday 29. . . . and aboutt 5 of the Clock in the afternoon wee had sight of Farnandy po[8] att the S. E. of us—this day died one woman.

Sattday 30. . . . this day wee had died two men—haveinge att Least 30 more very sick.

Sunday 31. . . . in the morninge died one of our seamen and in the afternoon that day died our docktor w'ch wee did accon'tt a great Lost haveinge 6 white men very sick and many negroes sick: had not been sick passinge three dayes and wee had Been att sea of from the Barr when he died, 5 dayes.[9] this day died one woman and one Girle.

Aprill, 1678.

Munday 1. . . . this day died one man and one woman

Tuesday 2. . . . aboutt two of the Clock in the afternoone wee came up with Cape Stt. Johns[10] itt Lay E. from us aboutt 7 Leagues: this day died two men—wee haveinge many more sick takeinge the greatest Care wee Could for there preservation.

[6] Fokke, near the mouth of the New Calabar River.

[7] From this point on, a tabulated account follows the daily entries and repeats the information contained in them concerning deaths. It is omitted. Including days here omitted, it records the death, besides these, of 34 men, 32 women, 1 boy, and 1 girl, before the ship reached Barbados. The record of the weather and of the passage of the *Arthur* from one place to another have also been omitted.

[8] Fernando Po, an island, not far from the mainland, to the southeast of Calabar.

[9] And the "Docktors mate" died on Apr. 4.

[10] Cape St. John is not far north of the equator.

Munday 8. . . . our negroes fallinge sick very many to our greate Troble Resolved to goe at Cape Lopuse [11] to take some Refreshinge for them there aboutt 4 in the afternoon wee had a fresh gale: this day died one man.

Tuesday 9. This day aboutt 12 in the forenoone wee Came to anchor neare the wateringe place at Cape Lopus. died this day and last night [two women]

Wedsday 10. there was att Cape Lopus when wee Came in a Dutchman, Belonginge to the mine, which had traded upon the Coast 5 months for Teeth, the next day after wee Came in he went away from Cape Lopus this day wee sentt our Boat one shore for water: this day died [one woman]

Thursday 11. This morninge our men went ashore woodinge and some for water, wee had one Board Load of wood this day and 4 Tunn of Water: this day died one man.

Fryday 12. This day wee had 2 Boates Load of wood on Board and some water. wee finde our Negroes to a mend and to be very well Refreshed wee Concludee itt to be By Reson of the Change of the water: this day died one woman.

Sattday 13. Wee are now Cleeninge our ship: in the hold throwinge away the Rotton yames wch are a great many more than wee thought. wee doubt wee shall not have good in the ship 30,000 yames and shall be forced to take in provition here. this day died one woman

Sunday 14. The tyme wee had Been at Cape Lopus wee did accord with some of the Inhabitants there for some provitions for our negroes and they Brought one Board this day green plantins and some Drye one Buffalo w'ch your hon'rs will finde one the Accon'tt Booke.

Munday 15. This day aboutt 2 of the Clock in the morninge wee sett seale from Cape Lopus. . . . wee finde that the negroes are greatly refreshed By the stoping a Littell tyme. this day died one man

Tuesday 16. . . . this day died one man

Fryday 19. . . . in the afternoone wee had sight of Anabo [12] aboutt 8 Leagues distance, this day and Last night died 2 negro men.

Sunday 21. . . . this day died one Negroe man: some more wee have sick and though wee have noe Docktor yett wee doe the Best wee Cann for them giveinge them Brandy and Mallagetta: there is nothinge wantinge to them. this day died one man.

[11] Cape Lopez was a much-used delivery point for slaves carried by the Dutch to the Portuguese São Thomé.

[12] Annobon.

Munday 22. This day the winde nott Blowinge soe Fresh I did Muster the Negroes Causeing all to goe Downe Between decks that were weell and soe counted them up giveinge as they Came up one after one, Beinge all out of sheckells, Tobacco: and found to be alife 155 men 119 women 9 Boyes 9 Girles and noe more, this afternoone died one woman. . . .

May.

Wedsday 1. our negroes are now for the most part in health.

Tuesday 14. . . . this day died one man:—wee finde our negroes provitions to fall shortt By Reason of the many yames w'ch are Rotten.

Wedsday 15. . . . I tooke acco'tt of the Negroes Causeinge all that were well to goe downe Between decks: and soe Countinge the sick alought in the fore Castell and upon deck first: then Causeing the woman to Come up first one after one: and after the men: and I found to bee alife then 144 men: 110 women: 9 Boyes and 9 Girles and noe more, this eveninge about seaven of the Clock died one woman.

Thursday 16. . . . this morninge and Last night died two men: one Boye: god Continue the gale otherwise wee doubt itt will be hard for us all intendinge to give our Negroes white mens provitions if theres should fall shortt w'ch wee doubt as yett wee have nott abated the negroes any thinge of there victialls but have as much as att first.

Sattday 18. . . . this afternoone died one man

Tuesday 21. . . . aboutt 4 of the Clock in the afternoone wee had sight of the Island of Barbadoss, suppossinge too Late to gett in that night wee stood away.

Wednsday 22. The morninge Beinge hasie and darke wee Could not see the Island for two houres after wee stood towards itt wee made seale and seald N. W. and By 12 of the Clock that day wee Anchord in Caleele Bay[13] in Barbadoss: aboutt two houres after wee Came to Anchor; the Commander ordered his Boat to be mand who goes one shore and gives your hon'rs agentts accompt of the ships arrivall: my selfe Continninge one Board: expecting there Worshipps one Board that night.

Thursday 23. This day wee expected your hon'rs Agentts one Board but did not Come. I went into the hold to see what was Left of the Negroes provition and found about 240 yames a few dryed plantaines w'ch was Left of that wee tooke in att Cape Lopus: 18

[13] Carlisle Bay.

stock Fish: 3 parts of a hdd. of Beanes: a very small matter of Mallagetta and about 10 l. of Tobaco: this is that w'ch was Left of there provitions: w'ch was not enough to give them Sattisfacktion three dayes: wherefor your hon'rs Agentts did order partatoes one Board whiles the Remaind there.

Fryday 24. This day I wentt one shore to your hon'rs Agentts and gave there W'rships the Charter p'tt and alsoe an accompt of what Negroes wee Bought what died one the Coast: what in the passage and how many wee Brought into Barbadoss alife: alsoe there worshipps had the sight of the Invoyces with the Declaration and proclamation: there worships intendinge the next day to Bee one Board and Lotte the negroes: w'ch after I had sattisfied there worshipps what they desired I went one Board againe. died one woman.

Sattday 25. This day your hon'r Agentts were one Board and Lotted the Negroes: which beinge done I shewed there Worships my Booke of Accompt and whatt provitions was Left alsoe the Accompt of Teeth purchased and what goods Remayned of the Cargoe shipt one Board by your hon'rs Beinge now in the ship the *Arthur* eight hole Cest of Copper Barrs: and 34 Barrs in a Broken Chest, 26 Iron Barrs 16 Tapseels 10 pentadoss[14] 16 dozen of Knives —this day died one negro man w'ch your hon'rs agentts had the sight of.

Sunday 26. Tuesday Followinge is intended the day for sale of Negroes: I am ordered to Tarry one Board w'ch accodingly doe. this day died one man.

Tuesday 28. This day were many of your hon'rs Negroes sold: the next day Beinge Keept: there were none sold untill Thursday. Wednsday Beinge the 29 May.[15]

Thursday 30. this day the negroes were very thinn upon haveinge nott many Left.

31. The next day Rainy weather were not many Buyers one Board: if itt had Been Fare Weather suppose had sold all the Negroes —there were 23 Left unsold:[16] and the next day Beinge Satterday Mr. man Came on Board By your hon'rs Agentts order and Caused them to be Caryed away. I suppose the[y] were sold: after the negroes were all outt I Left the shipp and went one shore and the 7th of June Came outt of Barbadoss in the shipp the *Edward and*

[14] Pintadoes, printed chintz or calico, from the East Indies.

[15] May 29 was the day on which Charles II. was born in 1630 and on which he returned from his "travels" to London in 1660.

[16] There were apparently 265 living negroes when the sale began. To have disposed of 242 in four days indicates a fairly satisfactory market.

Ann Captn Nathaniell Green Commander: in Company with eleven seale more Bound for England.

Your Hon'rs Sav't

GEO. KINGSTON [17]

68. THOMAS THURLOE TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

GAMBOA, 15th March 1677/8.

. . . The next most considerable place for Trade is within this River of Gamboa for Slaves, Teeth, Wax and Hydes and may yield yearly between 5 and 6000 Slaves, 14 or 15 tuns of Teeth and wax and about 10,000 Hydes, the prices differ according to the persons the Goods are bought of, the dearest rates are those we give to the Portugueze which are 30 Bars for a Slave [2] 18 Barrs per Cent for Teeth 16 for wax and 3 Hydes per b'l. To the natives wee give not so much but agree with them as wee can. But wee buy farr more of the Portugueze than of the Natives. If the Portugueze be kept poore then they will certainly bring their goods to the Islands [3] but if they begin to grow rich then they will stand upon high terms and carry their goods to any Interloper's Strange Ship that comes in unless wee comply with them in every particular therefore this method ought to be used, to lend the best of them soe much and no more as with the proffitt of the goods wee lend them they may pay us againe and just maintaine their families soe that they wilbe allwayes in a necessity of borrowing and consequently only trade for us and not dare to sell what they gett to any strange Ship for fear wee should deny the lending of them. Once a Year (*vizt.*) about the ende of February a Vessell should be sent up the River to buy Slaves and Teeth of Merchants who come to such a particular place about 200 leagues up on purpose to meet with us and the Portugueze where those Comodityes are purchased

[17] This is probably the person to whom the factors refer in a letter of May 6, 1679, though the identification can not be certain, as this signature might be read "Hingston".

[68] [1] T 70: 10, "Abstracts of Letters Rec'd by the Royal African Company of England so far as relate to the Committee of Correspondence. No. 1, March 15, 1677, to Feb. 8, 1682". This volume relates almost entirely to the company's trade. The letters from the plantation agents report the arrival of negro vessels, the numbers carried, the difficulties with interlopers. The agents stationed on the African coast write on the same subjects. For the most part, the abstracts are very rough. The pages of the volume are not numbered. The name is written Thurloes in the letter-book.

[2] The value of an iron bar, the trading medium on much of the African coast, varied so greatly from time to time that any statements concerning it must be made with caution. The estimates range from 2 *s.* to 6 *s.* By a careful study of the ledgers of the Royal African Company, Dr. George F. Zook has compiled a table of average prices of slaves, translated into pounds sterling, which is to appear in a forthcoming work on the Royal African Company, and which will furnish a valuable means of comparing all statements of prices made in the papers here printed.

[3] That is, to James Island, in the Gambia, on which the English fort stood. The English company of 1618 had established a settlement and Capt. Robert Holmes had built or rebuilt a fort in 1663-1664. This was one of the three places on the coast for which the Royal African Company had paid its predecessors £34,000. A plan of the fort as it stood in 1732 is to be found in Astley, II. 171.

at a cheaper rate than here below; and there is itt where wee buy the Country clothes which are very necessary to buy provisions here for wee spend 10 or 1200 every Year:

A third place to Trade in is betweene Cape Verde and this Rivers mouth which yeilds a good quantity of Negroes and Hydes but dearer then here for being an open place the French and Spaniards use it continually which hath raised the price of their Comodities,[4] wee have not used that place because the Dutch had a Factor there; but since their Island hath been taken per the French,[5] I sent thither to see what might be done and In a month or five weeks time bought 26 Negroes and 1400 Hydes, and if Goree were settled per the English, for the Dutch are taken and the French have left it, soe that tis free for the first commer, without wee might have a Considerable trade upon that Coast for it yeilds at best 500 Negroes and 50,000 hydes Yearly.

As for the sending out of Ships hither, it would be convenient to order it soe that none may be here In the raine time for that may prove the overthrow of a Voyage.[6] 4 every Year would be enough (*Vizt.*) 2 for Negroes one to goe from hence at Christmas and the other at the latter end of May, and may both be dispatched from hence, for all the time betweene June and Christmas will be to buy ones Cargoe and from Christmas to June the other. . . . this day I have sent another Ship to that Coast to buy Slaves and Hydes.

69. Thomas Thurloe to the Royal African Company.[1]

28th May 1678.

. . . As to the Trade of these parts I have allready written by the *Friendship* Capt. Anthony Young in which I have given you an Acco't of the trade of this River, Cassamanza, Cacheo, and the Coast of Cape Verde, to which last place the *Convert* hath since made a Voyage, but not answerable to expectation, being hendred in the Trade by 3 Interlopers (*Vizt.*) 2 French and one English or Irishman who gave such accessive rates that wee were not able to doe any good there, and accept some Course be taken to keepe Interlopers offe the Coast there is no thought of a Trade that way. There is at present in this River a Dutch Ship of 450 Tons to buy Teeth, Wax and Hydes belong-

[4] The reference is to Goree, though this trading district also included Rufisque, Portudal, and Joal.

[5] Goree, purchased from the natives by the Dutch in 1617, captured by Captain Holmes in his progress down the West Coast, and recaptured by De Ruyter a few months later, had been taken by the Comte d'Estrées on Nov. 1, 1677. P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870*, p. 59.

[6] The rainy season set in here at the end of May or the beginning of June.

[69] [1] T 70: 10. The name is given as Thurloes in the company's transcript of the letter.

ing to the Dutch West India Compa. and an Englishman by name Capt. Elton for Slaves the Ship belonging to the Duke of Ormond as he reports. If they be suffered to trade here you cannot expect so large returnes as if some meanes were taken to hinder them: I had never any order from the Gamboe Adventurers to seize them nor as Yet from you,[2] therefore desire that you would be pleased to give me full instructions as to that matter and how farr you wilbe pleased and bare me harmless in it. . . .[3]

70. Thomas Clarke and Hugh Elliott to the Royal African Company.[1]

Dated at Orphra in Arda [2] the 17th September 1678.

. . . This goes by the good Ship *Arthur* Capt. Hen. Oake Comand'r. By order of Agent and Councill to be dispatcht from hence 32 Windw'd Negroes She brought with her from Cape Coast, with 378 Slaves we have Shiped ab'd of from hence makes up her full Complem't of 410 Slaves, She is orderd to carrye. She arrived here the 27th Aug'st past.

Some third of the Cargoe that was sent from Cape Corsoe was Long Cloth w'ch is not vendible at present by reason there comes here more than will vend from Cape Corsoe, and besides the Dutch has a greate quantity by him w'ch makes a greate glutt for the present.

Wee were further ordered by Agent and Councill to Send yo'r hon'rs a true Invoice of the Remaines of this Factory by this Ship and to give yo'r Hono'rs acco't of the affairs of yo'r Factory here with an

[2] The Gambia Adventurers, a company subsidiary to the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa, was formed in 1668. Its members were largely members of the older company. For the privilege of exclusive trade with the Senegal-Gambia region it paid the parent company £1000 a year (Zook, pp. 22-23). A letter from the "Committee of the Gambia Stock" to the Earl of Carlisle, Mar. 27, 1678, concerning the amount owed by St. Thomas for negroes, evidently relates to the affairs of this group. The Duke of York desired to press for payment (Sloane MSS. 2724, p. 33). In October of that year the adventurers wound up their affairs, recording in their minutes that they were ready to deliver their goods on James Island, Bence Island, and at Sherbro, amounting in all to £12,527 *9 s. 4 d.*, to the Royal African Company and receive payment. On Dec. 10, "Squire" Bence and Benjamin Hinton were delegated to call the attention of the African Company to the fact that, according to the terms of the lease, the company was to make payment within one month from the date of the appraisement. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 303.

[3] The remainder of this letter was printed in the *Journal of Negro History*, XIII. 290 (July, 1928). It describes the method by which, in Thurloe's opinion, the river trade should be carried on.

[70] [1] T 70: 15, "Abstracts of Letters, 1678-1681"; the list of goods sent by the agents is also to be found in T 70: 20, "Abstracts for the Committee of Goods".

[2] Offra (Orphra) was the residence of the European factors in Ardra. Sieur d'Elbée describes at some length his entertainment by the Prince of Ardra at Offra. Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre-Ferme de l'Amérique*, II. 397-402.

Inventory of w't goods most in request at this Factory w'ch have here inclosed sent yo'r hon'rs and as to the affaires of this Country.

Invoice of goods most in demand at the Royall Companies Factory At Orphra in Arda 17th September 1678.

Red Broad Cloth and fine Scarlett Cloth
Broad White Baftares [3] Ditto narrow
Writt potkeyes / Callicoe Lawnes { all sorts White Callicoes except Long Cloth, All sorts Printed Callicoes or Stony
All Sorts Pintadoes Red Ground the best
All Sorts fine Chints
All Sorts Chercotes
All Sorts Cuttanes [4] Red the best without Stripes or Flowers
Ditto a Sort Stamped in Engl'd with Flowers
Silkes of all Sorts as Sattin and Damaske the Richest the best
All Sorts of beads, white, Greene and Lemon Coller the best well Strung
Rangoes [5] of a deepe Red Coller
Striptt tufted Hollands
Drap'r of all Sorts the Lowest prices
Dammasques of the Cheapest Sorts
Printed Lynens like to Birds eye
Syndall allyars and other Ditto [6]
Cheany Silks
Brandy in Quarter Caske
Fine Hettiaes [7]
Brass pans of all Sorts
Ditto Large to wash their Bodies in
Brass Kettles
Red Corrall in Long Beades
Bouges [8] and Iron the halfe part of the above said Cargoe
Gilded Leather Gold

[3] Bafts, baffetas, or baftas, a cheap cotton fabric which was originally made in the Orient but later was produced by Great Britain for her African market.
[4] Cuttanees, an Indian linen.
[5] Arrangoes.
[6] Holland, a linen cloth; draperies probably refers to woollens in general; sendal is used both for fine linen and for a thin silk.
[7] Sletias.
[8] Bowges or cowrie shells, a generally accepted medium of exchange on the West Coast, and much in demand at Arda, where the favorite payment for slaves was half in cowries, half in European goods.

Accompt of the Remaines of the Royall African Compa. of England—Goods in their Factory of Ophra in Arda Septem 1678.

30	Welsh Plaines [9]	152	Good Long Clothes
7	Carpetts	124	Damnified and rotten
80	Ginghams	100	Barrs Lead
20	Dos. red Scarlett	4410	Manellees
16	Brass Panns	140	l. Sheat Lead
77	Red Perpetanoes	342	Copper Barrs
5	Blew Ditto	210	Pewter Bassons
		3	Iron Bars

71. Thomas Clarke and Hugh Elliott to the Royal African Company.[1]

Ophra in Arda, 20th o'ber 78.

This goes by Capt. Robt. Bell Comand'r of the *Phineas and Margarett* who was Ordred by the Agent and Councill at Cape Corsoe to be dispatched from hence with 500 Negroes 30 of said Number he brought from Cape Corsoe we have with much difficulty [made] up his complement as above and have taken bills of Lading for the same and according to Orders consigned them to Jamaica to Mr. Hender Molesworth Mr. John Ball and Mr. Stephen Gascoigne Your Honors Factors there.

Wee were forced to sell Perpetuanoes w'ch were of a Long Standing by us and some Damnified two for one Slave, Long Cloaths 3 for 2 Slaves, Manalleos 200 a Slave all of them dead goods, When in Request went of one Long Cloth a Slave,[2] one Perpetuanoe a Slave if wee had good goods by us in the Vacancy of a Shipp wee need not to Lower the Prices. There was a necessity for it otherwise the Ship must a gon a way with halfe her Slaves.

72. Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, October 30th, 1678

Since the *Golden Lyon* Wm. Wilkins parted from this Island we had a rumor of sundry Negroes delivered out of that Ship and Sold to Severall of the Inhabitants of this place on which we have made the best inquiry wee could after it and doe find that Severall negroes were Sold and put a Shore out of the Ship how many we cannot discover though tis said 60 or 70, 10 of which were bought by Capt. Toby Freere for which he gave bills of Exc'a to one Mr. James Taggart who it Seems was brooker betweene the Master of the Ship and said Freere this we charged Freere with who confest the Buying the num-

[9] A woollen cloth of the simplest weave, made in western England and Wales.

[71] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] In the margin, "150 Manalleos a Slave."

[72] [1] T 70: 1, p. 1, Letter-Book.

ber of Taggart and that they came out of the Ship but that he neither dealt with the Master or the men or knew any of them. Said Freere also confest he knew 2 more of his Neighbours that bought 8 more of said Taggart and that Major John Hallett bought 24 or 25 of the Master directly and all those the best and choice of the men Negroes which as is said were putt on Shoare out of said Ship to Lewards of this town, after the Master was cleard and in the Night time and there deliverd to Taggart and Hallett of all which wee will use all possible means to make a full discovery and to send the Compa. the best proofe we can gett of it that so the Compa. may gett full reparation for their loss we have also wrot this day these particulars and sent them to Nevis to the Compa. Fact'rs there.[2]

73. Hender Molesworth and John Gauden to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica, Novemb. the 16th, 1678.

Wee had almost forgotten to take notice of the inclosed acco't of Sales of Negroes per the *Prosperous* for neat proceed whereof wee make good to your acco't Curr't £1385.12.9 a very sickly percell as ever came to this Island in soe much that from Fryda. the day of their arrivall to Monda. the day of Sale 14 dyed soe that of 163 brought in made but 149 delivered

[2] On Nov. 12 Gascoigne wrote: "Wee have not bin able as yett to gett a discovery of the Number of Negroes delivered here out of the *Golden Lyon* by Wilkins and his accomplies but one James Taggart confesseth he had of one Steward who had them out of the Ship 29 Negroe men and that himself bought out of said Ship 1 Negroe Woman and that Capt. Shewell comander of the *Noble Katherine* had a Youth out of said Ship, wee hope by the next to make so full a discovery of this matter as to send the Compa. all the particulars upon oath" (T 70: 1, pp. 1-2). On Nov. 30 the factors at Nevis, William Freeman, Henry Carpenter, and Robert Helmes, wrote that the examination of the men on the *Golden Lyon,* which had been conducted in Nevis, had brought forth no information. Stede and Gascoigne, on receipt of this word from Nevis, added: "the Master and men it seems will make noe discovery thereof but deny all nor can wee gett such Testimony upon Oath that those 30 Negroes Taggard owned he bought came out of the Ship he not seeing them come out nor dealing with the Master or any of that Ships Gompany for them but with a third person who had them out of that Ship and is of this Island, soe that Taggard will only sweare he beleeves they might come out of that Ship but not that he knowes it". By Mar. 3 the agents had apparently despaired of learning all the truth and sent over what depositions they had obtained, testifying to the illegal entry of thirty negroes (T 70: 1, pp. 1, 10-11).

The agents here and in a number of subsequent letters are not referring to the interloping trade, but to another of the company's difficulties, the surreptitious carrying of negroes by the captains and officers, as their own private ventures. It was customary to allow a limited number of "privilege slaves" to captain, officers, and the doctor. To carry privately any number beyond this was a violation of the rules. The captain's "privilege" was usually four in every one hundred and four. The letters which follow furnish ample illustration of the company's difficulties with its own servants, as well as with the inhabitants of the West Indies, who were by no means loath to obtain their negroes at a bargain, whether from the Dutch, English private traders, or dishonest officials of the company.

[73] [1] T 70: 15, p. 3. Hender Molesworth, long a factor of the Royal African Company, was acting governor of Jamaica after the death of Governor Lynch in 1684.

74. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, Decemb. the 2d: 1678.

Wee feare the many Negroes so lately imported will be a meanes of makeing the Compa. Slaves by the *Martha* and the *Arthur* not to goe of soe quick as otherwise they would especially the meaner sort of them.[2] they alsoe comeing both together on Sunday the first instant but both the Mast'rs dead. the *Arthur* brought in 329 Negroes of 417 taken in at Arda of which many are small and some weake old and very sickly hath also some Gold for the Compa. which he is not able to tell the quantitye. The *Martha* brought 385 of 447 taken in and are pretty good Slaves but many small ones amongst them. wee shall use all possible endeav'rs to put them off at good price and pay and hope they will not lye long on hand the time of year requiring hands in most Plantacions notwithstanding the supplyes by Interlopers and many people are come out of the Country to buy. The *Martha* hath on board about nine or ten Thousand weight of teeth and a Small percell of Copper and Some of the richest of the outwd Cargoe of Silks. Yesterday also arrived the Compa's Ship called the *Coaster* from Arda. Tho. Girdis formerly Comand'r who dying the Ship is Comanded by Mr. Belladine there being 113 Slaves of 150 taken in at Arda. they are bound to Jamaica whether they shall be dispatched with all possible speed wanting wood and water and some refreshments for the Slaves. . . .[3]

75. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, the 23d Decem. 1678.

. . . Wee formerly acquainted the Compa. wee had used all possible endeavors to seiz the last Interlopers Ship that discharged here and to that end had sent the man of warr Boats to surprise her

[74] [1] T 70: 15; also in T 70: 1, pp. 15-16.

[2] See journal of the *Arthur*, no. 67, *ante*.

[3] For the subsequent history of this vessel, see nos. 77, 78, 86, *post*. A list of bills of exchange is here omitted. The vessels delivering negroes in the West Indies were accustomed to carry sugar to England, but as a cargo of sugar was of less value than the negro cargo it replaced the agents usually returned bills of exchange in addition to the sugar (Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, p. 66), and listed such bills in their letters. These lists are here omitted unless they contain items of special interest.

[75] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 6-8. A similar letter, of the same date, not a duplicate of this appears in T 70: 15; in T 70: 10 is a summary of a letter of this date which reads: "A succession of Interlopers. Notwithstanding all care used. Parris with 180 Negroes . . . Davis 160 Negroes. Another with 200 and odd." The earlier paragraphs of this letter recount the difficulties of the agents over the *Coaster*, which had run away with some of the company's gold.

where she lay at anchor but that she was gon before they came, and as wee were informed for London, but since wee are given to understand that she is gon to Antego and there recommended to Mr. James Vaughan the Deputy Governor (for a good Freight for England) by Coll. Christopher Codrington[2] of this Island who is a great Favourer of Interlopers, and who recd. the Gold, Teeth and Wax also the Negroes out of this last Interloper as wee are told and secured them in his dwelling house, cureing house and boyling house, useing this expression also as wee are told that he would warrant and secure them ag'st the Compa's Factors or any [one] else lett them come with what Authoritie or force they could and yet this man as wee are told is labouring to gett his Maji's mandamus to be made one of the Council of this Island. Wee are also told [*torn*] and his Brother Collo. Drax[3] and Collo. Sharpe bought all the cheife negroes out of the Interloper which as report goes were sold also at very low rates which if true wee presume is done upon a designe of prejudice to the Compa. to enable Collo. Drax and others to be able to aver when they come to England (whither they are speedily bound) that they have bought of the Interlopers, much cheaper than they can of the Compa. (*Viz.*) that the Interlopers sell their choyce Negroes at 14 *l.* per head as 'tis said these did, and their midling and poore Negroes at 8 *l.* per head to the end this may be an argum't for an open trade as they call it—though wee presume the Freightors and owners who ever they be will finde themselves und'r great losses notwithstanding tis said they had good quantity of Gold and teeth and some wax but of these things wee can send the Compa. no proofe as they require from us by severall of their Letters. Wee are getting an informacon of those things some from one and some from another and therefore cannot expect to gett proofe of what wee soe learne by chance as it were though we believe it to be truth.

To give the Compa. an Acco't of transactions in the Voya. and of what private trade hath bin for we discover none but those negroes formerly advised that Capt. Woots pretended he had bought with some Madera wine he had on the Coast being eleven in Novmb'r wherein we since discover your Factor Mr. Holland pretends he was a part concernd but wee having sold them for the Compa. acco't shall leave them to make their application to the Compa. for what favour they shall be pleased to grant them.[4]

[2] Christopher Codrington, collector, had been deputy governor of Barbados in 1669 and 1671, during Willoughby's two absences in England. In 1674 he migrated to Antigua, and in 1688 was made governor of the Leeward Islands.

[3] Col. James Drax, one of the wealthiest of Barbados planters.

[4] From the second letter of this date: "Our Comission on 92 Negroes d'd Capt. Penny for £1380 Ster at 1½ per Cent. } £20. 14. 00

"Our Comission on 66 Negroes d'd Capt. Cosker for £990 Ster at 1½ per Cent. } £14. 17. 00

£35. 11. 0"

76. The Case of the *Golden Sun*.[1]

Whitehall, 24 January, 1679.

Whereas the Commissary of the States Generall of the United Provinces, and of the Dutch West India Company hath this Day represented . . . that one Captain James Browne did in the yeare 1677 piratically take in a Certain Ship called the *Sun* on the Coast of Cartegena neer too hundred negros belonging to the said West India Company, and one Balthazar de rue Inhabitant of Amsterdam, and Landed some of them at Jamaica. That by order of the Governor and Councill there they were to be seized and sold, and the proceed deposited for the use of the Right Owner. That accordingly they were sold, and the Bond of three thousand pounds entered into for restitution thereof as aforesaid. That the said Right having been fully proved to be in the said West India Company etc. It is humbly prayed that the said Bond may be delivered up to their Agent Sir Thomas Modyford.[2]

77. The Factors at Nevis to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis, the 3rd of January, 1678[/9]

We formerly wrote you that we had Laid Stopadge in the hands of those that bought Capt. Wilkinson's Freight Negroes for the wrong done the Compa. for Landing Negroes in Barbadoes,[2] and also had an Arrest ag'st the Master, Since which he hath Petitioned the Generall [3] to have a tryall at a Spetiall Court which was Granted and for want of Evidence from Barbadoes did quitt the Security, we haveing noe Proofe that might be sufficient for us to joyne Issue and when further Proofe comes can then Commence a New Suite. we Suppose twill be 10 weeks before the *Golden Lyon* may saile from hence, She being a Ship of great burthen and the Planters but now begining to Grinde and have yett but little or no Suggars aboard soe that we hope may hear from you before She Sailes hence.

Tis now 3 weeks since here arived Mr. John Bellwood one of your Factors at the Coast from Barbadoes who came from thence in Persuite of the Ship the *Coaster* that touched at the Island for

[76] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 799; see also nos. 79, 89, *post*.

[2] The matter was referred from the Council to its Committee for Trade and Plantations, which reported Feb. 10, 1679 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 328). On Feb. 21 an Order in Council directed that, as soon as proper evidence was produced, the bond entered into by Richard Braine, judge of the admiralty, should be delivered up (*ibid.*, p. 331).

[77] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 8-9. The factors were William Freeman, Henry Carpenter, and Robert Helmes.

[2] This refers to the *Golden Lyon*. The captain's name is given as William Wilkins in the letter of Oct. 30, 1678.

[3] Sir William Stapleton, governor of the Leeward Islands 1672-1686.

Provisions Bound for Jamaica and was there put from her Anchor and left the said Bellwood and 9 more of his men a Shoare. he was in hopes to have mett him here but missing her imediately proceed[ed] to Jamaica where we hope he will find her. And that they on board had no other than honest intentions to the Compa's Interest its a great Disapoyntment to Montseratt where you designed to send her but presume your Orders came to late to Cape Cost for the Agents sending her thither. That Island will now want a Small Ship or two this Yeare as also Antegua another Vessell beside the *Wellcome* that you have ordred thither also this Island hopes for good Supply.[4]

78. Hender Molesworth and John Gauden to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica, 14th Feb'ry 1678[/9].

Wee came to understand (upon the returne of the expresse that wee sent to Blewfeilds) that there were severall Negroes privately sold and conveied a Shoare out of the *Coaster*[2] (to the Number of 44) at her being there w'ch wee have since secured onely one person that bought 10 of them stands it out and resolves to try the property by Law. As for all the rest the Buyers being sufficient men Wee have accepted their becoming D'rs [debtors] unto you Leaving the Negroes in their hands at the prices they Bought them. But this person, not being responsible like the rest Wee had not the same reason to continue them with him and therefore it is that he contends.[3]

You may please to take notice that at the time of the Sales finding soe many Concerned in the Comission Negroes *vizt.* Girdis and

[4] On Feb. 12, 1679, the *Welcome,* John Elliott, arrived at Barbados with 210 negroes from Old Calabar. She was supplied with wood, water, and provisions for her negroes, then sent on to Antigua, where 163 were sold and 47 given to the captain for his freight and commission. Nevis soon after received 171 negroes by the *Charles,* Capt. Andrews: "the worst Parcell that wee have ever seen from the Coast and the quantity being not halfe what we expected" (Mar. 3 and 11, 1679, factors to the company, T 70: 15, and 1, p. 14). The smaller islands were prone to think themselves neglected in favor of Barbados and Jamaica yet their negro population was steadily increasing (Higham, pp. 145, 148):

	Montserrat	*Antigua*	*Nevis*	*St. Christopher*
1672	523	570	1739	904
1678	992	2172	3860	1436

[78] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] Stede and Gascoigne wrote to the company, on Dec. 23, of the *Coaster's* clandestine departure from Barbados.

[3] "As for the 10 Negroes out of the *Coaster* w'ch wee advised were in dispute for the partye concerned upon our repaying him £3 which he had paid the Boatswaine in part for them was contente to decline his pretensions soe wee let Lt. Collo. Scot have them at the same price, they were at first sold unto Snaswell, he having been very diligent and active for us in the discovery of the rest and Seizing and Securing of those by w'ch he thinks himselfe Sufficiently gratifyed for his paines and charge therein and will serve for incouragem't both to him and on [to] others on such like future Occasions." Mar. 8, 1679, Molesworth and Gauden to the company, T 70: 15.

Belwood for buying on the Coast and Girdis and Evans for the delivery, Wee reduced the same into mony for the more easie dividing it, and have only paid Mr. Evans and Belwood their parts the rest being £26. 11. 3 belonging unto Capt. Girdis remaines in our hands for yo'r Order whose chest likewise (sealed up by Mr. Belwood at the time of his decease) continues aboard the *Coaster* and soe will goe home in her We thinking it not prudent for us to remove it.

And you may please to observe by the Acco. of Negroes per Capt. Lowe that my Lord Carlisle is there charged £40 for two Negroes per supposed to be paid here but he having since told us that he intended to pay for them by Bills of exc'a and expected to have them at the Compa's lowest rates £17 per head wee accepted thereof, and therefore it is that wee charge yo'r acco'tt with £136 for 130 *l.* he gives bills for being for the said Negroes out of Captaine Lowe and 6 more out of the *Coaster*—soe doe wee likewise Charge you with the full mony paid him here for w'ch he gives his Bills with deduction of 10 *l.* per Cent w'ch wee think better then any Goods wee can Load from hence whereof wee desire y'or opinion for o'r further Governm't

You have likewise herewith Mr. Bellwoods Bill for the 40 *l.* wee lent him to pay the fr'tt of the Ketch w'ch he hired to follow the *Coaster* at her going away from Barba. for w'ch he refers himselfe unto you.[4]

79. The Case of the *Golden Sun*.[1]

Whitehall. 21 February, 1679.

[The Council approve, and give orders in accordance with the Committee's report in the case of the negroes claimed by the Dutch West India Company, that Lord Vaughan, Governor of Jamaica, had certified the particulars *ut supra*] And that the property which is claimed by the Said Commissary in the said Negros might appear unto us he hath produced the deposition of Nicholas Van Beeck and Marc Broen Directors of the Dutch West India Company, taken at Amsterdam the 24th of November last, declaring that on the 27th of January 1677 Laden at Curasao one hundred and Sixty One Negroes on board the *Golden Sun,* Francis Wier Master, which were all belonging unto the Said West India Company; as alsoe the Depositions of Balthazar De Rue concerning the Lading of thirty Negroes more on board the said Ship, for the use of himselfe and others the freighters. Wee have Likewise seen two originall Instruments of Procuration from the said Directors of the Dutch West

[4] Mar. 8 the factors reported the arrival of Captain Bell with 282 negroes, of which 53 were delivered to him by lot for his freight and 7 for his commission. T 70: 15.

[79] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 806-807; see nos. 76, *ante*, 89, *post*.

India Company and the Said Balthazar de Rue, constituting Sir Thomas Modyford their Lawfull Attorney in all things relating to the Said Negroes. Wee are therefore most humbly of opinion that . . . the Earle of Carlisle or the Commander in Chief of . . . Jamaica for the time being bee required to give Order that [upon production of evidences making out the right of de Rue and the Company in the negroes the bond] entered into by Richard Braine Judge Admirall of Jamaica . . . and others for Restitution of the Said Negroes unto the Right Owners, bee forthwith Delivered up unto the Said Sir Thomas Modyford; all reasonable charges expended upon account of the said Negroes being first satisfyed unto Such to whom the same shall appear to bee Due according to such Regulation and agreement as his Lordshipp shall Direct.

COUNCILL CHAMBER 10th of February 1679.

80. CAPTAIN WILLIAM SMITH AND JONAS LYNCH TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

TACCARADA,[2] March the 10th 1678[/9].

Wee sold and bought since wee came upon the Coast *vizt.* 306 Barres of Iron 3 p's Seayes 15 p's Perpetuanoes 63 l. w'tt of Brasse Kittles 200 Pewter bassions 12 Jugges 46 dooz Knives 97 musquetts 7 p's Sletias 40 p's niconees 142 p's Brawles 2 p's nillias[3] 200 p's Guiny stuffes 108 bunches blue Beads 13 ll. w'tt of Cowreyes 30 halfe firkines of tallow 20 Barr of powder for w'ch wee bought 53 Eleph'ts teeth w'tt 864 ll. and 18 markes Gold with 8 negroe Slaves and Provisions for the Negroes *vizt.* 256 Chests of Corne and 150 l. of Mallagetta. . . .

81. EDWYN STEDE AND STEPHEN GASCOIGNE TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

BARBADOS, 6th May 1679.

Wee send first acco't of sales of Negroes by the *Ruth,* Capt. Pomeroy which as they were few in Numb. so they were very bad Slaves and Sold at meane rates People being fearfull to buy them there having bin so great a mortality among them and these few survivors, were very poore, by reason of the flux they had bin visited with and want of their country provisions and little of any

[80] [1] T 70: 15.
[2] Taccarada or Takoradi, east of Cape Three Points. The Dutch had here a small fort called Fort Witsen. Before 1700 this post had been held by English, Dutch, Brandenburgers, Swedes, and Danes. Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* pp. 17-18.
[3] Nillias, Indian piece goods, of which there were striped and plain varieties. The term Bengalls was also applied to these goods.
[81] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 15-16.

other sort would they eate as Mr. Kingstone informs us;[2] Upon the Ships arrivall we strictly examine[d] Mr. Kingstone concerning private Trade, and if any Negroes were on board that were not the Companys. he averred to us he was confident there was none, notwithstanding which we hyred a boat to watch the Shipp that night, who discovred nothing carried out of the Ship, and, yet we are informed and have very good reasons to believe though wee cannot yett gett it proved upon Oath that 4 Negroes and 16 Eleph'ts teeth were carryed out of the Ship that night Some of the Seamen soe declaring though upon our examining the matter they mince the matter.[3] Wee have also reason to suspect Capt. James in the *Ann* brought 10 Negroes and put them on Shoare privately as the Doctor confessed to me Edwyn Stede upon my charging him here with it though afterwards he fell of from what he said but possible may agine justifie it before the Compa. upon their further examination of the matter.

Mr. Kingstone having used his endeavors to sell what of the Negroes Provisions remained in the *Ruth* and finding no body that would offer any thing for them he hath left sundry species thereof with us.

82. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, 24th May 1679.

Wee are now to give the Compa. an acco'tt at Large of the Pinck *Marigold* from New Callabar. And of the Behauviour of Mr. Lambert Peachy the present Mast'r and M. Fowler the Compa's Factor on board and all that Ships Compa. and Say as we hinted in a former that upon the arrivall of that Ship the Master and Factor came on shoare to us, when we examined them their occasion of touching here having taken in provisions and refreshm'ts sufficient for the Negroes at St. Thomas to carry them to Nevis they replied they wanted a small Anchor which they doubted of being supplied with at Nevis, and so they cam thither having Lost their Anchors in the River of Callabar where they also beliged [bilged] their ship by means of the unskilfullness of the mate who pretended to be Pilott. Wee then stricktley examind Mr. Fowler as to private Trade on board the Ship, who answerd with all confidence and

[2] Another letter of this date is to be found in T 70: 15, which up to this point is identical with this one. The remainder of this paragraph is omitted and instead is given a list of bills of exchange, amounting to £315. 13. 6.

[3] On May 14 the agents wrote that there were sixty more negroes on the *Ruth* than had been reported as belonging to the company; in June they reported that they had examined the seamen of the vessel but found them unwilling to testify lest they lose their wages. Each man interviewed asserted that there were on board more negroes than Kingston had reported but from no one could the factors gain definite and conclusive evidence. T 70: 1, pp. 23-24; Harlow, *Barbados*, p. 324.

[82] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 19-22.

assurance there was not any, nor could be he having taken more than ordinary care to prevent it and farther gave us acco't of the Numb'rs of the dead, which he also averred he saw each dead and throwne over board and that the remainder were only 118 and that there was not a Negroe in the Ship more than that Numb'r on any Acco'tt which was also confirmed by the now Master Lambert Peachey. wee then told the Factor how much it conserned that he should be as Little absent from the Ship as might be especially at Night telling him farther how the Mast'r of the *Golden Lyon* had abused the Compa. By delivering out of that Ship here a considerable Number Negroes (of the best) and that here were a great many people about the Towne who kept boats and went off in the Night time to see what purchase they could gett from any of the Ships Compa. and would if not well watcht tempt out some of the Negroes and therefore charged said Fowler to be extremly Vigilant no such or the Like fraud were put upon him to the prejudice of the Compa. adding farther We conceived it would not be necessaires to put waiters on board the Factor being a Live, besides that the comon sort of people here that were to be hired into that imploye were soe false wee knew not how [to hold] them knowing whilst they tooke pay from us in behalfe of the Compa. they would be made drunk or be bribed to take no notice what was done to the Compa's prejudice. After this upon farther discourse with the Factor and meeting with some indirect answers from him and his Letting fall some indecent discourses and expressions of the Compa. particularly of their severyty to those imployed by them of their slender wages and of the difficulty of getting from them allowance and paym't of any thing disbursed by those in that imploym't or other, enough according to his expression to make any body cheate the Compa. wee began to distrust and surmise he was upon that designe, and there upon did desire to see his Journall his Acco'tt of Negroes bought and those dead which we found exactly according to what he told us before with which the Capt's acco'tt also agreed though the acco'tt of mortallity kept by the Doctor differs his Acco'tt of mortallity being short of theirs [*blank*] Negroes. Wee desired to see a muster of the Negroes the next day as well to know the Number on board as their condicon which was with difficulty obtained, neither Mast'r no[r] Fact'r being on board, but as wee have just cause since to believe were driving their bargains on shoare, for the Negroes they designed to cheat the Compa. of, for upon counting of the Negroes instead of 118 they said only remained of 293 bought in Callabar for the Compa. wee found 180 odd Slaves. wee demanded of the Persons on board who pretended to those supernumerary Negroes and by whom they were bought in. they replied they knew nothing of it how they came in or to whom they belonged

and about 8 at Night Mr. Fowler came to our house (of the same day many hours after wee had made this Discovery) and told us that early in the morning he had mustered the Negroes and had found a considerable Numb'r more than belonged to the Compa.; but told us not what Numb'r wee asked him if he knew not that before; he protested he did not, wee asked him how they came into the Ship and who pretended to them. he averred he knew nothing of it, wee asked him if upon the mustering of them in their voya. he made no discovery of any Negroes more than the Compa's he answered he had not mustered them all the voyage by reason of his great sickness all the way thoug he said he saw all the dead Negroes thrown over board. Wee asked him if he had Lycence from the Compa. for any private adventure on his own acco't and if he had any pretence to to those Negroes. he said noe he was allowed nothing of that Nature by the Compa. Wee asked him if the deceased or present Master had any such Lycence and if any of them pretended to them, he said they had noe Lycence for private trade nor did he know they or either of them pretended to them nor who did. wee asked him since he discoverd this Fraud so early in the morning why he acquainted us not earlier with it and what he and the Capt. had done on Shoare all that day in the Compa. he was in who wee knew to be people that were Likely to deale for any thing they would sell. he said he was coming early in the morn' to tell us of it butt mett with the Mast'r who dissuaded him upon some Slender pretence nor did he know he was obliged to acquaint us with the discovery he had made or wee [had] any pow'r to call him to any such acco. of what frauds he discovered which he had done by Letter to the Compa. (his Instructions only Leading him thereto) and was all was incumbent on him, wee asked him if the Compa. [would] not have thought he had done them good service to have comunicated his discovery to us that wee might have assisted him in preventing the Negroes being carryed out of the Ship and to have seized them for the Compa's use, he answerd noe Nor did he Believe wee could seize them for the Compa. for that by Charter Party if any were brought contrary to it they were to be mulct by the Compa. 20 *l.* per head and not to be seized or medled with by us which with many other insolent expressions and reflections of his on the Compa. and defending and justifieing himself in his honest and prudent care of the Compa's business caused such indignacon in us against his actings, that wee could not but tell him it appeared to us all his actions were knavish and that he deserved severe punishm't, to which he replied he cared not for what wee said or thought: He doubted not but the compa. would be pleased with what he had done and would reward him for his good service and that he had those Friends would bring him

off thus wee parted haveing before sent a Guard to the Ship according to the Letter.

And wee have Just cause by all his actings and proceedings to believe he was a Sharer in this cheate by denying and concealing all from us and being allways actually in Compa. with the Mast'r and those his assistants in bringing the Negroes

Wee omitted to acquaint the Compa. that after wee discovered the supernumerary Negroes on board Capt. Peacheys Ship wee demanded of him to signe a bill of Lading for all the Negroes then on board for to deliver them to the Compa's Agents at Nevis for the Compa's Acco'tt which he possitively denyed saying he was not obliged by Chart'r Party to signe any Bill of Lading for them nor would he on any tearmes.

83. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbadoes, June the 10th, 1679.

With this wee send the Compa. bill of Lading for the Negroes Left on board the *Marigold* that were fitt to be carried to sea *vizt.* One hundred and fifteene w'ch were sent to Nevis their first designed Port soe soone as wee could gett a Vessell to carry them which was the Last of May wee hope they are arrived there in safety and to a good markett they that were sent being very good Slaves. Wee tooke 7 a Shoare w'ch were not fitt to be sent not being able to stand all of w'ch are dead—notwith-standing wee used all possible care to preserve and recover them so that the Compa. may perceive that notwithstanding thee 45 Negroes brought on shoare by the Mast'r and Factor and the mortality w'ch was great among them by reason of their stop here yett at the time of sending there remained 4 more then the Mast'r and factor owned to be on board the Ship in the whole when they came into the Roade. And it doth most certainly appeare to us the great mortality of Negroes that was in that Ship from Callabar hither and here was occasioned by the Ships being crowded and pestred with the supernumerary Negroes taken into that Ship not having Roome to stow or cleane them for wee never saw soe stinking foule and nasty Ship in our Lives.[2] When the Ship came

[83] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] A letter of June 10 (possibly dated June 19), nearly identical with this one, at this point has the following: "but wee presume they stood not much upon that, resolving if soe many remained a Live in the Ship as they pretended to they would have noe Loss, the Living being still theirs and the Dead the Compa's. And as a further testimony of the Fact concurance and Interest in this cheate." This joins what follows without punctuation (T 70: 1, p. 23).

Over one hundred years later, the committee of the Privy Council which was investigating the African trade estimated that the percentage of loss on the Middle Passage, in 1680, was 27 2/3. The figures given in those letters of 1678 examined by the editor fall below that rate, amounting to between 19 and 20 per cent. Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade to Africa (1789), pt. IV., no. 5, app. B, quoted by Higham, *Leeward Islands,* p. 158.

from St. Thomas Wm. Longstone Sailor and some others of the Ship's Compa. (as they told us) in messing them there went to count them w'ch being told to Mr. Fowler he was very angry with them for soe doing and asked what they had to doe to count the Negroes, that was his worke and not theirs and that they had a very uneasie being a board the Ship from thence hither for attempting to tell the Slaves there.[3]

Those 37 which were here seized by us and afterwards were condemned were sold for 400 *l.* to be paid part in 3 mo'ts the rest at Xmas.

The Ship was also appraised at 360 *ls.* Sterling which is now sold for 400 *l.* to be paid some in p'sent the rest at 6 mo'ts

On Thursday the 29th of May Capt. Wm. Smith in the *Blossom* arrived here In about 9 weeks from Cape Corsoe bound for Virginia touching here for wat'r and Refreshments for the Negroes not having touched at the Islands. he brought hither 117 men one Boy and one hundred twenty six women in pretty good Condition. on his arrivall wee searched the Ship and found noe Negroes more then before menconed nor other private trade the Factor Mr. Lynch also assuring us there was none. they saild the 5th Instant Leaving with us coppy of their acco't of disposall of their cargo at Guynie signed by the Master and Factor to be sent the Compa.[4]

This day arrived the *Swallow* Evan Seyes from new Callabar in 9 weeks and in 9 weeks 4 daies from Anibo[5] where he touched for refreshm'ts and came hither for Provisions his Yeams being all rotten. they tooke in at Callabar 179 Neg'rs and Lost 19 of them. wee shall furnish them with all speed with such provisions as this country at present affords and will dispatch them with all speed to their designed port of Virginia.

84. The Factors at Nevis to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis, 15th July 1679.

About 14 days Since H. Carpenter writt you an uncopied Lett'r the Contents of which was to advise you that on the 28th ultimo being Satturday wee had some notice of an Interloper about the Island

[3] The other letter closes with the statement that the master, Peachy, the factor, Fowler, the mate, White, and the gunner, John Hunt, seem to be the only ones on board the *Marigold* concerned in the fraud. On July 12 the agents reported that the mate and captain had offered 59 negroes to an unnamed resident of the island, who refused to buy and reported the offer to the company's factors. T 70: 1, p. 25.

[4] Nathaniel Bradley, one of the Cape Coast factors, wrote on Mar. 29, 1679, that he had loaded the *Blossom* with 270 negroes in 15 days. The captain had apparently lost 26 negroes on the passage. T 70: 15, p. 30.

[5] Annobon.

[84] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 26-27.

the Landing of whose Negroes wee indavord what possible wee could to prevent Placeing men at all Suspicious places of Landing. the Satturday Henry Carpenter spent in riding round the Island to view said Places which that night was secured as well as wee could as allso Sunday and on Sunday night Henry Carpenter with 2 [*torn*] happened to be at the Places where the Ship and Sloop Intended to Land their negroes etc.

the Persons concerned to help the Interloper were one Charles Pym one of the Generalls Councill and also a Capt. in this Island and one John Eddy a Capt. alsoe, Phillip Lee speake[r] of the Assembly: Josf. Tory a Leiv'tt and Richard Cary and Thomas Belchamber which Last the Negroes were consigned to with 10 or 12 more Ordinary fellows which they had gott.

85. Edward Pierce to the Royal African Company.[1]

Bence Island,[2] Aug. 4, 1679.

. . . The Negroe Ship would be most convenient sent out of England in Aprill to be heare in June, may be hired as you think fitt according to the help you send us in men and Sloopes you may guess what negroes wee may be able to send you. Betwixt this place and Rio Noones,[3] I question not if I have help to gett ready by July 120 good slaves, if wee have such assistance that wee can send to the River at Grandby [4] and the Begegres, (besides teeth) you may buy 4 or 500 Slaves Yearly and if your cheif factory for the parts aforementioned were plast at the Idoloas [5] your business would be done with a great deal more ease than it is.[6]

86. The Case of the *Coaster*[1]

Decimo Octavo Septembris Anno Domini 1679

Hugo Wilkins contra navem the *Coaster,* et contra omnes etc.

[85] [1] T 70: 1, p. 33. In the beginning of this letter Pierce, who was the company's agent at Bence Island, asked that 20 or 30 negroes bred in Barbados be sent out to him as company servants.

[2] Bance or Bence Island is the largest of three islands in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. The company had erected a small fort here, which was used chiefly as a storehouse. According to Barbot, the one advantage was its difficulty of access (Barbot, "Description of Guinea", Churchill, *Voyages,* V. 99). The island continued to be a source of slaves for America until the nineteenth century, serving as headquarters for successive traders after the African Company abandoned it in 1728.

[3] Rio Nuñez.

[4] The Rio Grande. "Begegres" probably refers to a region between the Cacheo and the Casamance rivers.

[5] One of the corruptions suffered by the Isles of the Idols.

[6] The company at this time was far from prosperous. On July 14, 1679, John Verney wrote to Sir R. Verney, "Sir Gabriel Roberts [deputy governor of the company] and I went to Windsor about the Royal African Company's business", and on Oct. 30 he commented that the king could not borrow from the African Company, which is "as poor as a courtier". Hist. MSS. Comm., *Seventh Rept.,* pp. 472a, 474a, 476b.

[86] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 119, no. 115. See nos. 77, 78, *ante.*

et contra societatem Regalem Africanam Angliae proprietarios dictae navis pro interesse[?]

CHAPMAN FRANCKLIN [2]

Quo die Francklin nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictae societatis Regalis per viam reconventionis omni meliori modo, nec non ad omnem juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dixit, allegavit et in hiis scriptis in jure proposuit articulatim prout sequitur viz.

1. Impr's. That the said shippe *Coaster* mentioned in the processe of this Cause in the yeares One thousand six hundred seaventy and seaven and one thousand six hundred seaventy and eight, and moneths therein concurreing, and dureing all the voyage in question, wherein the wages in question are demanded was the shippe of the Royall African Company of England, and the said Company were, and are the owners thereof, and soe commonly accounted. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis Spatio etc. Et ponit pars ista communem divisionem, et de quolibet.

2. Item. That within the time mentioned in the next precedent article the said Shippe was by the said Royall Company set out to sea, and imployed in their owne service to goe from this porte of London to Guinia, there to take in Negroes for, and upon the accompt of the said Royall Company, and to carry the same to the Island of the Barbadoes, or to such other places as the said Royall Company, or their agents should appoint, and there to unlade, sell, and dispose of the same for and upon the accompt of the said Royall Company, and afterwards to returne for England where the said voyage was to end, and determine. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item. That the said shippe within the time aforesaid mentioned in the first ar'le of this allegation did arrive at Guinia aforesaid where there were laden, and put aboard the said shippe (at which time Thomas Girbis the master of the said shippe was liveing) for and upon the accompt of the said Royall Company a greate number of negroes, which were transported in the said shippe to the said Island of the Barbadoes where the shippe arrived with the same within the time aforesaid, and more particularly in or about December or January one thousand six hundred seaventy and eight. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item. That the said Thomas Girbis was by the said Royall Company appointed ma'r of the said shippe the voyage in question, and did goe from this port of London in the said shipp as, and

[2] Chapman and Francklin were the advocates of the litigants respectively.

being ma'r thereof, and was master of the said shippe in the s'd voyage untill his death which hapned upon, or about the Coast of Guinia in or about the moneths of August, September, or October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred seaventy and eight. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

5. Item. That the said shippe some moneths after the death of the said Thomas Girbis the Ma'r thereof being arrived at the Barbadoes with the said Negroes before alleadged in her the said Hugh Wilkins after the arrivall of the said shippe there with the said negroes in her which did belong unto, and were the negroes of the said Royall Company did of his owne head without any authority from the said Royall Company, or any of their agents, or factors, take upon him to take and did take out of the said shippe eleaven of the said Negroes, which were then aboard the said shipp which then lay at the Barbadoes, and put, or cause them to be put into a boate, or wherry belonging to the Barbadoes, which hee had procured for that purpose, and did in the said boate, or wherry, carry or cause the said eleaven negroes to be carryed, and put on shoare in Barbadoes, and there hee the said Hugh Wilkins did of his owne head without any authority from the said Royall Company sell, and dispose of, or barter away the said eleaven negroes, and had received monies, or comodities for the same to the value, or sum of twenty pounds (sterling) for every one of the said negroes, one with another, in toto eleaven score pounds, and that hee, [did] and doeth dispose of the same to his owne use, and benefitt, and never gave any accompt thereof to the said Royall Company or any for them. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. et de quolibet alio numero aethiopum etc. et de quibuslibet aliis pecuniarum summis etc. Et ponit ut supra.

6. Item. That every one of the said negroes one with another was the time aforesaid worth the summe, or value of twenty pounds sterling, and soe much was the common and usuall price of a negroe in the Barbadoes the time aforesaid, and soe much negroes were then and there usually sold for. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc., et de qualibet alia pecuniarum summa pro valore etc. Et ponit ut supra.

7. Item. That the said Hugh Wilkins after the time of the arriveall of the said shippe in the Barbadoes the time aforesaid, and after hee had carryed the said eleaven negroes on Shoare as aforesaid, did never returne againe on board the said shippe, but did contrary to his duty desert, and forsake the said shipp at the Barbadoes, and did runne away from the same, and would not, nor did come

home in the said shipp for England, which hee ought to have done, by which meanes the said Royall Company for want of his service in the said shippe were, and are damnified to a great value. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero aethiopum etc. Et ponit ut supra.

8. Item. That after the time of the arriveing of the said shippe at the Barbadoes the time aforesaid, and after the s'd Hugh Wilkins had carryed the said negroes out of the said shippe on shoare at the Barbadoes aforesaid, some of the mariners of the said shippe, whereof Mathew Barker(named in the processe of this cause) whoe is pretended to be the apprentice of the said Hugh Wilkins was one; did contrary to their dutyes (the said Thomas Girbis the Ma'r of the said shipp haveing been dead some moneths before) instead of landing, and putting the other negroes, which were then left in the said shippe, (which were about the number of eighty, or ninety negroes) on shoare at Barbadoes, and deliv'ing the same to the agents, and factors of the said Royall Company there, did runne away with the said shippe and negroes then aboard her to the backe side of the Island of Jamaica, where they kept themselves out of command of the authority and governement of that place, and would have there disposed of the said negroes at their owne will and pleasure, but that one Mr. Molesworth being agent of the said Royall Company or some other the agents of the s'd Royall Company there, hearing thereof did cause a boate, or Shallopp to be manne[d], and there upon brought in the s'd Shippe into a porte in Jamaica contrary to the will of the said shippes company. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero aethiopum etc. Et ponit ut supra.

9. Item. That the said Mathew Barker after the arriveall of the said shippe at Jamaica as aforesaid, did desert the said shippe, and did runne away from the same and did not come home in the said shippe to the great losse, and damage of the said Royall Company. Et ponit ut supra.

10. Item. That the voyage in question was a tradeing voyage, and that the whole, and entire trade of Guinia, especially for negroes, did before, and dureing the voyage, in question, and since belong to the Royall African Company of England, exclusive to any persons of England, and that no mariners which did serve in the said shippe the voyage in question, or which have served, or doe serve in any of the shippes of the said Royall Company to, or for Guinia or Buiny were, or are, or ought to deale, or trade for, or dispose of any negroes whatsoever, nor did, or doe the said Royall Company permit, or give them the said mariners any order, or leave soe to doe, nor had the said Hugh Wilkins any authority to trade for, or buy or dispose of any negroes the voyage in question. Et ponit ut supra.

11. Item Quod praemissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera publica notoria pariter et famosa, atque de et super eisdem laboraverunt et laborant in praesenti publica vox et fama unde factâ fide de jure in hac parte requisitâ petit pars ista proponens jus et justitiam etc.

87. Hender Molesworth and Rowland Powell to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica, Feb. 15, 1679/80.

Wee take notice of y'r reviving of your old order for paying of the Chirugions head mony [2] at delivery of the Negroes.

Wee take notice of the hint you are pleased to give us of the Interlopers [3] who are apt enough to Boast w'thout a Cause but notwithstanding their Bravados there is none of them will put themselves here under the Hazard of Seizing, And if they Sculke only in Creekes and Bayes about the remote parts of the Island, wee [do] not envy them the proffit of the voya. If they gett noe more by any thing else then they shall by their Negroes (when all their returnes are at home) though it be naturall to them to put the best Face upon a bad matter, yet what their Tongues will not confess their purses will feele.

On the 23 ulto. arrived Capt. Nurse from Angola with 490 neg'rs w'ch wee exposed to Sale the 29th Ditto within w'ch time there dyed 20 Soe that wee recd. but 470 and amongst them objected against 20 more as under aged according to what our receipts will mention for which wee allow noe freight here.

And on the 25th Ditto arrived Capt. Andrew Branfill in the *Vine* with 278 from Old Callabar (w'ch wee sould the first Currt. whereof two dying before Sale wee recd. only 276).

The negroes by Nurse were meanly condition'd for besides neer ⅓ boyes and Girles there were a great many Leane and Sickly ones occasioned from the want of Provisions throughout the voyage the Capt. himselfe also having been very ill on the Coast.

[87] [1] T 70: 1, p. 46.

[2] The ships' doctors were paid so much per head for the negroes landed in good condition.

[3] The company not long after this again petitioned for help in upholding its privileges, and on Mar. 9 the Privy Council directed that letters be sent to Barbados, Nevis, and Jamaica, ordering them to observe the company's charter. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 885.

88. Accounts of the *Swallow*, 1679-1681.[1]

London the 23rd March 1679[/80].

Invoice of goods laden abord the "Swallow" Capt. Evan Seys Commander for accompt of the Royall African Company of England Bound for New Callabar their to take in 220 Negroes And consigned unto said Capt. Evan Seys.

												l.	s.	d.
Iron 2000 barrs wt. 25-tons at £15:5:0												381	5	0
Copper barrs. 5 chests														
	barrs	cwt.		qr.		lb.								
44	200	2	:	0	:	06								
45	200	2	:	0	:	07								
46	200	2	:	0	:	06								
47	200	2	:	0	:	08								
48	200	2	:	0	:	07								
	1,000	10	:	1	:	06	at £6:3					63	07	1
Cowries, 3 barrells														
		cwt.		qr.		lb.								
130		2	:	0	:	14	Tare	20						
131		2	:	0	:	04	"	19						
160		2	:	0	:	21	"	22						
		6	:	1	:	11	"	61						
tare				2	:	05								
		5	:	3	:	06	net at £3:7					19	08	10
Beeds, 1 chest														
29	26 bunches white wt. 76 at 13 *d.* £4:02:4													
	17 ditto christall wt. 48 " 15 *d.* £3:00:—											7	02	4
Manelloes 1 bunch black														
		cwt.		qr.		lb.								
5,000 rings wt.		1	:	2	:	25	net at £3:5					5	11	11
For customs and all other charges												7	00	6
1 box 2 scarlett laced coates for presents £5:08:5														
2 white hatts laced £2:05												7	13	5
Negroe Provitions														
1 hhd. and 1 Runlett qt. 76 galls. fine spiritts									£11:10					
6 hhds. beanes									7:05					
1 hhd. flour									3:10					
1 hhd. pease									1:15					
2 puncheons and 1 barrell									6:10					
1 barrell qt. 1 tobacoe									2:19					
1 barrell qt. 7 gross pipes									0:09					
1 hhd. vineger									3:05					
1 hhd. salt									1:02					
2½ stock fish at £6-3 and 1 puncheon beef, £3:5									9:00			47	13	0
												539	2	2

[88] [1] T 70: 911, "Invoice Book, outward, of the Royal African Company, 1680-1681"; T 70: 939, "Invoices Inward, 1680-1681".

NEVIS January 12th 1680[/1].

Accompt of Sales of 71 Negroes Sould out of the Shipp "Swallow" Capt. Evan Says Commander For Accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

		Men	Women	Boys	Girls	lbs. of sugar
Sir W. Stapleton at 3000		4			1	15,000
George Cruff	S			1		2,800
James Walker		4	3	1		26,600
Moses Leavermore 2 at 3800, 1 at 2800		1	1	1		10,400
Edward Parsons		3	1	2		19,200
John Pope	S		0	1		2,800
John Chapman				0	1	2,000
John Williams		1				3,500
Thomas Weekes		1	1	1		9,500
John Syms		2	1			10,800
Humphrey Heywood			2			7,000
Nath. Harris		3	1			14,000
Joseph Crisp		2	7		2	32,200
David Howels		2	2			13,800
Walter Clarke		1				3,500
Hurly Welch			1			3,500
John Wighall		1				3,200
Hurly Jackman			1			1,700
Robert Ellin			1			1,200
Phillip Sullivan		1				1,080
John Jeffries		1				3,500
Edward Harris			1			3,000
Capt. Evan Seys		1				2,560
William Meede		3	6			8,181
		31	29	7	4	199,721
Allowed by the Ma'r for the overplus of his Fr'tt etc.						736
						200,457

Men	31	
Women	29	
Boys	7	
Girls	4	
		36
	71	
	3	104 commission
	16	6 freight
	91	10
	6 dead	
	97	

Note that the 2 boys and 2 girls marked with S the mast'r pretended was his and his mates for which noe Fr'tt or commiss'n was allowed him.

WILL'M FREEMAN
HENRY CARPENTER
ROBERT HELMES

LONDON the 31st March 1681

Nevis. Received from Mr. Henry Carpenter and Company the sum of Two hundred Sixty two pounds in Negroes at Sixteen pounds per head and is in full payment for two thirds parts of Freight of eighty seven Negroes brought to this island in the ship *Swallow* and for which I have given three receipts by this tenour and date.

Dated the 17th day of January 1680[/1].

£262 EVAN SEYS

Received of Mr. Henry Carpenter and Company the sum of Four Pounds and Seven Shillings and is in full for the head money of Eighty seven Negroes brought to this island in the ship *Swallow* Capt. Evan Says commander, For which I have given three Receipts of this tenour and Date. Dated in NEVIS the 18 day of January 1680[/1]. . . .

£4.7 JEREMIAH OXTEA

89. THE CASE OF THE *GOLDEN SUN*.[1]

WHITEHALL, 2 April, 1680.

Wheras it has been represented in behalf of the Dutch West India Company and the executors of Balthazar de Rue concern'd in the Negros seized on board the *Golden Sun* in the year 1677, That Sir Thomas Modiford their late Atturney and Procurator [is dead,] [2] The said West India Company and Executors of Balthazar de Rue humbly desire Charles Modiford Baronet, Hender Molesworth and Francis Hanson Esqrs. being by them appointed to be their Atturneys, and Procurators, His Majesty would be pleased to renew his orders to the Earle of Carlisle or the Comander in Cheif of Jamaica for the time being to the end the said Bond may be delivered up to them and the proceedes of the said negros duely recovered. It is thereupon Ordered in Councill that . . . as soone as the Evidences making out the Right of the said [Company, and Executors] in the said Negros shall be lawfully produced by Sir Charles Modiford, Bart. Francis Hanson and Hender Molesworth, Esqres. or either of them jointly or severally, Then the said Bond entred into by the said Richard Braine, Judge Admirall of Jamaica and others, for restitution of the said Negros unto the Right Owners be forthwith delivered up unto the said Procurators or any of them, all reasonable charges expended upon accompt of the said Negros being first satisfied unto such to whom the same shall appear to be due, according to such Regulation and agreement as his Lordship shall direct. [The Committee]are hereby ordered to signifie unto the Earle of Carlisle or the Comander in cheif of Jamaica for the time being his Majestys pleasure herein.[3]

[89] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 885-886; see also nos. 76, 79, *ante*. On Mar. 26 Peter Hacker, acting for John Wachtendonck, commissary for the United Provinces, petitioned the Lords of Trade and Plantations that the restitution of the loss go forward as if Modyford and Balthazar de la Rue were still living. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 499, 500.

[2] Modyford died in Jamaica in 1679.

[3] On Apr. 8 the Lords of Trade and Plantations communicated to Lord Carlisle the directions of the Council. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 517.

90. Mr. Hoarde to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jam[es] Island, the 22 June 1680.

. . . The 13th May the *Lawrell* Capt. Cha. Plumer Commander came in this River to buy Negroes he being very well acquainted here made a great Stop to the Trade soe that I could not buy a Slave of the Merchants in 13 or 14 days which hath been a greate impediment to the *Converts* Dispatch besides the diffrence that he made betweene the natives and I. After all these wrongs I man'd the *Ann* and went downe and brought her under Comand of the Castle. Then he gave me a Bond of £2000 ster. under his hand and seale to depart in 48 howers after the signeing the said Bond and not to apeare in the River of Gambia or upon the Coast of Guiny in the Space of one whole Yeare. This Bond he hath Forfeited: for he traded in the River 12 or 14 days after against my will and consent Traded and bought Sev'all Neg'rs to your Prejudice . . . The Bond I will send home by Capt. Crow to prosecute the Law against him if you please. . . .

The *Convert* Sailes with 213 Negroe Persons,[2] to keep her upon Demmorage till I have her Complement I thinke it not convenient for now the Raines are come in they fall Sick and dye dayly in 20 dayes time have Lost 80 Negroe Persons; besides having noe prospect of getting the Rest till the *Ann* comes downe the River to Stay for her it is not worth while. She I sent up for 80 dayes to gett the *Margretts* Cargoe. I hope to dispatch her before her time is expired. Now she hath aboard 112 Tunns of Hydes and three or foure Tonns of Teeth and Wax: The Capt. and most of his men are sick beyond hopes of Recovery.

91. The Factors at Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Corsoe Castle, June the 28th, 1680.

Captaine Mingham Received 16 Slaves out of the Sloop *vizt.* ten men and six women.

[90] [1] T 70: 1, p. 58. Hoarde was one of the company's Gambia factors.

[2] Of the arrival of this vessel at Barbados, the agents wrote July 30, 1680: "Now is arrived the *Convert* Capt. Robert Butcher from Gambia who sailed thence the first instance with two hundred and thirteene Negroes and has brought hither One Hundred and eighty Slaves. Some good men amongst them but the Women very bad and as wee conceive many of the men are much the worse for being soe loaded with Irons as they have bin all the Voyage the Captaine saying they are very unruly and once designed to rise and cut him and his People off Soe durst not trust them otherwise he sayeth he Left one of the Companies Shipps there bound directly home and three Interlopers which is all the Accompt he gives us of that Place." T 70: 1, pp. 62-63.

[91] [1] T 70: 15. The agents were Nathaniel Bradley, Henry Spurway, Thomas Spurway, Theo. Pysing, and John Mildmay.

Captaine Mingham being about gitting his Corne of at Amessa and Cormantine[2] having advice that Slaves could not be gott without Sayes and Perpetuanoes he put on board the Sloop 9 Sayes and thirty Perpetuanoes to bring to Cape Corsoe, to help purchase his Slaves (as per the matter of the Sloopes Receipt); but the wind not being faire for the Sloope to come up and extraordinary high Sea Running on Shoare and very strong Weather, She was Within three dayes after forced on shoare from her Anchor and grapnell at Amessa, where she staved all to Peeces which when the Country People saw they came downe with Numbers of Soldiers and tooke away all the goods and forced the Sloopes men overboard and Capt. Minghams men comeing to see if they could save the sloop or goods, except foure markes seven ounces and six angles which one of the Sloopes men saved in his sash and brought up hither which I received.

There was Lost in that Sloope seventy Iron Barrs, forty seven Nicconees narrow, nineteen Brawles, Seventy six Tapseels, two Ginghams, two barrells of Powder, two halfe Firkins of Tallow, forty Pewter basons, foure Pounders, one Damaged Perpetuanoe, and nine sayes and thirty Perpetuanoes of Captaine Minghams and noething of Satisfaction to be gott for them.

What Captaine Mingham brought downe of his Windward and Stáyes Cargoe he put on Shoare here and hath a Receipt for them, and wee have put on board Ninety Caske of Bowges to purchase his Complement which is the only commoditye that wee have that will purchase Slaves at Allampo.[3]

Captaine Seaman hath one hundred and fifty Slaves on board and is takeing in his Corne at Annamaboe and is to have what Slaves they have there, and from hence to goe downe to Acra where in few dayes Question not that Fort and the *Isabella* will supply him with his Complement.

92. The Factors at Nevis to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis, the 16th July 1680.

The 12th of this instant the murther was tryed an Acco'tt of the Proceedings therein you have inclosed as also what elce there passed,[2] In which you will see how wee moved the Court That the Neg'rs That

[2] Amissa and Cormantine were but a short distance east of Cape Coast Castle.

[3] Allampo or Lampi, the region east of the River Volta.

[92] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 53-54. Extracts from this letter are printed, *Cal. St. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 579-580.

[2] The murdered man was James Starky, a former agent of the African Company, who was killed in a riot occasioned by an attempt on the part of the company's agents to seize negroes illegally imported. The agents brought suit against Richard Cary, Thomas Belchamber, and Capt. John Edge for 40 negroes (Admiralty proceedings, July 12, 1680, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 570-571). Higham, *Leeward Islands*, p. 162, gives an account of the attack in which Starky was killed.

wee formerly seazed might be tryed in that Court but was denyed. Capt. Cope Capt. Helmes and Mr. Holbirch [3] will give you a full acco. what therein passed as also about Thornebury an Interloper who came to an anchor 1½ Leag' to windw'd of the Fort the 15th of June and there Rid 4 or 5 da's in Sight of all the Island till he had Landed his Negroes to whome Boats from the Ships and Shoare went to and againe very frequent. the same da. wee waited on The Gen'all and Acquainted him thereof and desired his assistance in seizing The Neg'rs and The Preventing of The Landing of Them According to his Maj'tres Chart: on which he Issued out a warrant directed to The Marshall [4] to Seiz Said Ship and Neg'rs and to bring her under Comand which was told him that Afternoone who Promised to doe it with all speed but insteed Thereof went out of The way and never did it Of which the Gen'all was made acquainted the 16th Day about Sun Sett. They brought from sd. Ship about 180 Neg'rs [5] in a Sloop and Landed Them at Stanley's Bay where wee endeavored to seize them but was Prevented by Mr. Phillip Lee Speaker of The Assembly who first drew his Sword and bid defiance to any that would seize them together with Mr. Rich'd Carry and Thos. Belchamber, Ltt. John Sockwell, John Standley and One O Storman [6] all standing with Their Swords pointing to our Breasts and some with their Pistolls Swearing Bitterly that they would kill that man that would offer to seize a Negroe there notwithstanding they had at that very instant the Gen'alls Order Red to them wherein He comanded all his Comiss'rs Officers to assist us in The Seasing of Those Neg'rs of which they would take no notice but in stead of Obeying the Same They with about 20 Say'lrs and Privateers accompanying them with their Swords Drawne kept us from makeing any Seizure of them saying that they had brought them and would Land them if They died for it and what they did they would maintaine with Their Lives and fortun's of which the next da. wee acquainted the Governor who gave us This Answer That he knew noe Law to punish Them for it but would acquaint The King thereof.[7] Mr. Lambert your Factor on the

[3] The *Calendar* prints this name as "Holbital".
[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 551.
[5] The *Calendar* reads "80".
[6] Austerman.
[7] On July 1 Stapleton had written to the Lords of Trade: "I have the King's orders from Newmarket to seize all interlopers, ships and other goods, and help the agents of the Royal African Company, whose complaint was the reason of the order. I beg your Lordships instructions how to act in cases where there is resistance, or a man defends his own. I am aware that it is my duty to defend the King's perogative, but the law takes hold of any violent act of bloodshed, without which people will not part with that which is their own. I never refuse any warrant for seizure, or assistance when I may safely give it. We have had one man murdered already in one such quarrel, account of the trial enclosed" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 560). On Aug. 25, 1683, the Privy Council prepared for the king's signature an order to Stapleton, informing him that complaints about interlopers continued, and directing him to enquire into the murder of one of the company's agents, undoubtedly meaning Starky. They mention as concerned Charles Pym, John Eddy, Philip Lee, Joseph Jory, Richard Cary, and Robert Belchamber. *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, p. 480.

Geo. and Betty was in Compa. with us and saw all what Passed of which he will give you a full Acco. God sending him well to you.

Thornebury came into This Roade where he now Rides at an anchor The 14th Instant wee have not Yett meddled with him but intend to see what may be done with him as speedily as may be wee wish our Success may be better then hitherto it hath been.[8]

93. Accounts of the *Mary*, 1680-1681.[1]

London the 14th August 1680

Invoice of goods laden on board the "Mary", Capt. Robert Smith Commander For accompt of the Royall African Company of England Bound for Cape Coast Castle and consigned unto the Agent Generall and the Rest of the Councell, vizt.

	£	s.	d.
Iron 32,000 barrs wt. 40 ts. at £14 10	580		
Cowry 50 barrells [details of weight for each barrel given separately, amounting to] 101 cwt. 2 qr. 1 lb. net, at 67 *s.*	340	1	1
Beads 11 chests			
bunches			
36 great white 1. 0. 09			
66 small white 1. 3. 05			
78 Haire collor 1. 0. 12			
30 black 1. 1. 06			
61 small black 1. 3. 04			
85 great white 2. 1. 26			
54 Lemon collor 0. 2. 08			
52 Reds 0. 2. 06			
67 white 1. 3. 05			
13 green transparent 0. 1. 12			
8 lemon collor 0. 0. 06			
87 ditto transparant 0. 2. 07			
57 orange 0. 2. 05			
100 green transparent 0. 3. 12			
25 lemon ditto 0. 1. 03			
64 black 0. 2. 13			
813 [883] bunches 15. 2. 27 net 1763 at 13*d.* [9. 17. 7]	95	09	11
220 orange, 100 Lemon } 320 bunches at 2*s.* 1*d.*	33	06	8
sheets 15 chests [details] total 975 sheets at 2*s.* 8*d.*	130		
spirits 20 whole cases at 10*s.* 8*d.*	10	13	4
Tallow 100 half firkins wt. 23. 2. 27 gross, 3. 3. 05 tare; 19. 3. 22 net at 38*s.*	37	17	11
Powder 75 barrells at 50 *s.*	187	10	0
Sayes 15 Cases [details of quantity in each] total 300 ps. at 44 *s.*	660		

[8] It is evident from the letters of the agents that the difficulties with interlopers had not abated, and the company again appealed to the king for aid. On Sept. 9, 1680, its petition was referred by the Privy Council to a committee for consideration. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 885, II. 8.

[93] [1] T 70: 911. Certain corrections of the figures have been inserted in brackets throughout these accounts.

[*Accounts*—continued:]

		£	s.	d.
Pewter 2 barrells				
30 4 lb. basons	1. 0. 15			
30 3 lb. "				
30 2 lb. "	1. 2. 00			
10 1 lb. "				
100 basons	2. 2. 15 net 295 at 9*d*.	[2	3	3]
Musketts 3 chests				
50				
50				
50				
150 ps. at 8*s*. 6.		63	15	
Knives 1 barrell				
58 doz. best at 34 *d*.	£8. 04. 4			
12 doz. ordinary 20 *d*.	1. 00. 0	9	04	4
Siletias 4 cases [details] 84 ps. at 20 *s*. 8 *d*.		87	16	8
		[86	16	0]
Plains 2 bales				
12 Ells				
8				
20 Ells reds at 24 *s*.		24		
Perpetuanos 5 bales and 1 case [details] 146 ps at 30 *s*.		219		
Linnen 1 case, 12 ps each 20½ yds at 23 *s*.		13	16	
For customs and all other charges[2]		54	10	8
		2558	2	10
		[2547	1	7]

London, the 30th September 1681[3]

Sundry Accts. To the *Mary* Capt. Robert Smith		£	s.	d.
Voyadge in the said Ship				
For freight of 459 negroes delivered att Barbados out of the said ship according to Contract at £5: 15 per head	£2639. 05			
Freight of 45 refuse negroes at £4. 10	202. 10			
6 negroes the Capt. bought with his owne gold at 20 *a* each at £3. 12 per oz.	£27. 00			
Provitions for the negroes	£15. 15. 4	2884	10	4
Gold *oz. a Ta*				
For freight of 652 2 6 2 at 10/p cowry		100		
Charges of merchandise		97	16	0
For passage of 17 passingers	£49. 15. 4			
6 *a* of gold paid to the generall of the mine for gunsmiths tools	1. 08. 6	51	03	10
		£3033	10	2
The *Mary* and owners to Sundry Accompts.				
To voyage in Said Ship				
For goods wanting	£5. 02. 6			
abated on this accompt	8			
Breach of Charter party for 11 negroes Carryed over and above what was laden for the Companies acct.	£220. 0. 0	225	03	2
To Cash paid advance on the passengers and passage	34. 0. 0			
Ditto paid here on acct	1200. 0. 0	1234	00	—
To Ballance		1574	07	
		£3033	10	2

[2] A list of goods for the castle, amounting to £254. 14. 8, follows.

[3] T 70: 962, "Copy book of Accounts of the Royal African Company of England. No. 1, from July 11, 1678 to Dec. 31, 1681".

94. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados the 4th Septemb. 1680.

Upon makeing up the Accompt with Captaine Woodfine for the Freight of those Negroes were brought hither by him there hapned a diffrence between us which could not well be adjusted by us here, And therefore both he in behalfe of himselfe and Owners And wee in our capacity Referred it to the Determination of the Company. It falling out that after wee had divided the Negroes and delivered the Captaine his Freight and Comiss'n Negroes. Dureing the 10 dayes time Reserved by the Compa. for Sales Ten of the Companies Negroes died For which nevertheless he expected Freight—alleadging after the Dividend and delivery of the Negroes each one ought to Stand to their Loss without any Defaulcation or abatement of Freight, he haveing also Lost two or three of his in the ten daies time, But for as much as this case had not happned to be disputed before, wee did not give him allowance of Freight for those Ten Negroes but reffered it to the good pleasure of the Company: As wee doe alsoe his demand of Comission for Fifty Negroes he placed the Factor for and bought on the Coast which not appearing to us wee leave him to make out the Justice of his demand to the Company.

Wee now send four First Bills of Exchange and Three First Receipts *vizt.*

John Sewger and Wm. Johnstowne on Wm. Boulton pay ab. the 12th November	£246.	00.	00
John Farmer on John Bawden Payable at 40 daies Sight	100.	00.	00
Christopher Codrington on Anthony Wallinger att 40 daies	234.	11.	6
Samuel Smart on Nathaniel Bridges payable the 12th November	200.	00.	00
Ralph Gibbons Receipt for head mony of 387 Negroes by Woodfine	19.	07.	00
	£799.	18.	6
Comission on said mony at 7 per ct.	55.	19.	10
Comission on £1170 for 78 Negroes d'd Capt. Woodfine in part of Freight at 1½ per ct.	17.	11.	00
Comission on £465 for 31 Negroes d'd Capt. Butcher in part of Freight at 1½ per ct.	6.	19.	6
	£880.	8.	10

For all which wee pray our Accompt may have Creditt

[94] [1] T 70: 15; the same letter without the accounts is to be found in T 70: 1, p. 64. On Apr. 1, 1680, Governor Atkins sent to William Blathwayt, auditor general, a certificate of negroes received from the company, signed by Stede and Gascoigne. From Dec. 1, 1678, to Dec. 1, 1679, "1425 negroes [were] received and sold to sundry persons for money and sugar at sundry prices", amounting in all to 20,520 *l.* On Jan. 5, 1680, 484 negroes were sold for 7050 *l.* *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 509.

95. Planters of Jamaica to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.[1]

[Jamaica,] November 4, 1680.

. . . 3. The inhabitants beg that the foundation of the patent may be kept, which they conceive was that the (Royal African) Company would improve the trade by fully furnishing and at moderate rates. As to quantity, it is supposed that three or four thousand (negroes) would sell, and every year more and more; as to price, 16 *l.* or 17 *l.* a head for lots in which are no refuse negroes, at six months' credit, which rate the Company cannot in reason find fault with, since many affirm that they seldom cost the Company above half that price, and others if permitted would furnish fully at 14 *l.* a head. If the Company objects that the Island has always had more than it could pay for, then it is truly answered that the Company ruin their own chapmen by selling at such rates and taking 20 per cent. the first six months and 15 per cent. after, so that it is hard for the poor planter ever to pay; and it is well for the Company, if ever paid, that the Island is in their debt; and the Islanders are under no great obligation to the Company for biting and devouring them by such unreasonable and unconscionable dealing. The Company also puts the King to great expense for frigates to protect their trade to the ruin of his customs, trade and navigation, seeing that each negro at work in the colonies produces to His Majesty ten shillings (and most say 15 shillings) per annum custom, or else his master cannot be enabled to pay for him. Governors and captains of ships also are under many difficulties, law-suits, etc., in obeying orders in favour of the Company. Wherefore it is hoped that His Majesty will regulate the negro trade, and instead of giving the Commander-in-Chief instruction in favour of the Company, will order him not to suffer them out of revenge for discovering their abuses to King, kingdom and colonies, to ruin the planters by hastily calling in of their debts seeing that they receive so great interest for forbearance and have hitherto been too hard for other interests.[2]

[95] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 626-627, "Unsigned, Inscribed, Read 4 Nov. 1680".

[2] In a hearing of Nov. 4, 1680, before a committee of the Privy Council at which this paper was presented, the company maintained that Jamaica owed £60,000 for negroes and would owe £50,000 more on the arrival of the cargoes then on the way. The cost of the negroes was £5, plus £4 5*s.* freight, with a 25 per cent. loss for mortality, and a £20,000 annual charge on its forts. Despite its difficulties, the company stood ready to fulfil its obligations, provided the planters would meet theirs (C. O. 391: 3, p. 229; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 625-626). On Nov. 11 the committee recommended that the company send 3000 slaves annually, to be sold at £18, by lot, without reservation, on six months' credit. Montserrat and St. Christopher, which had been complaining of an inadequate supply, were also to be provided with blacks. All this, however, was to be contingent on the payment of the debt to the company (C. O. 391: 3, p. 231; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 629). The next day the Council issued an order in accordance

96. Henry Greenhill to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Corso Castle, Decem. the 7th 1680.

He [Captain Norsworthy] [2] does not scruple the publique owning that any Interlopers came upon the Coast; he would give them better entertainment then your hono'rs Ships and that I am apt to beleeve he would performe because I have heard of many that have been here with whom here hath been such a Correspondence that trading hath been frequently allowed.

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with this report (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 12). On the same day (Nov. 12) a request from Jamaica asked that the chancellor of Jamaica be empowered to stay execution if creditors should take violent measures to collect their debts. The report on this request was unfavorable, as it was believed that such a policy would discourage the Royal African Company. The petitioners were however assured that the company would be urged not to be over hasty in collecting its debts (C. O. 391: 3, pp. 239-241; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 630-631, 638-639).

The efforts of Jamaica planters to relieve their condition did not cease with this petition. The next spring (April, 1681) the Privy Council considered a petition from several of them asking to be allowed to send directly to Angola for a cargo of negroes. At the same time a request from "divers merchants, planters, tradesmen, and seamen", for freedom of trade on the African coast, was presented. The Royal Company was heard, and the petitioners were offered opportunity to subscribe to an increase of £60,000 in the stock of the company. This they declined to do, and the matter of the petition was dismissed (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 19-20). Meanwhile, Governor Atkins wrote that the assembly of Barbados had sent instructions to Colonel Drax, then in London, "to overthrow the patent of the Guinea Company and to that I told them that I could not join them, for that I acted daily by the King's patent, and in that particular by both his patent and express orders as well as your Lordships'. But their hopes went high" (Oct. 26, 1680, Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantation, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 621). In 1689 the subject of the outstanding debts was again a matter of controversy. The council and assembly of Jamaica suggested to the king that if the company had over extended its credit it was because the factors had distributed negroes to their favorites, irrespective of whether they could pay for them. The company retorted that twenty members of the assembly were among the debtors, and that the credit the planters had received amounted to £90,000, of which it would lose one-third by the recent act which decreed that a piece of eight should pass for six shillings (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 106-107).

To the company, its burden of debt, out of all proportion to its reserve strength, threatened its financial security throughout the twenty years which had elapsed since its establishment. To the islands the volume of debt menaced their political security. Planters, hopelessly in debt, felt themselves in the power of the company. "Agents of the African Company carry such a sway here as almost to stop any proceeding, for if a man does not vote as they would wish for a Vestryman or Assemblyman they proceed against him for what he owes them for negroes (most of the planters being in their debt) thus ruining him and his family. Many honest men have met with this usage who would not be biassed against their consciences. By such disloyal actions we are laid open to the attacks of any enemy" (July 2, 1695, Governor Russell to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1693-1696, p. 526).

The petitions of Joshua Brooke and Samuel Nash against the African Company, presented to the House of Commons Dec. 16, 1680, and Jan. 5, 1681, may also have dealt with the question of the company's monopoly. Stock, I. 422.

[96] [1] T 70: 1, p. 99.

[2] Greenhill was a newly arrived agent at Cape Coast Castle, Norsworthy a retiring agent.

97. Certain Considerations relating to the Royal African Company, 1680.[1]

The Design of this Treatise is,

I. To open the Original and Growth of the Guiney Trade.

II. To demonstrate the Utility and Advantages which redounds to the Nation by that Trade.

III. That the same National Advantagious Trade cannot be securely carried on but by a Company and Joint-Stock. . . .

And the late Parliament did allow the same Policy [trade by chartered companies] as appears by an Act, Intitled An Act Declaratory concerning Bankrupts, made in the 14th year of His Majesties Reign, for the encouragement of the East-India and Guiney Companies.[2] And that the Nobility and Gentry might not be discouraged in their Honourable Endeavours of Adventuring their Money in the said Societies, did exempt them from being subject to the Statutes against Bankrupts: And did therein further declare, That by such Undertakings, Navigation was Increased, and the Publique Good of the whole Kingdom very much advanced. And by another Act of the same Parliament made in the [*blank*] year of His Majesties Reign, they thought fit to own the African and East-India Companies by Taxing their Joint-stocks by Name. . . .[3]

Secondly. The Publique Utility and Advantages of the Guiney Trade. For the Utility and Advantages that redound to the Nation by the Guiney Trade: They are such as these.

I. The Exportation of our Native Woollen and other Manufactures in great abundance, most of which were imported formerly out of Holland; but have of late Years (by the present Companies Direction) been Manufactured at home: And for the greater expence thereof, have given express Orders to their Factors at Guiney to undersel all other Nations; whereby the wooll of this Nation is much more consumed and spent then formerly; and many Thousand of the poor People imployed. . . .

[97] [1] *Certain Considerations relating to the Royal African Company of England: in which, the Original Growth, and National Advantages of the Guiney Trade, are Demonstrated: as also that the same Trade cannot be carried on, but by a Company and Joint-Stock* (1680; also in Harleian MSS. 7310, pp. 45-50). No adequate idea of the history of the African trade can be obtained without giving some attention to the pamphlet controversies of the day. At the same time that interlopers of Bristol and the American plantations were violating the company's monopoly, many writers were inveighing against it in print and the company was, almost from the beginning, on the defensive as to the desirability of its chartered right of exclusive trade. *Certain Considerations* presents the company's side of the dispute rather more concisely than do some of the statements of its case. From this time forward anyone who dips into the pamphlet literature of the slave trade is in danger of being submerged, so voluminous does it become. For a list of pertinent pamphlets see a forthcoming volume on the Royal African Company, by Dr. George F. Zook.

[2] 14 Chas. II., c. 24, Pickering, *Statutes at Large,* VIII. 128-129.

[3] Here follows a brief history of the successive African charters, which adds nothing to the account in the introduction.

III. By the Negro Trade the Company yearly, at very reasonable Rates, furnish with vast Numbers of Servants all His Majesties American Plantations, and that upon large Credit and Time given to the Planters for Payment; who at this present owe to the Company more then One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, whereby they are enabled to carry on their Plantations to much greater advantage, which Credit neither ever was, nor probably will be given in like proportion by Private Traders, by which all the Plantations do flourish more then formerly. A great increase is made to His Majesties Revenue, and to the Wealth of this Nation. So that the Riches of that part of the World, (being the result and product of Industry and Labour) is in good Measure Owing to the Royal African Company. Besides that, it hinders the exhausting this Nation of its natural born subjects. . . .

Thirdly. The Guiney Trade lost to this Nation unless carried on by Company and Joynt-Stock.

. . . It comes now in the third place to be demonstrated, that the same great and important advantages must be inevitably lost, unless the Trade be carried on by way of a Company and Joynt-Stock.

First, by long experience it is evident this Trade cannot be carried on but by a constant maintaining of Forts upon the place, and Ships of warre to protect the ships of Trade, and this is occasioned by reason of the Natural perfidiousness of the Natives, who being a Barbarous and heathen people, cannot be obliged by Treaties without being awed by a continuing and permanent Force, And partly because the Dutch, Danes, French, and other Nations, that likewise Trade in the same Country are ever more vigilant for their own profit, frequently instigating the Natives against us, as well as by their own force, to extirpate and destroy the English Commerce there, as the Dutch did the English Factories in the Spice Islands and other parts of India, for want of a Constant force to protect them, which could never since be regained, they attempted the same in Guiney and forceably possest themselves of the Castle of Cormantine. The charge of maintaining this Force doth *Communibus Annis* amount to more than 20,000 *l.* a year in time of peace, and must needs be much more in time of Warre: And it cannot be imagined that private persons who are *ad libitum,* can have either will or ability to defray a standing expence of this Magnitude. Besides it will not onely be impracticable to know what proportion of Tax to lay upon every private Trader or ship upon such occasions, but also it will be uncertain to find whether the Trade will answer the charge to be imposed, because Trading or not Trading, and for what value, will depend meerly upon the will and discretion of such Private Traders; And it

will undoubtedly fall out, that when the charge is highest the Income will be lowest, as in time of Warre, either Native or European, which may be expected, and must be provided against. For when the danger and charge of supporting the Trade is greater then the present profit, those private Traders will desist, and consequently for want of supplyes to defend the Forts, etc. the whole Trade in Guiney must be inevitably lost, and all the English interest there fall into the hands of Enemies. And (to say nothing of the Dishonour and Shame) how great Dammage and Debilitation that would prove to this Kingdom and the Plantations, may be computed by what hath been before said of the Utility and Advantages redounding to this Nation and the Plantations by the Guiney Trade. But in the continuance of the Present Company and Joint-Stock, so great a misfortune can never probably happen, for there is a Stock of at least 150,000 *l.* sterl. constantly engaged, and under the command of the Governours and Committee by common consent of the whole Company to be imployed for the prosecution and necessary Defence of the Trade, a considerable part whereof alwayes remaines in their Forts and Castles for that purpose.

Secondly, (Because Contraries alwayes appear best by Opposition, and the happiest experiences are those which are gained by the Calamities of other Men) It is to be remembered in those times before the Charter of 1662 what Advantages the Dutch took against the private Traders, whose losses as is beforesaid, amounted to no less than 300,000 Pounds, as by their severall Petitions and Complaints to the House of Commons was alledged: and the Trade being then almost lost, great Endeavours were used by His Majesty for the Subscription of a New Stock. The like happened before to the East-India Trade from the Year 53 to 57, upon an open Trade used in those Years; from the Disorders and ill Success of which looseness of Trading, the Powers then in being presently united them into a Company and Joynt Stock again; and since by his Majesties Charter have so continued to this day. And how dangerous it will be to make a second Experiment after the sence of many Palpable Inconveniences and Mischiefs by the First; let the World Judge.

Thirdly, The maintaining of Forts and Ships of War, being of so great charge, and yet so Essential to the defence of the Guiney Trade, the Company cannot be able to defray the charge of the said Forts and Ships, if they may not enjoy the benefit of their Grant with exclusion to others.

Fourthly, . . . an instance of which kind [injury by a private trader] happened not long since upon the Coast of Guiney, when some considerable Natives coming aboard some private Traders Ships, they forthwith caryed them away, and sold them at the Plan-

tations for Slaves; which perfidious action was afterwards revenged upon the Companies innocent Servants and Ships, some of his Majesties good Subjects having been Murder'd upon the same Account, and others kept long on Bondage, and Ruined in the Estates.

Lastly, Our Neighbours of Holland who so much Covet and Solicite Trade, will be glad to see this Inclosure broken down, and a loose and open Trade permitted here to Guiney, as foreseeing that thereby the English (their most formidable and puissant Competitor) must inevitably at last abandon that Trade, and therefore doubtless would be content to purchase the dissolution of the Royal African Company with a greater summe of Money than ever was subscribed to support it. But yet (contrary to the Native Humour and Genius of a Republique) they themselves do oblige their own Subjects to Traffique by way of Company and Joint-stock, to the East-Indies and Guiney, Endowing them with great Immunities, and obliging themselves to assist their Guiney Company with sixteen Ships of War, at the States Expence, upon any Emergency, as well knowing that there is no other secure way of Trading to those parts. The King of Denmark also hath done the like in point of Company and Joint-Stock; And (which perhaps is more Important than all the rest, and ought to make the deepest impression in the Minds of all English Men) the French King, who now Courts Trade beyond all his Predecessors, is Erecting a Company for management of a Guiney Trade by a Joint-Stock with Vast Incouragements and Immunities granted to them, and Exclusion of all other his Subjects.[4] So that if our Forts, Factories, and Trade, be not secured against the Attacks and Invasions of three so Puissant Nations (which, as is effectually demonstrated before, cannot be done but by a Company and Joint Stock) we of England must quickly bid a final Adieu to all future Trading upon the Coast of Guiney.

From all which hath been said, it is hoped it doth plainly appear.

First, That this Trade Incorporated in a Company is, in its Constitution, National.

Secondly, That without Forts and Force by Land and Sea, it cannot be secured to the Kingdom.

Thirdly, That without a Charter Exclusive to all other His Majesties Subjects, upon sufficient Penalties, and a large Joint Stock to support the Charge, those Forts and Forces cannot be maintained.

Fourthly, That not only all the Powers in force in this Nation, whether Legal or Usurped, ever since the Trade of Guiney hath been discover'd, but all European Nations using any considerable Trade thither, have, and still doe unanimously Prosecute the same by a Company and Joint-Stock, Exclusive to all other their Subjects.

[4] See introduction, p. 96.

To Conclude, It is an easie thing to unsettle and destroy a Trade, not without Great Labour, Danger, and Expence acquired, But it will be very difficult to regain it if once lost, especially this of Guiney, which all our Neighbour Nations so earnestly thirst to gain from us, and which if deserted but for one moneth, would certainly be possest Either by the French or Dutch, so as not likely to be regained from them. And therefore it is hoped it will be maturely and seriously considered how great a dammage the loss of this Trade would be to the Kingdom, and how dangerous the unhinging the present Constitution thereof may be.

98. Hender Molesworth and Rowland Powell to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica the 24th January 1680/1.

On the 9th December Capt. Peter Heywood in his Maj'ities Frigate the *Norwich* intercepted a great Interloper by name the *Vyner* M'r Rany with twenty two Gunns and two hundred and twenty Negroes the remaines of six hundred and odd taken in at Guiny and lay off with her in sight of this Harbour until Rowl. Powell whent aboard to make seizure of her in your name.[2]

On the 20th Currant arrived Capt. Edw. Hill from Arda with about 217 Negroes in a very bad condicon, the flux and small Pox having made a great destruction amongst them.

Whilst the Freg'tt continued in Port attending the condemnation and etc. of the *Vyner* there unluckily arrives at the windward part of the Island Capt. Daniell formerly imployed by you and Lands about 250 brave Angola Negroes [3] which were dispersed and secured before we could have any timely notice to prevent it. they are like to make a great Voyage of it having lost but three or four Negroes in their whole Passage from Angola.

A Person of quality (that is your Debtor in noe inconsiderable sume) living near the place where the Negroes Landed, having (as wee are informed) showen them more Countenance then Suites with

[98] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 75-76; an abstract of this letter is to be found in T 70: 10.

[2] Three days later Lieut. Gov. Sir Henry Morgan wrote to the Lords of Trade recounting this seizure and the condemnation of the *Viner*. He added: "Notwithstanding all our vigilance, some interlopers do escape, and landing their negroes, distribute them in the plantations near adjacent and so avoid seizure. One Captain Daniel did this last week, and left only a bare ship to be seized by the Naval Officer, which was done accordingly by virtue of the Act of Navigation" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 6). The *Viner* was appraised at £400, and her 191 negroes at £11 per head, making a total of £2501, besides some gold and ivory. *Cal. Treas. Bk.*, 1681-1685, vol. VII., pt. I., pp. 111, 263.

[3] Up to this time Angola cargoes had not been common in the British plantations. The Portuguese were still drawing most of the negroes for their South American colonies from this region.

our Interest, Wee have declared our resentments against him after such a manner, as by due course of Law must very much endamage him, or reduce him to such termes as wee desire for the future soe as to bind him to us, which will be a President of no small advantage unto our affaires for the time to come.

Captaine Daniell having privately Landed his Gunns and the most valluable materialls of his Ship, comes into the Harbour with her Hull where she is seized by virtue of the Act of navigation and will doubtless be condemned to the King. In the condition she is scarce thought to be worth the charge of Condemnation which makes them thinke of buying her for a tryfle, refitt her and Loade her home, which we take to be the designe of their bringing her in and therefore shall endeavour to disappoint them.

Captaine Hill had twellve Negroes upon a private acco'tt which he acquainted us with as being content to referr himselfe to the Company concerning them which wee tooke into our custody and disposed off them.[4]

99. The Factors at Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, April the 6th, 1681.

In answer to what your Honours are pleased to suggest concerning Capt. Woodfin's Negroes whereof 160 died and no complaint made of their Goodness wee are apt to beleive that had he taken in only 400 there had few miscarried and wee find that the Covetousness of Command'rs Crowding in their Slaves above their proportion for the advantage of Freight is the only reason of the great Loss to the Compa. If your Honours would be pleased to beate them down in their number though you gave them five shillings per head exterordinary Your Honours would be considerable gainers at the yeares end.

[4] In March Morgan wrote: "since the taking of the Privateer, the interlopeing shipps tradeing for Negroes contrary to the Charter of the Roy'll African Company have been too successfull in this Island, Fouer of them haveing in some 14 dayes (dureing His M'ts Frig't being att Sea) landed their Negroes both to windward and Leeward of Port Roy'll whereof the Factors here had not the least notice, whereby to make a timely seizure before their landing them, and dispersing them marked in severall adjacent Plantacons." Mar. 16, 1681, Lieut. Gov. Morgan to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, C. O. 1: 46, no. 112.

[99] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 112-113. The factors were Henry Greenhill, Henry Spurway, and Daniel Bridge.

100. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados the 9th Aprill, 1681.

Wee alsoe send accompt of Sales of two Interlopers *Cock* and *Thomas,* and of thirty Negroes seized in *Pepperell* as alsoe accompt of Intrest for the Yeare 1680.[2]

Wee alsoe herewith send the Company Accompt of Sales of the Serrelion Negroes brought in the *Charles* Captaine Bludworth As alsoe accompt of Sales of Negroes from Gambia brought in the *Samuell* Captaine Booth whoe arrived here the 18th March in about a months time from Gambia bringing 199 Slav's of two hundred and thirteene taken in there, they were as good as any wee Received from that Country.

[100] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] The factors in Barbados were far from satisfied with the support given to the company by the government. On May 30, 1681, they wrote: "We must acquaint the Company that whilst we were selling negroes on board their ships, an interloper arrived at the leeward end of the Island with about a hundred negroes, which were then put on shore without interruption. Nor is it in our power, do what we can, to prevent it without the assistance of the man-of-war, which has not cruized since the arrival of our new Governor. We have addressed ourselves to him on the subject, and he replies that he would willingly give the Company all the assistance that he safely could, but complains of the want of effectual orders to do all he would. We beg the Company's further assistance herein, for without it the interlopers will spoil the trade and do what they please, for they carry their heads very high." Governor Dutton presented his side in a letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, written June 14, 1681: "I am very much pressed by the Agents of the Royal African Company to issue my warrant to the man-of-war that lies here to seize the interlopers that frequently come in, but I tell them that I have no instructions empowering me to do so. When the King gives me such orders, I shall be ready to execute them. All the power that I now have is, when the Company have sold their slaves for time to the inhabitants to see that they have no delay of Justice in obtaining their money according to contract." On July 2, the factors continued their complaint: "We heard with great satisfaction of the capture of the *Vyner,* an interloper, by the *Norwich* frigate in Jamaica. We should have been as satisfied if the *Richmond* had taken some of the many that come here, but for the reason formerly given she has not been ordered out since Sir R. Dutton's arrival. . . . So that we look upon the island as, in effect, without a frigate for more than twelve months, at which the interlopers much rejoice, not caring to have a ship of war here. The *Vyner* did some damage to the *Norwich* when taken, and they bemoan the misfortune that she did not sink the Kings ship by striking her amidships." Conditions seem to the factors no better in the autumn. Their letter of Nov. 9 shows how completely the Barbadian planters were at odds with the company over the question of interlopers, as well as how little the proclamation of 1680 had accomplished. "Unless the King support the Company and discountenance those in places of trust who ought to support his rights, but instead thereof not only are breakers thereof themselves but encourage others, we shall never see the Company established in full enjoyment of its grant. Colonel Henry Drax and Mr. John Peers of the Council of Barbados are such men, and also, as we are informed, Colonel Christopher Codrington, Lieutenant-Colonel John Codrington, and Mr. Samuel Husbands: it would be well if the King displaced them from the honour and trust which they so much abuse. Two interlopers have lately landed their negroes at the usual point to leeward: one carried ninety, the other a hundred and ten. We could not prevent it. No one will help us now the man-of-war is gone. If she were here the Governor would not let her meddle with interlopers without the King's further order." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685 pp. 75, 145-146.

101. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, Apr. 9, 1681.

. . . Wee are apprehensive the Trade that is of Late drove to Maddagascar for negroes which they bring hither may in time be some Inconvenience to the Companies trade. And it is noe small quantities have been imported being between 900 and 1000 that have been brought and sold here in about 2 mo'th time soe that if noe remedy be found they and the Interlop's will give a full supply of negr's to this place. . . .

102. The Factors at Jamaica to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jam'ca the 13th Aug'st 1681.

Wee herewith send you Capt. Lowes Bills upon his Owners for £5848 at 3 Severall times of payment drawne upon Mr. Wm. Fownes; Mr. Ben Miller and Mr. Geo. Margetts being for the vallue of 344 Negroes delivered here according to contract at £17 per head upon w'ch wee doe not drawe any Commission at present expecting what you will be pleased to Order therein according unto what wee humbly hinted in some of our former.[2] Wee alsoe have given him our rec'ts according to Chart p'ty for 362 Negroes quallified according to the Compa's Declaration whereof 18 were his Comission Negroes. And for 108 Neg'rs of an inferiour Sort not quallified according unto Contract. The Fact'r you sent upon him died a little before his arrivall here but by Capt. Bell[3] Wee now send you his Booke wherein he kept the acco'tt of the Cargoe signed by him and Capt. Low according to the usuall method The Copie whereof Capt. Low brings home with him.

103. The Factors at Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle the 28 Sept. 1681.

Wee are Sorry wee must complaine of our late deed trading att Cabo Corse occasioned by the want of goods we wrot your Honours

[101] [1] T 70: 1, p. 88.

[102] [1] T 70: 16. The factors were Molesworth, Powell, and Wathing. Rowland Powell was not only a factor of the Royal Company but had been secretary to Lieut. Gov. Morgan, who a short time before this dismissed him for an unwarranted use of the official seal of the governor. Francis Hanson had drawn an order to intercept interlopers, giving to the company greater power than it had possessed. This order was printed as a proclamation and several copies sent to England, where for a time it seems to have received much attention. See C. O. 1: 46, nos. 146, 147, 148; Sloane MSS. 2724, f. 1, and 2728 B, f. 193; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 56-57, 72-73.

[2] July 12 the agents wrote to Captain Low's cargo of 470: "Wee shall be at a Loss how to charge our Comiss'n on the Negroes wee deliver Capt. Low for if you tye us (for such greate parcells) to the 1½ per Cent. you will breake our Factory." T 70: 16.

[3] Captain Bell had arrived from Ardra late in May, with 321 alive out of a cargo of 500. By the day of sale but 299 were living, and three more died before they could be removed from the ship. June 11, 1681, agents to the company, T 70: 16, p. 4.

[103] [1] T 70: 20. The agents were Henry Greenhill, Henry Spurway, and Walter Stapleton; the letter was for the guidance of the committee on goods.

for and it grived us the more to see our Neighbours att the Mine to thrive soe upon it. Wee are so sensible of the occasion of it and they take great Pride to shew the English how well they are furnished with all sorts of goods and how their ware houses are cramed with Prodigious quantitys.

Wee are willing to turn every Stone and have therefore sent the Pinke wee bought of the Dutch up to Commenda with a cargoe of Goods which will not sell here.

If we have certain Supplys the out Factories will turne to good accompt if not they will prove chargable.

Wee have added a Cattalogue of goods most vendible at this Place which by all opertunityes wee fail not to acquaint your Honours there being some small additions to what was in our last *vizt.* 500 P's Saies, 1500 P's Perpetuanoes (800 of which must be green, 600 blew and 100 red) but not any Printed for they will not sell Lett the collours be what they will, 400 Guynie Stuffs but noe Pamphreawos, 600 Brawles, 5 Callicoe Clouts, 500 one pound Pewt'r Basons, 150 2 lb. Ditto, 150 3 lb. Ditto, 150 4 lb. Ditto, 300 p's Allejars, 100 Ginghams, the Red Stript best, 5000 Sheetes, 600 broad Tapseiles, 300 Narrow ditto, 500 Long Clothes white, 100 half firk's Tallow, 100 Dozen Knives ordinary, 5 p's of Scarlett Broad Cloth, 2 P's red ditto, 2 P's blew Ditto, 4000 blew Pantkaes, 200 Sleties fine, 500 cours Ditto, 100 Herba Longees, 200 red-ground Pintadoes, 200 Boysadoes, 500 broad Niconees, 100 narrow Ditto, fifty white Blanketts, 300 looking glasses of the each one hundred No. 3, 4, 5 with plain Shutters not with brass hinges. Without your Honors are pleased to supply us with severall Arda Cargoes especially good store of Bowges you will unavoidably Lose considerably by those Ships you send to take their Slaves in here upon the Gold Coast what for the greate scarcity of them and the extravagant pizes that are given by the commanders of ships.

104. Henry Carpenter and Robert Helmes to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis the 24th Decemb'r, 1681.

On the 3d Instant in the Evening Capt. Cope in the *George and Betty* arrived in this Road with 415 Negroes most women amongst w'ch was about 40 Children under the Age of 8 Yeares to our best Judgment w'ch wee told him was contrary to his Charter Party whoe answered that they could not buy soe many men and women w'thout that numb'r of Children but wee b[e]leive something else in it w'ch wee hope in Little time to discover. . . .

[104] [1] T 70: 16.

He hath Remaining of his Cargo these follow Goods:[2] 7 doz'n knives, 2½ yds. Scarlett, 10 hangers, 4 Musketts, 7 pr. Sissers, 3 Doz'n Looking Glasses, 2 Cham Potts, 3 doz'n and 2 Padlocks.

On the 5th Inst. Capt. Branfill arrived in the Road and brought 310 Neg'rs most women amongst w'ch was very few Gold Coast he taking in but 77 there and 193 Att Alampo and he was forst [forced] to goe to Arda to make up his complement w'ch he did there.[3]

105. Henry Carpenter and Robert Helmes to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis the 29th May 1682.

This goes via Bristoll and serves only to advise you that on Wednesday the 16th Instant Capt. Penny in the *Unity* arrived in this Road with 232 Negroes w'ch wee Imediately mustered. Hee took in at Angola but 250 pretending that his Cargoe would Purchase noe more. he hath Left of his Cargoes severall Perpetuanes, and barrells of Gunpowder and other Goods to the value of £300 as he saith. On the 20th day wee delivered to

Capt. Jourey and Compa. according to Contract	216	Negroes
To Capt. Penny for his Com'on	9	
Tooke on shoare not qualified according to Contract	7	
	232	

The 7 tooke on shoare being 6 boyes and one Girle wee have sold for 6960 *l.* Sugar the Contractors Factors haveing not sold above 70 of theires. Wee have had noe adv'e abt. the Delivery of this Shipp of Negroes then ever wee had before. By Capt. Kennedy intend (God willing) to send you Bills of Exchange for those Negroes and 2 Bills for Capt. Lawrence his alsoe.

106. The Capture of the *Providence*, 1682.[1]

This Journall Begun att Deptfoard the 23d of July 1680: aboard his Maj'ties Katch Capt. Chris. Billopp Command'r.

June 5th, 1682. Aboute 7 this morning the Gueney Compeneyes Agent[2] Came to mee: and desired mee to come to Sayle and bring in

[2] That is, of the cargo which was to have been traded for slaves.

[3] John Mildmay, the factor at Ardra, had assured the company that he could despatch five hundred negroes every five weeks, and that it was to its advantage to take as many as possible from this post, since the duties and charges for water were the same whether the ship carried 50 or 500 blacks. The number of arrivals in the West Indies from Ardra suggests that his advice had been heeded. Oct. 13, 1680, Mildmay to the company, T 70: 1, p. 87.

[105] [1] T 70: 16.

[106] [1] P. R. O., Admiralty Papers, Captains' Logs, 289, pt. IX. The ketch was the *Deptford*, with which Captain Billop was patrolling the Leeward Islands.

[2] Henry Carpenter, one of the factors of the Royal African Company at Nevis.

an interloper that is standing to and fro before the Rode aboute 8 Mr. Carpenter brings mee the Generalls[3] order. betwixt 9 and 10 before nonne come up with hir: She kepeing hir topsayles [aloft ?] I Comanded a gun to be fired a tharte hir fore fout to bringe downe hir topsayles. She giveing noe obedience I Calld to the Master to come a bord and give accompt what hee was and from whence hee came with his Shipp. Nantor [Nanton] answerd mee you are pyratts and Rouges: and I will nott Stir out of my Shipp: upon w'ch I tould him there was them abord that knew us well Enough: him Selfe fired a greatt Goone with a Shott which came a Lettell before the Ketches maine mast over hir: upon w'ch I tould Nantoe that hee deserved Death For fiering att the Kinge's Collors: hee answeared that aney Rouge mite put a broade the King's Collours: and hee would not beleve ous: I bed them beware of bringing themselves into a Forder predickment: and if they would Submitt quiettly they should have all there Cloth's and wages and privatt adventures: But the Comander Nantor being upon the poupe and all his men in a Row towards the head of the Shipp all armed hee asked them, if they would Stand by him they answered all they would Dye before they would part with the Shipp. in a bravadoe the Comander threw his hatt forwards and Clapt his hand upon his breast, Saying as Longe as this hartte is with in mee I will nott parte with my Shipp. in A Lettell tyme affter wee Lad the Shipp *Providince* aboard the Comander of hir or the next man to him Fierd a greatt gune Intending to Strick our maine Mast: For w'ch Cause my Selfe with 4 or 5 More Enterd the Shipp: The Compeney discharged there Small Armis and wounded two of the Ketche's men: I perserving my Intention got up to the Maine Mast and arrested the Shipp in the Kings Name: Comanding there Submession with their aid and assistance. . . . Dewering all this transaction the Shipp Shewd noe Collers after they had Submitted wee Loused from the Shipp and Stoud in for pallmatoe poynt but could not fetch itt Soe anekerd in the ould Roade St. Xpofers:[4] there was killed and wounded 46 Neagroes. . . .

June 10th. The *Providince* was tryd and Condemd as an Enterloper.

June 13th. The Generall Eshewed forth his Comission to 4 to Compell mee and all the Ketche's Compeney to give in Evidence. I Refused with out the Generall was present: for w'ch hee Confind mee and threatnd to Clapt Irons upon mee and Send the Ketch home

[3] Sir William Stapleton, governor. Stapleton's first account of this seizure, sent to Blathwayt on June 7, though very brief, agreed in the main with this record. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 243.

[4] St. Christopher.

without mee: to Complye I gave accompt of whatt I knew: himselfe Comanded mee to Send all my pepell a Shoare to doe the Lyke. . . .[5]

June 15th. My mate, Boatswaine and 2 Mid Shipp men and one Seaman was Comitted to Close Preson because they would not Sweare as they would have them: one of them Shott through the Shoulder: att the Same tyme, the Enterlopers men had there Leberty to goe where they pleased. Every man of them guellty of Morder and treason:

June 19. This day George Nantor Comm'r of the *Providence* had there tryall: The Courte and Jurey being more there Frinds then the Kings Clerd them: the Ketche's Carpent'r being a Wittnease for the Kinge was Carryed to Preson from quortt. . . .

July 1. The Generall Sent his Marshall with a warrant for mee to appeare before him and his Deputy Govern'rs to answear the Complant of the Bench and Juerey for affronting them in quort att Nanters tryall. I Emediattley went wher the Generall and his Deputy Govern'rs was: To know his plesuer. hee tould mee hee would not meddell with that besnesse nor acquett mee till tusday att quortt and if I did nott give him very good Sattisfaction hee would make mee an Exampell with maney other threatings and abussef Languesh.

July 6. . . . the Generall Sent one of his Marshalls men a bord for mee to Come to quort: I being very Sick and Ell writt to the Generall: not being Sattisfied: Sends his Marshall of with a warr't to bringe mee a Shoare: A Second tyme hee Sends his Marshall a bord to Forse mee a Shoare: and Corpall Burt with a Comession to my gunner to take the Comand of the Ketch, my Offercers and Compeney being Loth to Lett mee goe out of the Ketch and declared they would not goe home under aney Comand'r but hee that brought them out with out itt were the Kings Pleasur whoe plased him over ous: by perswaseon's they went with out mee. Sum friends from Shoare Sende mee word I was Rewend it if I came a Shoare the Generall had Sworne as Soone as hee gott mee hee would Clapt mee in Iron's and Send the Ketch away with out mee. Capt. Elley Robenson Came a bord and tould mee hee had heard the Generall Discorse to the Lyk perpose, not 3 owers past. the gunn'r perserved how all pepell Stoud Effected and Dissired to bee Excused of the charge and the Com'r to mee upon my desire: By Friends I was advised to make the best of my waye home and depend upon the Kings Marcey Rather

[5] On June 18 Governor Stapleton communicated to the Lords of Trade the other side of this story. Billop, instead of remaining at Nevis and preparing the necessary affidavits for the governor, had sailed for St. Christopher, and remained there five days in order to prevent the discovery of the fact that he and his men had seized goods and negroes from the *Providence*. "Of two hundred and fifteen negroes imported hither Billop and his men have conveyed away all but eighty-four of the worst and twelve infected with small-pox, besides eight or nine killed." With this letter went an abstract of depositions taken June 12. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 252.

than throw my Selfe into the hands of my thristing Enemeyes whoe were wholeley Resolved to Rewen mee.[6]

July 7. Before day this morning gott the Ketch under Sayle Sent to the Generall to desire his Letters for England I would Stay for them till 12 att night: none came. I bore away Resouling to trust to Mercey att home.[7]

Sept. 8. The Corte Marshall was helld for trying of mee the Corte Clerd mee of all Complants Relateing to the *Providience* Enterloper, for breach of orders Confinde mee Dewering his Maj'ties Pleasure.[8]

Errors Excipted

CHRIS BILLOPP.

107. SIR THOMAS LYNCH TO THE LORDS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.[1]

JAMAICA, Sept. 29, 1682.

. . . A fortnight ago came one Don Gaspar de Montesdoco from Havana to buy negroes. He wants one hundred and fifty, but will hardly get so many, unless of runaways or men not worth the keeping. . . .

[6] The commissioners appointed to enquire into the embezzlement of goods on board the *Providence* reported that all the teeth, copper, redwood, and wax were missing and about half of the 215 negroes. Captain Billop admitted taking some goods but denied having taken the negroes. Other witnesses contradicted this (July 6, 1682, report of Commissioners with list of deponents, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 262-264). On the same day that this report was made the governor and council wrote to the Lords of Trade that Captain Billop was one of the worst men they had ever seen in the king's service. *Ibid.*

[7] "He [Billop] feigned to be unable to come ashore and kept us all night in town though he was as well as any of us. . . . The Marshal, at Colonel Burt's request, took Billop's word to appear next day, but in the night he got out of command. Though the ship is still in sight . . . ." (July 7, 1682, Stapleton to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 264). Stapleton was especially anxious to have Billop returned to Nevis for trial, since he had so insolently flouted the authorities of the island. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

[8] The Lords of Trade requested that Billop be held until further information came from Stapleton (Sept. 12, Journal, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 292-293). On Sept. 25, having received communications from Nevis, they called Billop before them, and, ignoring the fact that he had been cleared by court-martial, asked the attorney general what legal steps could be taken to recover the negroes. They were advised that the proceedings of the court-martial should be set aside and the case referred to the admiralty court at Nevis. On his side Billop was not idle, but petitioned the king that the negroes from the *Providence* which Sir William Stapleton had taken from him be restored (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 299, 303, 311, 357). To this the law officers replied that he had no claim whatever to the negroes (*ibid.*, p. 441). A part of these negroes were carried to New York and sold. Here their owners, John Bawden and Thomas Temple, of London, brought suit against Captain Billop and were awarded judgment. *Ibid.*, p. 441.

[107] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 301-302. Sir Thomas Lynch, appointed to succeed the Earl of Carlisle as governor of Jamaica, had arrived in the island in the summer of 1682, for his second service in that capacity, with instructions admonishing him to protect the Royal African Company in its interests and also to see that it carried out the terms of the Order in Council of November, 1680, by supplying Jamaica with 3000 slaves yearly, at £18, on six months' credit. Sept. 8, 1681, *ibid.*, p. 114.

Three days ago Don Josepe d'Ollo came here from Porto Bello. He left his *barco luengo* at Tuana, a leeward port twenty-five leagues from Port Royal, and came here in a sloop, being told that one Spurre, an English pirate, with sixty men, was on the coast. He brought me two letters from the Governor of Panama, which I enclose.[2] I expect to hear that the Governor of Carthagena will send a like message to me, the reason being that it is difficult and dangerous to go to Curaçao.[3] The Assiento has been interrupted, the Assientistas not having paid the King the contract, which is one thousand rials a ton. These Governors have seized two thousand negroes, but Don Josepe says they have compounded in Spain, and that the Assiento will be set on foot again. The chief men therein are certain Dutch merchants of Cadiz. Be this as it may, if we had negroes, the convenience of our ports that lie north and south of Carthagena and Portobello would certainly draw all the trade they may have with strangers to us, and possibly my presence here would not discourage them.[4] But it is hopeless to think of a sufficient supply for such a trade when our own planters are so in want of slaves that the last ship had more buyers than negroes.[5] In this way our best trade and our fairest hopes are like to be lost. I shall do all that I can to keep them, in the hope that the Royal African Company may have time to supply us fully. I fear that you may be offended at a judgment delivered here about that Company's patent.[6] I should have prevented it, had I been able, by remov-

[2] Enclosure: "The Governor of Panama to Sir Thomas Lynch. I am appointed Governor of this province, and have received an order from the King, my master, to agree for two hundred negroes in some of the Windward Islands which are friends to this Crown. Having always found friendship with the English in the Canary Islands, where I was born, I send Don Joseph de Ollo, fully accredited, to you to purchase these negroes. Signed, Don Pedro de Porette. Translation." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 302.

[3] On Nov. 6 Lynch wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins that he understood that the Dutch had 2000 negroes at Curaçao which they had been holding seven or eight months for the Spaniards. Meanwhile, the governors of Panama and Havana, believing that the assiento had been broken off, were sending to Jamaica for negroes (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 319-320). This was the period of the contract of Don Juan Barroso and Nicolas Porcio. Barroso had bargained for negroes with Dutch, English, and French, but the Dutch alone carried out the bargain. Barroso's death threw the affairs of the assiento into confusion, from which Porcio was unable to rescue them. Scelle, I. 632.

[4] Lynch had during his earlier administration of Jamaica (1672) written to Arlington that he had hoped to foster a trade with the Spaniards but that he found them cautious. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 335; Beer, *The Old Colonial System*, I. 360.

[5] "I think the Company has imported about fifteen hundred since I came, which were sold for ready money in a day; and many men that had money went away without any slaves." Aug. 29, 1682, Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 286.

[6] This probably refers to the case about which Lynch wrote on Aug. 29, 1682: "The Royal African Company's factors would not seize [the ship] because they have a great trial going forward this sessions and most people judge that they will be cast. I fear judges and jury will not allow seizure after the negroes are landed and marked, and the property has changed hands. I have done and shall do my best to serve the Company, but if the interlopers cannot be brought into the Admiralty-Court nothing more can be done here than in England or Barbados." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 286.

ing the cause to England, but both parties, Englishmanlike, were positive. The Chief Justice has reported the case to Mr. Blathwayt. If the Act about negroes "choque" them I can get the Assembly to quash it, but I fancy that it would be better for the Acts to stand, and so think their factors. . . .[7]

108. The Voyage of the Sieur le Maire, 1682.[1]

On donne en échange à ces Négres, de la toile, du cotton, du Cuivre, de l'étain, du fer, de l'eau-de-vie, et quelques bagatelles de verre. Le profit qu'on tire de ce commerce est de huit cent pour cent. Les Cuirs, l'Yvoire, la Gomme se portent en France, et quant aux Esclaves, on les envoye aux Iles Françoises de l'Amerique, pour travailler au Sucre.

On en a des meilleurs à dix francs piece, et on les revend plus de cent écus. Pour quatre ou cinq pots d'Eau devie, souvent on aura un assez bon Esclave; ainsi la dépence est moins dans l'achat, que dans le transport, à cause des grandes dépences des Vaisseaux (p. 72). . . .

Mais si le Prince est perfide,[2] ses Sujets ne le sont pas moins, car ils se vendent l'un l'autre, sans égard au dégrez du sang, ensorte que le Pere vendra son Fils, et le Fils son Pere et sa Mere, quand le cas y échoit, Ils prennent pretexte d'engager ceux qu'ils veulent vendre à les aider à porter quelque chose à l'Habitation, et quand ils y sont, ils les livrent à quiconque en veut, lors qu'ils n'entendent pas la langue.

Voicy à cette occasion une avanture arrivée il y a quelque temps, qui verifie ce que je dis. Un de ces miserables forma le dessein de vendre son Fils: Celuy-cy s'en apperçut, et dissimulant la chose,

[7] The reference is probably to the law fixing the price of negroes at £18 per head and making the planters "judge in their own cause as to what negroes are merchantable". The company petitioned to the king against this act on Jan. 12, 1683. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 370.

[108] [1] J. J. le Maire, *Les Voyages du Sieur le Maire aux Iles Canaries, Cap Verd, Sénégal, et Gambie, sous Monsieur Dancourt, Directeur Général de la Compagnie Roiale d'Affrique* (Paris, 1695). An English translation was published in London in 1696; Astley prints an abstract of the voyage, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 248-254. Dancourt was sent out by Colbert's second Company of the Senegal, established in 1681. Le Maire was a surgeon in the employ of the company. They sailed on the *St. Catherine* from France, Apr. 12, 1682, and reached Goree on May 20. Here Dancourt established his headquarters, then visited the French trading posts in the region. In this journey he arrived at the island of St. Louis in the mouth of the Senegal, about which Le Maire is writing, on Dec. 13. The English looked with hostile eyes at the French attempt to restore the company and re-establish its trade. "The French, in 1681, attempted to engross the Trade on the Western Coast of Africa. They suffer none to trade at Arguin; and by their Forts at the mouth of the Sanaga, and at Goree, pretend to an exclusive Right to four hundred Miles of Coast: At the same Time they carry on a Trade in the Gambra, in Sight of the British Fort; and at Anamaboo, on the Gold-Coast, within View of Cape Corse, or Cape Coast, where heretofore they were never permitted to slave." Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 161, from *The Importance of the African Company* (1744), p. 24.

[2] Le Maire has been setting forth the iniquities of the native prince of the Senegal country.

comme il entendoit le François, pendant que son Pere etoit alle quelque part, il fut au Magazin, déclara qu'il avoit un Esclave en traite et convient du prix, le livre et le vend; cet Esclave étoit le Pere, qui voyant qu'on luy mettoit les fers aux pieds, se tourmente, dit que l'autre est son Fils, celuy-cy le nie, et le marché eut lieu.

Ce crime ne demeura pas long-temps impuni; car le Fils retournant chez luy avec sa marchandise, rencontra un Grand Seigneur qui luy enleve tout ce qu'il a, le fait Esclave, et le vend à l'habitation (pp. 81-82). . . .

109. John Barbot's Description of Guinea.[1]

Goods for Trade. Besides those mentioned above,[2] which are the most staple commodities, the French import common red, blue, and scarlet cloth, silver and brass rings, or bracelets, chains, little bells, false crystal, ordinary and coarse hats; Dutch pointed knives, pewter dishes, silk sashes, with false gold and silver fringes; blue serges; French paper, steels to strike fire; English sayes; Roan linnen, salamporis, platillies,[3] blue callicoes, taffaties, chints, Cawris or shells, by the French called Bouges, coarse north red cords called Bure, lines, shoes, fustian, red worsted caps, worsted fringe of all colours, worsted of all colours in skeins, basons of several sizes, brass kettles, yellow amber, maccatons, that is, beads of two sorts, pieces of eight of the old stamp, some silver pieces of 28 sols value, either plain or gilt;

[109] [1] "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea, and of Ethiopia Inferior, vulgarly Angola, being a new and accurate Account of the Western Maritime Countries of Africa", by John Barbot, agent-general of the Royal Company of Africa and Islands of America, at Paris, in Awnsham and John Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), V. 1-420. Churchill's was the first printing of the account, which is also in abbreviated form to be found in Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, III. 1-668. John Barbot was an employee of the French African companies of 1675 and 1681, and between 1678 and 1682 made at least two voyages to the West Coast and America. His "Description", written in French and translated into English by the author himself after some years of residence in England or frequent visits there, was written in 1682, but considerable additional matter was incorporated before Churchill's publication in 1732. The journal from which much of his account is taken begins Oct. 22, 1678, the day on which he sailed from Rochelle. British Museum, Add. MSS. 28788 is a short account, in French, of some of Barbot's African adventures. The first section of his narrative, from which these extracts are taken, deals with what he calls "Northern Guinea", that is, the Senegambia region. After describing trade in general, and the slave trade in particular for this region, he pursues the same order for other regions, interspersing his generalities with many references to his own experiences. The topic words printed by Churchill in the margin have here been omitted.

[2] Barbot, in the pages that precede this, has given an account of African trade in general, and of the French trade in particular. The French held two places of some strength, St. Louis and Goree. In addition to these, they traded by means of small factories or lodges at Rufisque, Camina (?), Joal, and on the Gambia, and by sloops which they sent up the Senegal. They claimed the exclusive trade of the Senegal and of the coast between the Senegal and the Gambia. Barbot repeats in this list of imports all the commodities which he has previously mentioned. His lists of French, Dutch, Portuguese, and English trading goods make possible some comparison of the products of these nations.

[3] Salempore, a blue cotton cloth, made in India, and used in large quantities in the West Indies; platilla, a white linen, made in Silesia for the American market. The name was apparently of Spanish origin.

Dutch cutlaces, strait and bow'd, clouts, galet, martosdes, two other sorts of beads, of which the Blacks make necklaces for women, white sugar, musket balls, iron nails, shot, white and red frize, looking-glasses in gilt and plain frames, cloves, cinnamon, scissors, needles, coarse thread of sundry colours, but chiefly red, yellow, and white, copper bars of a pound weight, ferrit;[4] mens shirts, coarse and fine, some of them with bone-lace about the neck, breast and sleeves; Haerlem cloths; Coasveld linnen; Dutch mugs white and blue; Leyden rugs, or blankets; Spanish leather shoes, brass trumpets, round padlocks, glass bottles, with a tin rim at the mouth, empty trunks, or chests, and a sort of bugle called Pezant;[5] but above all, as was said above, great quantities of brandy, and iron in bars. Particularly at Goeree, the company imports ten thousand or more every year, of those which are made in the province of Brittany, all short and thin, which is called in London narrow flat iron, or half flat iron of Sweden; but each bar shortned, or cut off at one end to about 16 or 18 inches, so that about eighty of these bars weigh a ton, or twenty hundred weight English. It is to be observ'd, that such voyage-iron, as called in London, is the only sort and size used throughout all Nigritia, Guinea, and West-Ethiopia, in the way of trade.[6] Lastly, a good quantity of Coignac brandy, both in hogsheads and rundlets, single and double, the double being eight, the single four gallons.

The principal goods the French have in return for these commodities from the Moors and Blacks, are slaves, gold-dust, elephants teeth, bees-wax, dry and green hides, gum-arabick, ostrich feathers, and several other odd things. . . .

These people [7] no way differ from the Foules; and there the French have built a small fort, mounted with eight guns, at a place called Gallem, or Galama, 120 leagues higher up the country than the Terrier-rouge, of which I shall speak in its place. There they buy slaves in considerable numbers . . . which they convey down to their factory every year. . . .

On the rivers a Morsil and des Maringuins, at Mambrin, on the north-side of the Senega, and at Lametor, or Brak, on the south-side of the same, the French purchase a considerable number of slaves . . . The country of little Brak affords them slaves. . . .

[4] Probably meaning a copper alloy, copper ferrite.

[5] Bugles were small glass beads made in Venice and sold in strings and clusters.

[6] At Goree a slave was purchased for from twelve to sixteen iron bars; at Portudal from eighteen to twenty bars were paid. Churchill, V. 44.

[7] Barbot is describing a people called by him Fargots, from a country adjacent to the Senegal River, two hundred and fifty leagues from St. Louis. The Fulas were described by all visitors to the Senegal region as skilled farmers and herdmen. They were in no one spot, but scattered through every country between the Senegal and the Gambia. In appearance they were tawny rather than black, with aquiline noses and small mouths. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal*, p. 78.

At the villages of Bozaert, or Bozar, and Caye, near the factory they have slaves (pp. 44-47). . . .

Slaves. Those sold by the Blacks are for the most part prisoners of war, taken either in fight, or pursuit, or in the incursions they make into their enemies territories; others stolen away by their own countrymen; and some there are, who will sell their own children, kindred, or neighbours. This has been often seen, and to compass it, they desire the person they intend to sell, to help them in carrying something to the factory by way of trade, and when there, the person so deluded, not understanding the language, is sold and deliver'd up as a slave, notwithstanding all his resistance, and exclaiming against the treachery. I was told of one, who design'd to sell his own son, after that manner; but he understanding French, dissembled for a while, and then contriv'd it so cunningly as to persuade the French, that the old man was his slave, and not his father, by which means he deliver'd him up into captivity; and thus made good the Italian Proverb, *A furbo furbo e mezzo*; amounting to as much as, Set a thief to catch a thief, or Diamond cuts Diamond. However, it happened soon after, that the fellow was met by some of the principal Blacks of the country, as he was returning home from the factory, with the goods he had receiv'd for the sale of his father, all which they took away, and order'd him to be sold for a slave.

The kings are so absolute, that upon any slight pretence of offences committed by their subjects, they order them to be sold for slaves, without regard to rank, or possession. Thus a Marabout, or Priest, as I believe, was sold to me at Goeree, by the Alcaide of Rio Fresco, by special order of king Damel, for some misdemeanors. I took notice, that this Priest was above two months aboard the ship, before he would speak one word; but I shall say more of him in another place.

Abundance of little Blacks of both sexes are also stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the roads, or in the woods; or else in the Cougans, or corn-fields, at the time of the year, when their parents keep them there all day, to scare away the devouring small birds, that come to feed on the millet, in swarms, as has been said above.

In times of dearth and famine, abundance of those people will sell themselves, for a maintenance, and to prevent starving. When I first arriv'd at Goeree, in December, 1681, I could have bought a great number, at very easy rates, if I could have found provisions to subsist them; so great was the dearth then, in that part of Nigritia.

To conclude, some slaves are also brought to these Blacks, from very remote inland countries, by way of trade, and sold for things of very inconsiderable value; but these slaves are generally poor and weak, by reason of the barbarous usage they have had in traveling

so far, being continually beaten, and almost famish'd; so inhuman are the Blacks to one another (pp. 47-48). . . .

This fort [James] is a quadrangle or square, built with lime and stone, and has four bastions, lined with good brickwork; and in the outworks, three, as it were, redoubts in the form of horseshoes, with batteries along the palisadoes from one to another; and within the fort, spacious buildings, storehouses, magazines, a cistern for fresh water, a powder-room, and sixty or seventy pieces of cannon mounted, besides several others dismounted. . . . This is the next best fortification to Cape Coast Castle, of all that are to be found, on either the north or south coasts of Guinea, having under its jurisdiction several factories on the respective branches of that river, as being the head settlement of the royal African company of England, and the chief magazine for trade, managed by a governour or agent, with several factors under him. One of these factories is at Gilofre, on the north side of the river, opposite to the fort.

The French company of Senega have another factory at Albreda, a little village at some distance westerly from Gilofre, both of them belonging to the king of Bar, and this is under the direction of the agent at Goeree.

The factors of the English company at James-Fort, and those of the French at Albreda and other places, drive a very great trade in that country, all along the river, in brigantines, sloops, and canoes; purchasing elephant's teeth or ivory, bees-wax, slaves, pagnos or clouts, hides, gold, etc. . . .[8]

The French having an inconsiderable trade here, in comparison of the English, who are almost as good as masters of the river, they send all they can get in exchange from the Blacks in brigantines to Goeree, where they have their chief fort and magazines; for it is very rare they have any ships coming into the river, during the war with England, because of Fort-James, which commands all the river, and for fear of meeting the English company's ships: besides, that they have been often insulted by the natives in their factory at Albreda, that being only a thatch'd house, of little or no defence, and their goods pillag'd; the king of Bar having always been more favourable to the English, in all likelihood because they have so good a fort, and a good garrison in James island, so near him, and consequently may soon revenge any wrong offer'd to the company's people by the natives.

The Dutch had formerly a considerable trade at Gambia; but since the taking of the island Goeree from them by the French, in the year 1678, (as has been mentioned above, speaking of the river

[8] There follows a long list of the commodities given in exchange for these articles, very similar to that on pp. 282-283, with the addition of salt.

Senega) they have lost all their interest in these parts of Africa, and all manner of trade whatsoever; unless now and then some interlopers of that nation will run the hazard of being seiz'd, and their ships and goods confiscated by the English agent, or the commanders of the royal African company's ships following that trade.

As for the Portuguese trade here, they drive it far up, by cross rivers from Cacheo to Gambia; very few of their ships coming directly to the great river, for fear of being seiz'd by the English and French, who now claim the sole privilege of trade in this place, exclusive of all other Europeans (pp. 74-75). . . .

In former times, the Lisbon merchants drove a great and profitable trade in the rivers Rha and Gambia; but at present, they have in a manner settled it at Cachau, or Cacheo, on the river of St. Dominick, contenting themselves with sending now and then some barks or brigantines to Rha, up the inland waters, to purchase slaves for Spanish wine, brandy, oil, dry fruit of Spain, iron, the best commodity, fine linnen, thread, and gold and silver laces, cloth, damasks, needles, thread, silk, haberdashery of several sorts, and such stuffs as are proper for Gamboa (pp. 81-82). . . .

A Description of South Guinea. The road at Anamabo is generally full of English ships, or those of other nations, anchoring there to trade, or else for corn or other necessaries; but more especially for slaves, which are sometimes to be had in considerable numbers: and there are great quantities of corn for the ships that have bought slaves at other places along the coast, or at Fida, Calbary,[9] Rio Real, etc. This great concourse of ships to Anamabo, very much obstructs the company's trade with the natives, whom, as I observ'd above, the English factors dare not in the least contradict; but are rather obliged to bear with them, and sometimes so infested, that they are close confined to the castle, without daring to stir abroad. Nay, if the Blacks dislike the English chief factor, they send him away in a canoe to cape Corso, or oblige him to pay a heavy fine.

The great wealth of the Fantineans[10] makes them so proud and haughty, that an European trading there must stand bare to them.

The maiz or Indian wheat sells there by the chest, at one Akier[11] of gold. The chest contains about three bushels. When there is a great demand or scarcity, it rises to two and three Akiers. In plentiful years and times of peace, it has been sold for ten, and even for eight Takoes of gold, which is not three shillings English (p. 177). . . .

[9] Whydah and Calabar.

[10] The people of Fantyn, one of the eleven Gold Coast countries mentioned by William Bosman, *Description of Guinea*, p. 4. All writers agree as to the character of these natives.

[11] An accy was about five shillings.

I have already observed, that all the above-mentioned places of Acron and Augwina are well seated for trade, when they are not at war with their neighbours; for when they are, there is little gold and few slaves to be had. The Acra Blacks come down to this coast to trade, when they hear there are ships riding, that have a well sorted cargo, of such goods as they have occasion for, *viz.* sayes, old sheets, coesvelt linnen, bugles, iron and brandy. A good slave sells there, as at all other trading places on the Gold-Coast westward, at the rate of one Benda of gold, which is two ounces (p. 181).[12] . . .

In time of war, it [Accra] furnishes so great a number of slaves, that it amounts to, at least, as many as are sold all along the rest of the coast. This country is continually in war with some of the neighbouring nations, which are very populous, and from whom they take very many prisoners, most of whom, they sell to the Europeans. The slaves are commonly purchased for coesvelt linen, slyziger, lywat, sheets, sayes, perpetuanas, firelocks, powder, brandy, bugles, knives, top-sails, nicannees, and other goods, according to the times. The natives carry those commodities to Abonee market, which is four leagues beyond Great Acra northward, for the Accanez people, who resort thither three times a week; as do other Blacks from the country of Abonee, Aquamboe, and Aquimera, who all buy those goods of the Acra men, at such rates as they think fit to put upon them, the king refusing to permit those strangers to go down themselves to the European warehouses on the coast; for which reason, those Blacks pay often double the value for what they buy. The king has there an overseer, who has the power to set the price on all goods, between buyer and seller. This general overseer is assisted by several officers to act for him, where he cannot be present himself. Those employments are much sought after there, as being both honourable and advantageous; because, both the king's and their perquisites are very considerable (p. 184). . . .

The king and chief Blacks of Acra were, in my time, very rich in slaves and gold, through the vast trade the natives drove with the Europeans on the coast, and the neighbouring nations up the country. . . .[13]

The French, English, and Portuguese ships ply most at this coast [Ningo], to purchase slaves and provisions. Notwithstanding the great numbers of slaves I have mentioned to be transported from these parts, it sometimes happens, when the inland country is at peace, that there are none at all; as it happen'd to me in the year 1682, when having lain three days before Lay,[14] I could not get one, nor was

[12] An ounce of gold was about £4 sterling.

[13] According to Barbot, their wars with their enemies, the Aquamboes, had ruined their country by 1681.

[14] Laye, east of the mouth of the Volta River.

there any likelihood of it at that time, as the abovementioned Black Santi told me; and yet, but two months before my arrival there, one of the men of war of our little squadron got three hundred slaves in a very short time, which shows that the trade is very uncertain (pp. 185-186). . . .

The merchants and factors on that coast [Gold Coast] pay for the commodities they buy, not only in gold, but in slaves, which they call by the Portuguese name Cativos, carrying two, three, or more aboard together in a canoe. Sometimes they in that manner carry great numbers of slaves aboard, at other times fewer, according as they happen to be at peace or war with their neighbours. In the year 1682, I could get but very few, because there was at that time almost a general peace among the Blacks along the coast; and consequently they were two or three pieces of eight a man dearer than at my former voyage. I shall have occasion to speak more particularly of slaves, consider'd as a peculiar commodity (p. 261). . . .

The trade of slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men, and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of Blacks.[15]

These slaves are severely and barbarously treated by their masters, who subsist them poorly, and beat them inhumanly, as may be seen by the scabs and wounds on the bodies of many of them when sold to us. They scarce allow them the least rag to cover their nakedness, which they also take off from them when sold to Europeans; and they always go bare-headed. The wives and children of slaves, are also slaves to the master under whom they are married; and when dead, they never bury them, but cast out the bodies into some by place, to be devoured by birds, or beasts of prey.

This barbarous usage of those unfortunate wretches, makes it appear, that the fate of such as are bought, and transported from the coast to America, or other parts of the world, by Europeans, is less deplorable, than that of those who end their days in their native country; for aboard ships all possible care is taken to preserve and subsist them for the interest of the owners, and when sold in America, the same motive ought to prevail with their masters to use them well, that they may live the longer, and do them more service. Not to mention the inestimable advantage they may reap, of becoming christians, and saving their souls, if they make a true use of their condition. . . .[16]

The Gold Coast, in times of war between the inland nations, and those nearer the sea, will furnish great numbers of slaves of all sexes

[15] The paragraphs which precede this describe the methods by which Gold Coast natives are enslaved, repeating much of the subject matter of pp. 284-285.

[16] The section omitted deals with the duty of white owners to Christianize their negroes.

and ages; sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another, as has been already observed, according to the nature of the war, and the situation of the countries between which it is waged. I remember, to this purpose, that in the year 1681, an English interloper at Commendo got three hundred good slaves, almost for nothing besides the trouble of receiving them at the beach in his boats, as the Commendo men brought them from the field of battle, having obtained a victory over a neighbouring nation, and taken a great number of prisoners.[17]

At other times slaves are so scarce there, that in 1682, I could get but eight from one end of the coast to the other; not only because we were a great number of trading ships on the coast at the same time, but by reason the natives were every where at peace. At another time, I had two hundred slaves at Acra only, in a fortnight or three weeks time; and the upper coast men, understanding I had those slaves aboard, came down to redeem them, giving me two for one, of such as I understood were their near relations, who had been stolen away by inland Blacks, brought down to Acra, and sold to us.

I also remember, that I once, among my several runs along that coast, happened to have aboard a whole family, man, wife, three young boys, and a girl, bought one after another, at several places; and cannot but observe here, what mighty satisfaction those poor creatures expressed to be so come together again, tho' in bondage. For several days successively they could not forbear shedding tears of joy, and continually embracing and caressing one another; which moving me to compassion, I ordered they should be better treated aboard than commonly we can afford to do it, where there are four or five hundred in a ship; and at Martinico, I sold them all together to a considerable planter, at a cheaper rate than I might have expected, had they been disposed of severally; being informed of that gentleman's good-nature, and having taken his word, that he would use that family as well as their circumstances would permit, and settle them in some part by themselves.

I have elsewhere spoke of the manner of valuing and rating the slaves among the Blacks, and shall conclude this chapter, which proves to be one of the longest, with an odd remark; which is, That many of those slaves we transport from Guinea to America are prepossessed with the opinion, that they are carried like sheep to the slaughter, and that the Europeans are fond of their flesh; which notion so far prevails with some, as to make them fall into a deep melancholy and despair, and to refuse all sustenance, tho' never so much compelled and even beaten to oblige them to take some nourishment: notwithstanding all which, they will starve to death; whereof I have had

[17] Barbot has already recounted this; see Churchill, V. 155-156.

several instances in my own slaves both aboard and at Guadalupe. And tho' I must say I am naturally compassionate, yet have I been necessitated sometimes to cause the teeth of those wretches to be broken, because they would not open their mouths, or be prevailed upon by any intreaties to feed themselves; and thus have forced some sustenance into their throats.

At the end of the supplement to this description, may be seen how I ordered the slaves to be used, and managed, in our passage from the coast to the West-Indies; which if it were well observed by other Europeans following that trade, would certainly save the lives of many thousands of those poor wretches, every year, and render the voyages much more advantageous to the owners and adventurers; it being known by a long course of experience that the English particularly every year lose great numbers in the passage, and some ships two, three, and even four hundred out of five hundred shipped in Guinea (pp. 270-272). . . .

European Goods for Guinea. As to the different sorts of goods the Europeans generally carry thither for trade; each nation commonly supplies the coast, as much as is convenient, with such as their respective countries afford; and what they want at home for well assorting their cargo, they buy in other parts of Europe. For instance,

The French commonly carry more brandy, wine, iron, paper, firelocks, etc. than the English and Dutch can do, those commodities being cheaper in France; as, on the other hand, they supply the Guinea trade with greater quantities of linen cloth, bugles, copper basons, and kettles, wrought pewter, gun-powder, sayes, perpetuanas, chints, cawris, old sheets, etc. than the French; because they must get these wares from England or Holland.

The French commonly compose their cargo for the Gold Coast trade, to purchase slaves and gold-dust; of brandy mostly, white and red wine, ros solis, firelocks, muskets, flints, iron in bars, white and black contecarbe, red frize, looking-glasses, fine coral, sarsaparilla, bugles of sundry sorts and colours, and glass beads, powder, sheets, tobacco, taffeties, and many other sorts of silks wrought, as brocardels, velvets, etc. shirts, black-hats, linen, paper, laces of many sorts, beads, shot, lead, musket-balls, flints, callicoes, serges, stuffs, etc. besides the others goods for a true assortment, which they have commonly from Holland.

The Dutch have Coesveld linen, sleysiger lywat, old sheets, Leyden serges, dyed indigo-blue, perpetuanas, green, blue, and purple: Konings-Kleederen, annabas,[18] large and narrow, made at Haerlem,

[18] Cotton or linen pieces about a yard in length.

Cyprus and Turkey stuffs, Turkey carpets, red, blue, and yellow cloths, green, red and white Leyden rugs, silk stuffs, blue and white; brass kettles of all sizes; copper basons, Scotch pans, barbers basons, some wrought, others hammered; copper pots, brass locks, brass trumpets, pewter, brass, and iron rings, hair trunks, pewter dishes, and plates (of a narrow brim;) deep porringers, all sorts and sizes of fishing-hooks, and lines, lead in sheets, and in pipes, three sorts of Dutch knives; Venice bugles, and glass beads, of sundry colours and sizes; Sheepskins, iron bars, brass pins, long and short; brass bells, iron hammers, powder, muskets, cutlaces, cawris, chints, lead balls, and shot, of sundry sorts; brass cups, with handles, cloths of Cabo-Verdo, Quaqua, Ardra, and of Rio-Forcado;[19] blue coral, alias akory, from Benin; strong waters, and abundance of other wares, being near a hundred and fifty sorts, as a Dutchman told me.

The English, besides many of the same goods above-mentioned, have tapseils broad and narrow, nicanees fine and coarse; many sorts of chints, or Indian callicoes printed, tallow, red painting colours; Canary wine, sayes, perpetuanas, inferior to the Dutch, and sack'd up in painted tillets, with the English arms: many sorts of white callicoes; blue and white linen, China sattins, Barbadoes rum, or aqua-vitae, made from sugar, other strong waters, and spirits, beads of all sorts, buckshaws,[20] Welsh plain, boysades, romberges, clouts, gingarus taffeties, amber, brandy, flower, Hamburgh brawls, and white, blue and white, and red chequer'd linen, narrow Guinea stuffs chequer'd, ditto broad, old hats, purple beads.

Note, That all the iron for Guinea, is of the very same size and weight as described in the description of Nigritia; and is called at London by the name of Voyage-Iron, and is the only sort used all over the coasts of North and South Guinea, and in Ethiopia.

The Danes, Brandenburghers, and Portuguese, provide their cargoes in Holland, commonly consisting of very near the same sort of wares, as I have observed the Dutch make up theirs; the two former having hardly any thing of their own, proper for the trade of the Gold Coast, besides copper and silver, either wrought or in bullion, or pieces of eight, which are commodity also there.

The Portuguese, as I have already said, have most of their cargoes from Holland, under the name of Jews residing there, which consists in many of the same sorts of goods, mentioned in the article concerning the Hollanders; to which they add some things of the product of Brazil, as tobacco, rum, tame cattle, St. Tome cloths, and others from Rio-Forcado, and other circumjacent places in the gulph of Guinea (pp. 272-273). . . .

[19] Rio Forcado or Forcados is west of the New Calabar River.
[20] Buckshaws, India piece goods.

All the before-mentioned sorts of European goods yield here a price, higher or lower, according to the briskness or dulness of trade, which is more or less proportionable to the quantity they know is at a time on the coast, either in the forts and factories, or aboard ships in the roads; or according as they are at peace or war amongst themselves, up the inland countries, as also answerable to the winter and summer seasons. So that I cannot say any thing precisely of the price of each individual commodity.

The Dutch general, at Mina, sets a price current on all the Dutch goods, of which he sends copies to all his officers, of the out-forts and factories of his dependence on the coast, to disperse it all about the inland people in their several districts; and for ought I know, the English do the same in their several settlements.

The goods sold by the English, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburghers, etc. ashore out of their settlements, are generally about 25 per Cent. dearer to the Blacks, than what they are aboard ships in the roads; the super-cargoes of the ships commonly falling low, to get the more customers, and make a quicker voyage: for which reason, the forts have very little trade with the Blacks during the summer season, which fills the coast with goods by the great concourse of ships at that time from several ports of Europe; and as the winter season approaches, most of them withdraw from the coast, and so leave elbow-room to the fort factors, to trade in their turn, at a greater rate, during that bad season (p. 274). . . .

Of the Slave Coast. . . . The rate in trade is generally adjusted with the king, and none permitted to buy or sell till that is proclaimed; whereby he reserves to himself the preference in all dealings, he for the most part having the greatest number of slaves, which are sold at a set price, the women a fourth or a fifth cheaper than the men. This done, and the king's customs paid, as above mentioned, the factor has full liberty to trade, which is proclaimed throughout the country by the king's cryer.

The most usual difference between the European and the Fida merchants, is, when the factor will not give them such goods as they demand, especially Bougies and Cauries, which are the money of the country, and what they are most fond of; but commonly this is adjusted by paying part in Cauries, and part in other goods: because slaves bought with Cauries cost double the price as if purchased with other commodities, especially when those shells are dear in Europe, the price being higher or lower, according to the plenty or scarcity there is of them.

At other times the king fixes the price of every sort of European goods, as also of slaves, which is to stand betwixt his subjects and

foreigners; and therefore no European must go there to trade, without waiting on him before he presumes to buy or sell.

That prince generally resides at Savi, a town about four miles distant up the inland from the village of Pilleau, at the entrance into a wood; whither the factors and super-cargoes repair upon their arrival, with a true copy of the invoice of goods they have to dispose of, out of which the king picks such as he has occasion for.

The proportion of trade is commonly adjusted by the two standards or iron bars and Cauries, for valuing of all other commodities. For example, a slave is rated at one Alcove of Bougies, or Cauries; the Alcove consisting of fifty Galinas, both of them proper measures of the country, which makes about sixty pounds weight French, by the Blacks there called Guonbotton, and is about four thousand of those shells in number. The other rate is fifteen bars of iron. This regulation being agreed on by the king and factors, the goods are brought ashore, and carried on men's backs to the French house, whither the king himself repairs, or else sends his factors or agents. When he has chosen what he thinks fit, the nobility or prime persons pick out what they have occasion for, and after them every other Black; and then every buyer, king or subject, pays the factor the number of slaves, according to the amount of the goods each of them has so pitched upon.

As the slaves come down to Fida from the inland country, they are put into a booth, or prison, built for that purpose, near the beach, all of them together; and when the Europeans are to receive them, they are brought out into a large plain, where the surgeons examine every part of every one of them, to the smallest member, men and women being all stark naked. Such as are allowed good and sound, are set on one side, and the others by themselves; which slaves so rejected are there called Mackrons, being above thirty five years of age, or defective in their limbs, eyes or teeth; or grown grey, or that have the venereal disease, or any other imperfection. These being so set aside, each of the others, which have passed as good, is marked on the breast, with a red-hot iron, imprinting the mark of the French, English, or Dutch companies, that so each nation may distinguish their own, and to prevent their being chang'd by the natives for worse, as they are apt enough to do. In this particular, care is taken that the women, as tenderest, be not burnt too hard.

The branded slaves, after this, are returned to their former booth, where the factor is to subsist them at his own charge, which amounts to about two-pence a day for each of them, with bread and water, which is all their allowance. There they continue sometimes ten or fifteen days, till the sea is still enough to send them aboard; for very often it continues too boisterous for so long a time, unless in January, Feb-

ruary and March, which is commonly the calmest season: and when it is so, the slaves are carried off by parcels, in bar-canoes, and put aboard the ships in the road. Before they enter the canoes, or come out of the booth, their former Black masters strip them of every rag they have, without distinction of men or women; to supply which, in orderly ships, each of them as they come aboard is allowed a piece of canvas, to wrap around their waist, which is very acceptable to those poor wretches. . . . in the aforesaid months of January, February and March, which are the good season, ships are for the most part soon dispatched, if there be a good number of slaves at hand; so that they need not stay above four weeks for their cargo, and sometimes it is done in a fortnight.

The Blacks of Fida are so expeditious at this trade of slaves, that they can deliver a thousand every month, in case there be no ships at Jackin,[21] in great Ardra, about three leagues and a half east from the port of Fida; which makes a considerable alteration, because the king of great Ardra, thro' whose country they must of necessity pass down, when the ships are at Jackin, to favour his own people, commonly shuts up all the passes to Fida, which puts the Ardra men upon dealing underhand with those of Fida, tho' the two kings are inveterate enemies: but when the king of Ardra leaves the commerce open, then it flourishes at Fida.

If there happens to be no stock of slaves at Fida, the factor must trust the Blacks with his goods, to the value of a hundred and fifty, or two hundred slaves; which goods they carry up into the inland, to buy slaves, at all the markets, for above two hundred leagues up the country, where they are kept like cattle in Europe; the slaves sold there being generally prisoners of war, taken from their enemies, like other booty, and perhaps some few sold by their own countrymen, in extreme want, or upon a famine; as also some as a punishment of heinous crimes: tho' many Europeans believe that parents sell their own children, men their wives and relations, which, if it ever happens, is so seldom, that it cannot justly be charged upon a whole nation, as a custom and common practice (pp. 326-327). . . .

As to the slaves, and the trade of them, whereof I have before spoke at large, it will be proper to observe here, that commonly the slaves we purchase at Fida and Ardra, are brought down to the coast from several countries, two and three hundred leagues up the inland; where the inhabitants are lusty, strong, and very laborious people: thence it is, that tho' they are not so black and fine to look at as the North-Guinea and Gold-Coast Blacks, yet are they fitter for the American plantations, than any others; especially in the sugar

[21] Jakein or Jaquin, near the eastern border of Whydah.

islands, where they require more labour and strength than in the other colonies of Europeans, at which the Fida and Ardra slaves are found, by constant experience, to hold out much longer, and with less detriment to themselves, than the other slaves transported thither from the other above-mentioned parts of Guinea. One thing is to be taken notice of by sea-faring men, that these Fida and Ardra slaves are of all the others, the most apt to revolt aboard ships, by a conspiracy carried on amongst themselves; especially such as are brought down to Fida, from very remote inland countries, who easily draw others into their plot: for being used to see mens flesh eaten in their own country, and publick markets held for that purpose, they are very full of the notion, that we buy and transport them to the same purpose; and will therefore watch all opportunities to deliver themselves, by assaulting a ship's crew, and murdering them all, if possible: whereof, we have almost every year some instances, in one European ship or other, that is filled with slaves (p. 339). . . .

Commodities Exported and Imported. The Dutch, as I have hinted before, drive a considerable trade at Ardra, and next to them, the English, having proper factories or lodges at Little Ardra, and at Offra; and exporting thence, slaves, cotton cloths, and blue stones, called Agry or Accory, very valuable at the Gold-Coast.

The best commodity the Europeans can carry thither to purchase slaves, is Boejies, or Cauris,[22] so much valued by the natives; being the current coin there, as well as at Popo, Fida, Benin, and other countries farther east; without which, it is scarce possible to traffick there.

Slaves in Ardra are usually purchased, one half with those Boejies, and the other half with European goods; and when they are scarce and dear in Europe, as it happens sometimes, we endeavour to satisfy the Ardrasians with one-third or fourth part of them, and the other parts in other merchandize: of which, generally flat iron-bars are, next to Boejies, the most acceptable; for the round or square bars will not do. . . .[23]

All the above-mentioned goods, are also proper for the trade in Benin, Rio Lagos, and all along the coast to Rio Gabon.

The commerce is there adjusted with the king, in the same manner as is done at Fida; and as soon as a ship arrives there from Europe, the commander or super-cargo must wait on the governor of Little Ardra, to be conducted by him to the king, taking along with him the usual presents, which commonly consist in a parcel of about three or

[22] Bougries or cowries.

[23] The list of goods here omitted is similar to that on pp. 290-291, but contains more luxuries, such as flowered silks, gold and silver cloth, and caudebec hats. It also contains the only mention of "umbrelloes" which the editor has seen in enumerations of cargoes sent to the coast.

four pound weight of fine coral, six Cyprus cloths, three pieces of morees, and one piece of damask, for the king; another parcel of coral for the queen; a piece of damask napkins for the prince; one piece of armoizin [24] for the Foella, or captain of the Whites; another for the porters of the court; another for the courtiers, or else some beads, or great brass rings; ten galinhas [25] of Boejies for dancers, who commonly attend at the water-side at landing; or the value thereof in other things.

This governor is commonly very civil towards the officers of ships who land there, ordering twelve or fifteen hundred armed men to receive them on the shore, all dancing: and if he is hindred by business from waiting with them on the king, at Great Ardra, he charges some of his principal officers to accompany them with a fine retinue, and porters with hammocks, each porter to have four brass rings a day, besides subsistence.

'Tis usual for Europeans, to give the king the value of fifty slaves in goods, for his permission to trade, and customs for each ship; and to the king's son, the value of two slaves, for the privilege of watering; and of four slaves for wooding, in case it be wanted; otherwise those duties are not paid.

As for the hire of bar-canoes, we commonly adjust it with the Honga, or captain of the bar; for every twelve trips of a canoe, with goods from or to a ship, one slave in goods: which obliges the Honga to attend in person at the beach, with his men, all the while the ship is sending her cargo ashore, in order to quicken his canoe-rowers, and to give the necessary assistance, if the canoe happens to be overturned by the surges, or filled with water; or to help our people in the long-boat, in which we usually bring our goods from the ship to the skirt of the surf, cast anchor there, and deliver the goods by parcels into the bar-canoe, to run them ashore thro' those horrid surges, which no boat or pinnace can perform, without the risque of being split in pieces, and all the goods cast away.

The Europeans being obliged to deliver at their own charge, at Great Ardra, all such goods of their cargo, as the king has pitched upon for himself out of their invoices; the common allowance to the porters, is one brass ring for each trip, of a light burden, the distance being sixteen leagues; which is extremely cheap.

These particulars, I have thought proper, for the information of such as trade at Ardra: to which purpose, the following observations will be of use.

[24] Armozeen, striped or flowered taffeta.

[25] "Forty Booges make one Tokey; five Tokeys one Gallina; and twenty Gallinas, one Grand Cabess, equal in Value to One Pound Sterling." William Smith, *Voyage to Guinea*, p. 179.

I have hinted before, that we always adjust the price of European goods, of slaves, and of the blue stones, called Agry or Accory, with the king of Ardra; which being agreed on, that prince causes a publick cryer to proclaim it about the country, and to declare that every man may freely trade with the super-cargo of such a ship, who is to satisfy the cryer for his labour; and to pay him forty brass rings, twenty hens, one goat, a piece of canequin, and a piece of short or little armoizin. And without such publick notice from the king to his people, none of them would ever dare to dispose of any Agry, slaves or blue stones, above mentioned.

The governor, or his officers, who have conducted the factor or supercargo of a ship to Great Ardra, to adjust trade with the king, accompany him back in the same order as far as a village, distant about four English miles from the shore of Ardra, to the south south-west, called by the Hollanders, Stock-vis-dorp, where they appoint a house for him to drive his trade in; which being done, the factor causes all his cargo to be brought ashore, and carried to that village by porters; and thence, he sends up by them to Great Ardra, all the goods the king has pitched upon for himself.

After which, the great captain of commerce, called the Foella, is to take his choice of the cargo; but it is very rare, that factors or supercargoes will give a true invoice of all their best goods, either to the king, or the Foella, as knowing they have other notable persons, and considerable merchants to please, who generally give a better price, or pay more punctually than the former usually do.

This custom of adjusting the price of goods and slaves, at first, very much facilitates the expedition of European ships, as taking off all manner of disputes and contests betwixt the several native traders, and the Europeans; and when any such happens, which was not foreseen, the king, being informed thereof, immediately regulates it.

The measure for Boejies, is there the very same as at Fida, and the Blacks, who, like those of Fida, can neither write nor read, observe much the same ways of accompting, by means of small cords or strings, knotted in several parts, on which they soon make their calculations.

The factor or supercargo having finished his sale, is to present the king again with two muskets, twenty five pounds of powder, and the value of nine slaves in other goods, as an acknowledgement to that prince for his favour in granting him the permission to trade in his dominions: he must also, on the same account, present the Foella with one piece of armoizin, the Honga or captain of the bar with another piece, and some other inferior officers with another piece among them.

So that reckoning all those customs and duties together, one way or other, they amount to the value of seventy, seventy five, or eighty slaves, in goods, for each trading ship: whereas at Fida, they do not altogether exceed thirty-two, or thirty-five; which is great odds for the English and French factors residing there.

The English have also a lodge at Offra, but the Dutch having the preheminence in commerce, as being the first intruders at Ardra, they carry a great sway over the English; and one year with another export above three thousand slaves.

The Portuguese, in the beginning of this century, had a considerable trade there, but were supplanted by the Hollanders (pp. 348-350). . . .

Commerce and Slaves. The Europeans are there [Slave Coast] commonly treated with all manner of civility by the natives; and there is great variety of refreshments, at a very cheap rate: For example, we pay for a barrel of fresh water, and a load of wood for fuel, two brass rings; for a chest of salt, four; and for a pot of beer, one: and those rings they reduce into hens; four of them there called a yellow, being five hens.

The slaves we purchase there, are either prisoners of war, or given them as contributions, by neighbouring nations or kings; and some also that have been judicially condemned for crimes committed, to perpetual slavery: besides, a very few sold to us by their own kindred, or parents (p. 352). . . .

Those [the blacks] of Foko will supply us with fresh water and wood. The water is there taken out of a pond near the town, which keeps well at sea; whereas that which can be had at New Calaber, is nothing near so good.

They will also supply us with yams and bananas, at reasonable rates, at the proper times of the year; but in August and September, and so on to March, those eatables grow very scarce, and dear among them: insomuch, that some ships have been forced to fall down to Amboses,[26] and Camarones river, in May and June, to buy plantains, which is a sort of banana dried, yet somewhat green, and is a food well liked by the natives; thus spending a month or five weeks in that voyage, and afterwards turning up again to the westward, to New Calabar, to purchase their cargo of slaves. To avoid this long delay, at that time of the year, it is much better for a ship, bound to this place from Europe, to stop in his way at cape Tres-Pontas, at the Gold Coast; or at Anamabou, on the same coast, to buy Indian wheat or corn there: the Calabar slaves being generally better pleased with food of their own country, than with any of Europe, except

[26] In some places called Ambosius.

horse-beans, which many like pretty well, boiled with pork, or oil; but especially those we purchase at the Gold-Coast, as shall be hereafter observed.

The yams, which are the chief of their subsistance, are not fit to be taken out of the ground before the months of July and August; and therefore most European travellers account those two months, as also June and May, for the best season of the year, in Calabar river; because of the continual rains which refresh and cool the air, and give the natives an opportunity to apply themselves wholly to commerce, up the land, for getting of slaves and elephant's teeth; and are consequently the fittest time for us to purchase slaves with expedition, and less hindrance and fatigue: but more especially in August and September, tho' the months of June and July are somewhat troublesome, because of the lightening and thunder, then very frequent and terrible; but the daily great rains do abate the heats very much.

We reckon the months of October, November, and December, the worst season, because of the dry scorching heat of the sun, and the thick fogs, which are there frequent; so that it is not possible to see from one end of the ship to the other (pp. 379-380). . . .

The town of Great Bandy, consisting of about three hundred houses, divided into parcels, stands in a marshy ground, made an island by some arms of the river from the main: it is well peopled with Blacks, who employ themselves in trade, and some at fishing, like those of New Calabar town, in the inland country, by means of long and large canoes; some sixty foot long and seven broad; rowed by sixteen, eighteen or twenty paddlers, carrying European goods and fish to the upland Blacks; and bring down to their respective towns, in exchange, a vast number of slaves, of all sexes and ages, and some large elephant's teeth, to supply the Europeans trading in that river. Several of those Blacks act therein as factors, or brokers, either for their own countrymen, or for the Europeans; who are often obliged to trust them with their goods, to attend the upper markets, and purchase slaves for them: for all that vast number of slaves, which the Calabar Blacks sell to all European nations, but more especially to the Hollanders, who have there the greatest trade, are not their prisoners at war, the greatest part being bought by those people of their inland neighbours, and they also buy them of other nations yet more remote from them.

There is also a market for slaves at Belli, a large town at west of Old Calabar inland, but the trade is not so brisk as at the east of the river Calabar.

Of all European trading nations that frequent this river, and the adjacent parts, the Dutch have the greatest share in the trade; the

English next, and after them the Portuguese, from Brasil, St. Thome and Prince's islands; and all altogether export thence a great number of slaves yearly to America, besides a considerable quantity of good elephant's teeth, and abundance of provisions (pp. 380-381). . . .

It [Old Calabar River] is well furnished with villages and hamlets all about, where Europeans drive their trade with the Blacks, who are good civiliz'd people, and where we get, in their proper seasons, as at New Calabar, all sorts of eatables, yams, bananas, corn, and other provisions for the slaves which we barter there, as well as elephant's teeth, and I believe have the greatest share of, of any Europeans.

It is to be observed, that the trade goes on there very slowly, several ships being obliged to stay eight or ten months, according to the circumstances of the natives, making fast their ships to large trees on the bank of the river, to save their cables.

The air in this river is very malignant, and occasions a great mortality among our sailors, that make any long stay. I remember, that at my first voyage into Guinea, being in the frigate call'd the *Sun of Africa,* I met at sea, in crossing the line, an English flyboat, bound for Nevis, but first for Prince's island, which had but five men of all the crew able to hand the sails, having been ten months in Old Calabar, to purchase about three hundred slaves, of which one-third part, or better, were then dead, tho' they had been but three weeks from that river.

The Hollanders, of all the other European Guinea traders, can least bear with the intemperature of the air, in Old Calabar; and for that reason, as well as for the tediousness of their traffick there, in all probability, they seldom send their ships thither: besides its being so situated in the gulph, that the tide almost continually runs with great violence towards Camarones river, in the circular part of the bight, north from all the coast round it; which gives a great fatigue to sailors that come out of Old Calabar, to turn up a ship for three weeks or a month in the gulph to gain Prince's island, St. Thome, or cape de Lope Gonzalves, to take in fresh water, wood and provisions; which is also very prejudicial to the slaves aboard. . . .[27] an instance [of the ignorance of the bar here] I have, at my own cost, in the *Griffin* frigat, which some adventurers of London and myself had fitted out in 1697, for New Calabar river; and after a very prosperous voyage and trade, in three months exactly from the Downs to that river, having in that space taken in three hundred and fifty slaves, was miserably cast away on that bar, coming out to proceed

[27] Barbot follows with an account of goods and prices in Old Calabar. The money of account in Old Calabar was the copper bar, one bar of iron being reckoned the equivalent to four copper bars. A man slave was sold for thirty-eight, a woman for thirty-six or thirty-seven copper bars.

to Jamaica, in the best weather that could be wished; through the neglect of the officers, and for want of taking due observations of the channel, and not having sense enough, when the ship had but gently touch'd undamaged on the skirt of the bar, to cast anchor there, and knock out the heads of all the water-casks to lighten her. But all the crew got into the long-boat, and run ashore at Bandy; leaving the ship with all her sails out, and all the slaves in her, to be tossed to and fro for three days in the channel, till at last it was split in pieces, after the king of Bandy had sent several canoes aboard her, which took out all the slaves, and the best part of her rigging and utensils for himself: being amazed and much surprised at the conduct of our people; most of whom died there, and some few, after three months stay in misery among the Blacks, got their passage in a Portuguese ship over to St. Thome, and thence afterwards to England. It was a great surprise to the adventurers, to hear of their arrival here, when we expected letters from Jamaica, with an account of the ship's arrival there with a good cargo of Blacks; which was no less expected there by many of the planters, then in great want of Blacks, who at that time yielded forty pounds a man (pp. 382-384). . . .[28]

110. Voyages to Martinique, 1679, 1682.[1]

We arriv'd before it about the evening of the twelfth of May, and paid the usual salutes to the fortress . . . and got ashore, just as the tatoo was going: having thus made our passage from Cayenne hither, in seven days, without any remarkable accident. The slaves aboard, being about two hundred and fifty, were all very hearty, having lost only seven of them by sickness, or otherwise, in all our voyage at and from the Gold Coast of Guinea, and found the island in much want of them; and therefore to render them more valuable, I resolv'd to dispose of part of them at Guadaloupe, being inform'd that the planters long'd there much for our arrival.

Accordingly the next day having waited on count de Blenac, captain-general and commander in chief of all the French Caribee islands, and brought our ship about the Negroes point, and Le Prescheur, some days after, when it had been careen'd in the Cul de Sac Royal, to the town of St. Peter of La Basseterre or Martinico; after the usual compliments to the governour, we begun the sale of our slaves, at about seven thousand pounds weight of brown sugar, the

[28] From the Rio del Rey, which Barbot next describes, four or five hundred slaves a year are carried, the greatest share by the Dutch, who give in exchange copper and iron bars, brass basins, beads, armlets, and presses for lemons and oranges.

[110] [1] Barbot's account of two voyages to Martinique is printed in book II. of "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", Churchill, *Voyages and Travels*, V. 570-588.

Indian piece, as they term it there,[2] to be paid at farthest within the month of June following, upon a certain forfeiture agreed on. The sale went thus on pretty briskly, all our slaves being Gold Coast Blacks, which are much more acceptable in the French islands . . . I caus'd about sixty of them to be ship'd off for Guadaloupe, in a small fly-boat, of about eighty tuns, which had been dispatch'd from Rochel, with provisions for the frigate, the *Sun of Africa,* I was in, to help load off our effects, and arrived at Martinico a month before me. . . .

On the seventeenth of May I went aboard the flyboat the *Hope,* and proceeded for Guadaloupe. . . . At break of day the nineteenth, we were got to the westward of the northerly point of Dominica . . . and about noon anchor'd in Guadaloupe road: where, after the usual compliments paid to the chevalier Hinselin, the then governour of the island, and he having forc'd me to accept of his house, which stands on the waterside of La Basseterre, near the iron-gate, (a battery of some heavy, large iron guns, that point at the road, to secure the landing-place;) I had all my slaves brought ashore thither, and in a few days disposed of them all to the inhabitants and planters, for about six thousand pounds of brown sugar a-piece, one with another, the sugar being there better than at Martinico (p. 571). . . .

. . . However, the next morning,[3] after abundance of fatigues and motions, we had so work'd the ships, that about nine a-clock we reach'd the road aforesaid, and there came to an anchor, near our other companion of the Guinea voyage, the *Jolly,* who was arriv'd there twelve days before us, and inform'd me, that at his sailing from Whidah road in Guinea, with the *Emerillon* and the *Pearl,* as I have taken notice in that part of the description of Whidah, he fell to the leeward of the islands Prince and St. Tome in the Bight of Guinea; and after several days spent in turning and tacking, at last reach'd the cape Lope, where having taken in wood and water, finding the officers and crew very sickly, and no refreshments at all at the said cape, at that time, even not so much as a chicken, they had projected to sail for St. Tome; but whether thro' ignorance, or design of the pilots aboard, could not compass it, and were necessitated to make the best of their way for Martinico, in the sorry condition they were in. But by a particular providence finding the tradewinds of south-east, at two degrees south of the line, they got their passage in forty-

[2] Note in Churchill: "Note, That the French imitate the Spaniards in valuing slaves by the denomination of the Indian piece, which the Spaniards call Pieza de Indias. By which is meant, a Black from fifteen to twenty-five years of age; from eight to fifteen, and from twenty-five to thirty-five, three pass for two. Below eight, and from thirty-five to forty-five, two pass for one. Sucking infants follow their mothers without accompt. All above forty-five years, with the diseased, are valued by arbitrators". Churchill, V. 571.

[3] This was in June or July, 1682, on Barbot's second voyage to Martinique.

eight days, and had sold their slaves immediately, the males at six, the females at five thousand weight of brown sugar, the Indian piece, to pay in July and August following, being the season when sugar is most generally made. The next day I caused a hundred and twenty of our slaves to be ship'd off for Guadaloupe, in the *Sun of Africa,* and afterwards in the ship the *Wonderful,* consign'd to the company's agent there: and then proceeded to the sale of the remaining slaves in the *Emerillon,* which I had caused to be removed into the *Jolly,* that the other might sail immediately for the Cul de Sac Royal, to careen and refit. Two days after this, our consort the *Pearl* arrived from Cayenne, for which place I had detached her . . . on the fourteenth of May of that year, as we proceeded from Prince's island to America, and had sold there near a hundred slaves, at two hundred and fifty livres a-piece, one with another, payable one half in bills of exchange in Paris and Rochel, and the rest in Rocou,[4] or Anotto, and some sugars and money; Rocou to be taken at twelve sols a pound; the finest sugar at twenty-seven livres Tournois a hundred; and the inferiors proportionable, as M. de Ferolles, the then governor, inform'd me by his letter: withal complaining, in the name of the inhabitants, that I had not sent two instead of one hundred slaves, which they very much wanted in that island, and the company had promised; but the sending of that number would have too much sunk the price of them.

A few days after, I receiv'd information from the governor of Guadaloupe, and the company's agent there, that the slaves I had sent them by the *Wonderful,* were all sold, at the same price we had at Martinico, which was yet more advantageous to the company, the sugar of Guadaloupe being far better than that of the former island (p. 573). . . .

I spent that time[5] in regulating the affairs of the company, with her agents there; and visiting my friends and acquaintance about the island, as madam du Lion, the former governour, the chevalier Hinselin's widow, the present governour; and other persons of note, with whom I had much discourse concerning the good of that colony, and the affairs of the company, especially in relation to the trade of slaves; all of them desiring I should move the board at Paris, to order that island for the future, to be more constantly supply'd with them from Guinea; and not to send thither the refuse of the slaves of Martinico, as had been practis'd to their great prejudice, by the company's agents and commanders; but that their ships should alter-

[4] Rocou, a red or deep orange dye, from small red berries, for a time raised extensively on the island of Cayenne. Churchill, V. 560-561.

[5] On Barbot's journey home he was obliged to wait three days at Guadeloupe. *Ibid.,* p. 574.

natively make directly for their island from the coast of Guinea. They also desired I should pray the board to employ in their affairs there, men of a good repute and vers'd in trade, with many other particulars (p. 574). . . .

111. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbadoes, 27th Jan'ry 1682/3.

The 24th Instant Lott Ambrose Com'ander of the *Golden Fortune* arriv'd here bringing 226 Negroes of 258 taken in on the Gold Coast and at Ardra at which last place he left the *St. George* the 24th October who then wanted 100 Negroes of his Complem't. he touched at Cape Lopus and Annibi and mett with the *Lady Frances* Capt. Hay Com'r who has not above 20 or 30 Negroes Liveing of abt. 160 Taken in at the Bite.

Upon the Arrivall of Capt. Ambrose in the *Golden Fortune* wee tendred the Negroes he bought to Mr. Howell and C'pny togeather with bills of exchange for the value of them as the Company ordered us but they refused to take them and to signe those bills wee tendred them Declaring they would signe noe bills should bind them that were the Drawers but only as Friends and Factors to Mr. Champion Ashly they would receive the Negroes and give such bills as might bind him for paym't by vertue of his bond which they alsoe alleadged was allwaies Incumbent on them by that Agreem't and tendred us bills accordingly, but they not being in such manner Drawn as by the Companyes orders wee were appointed to require, wee refused to accept them but again Tendred the Negroes to Mr. Howell and C'pny with plain Bills for theire amount to be paid at 2, 4 and 6 mo. sight but they continueing to refuse to accept them and to signe those bills wee Tendred them wee protested ag't them as they have against us for not Delivering the Negroes to them upon the bills they offered to give us for theire amount which severall Protests are here inclosed soe wee shall proceed to sell them for the Companyes acco'tt with what convenient speed wee can and for the best price wee can get.

The 25th Instant arrived the *Mary* Capt. Nurse who tooke in at the Gold Coast 507 Negroes out of which they lost 33 which died in the Voyage, the rest wee delivered the Capt. according to the order wee received from the Compa. and for the Amount of which wee send the Company herewith the severall first bills of Exchange. Wee delivered the Capt. 15 Negroes for his commission, which is nigh ½ a Negroe more than it amounted for which part he must acco'tt to the Compa. . . .

[111] [1] T 70: 16, "Abstracts for the Committee of Accounts, 1681-1684". Topical notes in the margin have been omitted.

The Negroes by the *Mary* came in Good Condition and are a parcell of as good Negroes as ever came to the Island there not being more than Tenn in the Shipp that could be excepted against either for Age or Inability though the Company were pleased to allow them 30 at £10 per head. These Tenn refuse Negroes by reason of Sickness and Poverty were not able to goe over the Shipps side alone for which reason the Capt. pressed that wee would take those Tenn on the Companyes Acco'tt notwithstanding the Compa. had allowed them before 30 at £10 per head, the Capt. pretending those being for what were not of right Age and that for those could not goe over the Shipps side ought to be the Companyes losse but wee could by noe meanes understand it soe and have therefore taken Bills of Exch: for all at £15 per head except 30 at Tenn and have left it to the Company to determine the Dispute with the owners abt. those 10 Negroes that could not goe over the Shipps side, the Compa. being only able to determine that point whether they intended upon any pretence whatsoever to allow more than 30 Negroes for the Refuse of that Shipp. . . .[2]

With this wee send the Compa. 8 first bills of Ex'a and 4 first receipts *vizt.*

Tho: Lear on John Hill at 30 daies sight					£140.		
Tho: Colleton on Sr. Peter Colleton at 60 daies					£112.		
Cash for a rec't of Capt. Prissick for Mr. Freres' passage home	£	5.					
For Wm. News receipt for head money of 378 Negroes by the *Arcuna Merch't*	£	18.	18.				
For Capt. North's receipt for Refreshm't for his Negroes	£	8.	9.	6			
For Capt. Atwells rec't for the passage of Arthur Richards and Tho. Burkham	£	10.	—.	—	£	42.	7. 6
					£294.	7.	6
Com'on on said money at 7 per ct.	£	20.	12.	1			
Com'on on £6735 ster. for Capt. Nurses bills at 1½ per ct.	£	101.	0.	6			
					£121.	12.	7
					£416.	0.	1

For w'ch wee pray the Compa. will please to give us Credit . . .

112. John Case to the Royal African Company.[1]

Bence Island, Feb. 26, 1682/3.

If yo'r Hon'rs think fit . . . to employ the *Charles* from this place to Barbados with Negroes they may (God adding blessing to their endeavors) make Two Voyadges in a yeare which would be

[2] Here the agents add that the *Mary* brought two dishonest employees of the company from Cape Coast, Arthur Richards and Thomas Burkham, who were to be sent home with Captain Atwell.

[112] [1] T 70: 16.

farr more beneficiall then to have the negroes lye soe long upon expence of Provision and yo'r Hono'rs running that Hazard in Sending Vessells without advice and giving great'r prizes for their better Dispatch.

113. The Factors of Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Mch. 20, 1682/3.

. . . Coast not being now soe much cloyed with Interlopers Goods as formerly w'ch gives us Encouragem't wee shall Dispose off o'r Sayes and Perpetuanes . . . the vast quantities that have bin vended by Interlopers of Sayes at 11 and 12 Angles and perpetuanes from 6 to 8 Angles have occasioned yo'r Hono'rs to lye on hand unless wee had Disposed of them to little or noe Profit.

114. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, the 11th April 1683.

The 28th March Capt. Barton in the *Delight* togeather with Agent Wight arrived herein ab't one mo. time bringing 169 Slaves of 171 taken in at Cuhho, Beson [2] and Rio Grande as alsoe ab't 15 or 16 Tunns of Ellephants Teeth and Wax and ab't £800 Sterling worth of the Cargoe he carried out with him being as Mr. Wight tells us Disappointed of his expectations in the Trade he designed in those parts by reason of a greate Spanish Shipp that had taken in 200 and odd Negroes Just before he came thither and had filled all those parts with all sorts of Goods soe that they wanted nothing and besides that the Portugueze have newly setled a Compa. and Factory there [3] by which the Natives are much kept downe and suppressed in theire way of Trade which made them resolve to buy only for present necessity till things are better adjusted betweene them and that New Compa. or Factory soe that as he would not sell all his Goods neither would he get his Complem't of Negroes for besides that he wanted of his Number designed to be taken in and abt ⅓d part of those he did bring were very small most of them noe better then sucking Children nay many of them did suck theire Mothers that were on

[113] [1] T 70: 16. The factors were Greenhill, Spurway, Master, and Stapleton.
[114] [1] T 70: 16.
[2] Cuhho, possibly Cacheu or Cacheo; Beson, Bassam. These are south of the Gambia, in a region in which the Portuguese more commonly slaved than the English.
[3] For an account of the Portuguese control of the coast see Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, II. 3-16. Scelle however mentions no Portuguese company of this date. The first company of Cacheo or Cacheu had been established in 1675, to have the monopoly of the commerce of Cacheo for six years. Between its end and 1690, when the next Portuguese company was established, other nations traded at and near Cacheo as frequently as did the Portuguese.

board for all that were Runners he attempted [accompted?] as Negroes some of whose mothers wee believe died on board of shipp and the most part of those small ones not worth above £5 per head. Wee told Ag't White wee wondred to see soe many small Children brought by him for that they were not worth theire Freight to which he replyed they cost not much and the Shipp had as good bring them as nothing she being paid by the month soe wee Delivered him his Due proportion of small and greate and thought it necessary to give the Compa. this Acco'tt that soe they may not blame us for the small Prizes [prices] wee are forced to sell them for when they are truly Informed they are such Pittifull Children and not men and women are Delivered us nor doe wee at any time Complaine of the badnes of the Negroes are brought to us on the Companyes acco'tt but when there is such apparent cause for it that if wee should be silent therein wee should justly deserve theire Displeasure for not giveing them an acco'tt how ill they are dealt with and if the Com'anders of theire Shipps would be soe just to the Compa. to themselves and to us to tell them what ill Negroes the Compa's Factors in Guynie put on them while they first serve the Interlopers with the Choicest of theire Negroes (as Capt. Nurse and others doe Informe us) and by that meanes put none but meane Negroes on board the Compa's Shipps that are not preempted (for the others will take none but thoise lett it Cost the Compa. what it will to procure them) It will evidently appeare to the Compa. that betweene Interlopers and preempted Shipps noe good Negroes are sent to us and very often when the Masters buy theire owne Negroes that wee are to sell they take not much more care for they can charge to the Compa. a like prise for a bad as for a good Negroe for wee are sure they very often come in very badd and poore condition. . . .

115. Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lord President of the Council.[1]

Jamaica, May 6, 1683.

. . . I have also told him (Sir B. Bathurst)[2] that in the last six months we could have sold two or three thousand negroes to the Spaniards, and that, as the Company sent none, I was forced to allow interlopers to supply one hundred and thirty to dismiss the Don, who had waited for them six months.[3] Nor do I hear that the

[115] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 427, "Recd. 7 June 1683. Read at Committee 17 July 1683".

[2] Sir Benjamin Bathurst was deputy governor of the Royal African Company at this time.

[3] On Feb. 22, 1683, Lynch had written to William Blathwayt, that the Spaniard had waited four months and then gone away with 100 negroes purchased from an interloper. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 393.

African Company intends to send a ship, though negroes are much needed and our planters are rich enough to pay for them. Our sloops sell very many, for they are now generally very safe, being well armed and provided with my commission. . . . We were surprised to hear that our friends contended so violently for keeping up the Negro Act.[4] I gave no such directions, and the people will be quite content with the King's order. It is the failure to provide negroes that is the ruin of all. We have lost our chance, for the Dutch have pieced their contract, so now the Governors cannot send, and will not receive, our vessels.[5] The Company's objection about light money would have been answered by saying that the law intended weighty. . . . (French pirates) designed to come eastward to the latitude of Barbados and take the negro ships. . . .

116. The Case of the *Dorothy*.[1]

5'to Octobris 1683

Alicia Potts vidua Relicta et Administratrix bonorum etc. Thomae Potts defuncti, Elizabetha Spike vidua Relicta et Administratrix bono-

[4] In January, 1683, the company petitioned against the act which fixed the price of negroes, and made the planters the judges of what negroes were merchantable. In addition to these grievances, the petition charged that the light weight of Spanish money, which circulated freely in Jamaica, had driven the price of sugar up and caused a one-third loss on Jamaica returns; that interloping ships on the Guinea coast increased the price of slaves one-third; and that masters were refusing to go to Jamaica. For all these reasons the petitioners begged that they be released from the terms of the Order in Council of November, 1680, and that the Jamaica law be disallowed (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 370). The answer made by Jamaica alleged: (1) that the lightness of the money was not new and also that it was no disadvantage to the company, which seldom received its returns in money, and also that light money could always be refused; (2) that the Order in Council was too recent to have affected the price of negroes in Guinea, and that separate traders still found it profitable to sell for £18 per head in Jamaica; (3) and that there were plenty of ships' masters who were still willing to come to Jamaica. The answer also dealt with the volume of debt complained of by the company, charging that this was in part the result of actual corruption on the part of the factors, and in part due to the mismanagement of the company. The total amount was actually small in comparison with the size of the company and the growth of the colony, and Jamaica was known to pay her debts better than the other plantations (*ibid.*, p. 378). On Feb. 14, 1683, at a meeting of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the argument was heard. "Several members of the Royal African Company attended, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Sir Dudley North, Sir Benjamin Newland, Sir Peter Colleton, and Mr. Scut. Their petition was read, together with the answer of the merchants of Jamaica. The gentlemen of Jamaica added that light money may be refused in payment, and that, as to the Company's complaints of recent hostile proceedings towards the Company in Jamaica, the Island will always own and acknowledge the Company's charter. The Lords recommend that the Act for rations of negroes be not confirmed, but be kept in operation during the King's pleasure" (*ibid.*, pp. 383-384). This action was communicated to Lynch, Feb. 17, 1683 (*ibid.*, p. 386). The obvious fact that private traders bore none of the heavy charges of the forts and could therefore undersell the company without loss, the colonists ignored here as elsewhere, in their attacks on the company. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

[5] The Consulado had resigned its effort to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes in 1681, and after much consideration and negotiation the contract was given to Don Juan Barroso, acting for or with Baltazar Coymans and Don Nicolas Porcio. Scelle, I. 636-640.

[116] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 97.

rum etc. Johannis Spike defuncti, Thomas Knewstubb pater et Administrator bonorum etc. Johannis Knewstub defuncti, et Anna Bradley vidua domina Johannis Smith defuncti nuper dum vixit ejus apprenticii, nuper nautarum navis vocatae the *Dorothy* (cujus Willielmus Greene nuper fuit Magister) respective defunctorum, contra dictum Willielmum Greene in causa subtraccionis salariorum.

FRANCKLIN. LEE.[2]

Quo die Francklin nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictorum Alicae Potts Elizabethae Spike et Thomae Knewstubb et Annae.

Bradley omni meliori modo necnon ad omnem juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dixit allegavit et in hiis scriptis In jure proposuit articulatim pro ut sequitur vizt.

1. Inprimis. That the shippe the *Dorothy* mentioned in the process of this cause, did upon or about the two and twentyth day of November one thousand six hundred and eighty one lye at Anchor in Tilbury hope near Gravesand, being then bound out to Guinia upon the voyage in question, and that the said shippe was then ready to set saile and that upon or about the s'd two and twentyth day of November one thousand six hundred and eighty one Mr. Richard Price one of the owners of the said Shippe did come from London or some other place aboard the said shippe, and did bring or cause part of the outward loading of the s'd shippe to be brought and the same was brought and put aboard the said shippe and afterwards the same was carryed in the said Shippe to the Coast of Guinia and the same with other of her outward loading was there bartered away for Gold and slaves and Elephants teeth and this was and is true publique and notorious and soe much the said William Greene doeth know to be true and hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit pars ista conjunctim et de quolibet.

2. Item. That the said William Greene at the time of the hiring of the mariners sev'ally named in this Cause did not tell or acquaint them or any of them nor any other the mariners of the said shippe, at the time of hiring them or any of them nor at any other time that the said shippe was to goe to Jamaica, but at the hiring of them and every of them did tell and acquaint them that the said shippe was bound for the Coast of Guinia, and that duringe the time the said shippe was in the port of London, and at the time when she went from the port of London upon the voyage in question, and at, and upon her arrivall upon the Coast of Guinia which was in Aprill one thousand six hundred and eighty one the company and mariners of the

[2] Francklin and Lee were the advocates of the litigants respectively.

said shippe did take and apprehend and soe it was discoursed of among them in the said voyage that the said shippe was bound for Guinia and that the said mariners did not know or were informed, that the said shippe was bound otherwise then to the Coast of Guinia and that the said Wm. Greene the master doeth know beleive and hath confessed soe much to be true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item. That upon or about the twenty second day of November one thousand six hundred and eighty one, at or about which time the said shippe then lying at Tilbury hope was ready to set saile for the Coast of Guinia, the said Mr. Richard Price being then one of the owners and implyers of the said Shippe, being then come aboard the s'd shippe, at which time the Mariners before named in this Cause and others the Mariners of the said shippe had served and were Mariners of the s'd shippe some two months others for one month or thereabouts or sometime lesser then a month and the s'd Price knowing that the mariners of the s'd shippe before named and others the mariners of the said shippe were hired by the said master by the month and for monthly wages and not by the voyage, to serve in the said shippe did pay unto the said mariners halfe pay by the month as and being hired by the month at and after the sev'all rates by the month at which they were hired for, by the said William Greene, and for a lesser part of a month, and that the said Mr. Price did not then nor at any other time tell or acquaint the mariners of the said shippe or any of them, that the said shippe was bound for Jamaica nor make any mention thereof at all and so much the said William Greene doeth know and beleive to be true and soe much he hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item. That the said William Greene did himselfe before the said shippe set saile from Tilbury hope for Guinia acquaint the said Mr. Price, and others the owners of the said shippe or some of them, that he had hired the mariners of the said shippe to serve in the same for monthly wages and monthly pay, and that the said William Greene did never contract and agree with the said mariners or any of them to have and receive their pay at Jamaica and not before for soe many months as they should have served in the said shippe or that the Cargoe of the s'd shippe, which should be taken in and was afterwards taken in at Guinia should be carryed to Jamaica or Barbadoes and soe much the said William Greene doeth know to be true and soe much he hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

5. Item. That whereas it is set forth in the answeares of the said William Greene made in this Cause that the shippe the

Dorothy was not at any time in the voyage in question upon the Coast of Guinia within one hundred leagues of any port or harbour, the truth is that there were not nor are any ports or harbours upon the Coast of Guinia at least not any where any shippes can or doe usually lye and trade, but there were and are roades upon the said Coast of Guinia where shippes have and doe comonly anchor and trade with the natives of Guinia and that the Royall Company of English merchants tradeing to Guinia had and have severall Castles and factories standing and being upon the Coast of Guinia *vizt.* Capcoast or Capcourse Castle soe called or by some such like name standing very near unto the sea, another Castle standing near the said Coast called by the name of Anamaboo or some such like name, and another Castle called Alacra [3] or some such name, and that the manner of trading at Guinia was and is that shipps doe anchor upon the Coast of Guinia there, and there were and are some places there, upon which there were and are four fathoms water, and some six fathoms and some other eight and some other ten fathoms and not more, and that the said places in which the said shippes have and doe usually anchor were and are some about three, some about foure and some about five miles from shoar, and not above, and there the English Shippes have and doe usually trade with the natives of Guinia in bartering away their outward Cargoe and in exchange thereof receiving aboard the said shippes negroe slaves and gold and Elephants teeth and other comodities of that country, and soe and in that manner the said Shippe the *Dorothy* the said William Greene the Master of the said shippe and the agent and supra Cargoe for the owners thereof did trade the voyage in question and did barter the outward Cargoe of the said shippe for gold and negroes and Elephants teeth, and there rec'ed the same aboard the said shippe and soe much the said William Greene the Master doeth know to be true and hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis numeris hexapidarum (anglice fathoms) et temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

6. Item. That the first place the ship arrived at the voyage in question upon the Coast of Guinia was Ballisor or some such like name and that the ship did anchor there in seaven fathoms water, and within four miles of the shoar, and the next place the ship traded at was Capalone [4] or some such like name, and there she did anchor in five or six fathoms water, and within five miles of the shoar and the next place the ship arrived at upon the Coast of Guinia was called Comenda or by some such like place, and there the said shippe did

[3] Alacra may possibly be an attempt at Accra. The names of these trading points are so distorted that one can scarcely guess at the places meant.

[4] Appolonia ?

anchor in about six fathoms water and about two miles from shoar or Land, and another place the shippe came to upon the Coast of Guinia was called Capcoast or some such like name where the shipe anchored in about five fathoms water, and within two or three miles of the shoar or Land and soe near, that the Governor of the Castle there for the English Company of merchants tradeing for Guinia, understanding the s'd shippe was an Interloper, did fire two or three peeces of ordnance, loaden with bulletts, at the s'd ship, the *Dorothy,* to drive her from trading there, and that the said bulletts came very near the said shippe, and the next place the ship arrived at upon the Coast of Guinia, was called Anamaboo, or some such like place, and the said shippe did anchor in or about ten or eleaven fathoms deepe, in water, and about six miles from the shoar, and another place to which the said shipe arrived in the said voyage upon the Coast of Guinia was called Elampough,[5] or by some such like place where the said shipe anchored in or about four fathoms water, and about two miles from shoar, and in all and every of the said places the said shippe and the said Wm. Greene the master, and the supra Cargoe or agent of the owners of the said Shippe, did sell and barter away the outward Loading of the said shippe carryed in her thither from the port of London or a great part thereof and for the same had and received negroes and gold dust and Elephants teeth and this was and is true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero hexapidarum (Anglice fathoms) et de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

7. Item. That whereas the said William Greene in his answeares made in this Cause doeth answear, that he doeth believe, that by the carelessness of the company of mariners of the said shippe or some of them the gunpowder in the said shippe tooke fire, and blew up and destroyed the said shippe and all her Cargoe except a peece of Cable and Anchor and boms rope the truth is, that the said William Greene doeth believe in his conscience and soe hath confessed that the company of mariners of the said shippe were not in any default therein or that the s'd shippe or her Cargoe was blowne up by their carelessness, and the said party proponent doeth alleadge that when the said shippe was blowne up by gunpowder, there were aboard the said Shippe about one hundred and thirty five negroes, whereof some were men and some were women, and that at the time aforesaid one Nathaniel Mills was aboard the said Shippe, and was Carpenter of the said shippe, and that John Leyton was then second mate of the said shippe and was then aboard the said Shippe, and that one Henry Clerke was then aboard the said Shippe, who was supra Cargoe of the said shippe and was appointed by the owners to barter away the out-

[5] Alampo.

ward loading of the said Shippe and did barter away the same or a great part thereof and invested the same in negroes and gold dust and elephants teeth and that when the said Shippe was blowne up the said John Leyton was then upon the upper deck of the said Shippe, and that the said Leyton and Mills and the said Henry Clerke by the powder takeing fire were all blowne into the seas, being in the night time, and did in order to save themselves get sev'ally upon some broken peeces of the said Shippe, in the sea, and the said William Green being then alsoe blowne by the said powder into the sea did get upon some broken peece of wood of the said shippe, and the said William Greene and the said Leyton and Clerke continued in the sea upon some broken peeces of the said shippe for about five or six hours after they were blowne into the sea and that the said Mills continued in the sea upon some broken peece of the said shippe for about two or three hours and this was and is true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

8. Item. That presently after the said Mills and Leyton were blowne out of the said Shippe into the sea and being sitting upon the pieces of wood upon which they then sev'ally were the said Mills and Leyton were near together and the s'd Leyton and Mills had some discourse and speech togeather and the said Leyton did ask the said Mills if he did know or could tell how the said accident of the blowing up the said shippe did come or to that effect whereupon the said Mills who was then in danger of drowning and had little or noe hope of being saved did then seriously tell him the s'd Leyton that he the said Mills did presently before the blowe was given by the gunpowder by which the said shippe and her Cargoe were blowne up see a negro woman betweene deck of the s'd ship who had fire with her which he did take to be a pipe of tobacco lighted which she had got (the negroes aboard the said Shippe being allowed by the M'r to take tobacco aboard the said Shippe, and the same being allowed by other masters of shippes who take negroes aboard to take tobacco) and that he did observe that she did fling the same pipe lighted from her which as he the said Mills said and as he really beleived did fall into the hole of the said Shippe where the powder was and instantly the shippe thereupon was blowne up, and that it was then in the night time and there was not at that time nor that night any fire left or any Candle-light left burning in the hold of the s'd ship by any of the company of mariners of the said ship and that the mariners of the s'd ship were always very carefull to prevent any danger that might come to the said ship by the powder of the said ship or otherwise. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

9. Item. That after the discourse of the effect aforesaid which happned betweene the said Leyton and Mills, the said Leyton did

leave the peece of wood on which he then was, and swam away to a bigger peece of wood, of the s'd shippe then in the sea upon which the said William Greene the master then was and got upon the same and there continued with the said William Greene about foure or five hours till they were saved by the natives of the Country and that presently upon his comeing upon the said peece of wood where the said M'r was he the said Leyton did tell the said William Greene what the said Nathaniel Mills had told him to the effect afores'd concerning the accident of blowing up of the said ship as in the next precedent article is alleadged or to that effect. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

10. Item. That after the said Leyton had swam away as aforesaid from the place in the sea where he had discoursed with the said Mills as aforesaid the said Henry Clerke who was alsoe blowne out of the said ship into the sea and had gotten upon a peece of wood thereof to save himselfe did come near to or was near the place where the said Nathaniel Mills was in the sea, and there had speech and communication with him the said Mills, and the said Nathaniel did then tell the said Henry Clerke, that the accident of blowing up the said ship by powder came as is before alleadged in the eight article of this allegation, and that the said Henry Clerke, and the said William Greene, and John Leyton, being taken by the natives of the country out of the sea about four or five of the Clock in the morning after the said accident happened did then or about that time and afterwards sev'all times or at least once tell and acquaint the said William Greene what the said Nathaniel Mills had sev'ally declared to them concerning the accident of blowing up the said ship and Cargoe was as in the eight article of this allegacion as alleadged, and the same was generally beleived and received soe to be by the company of mariners of the said ship who escaped out of the said ship and were saved, that the said ship was blowne up as was related by the said Nathaniel Mills as is before alleadged. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

11. Item. Whereas it was and is in fact alleadged on the behalfe of the said Wm. Greene in that cause that the mariners and seamen did without the consent of him the said Wm. Greene or his knowledge remove the gunpowder that was aboard the said ship from one end of the ship to the other about the sixth day of the said month of August 1682 and at or about the ninth day of August the powder by the carelessness of the mariners and seamen tooke fire and did blowe up and destroy the said ship and her Cargoe and ladeing the truth is, that the goods in the said ship being part of her Cargoe which were then aboard her and were then in the place where the said ship lay to be bartered away were under the powder in the hold

of the said ship, and without the removeing of the powder the same could not be taken from thence, and in case the same powder was removed from thence to any other part of the said ship, the same was soe done and removed to that part of the shippe to which the same was removed, by the mariners of the said ship, by the express order, and command, of the said Wm. Greene the Master of the said ship, that soe the goods under the powder might be come at, and bartered away, and soe the same or some of them, were bartered away by the said Wm. Greene and the s'd Henry Clerke, the agent or supra Cargoe of the said owners or some of them, for gold dust and negroes and elephants teeth, or other goods with the natives of Guinia before the said accident of blowing up the said ship happned and soe much the said Wm. Greene doeth know and believe to be true. Et ponit ut supra.

12. Item. That the said Nathaniel Mills did about two or three hours after the relation which he had made to the said John Leyton and Henry Clerke touching the blowing up of the said ship was drowned and did perish in the seas, and was not heard of afterwards nor his body found, and that a youth or boy belonging to the said ship at the time when the said accident happned and who was blowne out of the said shippe with the said Nathaniel Mills had sometime bin with him the said Mills upon the peece of wood of the said ship in the sea upon which the said Mills was, which boy was afterwards saved out of the sea by some of the natives of Guinia in their Carg: did declare that the said Nathaniel Mills was drowned and perished in the sea and the said youth or boy is not yet come from Guinia but was and is there or in some other part beyond or upon the seas and is soe comonly accompted reputed and taken to be. Et ponit ut supra.

13. Item. That the said Henry Clerke some months or weeks before the begining of this Suite at least before the twentyth day of September one thousand six hundred and eighty three, and before the giveing of the present allegacion on the part and behalfe of the said William Greene in this cause did depart out of England for Guinia and gone thither and since that time was not nor is in England and this was and is true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

14. Item. Quod praemissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera publica, manifesta et notoria etc. unde facta fide petit pars ista jus et justiciam etc.[6]

Potts et alii contra Greene.[7]

FRANCKLIN EXTON.

[6] Endorsed, "*Dorothy.* Alicia Potts vidua et alii contra Guilium Green Magistrum dictae navis. Allegatio per Francklin data, 5° Octobris 1683."

[7] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 105.

Quo die Francklin nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictae Aliciae Potts et aliarum partium agentium omni meliori modo dixit allegavit et in hiis scriptis in jure prosposuit articulatim prout sequitur vizt.

1. Inprimis. That Whereas it was and is in fact alleadged on the part and behalfe of the said William Greene in this Cause, that the said Wm. Greene the Master of the said shipp the *Dorothy* nor any other masters of shipps who take in Negroes on the Coast of Guinia, doe permit any negroes to take tobacco betweene decks of the said shipps, or any other shipps, but doe give libertie for negroes to take tobacco above deck only, and that all mariners who have used, and doe use the said voyage doe know the same to be true, and ought to prevent any negroes, to take tobacco betweene the decks for fear of mischeife that may ensue thereby, and not to permit the same, and in case the accident did happen by the negroe woman takeing tobacco of blowing up the said Shippe, the same ought to be imputed to the carelessness of the Mariners of the said shipp especially during the time that the said William Greene was in such a sad distemper that he could not look after the same—the truth of the fact was and is that at the time when the said accident happned there were aboard the said Shippe one hundred and thirty five negroes, or thereabouts, and that they all did every day take tobacco aboard the said Shippe the voyage in question by permission of the said William Greene the Master, and that the Company of Mariners of the said Shippe were about seaventeene or thereabouts, and noe more, two of which before, and when the said accident happned were ashoar by order of the said William Greene the Master of the said Shippe, or Henry Clerke the supra Cargoe of the said ship both or one of them in order to trade for slaves and other Comodities of Guinia, and it being then about Midnight when the said accident happned, some of the Mariners as is usuall and accustomed for them to doe were asleep haveing first performed their duty in the said ship, and that the Mariners which were of the watch did take all possible care they could in lookeing after the said ship, and her loading—and that it was impossible for the Mariners of the said ship soe to prevent the same but that some of the negroes without their knowledge, might and did and had in the said voyage got tobacco pipes, and haveing tobacco allowed them, did sometymes carry the same betweene the decke, with the pipes in which they had taken tobacco, and the same not being quit out did some tyme there privatly take tobacco in the same, which when any of the company of Mariners did at any time perceive they did take the same away from them, and that Nathaniel Mills perceiving a Negroe woman (as he himselfe said before his death) imediatly before the said accident happned, to have some fire about her betweene

the deck which as he said he conceived to be a pipe of tobacco lighted, did as he said run to take the same away from her but before he could come at her she as he said flung the same away from her, and imediatly the shipp was blowne up, and that if the said William Greene was sick when the said accident happned quod non fatetur etc. yet if he had bin upon the deck, and in health, he could not have prevented the same accident, and that the said accident ought not to be imputed to the Mariners of the said Shipp who were not in any blame therein, and that the said powder being removed by order of the said William Greene the Master, some or one of the Mariners of the said Shippe did some day or dayes before the said accident happned tell him the said Wm. Greene that there might be danger to the s'd Shipp by reason of the removeing the said powder and told the said Greene that he the said Mariner wished (to prevent any danger therein) that the powder were overboard in the sea or to that effect, to which the said Wm. Greene answered let the powder alone in the place to which is removed for it will doe well enough. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

2. Item. Quod praemissa etc.[8]

117. Protest of the Royal African Company.[1]

October 23, 1683.

Reasons advanced by the Royal African Company why the law of Jamaica fixing the price of negroes at eighteen pounds a head should not be continued. When the Royal Company was convened before the King in November 1680, it agreed to supply three thousand negroes annually at 18 *l.* a head. The Jamaicans turned this into a law, which remains suspended during the King's pleasure. We, the Company, now begged to be released from that agreement, because the terms which were then advantageous are now the reverse. The number of interlopers increases; negroes cost a third to a half more than they did, and are difficult to procure. There is also a loss on

[8] Endorsed, "*Dorothy*. Potts et alii contra Wm. Greene Magistrum ejusdem navis. Allegatio per Francklin data 21° Octobris 1683."

[117] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 525-526, "Unsigned. Endorsed. Recd. 23 Oct. Read 30 Oct. 1683". Relations between Jamaica and the company grew no better during the summer of 1683. In August the planters and merchants asserted that the company had ceased supplying negroes altogether. The Lords of Trade took up the subject once more in October, upon receipt of a petition from the "Planters and Merchants of Jamaica", signed by William Beeston and five others. The petitioners stated that they heard from Jamaica that the company was not supplying sufficient negroes and was unwilling to sell them at the legal price, though other merchants offered from three to five thousand a year at reasonable rates. They asked that if the company was to be allowed to abandon its contract price it be compelled to furnish a sufficient supply, five thousand the first year and three thousand thereafter being suggested (*ibid.*, pp. 471, 474, 512-513). The company's statement of its side of the controversy is here printed.

the exchange from Jamaica. If it be objected that times may improve, we answer that in that case we shall be ready to lower our rates. We are taxed with having failed to supply the stipulated number. We have made provisions in ships and goods for the full quantity, but many ships have been unable to procure negroes, and after lying many months have left with but half their load of negroes, though with cargo all dispersed. Also, we have often lost a half to a third of the negroes shipped. Even if we had procured all the negroes we wanted, many commanders positively refuse to go to Jamaica in consequence of the laws. As to the objection that if our price were not limited, we might, being monopolists, make it ruinous, we answer that we enjoy far fewer advantages than any other joint stock company. Negroes are not only very chargeable and perishable, but it is impracticable to keep any quantity unsold for many days; we must part with them for what we can get. Again, our accounts will show that we have pushed our trade so far and supplied all plantations so fully that our factors, some of them, write to us to desist.[2] If the planters of Jamaica are short of supply it is their own fault. We should gladly have furnished them as well as the rest, but their light money must pass, else there are no payments, and they can charge what they please for their goods, whereas we are limited. If they object that our stock is too narrow, we answer that the Colonies have made it so, for they now owe us over 130,000 *l.* We hope that the King, having incorporated us, will not subject us to terms which must be our ruin. We are envied for our advantages, yet our members have not had so much as interest on their money, though no stock has been managed with more faithfulness and care.[3] Some pretend that if the trade were thrown open, it would be for general advantage. If they consider that the inhabitants with whom we trade are such that no peace or correspondence could be continued with them without forts, and that strong foreign companies, particularly

[2] The company reported for Jamaica the following importation: 1680, 1371 negroes; 1681, 1576; 1682, 1452; 1683, 2919 (Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 357). It had sent to Barbados eighteen ships, carrying 6380 negroes between September, 1682, and August, 1683 (*ibid.*, p. 351 n.). These figures, as Beer has pointed out, conflict with various statements from other sources. Lynch had written, on Aug. 29, 1682, that since his arrival (May 14) the company had sent about fifteen hundred negroes. On May 6, 1683, he wrote that it had sent none for six months (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 286, 427; Beer, *loc. cit.*, p. 356, n. 2). In August, 1683, the company reported eleven shipments, amounting to 3460 blacks, made between September, 1682, and August, 1683. In October its report was that it had contracted for 8500, taken 3716, and delivered 3020, between March, 1681, and October, 1683. "None delivered in 1683, and only five hundred in 1682." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 486, 532.

[3] Up to 1678 the company had been entirely successful, paying, according to Scott, nearly 55 per cent. between 1676 and 1678. This flourishing condition undoubtedly helped to draw interlopers into the trade and gave additional vigor to the arguments for freedom of trade. While it may be true that for a year or two the stockholders had received no dividends, Scott finds that between 1680 and 1692 eight dividends were paid and a reserve was created. *Joint-Stock Companies*, II. 21.

Dutch, are ready to take our forts if we abandon them, they will see their error. The success of a few interlopers may persuade unthinking men, but if the trade were abandoned to them it would soon cease. We beg therefore to be allowed the same liberty as others. Jamaica will profit by it as well as ourselves.[4]

118. Voyage to Congo, 1683-1684.[1]

. . . At the same time the Most Reverend Cardinal Cibo writ us a letter in the name of the sacred college, complaining that the pernicious and abominable abuse of selling slaves was yet continued among us, and requiring us to use our power to remedy the said abuse; which, notwithstanding, we saw little hopes of accomplishing, by reason that the trade of this country lay wholly in slaves and ivory. Nevertheless, meeting together not long after, we joined our addresses to the King of Congo, and count of Sogno, and obtained the favour from them, that the heretics at least should be excluded from dealing in this merchandize; and that especially the English, who made it their chief business to buy slaves here, and to carry them to Barbadoes, an island of theirs in the West Indies, where they were to be brought up in the Protestant religion, so very contrary to ours. This letter was first read by me to the count, and afterwards on a feast-day I made the contents of it known to the people, earnestly recommending to them to have a compassionate regard to so many miserable creatures, their countrymen, that were daily suffered to come under the power of heretics, that would not only enslave them, but likewise pervert the good principles we had instilled in them. I moreover urged, that if there were a necessity for a trade of this kind, they should sooner have to do with the Hollanders, who were obliged to deliver

[4] On Oct. 30 the Lords of Trade and Plantations, having heard both sides of the dispute, recommended that the Order in Council of November, 1680, be repealed, and that the Jamaica act be suspended. The royal company, granted these concessions, was to furnish Jamaica with 5000 blacks the next year, and 3000 every subsequent year, the price to be unspecified (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 530, 536; C. O. 268: 1, pp. 94-108).

[118] [1] "A Voyage to Congo and several other Countries chiefly in Southern Africk, by Father Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, a Capuchin and Apostolic Missioner in the Year 1682, made English from the Italian", in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World: many of which are now first translated into English* (London, 1814), XVI. 195-311. Father Girolamo Merolla and Father Francesco da Montelione left Naples on their missionary voyage May 5, 1682, but having spent some time in Brazil before they reached Africa it was May 6, 1683, when they landed in Angola (Pinkerton, *Voyages*, XVI. 213). A flourishing missionary station already existed in Angola, and after a few days one of the resident fathers went with the writer to the River Zaire (Congo) in the province of Sogno. Here he had been about a year at the time of which he writes. His account of the progress of the Church in this region is probably worthy of greater credence, since it may be presumed to be largely the result of his own observation, than is his account of the mermaids in the River Zaire.

so many slaves at Cadiz every year, whereby their countrymen might have still the happiness of continuing among Catholics, though in bonds.

I proposed likewise for them to trade in this nature with the Portuguese, rather than the Hollanders; which they would not hearken unto for several reasons.

First, Because they would by no means have that nation establish themselves in their country. Secondly, By reason that they would give them no opportunity to sell their arms and ammunition amongst them: and Thirdly, Because they always under-valued the slaves, and never offered so much as they were worth.

These, with some others, have been the reasons that the Portuguese have never yet been able to get any footing in Sogno.

A year almost past before there was any ship appeared in this country; at last an English vessel came to anchor there. This I immediately advised the count of, requiring at the same time, that if she were really English, she should not be suffered to land any person whatsoever. The count's answer was, that I should be obeyed: but which I observed to be spoke by him with such coldness, that I could easily discover in him a contrary intention; and which I was the more confirmed in, when I reflected upon the profit he was to make, both by the buyer and the seller. All this while the captain of the ship pretended that he would tarry only three days to take in fresh provisions; which being past, he scarcely shewed the least sign of being gone. While he was yet in the river, I happened to go down to the shore to speak with the Mafucca, or Receiver of the Whites. Being but just entered his house, I saw two Englishmen, who I thought had been no nearer than their usual station; they seeing me, drew in, and I turned my back to go out again: but scarce had I reached the threshhold, before I heard a brace of pistol-bullets whiz by my ear. At this being astonished, I looked about, but saw nobody. Then I fell on my knees, returned thanks to heaven for my escape; and afterwards went in again boldly to make my complaint to the master of the house of the villainy, which I suppose was designed me by these Englishmen; but to my great disappointment he returned me neither a compliment nor a resentment.

The day following the before-mentioned captain came to me, but that rather to affront than to confer with me; demanding of me at first sight, "What I had to do to oppose the English trading in that port?" To which I replied, "That pursuant to an agreement between me and the count, all heretics were to be excluded from dealing in slaves throughout the dominions of Sogno, but as to all other matters of traffick they were at liberty." "What do you mean by heretics?"

quoth he. "Is not our Duke of York a Roman Catholic, and chief of our company, from whom I have a full power to trade, where, and in what merchandize I please?" "Granted," said I; but then I alledged further, "That I was sure it was not the intention of that Duke, that Christians should be bought and sold for slaves, nor that such as he (meaning the captain) should be allowed not only to trade, but likewise to rob and infest the shore wherever they came, in like manner as another English captain had done there last year; who, as soon as he had taken in all his lading, fell to wasting the country, and forced away several of the natives into slavery, and killed many others that he could not get away. This (I told him) I would assuredly acquaint the Duchess of York, my countrywoman,[2] with, that the Duke her husband's reputation might not suffer, and such offenders might be published as they well deserved." To this the captain began to reply with great heat, defending both himself and his countryman, the other captain, thinking to overcome reason with noise; and if some people had not come in to my assistance, I know not what might have come on it. I afterwards sent to let the count know, that I should not open the church-doors till those heretics, that were enemies both to our church and him, were gone. This message soon brought the count to our convent, where, when he entered to speak with me, there came in with him only one man, who had a long knife in his hand drawn about four inches out of the sheath: this knife, as he knelt on the ground, he held with one hand on the haft, and the other on the sheath. For the better understanding of this, you must know that whenever the count comes to speak with us, nobody has leave to enter the room with him but the interpreter: and when an extraordinary case requires another's coming in, he must kneel all the while, in like manner as the interpreter is obliged to do. The count began with me very low, endeavouring to convince me, that, considering the many enemies that surrounded him on all sides, he ought to provide himself of arms and ammunition of war, and which he could best do from the European ships that came to trade in his dominions. This and the like he urged with a great deal of cunning, but at length perceiving by my answers that he gained but little upon me, he began to gather up his countenance, and to move his lips quick in order to thunder out some dreadful menaces against me; but which I timely perceiving, started up upon my feet, and prevented his fury with the following words: "The reason," said I to him resolutely, "of my coming into your dominions, was for the service of God, and the salvation of your souls; and in order to that duty incumbent on me, I cannot dispense with the hazarding even of my life, in withdrawing

[2] Mary of Modena. The Italian marriage had taken place in 1673.

so many poor souls from out of the power of Lucifer," (meaning the slaves to be bought by heretics,) "which nevertheless you seem by your arguments to give wholly up to him. Think then, my lord count," continued I, "on your own case in so palpable an act of disobedience; for as for my part, I shall always endeavour to persist in my duty." Having spoke these words, I immediately offered to go out of the room, but the repenting count catching me fast hold by the arm, and changing his countenance almost from black to yellow, would by no means suffer me so to do, crying out, "Hear my reasons first, Father; hear my reasons before you go." Then clapping himself down upon a bench, he fell into a long discourse, but in which I often interrupting him, he at last flew away in a great passion, muttering and mumbling to himself, "That he was the head of the church in his dominions, and that I without him could do nothing; no, not so much as baptize a child." By these and other such like speeches of his, I could easily perceive that he sided with the English, and I was thoroughly convinced thereof afterwards, when he caused proclamation to be made at three of the clock in the morning, to forbid all his subjects throughout the whole Banza to go any more to our church; but this he nevertheless did without laying any penalty on those that disobeyed him, and consequently his subjects being true servants of God, took no manner of notice of his proceeding, but continued to come to church as before. Notwithstanding their good dispositions, I thought myself obliged to excommunicate the count by fixing a schedule on the church-doors, and which I did by an authority sent me from the bishop of Angola. Hence it followed that our slaves that belonged to the offices of the church, as likewise those that served in the convent, immediately forsook me, and that I suppose by instigation of their prince who had withdrawn them, to cause me the sooner to comply. Whilst I yet continued firm in my resolutions, a Dutch ship appeared in the harbour: soon after her arrival the count's secretary brought her captain, according to custom, to me for my benediction, which nevertheless the English captain had neglected to ask; I gave it him, and by those means extinguished part of the fury instilled into the people's breasts by the magicians and wizard against me; for they had made it their business to make the people believe, that I purposely opposed the aforesaid contracts with the Europeans, that their nation might be unprovided of arms and ammunition when their enemies the Portuguese came against them, and which they likewise affirmed I by secret means encouraged. The anchoring this ship in the harbour occasioned the speedy departure of the other; for in less than thirteen days after she hoisted sail and put to sea, carrying away with her about fourteen or fifteen of the

natives of Sogno, besides near a hundred more which the captain said had been sold him by the pagans (pp. 253-255). . . .[3]

Let us now come to other matters not unlike the foregoing. In the fifth year of my mission another English ship happened to come to an anchor in the river: as soon as I perceived it, I went to the count and said, "Behold, my lord, another English ship appears in the harbour!" and at the same time begged of him not to permit any of the men to land, for fear of the like inconveniences that had before happened: he seemed to comply readily with my desires, and promised that none should; nevertheless self-interest blinding him again, he received the accustomed presents, and suffered them to trade again within his dominions, which we would by no means agree to. The captain came with his commission to our convent, and endeavoured to find me out, but could not. In the mean-time, without any further delay, we published a manifesto, that upon pain of excommunication none should presume to sell any slaves to the English: but as to bartering ivory, ebony, or the like with them, they might freely do it. The captain hereupon could get but five negroes, and those he bought before the manifesto was published. He came a second time to my apartment accompanied by a Dutch captain, and with a great deal of submission said to me, "Father, what reason have I given you to deny me, so much to my disadvantage, a free trade in this port, when I have suffered so many hardships, and undergone so great peril in my voyage hither?" To which I courteously answered, "That I would do any thing that lay in my power to serve any Christian, and him in particular, who appeared to be so very civil, but that in this matter I could do nothing without an order from my superior." I told him further, "That though I was against his trading ashore, as being an Englishman, and consequently a heretic, I could not prevent his doing it by sea, and therefore if he could find any to traffic with him he might freely do it." "That is what I would rather have," replied the captain, "for thereby I may trade custom-free. Now I perceive," continued he, "that these brutes," meaning the Negroes, "have always their hands open to receive presents, but when there is any favour to be returned, they immediately shrug up their shoulders and excuse themselves, pretending the missioners will not let them grant it. But why," added he, "did they not explain themselves at first, that I might have saved my present, and sailed about my business elsewhere? It shall go hard, but I will make them know whom

[3] The author, continuing his account of the controversy, relates the providential assistance which he received from an epidemic of smallpox, which speedily brought the native ruler to his knees. The Dutch traders who made their appearance here about this time were a great trouble to Father Merolla, since they were not content with trading but at the same time subtly instilled heretical doctrines into the simple minds of the natives. The English seem to have given the Capuchins no such difficulty as this.

they have to deal with." Then turning to me, he said, "Well, Father, I cannot but thank you heartily for acquainting me with the truth, and let them restore to me what I gave them, and I will be gone. But first," quoth he, "give me leave to present Your Reverence with a barrel of wheat-flour to make your Hosts of, a small vessel of Aqua-vitae, and something else that may lie within the verge of my capacity." I returned him a thousand thanks for his kind proffers, and told him, that though I had occasion for the wheat-flour I would by no means accept it of him, and afterwards having forced a basket of fruit upon him dismissed him. The count having disposed of the present that was given him, could by no means restore it, and besides durst not for fear of excommunication provide him with the slaves he had promised. This so vexed the captain, that taking along with him two slaves, and a little ivory he had got before, he left his house in the night-time, and went immediately aboard his ship; his landlord soon missing him got up betimes, and went after him for his rent, but the captain having caused three Patereroes [4] to be turned against the Negro's boat, dared him to come near him after the following manner: "Come hither, slave", quoth he, "and I will pay you in a certain coin that you very well deserve." After which, bestowing a great many curses on him, he set sail and departed. The count was again excommunicated for his disobedience, but not by a paper fixed up at the church-doors formally, which he took with much patience. Though a Black, he is an absolute prince, and not unworthy of a crown, though he were in Italy, considering the number of his subjects, and large dominions.

Before the Englishman had weighed anchor to be gone, another Dutch ship came into the river, which my companion Father Benedict dà Belvedere perceiving, immediately opposed the landing of any of her men; his reason was that they were heretics, in like manner as the English, and which he confirmed by the heresies the above-mentioned Dutch captain had not long before spread amongst us. I could not well dissent from this opinion of his, nevertheless for quietness-sake I told him, that since we had so luckily got rid of the English, we must of necessity admit of the Dutch, or the people would be apt to rebel; for not caring to trade with the Portuguese for some reasons best known to themselves, they would have nobody else to utter their commodities to, which would prove no small detriment both to the church and the state. He understood me I don't question, but notwithstanding, took little or no notice of what I said, being transported with too great a zeal for the church's good, which had it not been so excessive, might have succeeded better than it did. (pp. 257-258). . . .

[4] Pedereros, spelled in a multitude of ways, were small guns.

119. Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.[1]

Jamaica, Feb. 28, 1684.

. . . On the 3rd instant the *Ruby* returned from Carthagena convoying the Spanish ship *St. Thomas* with three hundred negroes.[2] The city was in great confusion over the loss of the two ships [taken by the pirates] and the Governor was embroiled with Don Nicolas Porcio, the Assiento's Agent General.[3] The disorder was increased by Captain Tennant's misconduct;[4] however, they paid the money which the ship and negroes were hypothecated for, 2800 pieces of eight, and they are now returned hither to buy more negroes. They have brought but 2800 pieces of eight for the purpose, either because they could not get the money, or more probably with the intention of borrowing again, so as to compel me to send convoy to protect them, and bring back the merchants' money. Unfortunately we have no negroes nor hope of negroes this long time. There were two miserable ships of the African Company with two-thirds both of blacks and Christians dead; and about ten days since agent Peirson arrived in an interloper of forty guns. He landed two or three hundred negroes at Barbados, of which I am told that the Spaniards bought a hundred and fifty. I shall order the ship to be seized, and shall do my best always, but I know of no expedient but that which I proposed to Sir Benjamin Bathurst for clearing the coast of Africa and America. Being unwilling to offend the Company, I told the Spaniards that I must not buy of interlopers, and Colonel Molesworth threatened to seize them; but the negroes were landed out of port and will pass to the Spaniards by second hands. Besides having given them liberty I cannot retrench it, and were they kept here four or five months and not suffered to buy what they may, this trade would be ended before it is well begun, whereas it is my wish to continue it, at any rate until I receive your orders. It seems to me probable that if we were supplied with negroes, much of this trade would come to this Island, to the advantage alike of the King, the Company, and the nation.

[119] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 594-598.

[2] That is, the *St. Thomas*, convoyed by the *Ruby*, had transported the negroes to Cartagena.

[3] After the death of Barroso, Porcio undertook to carry out the assiento bargain alone, but, on coming to America, he encountered the opposition of the Dutch, who controlled his source of supply, and of the Spanish governor at Cartagena, who was under the influence of the Dutch (I. A. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento, 1685-1689", *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, reeks VI., deel I., aflevering 1-2, pp. 23-62). Lynch's letter here printed, with a number which followed this one, gives some idea of the confusion resulting in the West Indies from the quarreling of the rival factions over the Spanish trade. See also Scelle, I. 641-654.

[4] The nature of Capt. Matthew Tennant's misconduct is made clear in the latter part of the letter.

They tell me there is at Rotterdam, Cadiz, and Seville the house of Quayman [Coymans] Brothers, which, with their Company, are the greatest traders in Europe. Last February they contracted with the King of Spain to import eighteen thousand negroes in seven years, but, being strangers, the Assiento was made in the name of Don Juan Barrera del Rozo,[5] an old man of Cadiz; and it was agreed that his son-in-law, Don Nicolas Porcio, a Venetian, should come into the Indies as Apoderado General. Neither of these two last are concerned except in the name, for the Dutch are obliged for the King's dues, that is, for 1,125,000 pieces of eight in seven years. The negroes are to be imported in licensed Spanish ships that equal ten thousand tons, which, taxed at twelve pieces of eight per ton, gives the sum named. The Quaymans have agreed with the West India Company of Holland at 107 pieces of eight per head ready money, and 120 credit. At the same time when this contract was concluded there was in Spain one Abraham Gill,[6] a mongrel Dutch or Englishman, an agent or servant to Mr. John Bawden. This Gill and one Don Diego Magette, a Dutchman, contracted with Porcio for eighteen hundred negroes, twelve hundred of them at Barbados, and the rest here or in any other Colony. These negroes are to be delivered at sixty pieces of eight when received and fifty-eight when delivered; the buyers running the risk of the fifty-eight, the sellers of the sixty. This seemed to Bawden so bad a contract that he has renounced Gill and revoked the credit that he gave him at Barbados. However, they have come here, without money or credit, and, as I have already reported, have been trusted by our merchants. They have punctually repaid the advances, and are now come back, but with so many broils that it is difficult to adjust them. But Magette is now going to England thence to Rotterdam to procure convoy from the States, and thence to Spain to solicit the establishing of the Assiento in some other name than Porcio's. Gill talks of going to Barbados. I promised to

[5] Don Juan Barroso del Pozo. On points where it can be tested, Lynch's version differs somewhat from the facts. Coymans and Company, an Amsterdam company with a branch at Cadiz under Baltazar Coymans, had supplied Porcio with negroes, but the original contract was made with Barroso, and at this time could hardly have been made with the Dutch house. The papers which follow (nos. 123, 132-149, *post*) tell something of the Spanish difficulties over this contract.

[6] In November, Lynch, persistent in his efforts to foster the Spanish trade, wrote to the Lords of Trade concerning this man: "He had agreed for eighteen hundred negroes from Barbados at one hundred and eighteen pieces of eight per head. Bawden thinking this too little has abandoned his agent, so he endeavours to buy negroes here, and probably may get credit for twenty or thirty thousand pieces of eight, and carry away three or four hundred negroes on the Spanish factor's account. They fear that the Dutch cannot supply sufficient, so would gladly draw all or part of that business hither, where they can enjoy advantages not to be found at Barbadoes or Curaçao. Since the affair of Vera Cruz the governors also incline to this, from their opinion that I love the Spanish nation. But all this means nothing unless we have negroes for them. . . . Possibly interest of state and the profit of the Assientistas may induce them to station an agent here, which is a safe place thanks to the two frigates". Nov. 2, 1683, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 535, 536.

try to get what money the Spaniards owe him, for I conclude that he cannot fulfil his contract.[7]

But I must return from this sub-contract to the Grand Assiento. In order to carry it on Porcio sailed on the 9th August from Cadiz with three ships of the Assiento's, the new Governor of Carthagena, Don Juan Pando, being in one. When they arrived off Curaçoa there boarded them Dr. Baltazar Van Becke and Mynheer Van Bell, factors for the Assiento. They offered Porcio a thousand negroes, but while they were disputing about the terms a gust of wind forced the ship to leeward, and so the factors were carried to Carthagena. Then Porcio fell sick and "deliriated", and when recovered was fantastical, and irresolute and impracticable, which provoked the Governor, a prompt and choleric Biscayer, and gave the Dutch factors opportunity to gain him wholly to themselves. Just as they were on the point of breaking, most fatally the privateers arrived on the coast. The Governor took the *Lapaz* and *St. Francisco,* two great ships intended to fetch negroes, and sent them out, where they were lost. This made Porcio rave indeed, because the great stress of the Assiento's business depended on these ships. To pacify the factors the Governor promised 25,000 pieces of eight out of the King's dues; and judging Porcio incapable of acting (as possibly he is) put in Don Gasper Perez, Porcio's servant, and Francisco de Torregruetto in his place, taking from Porcio all the papers, moneys, etc., belonging to the Assiento, and allowing him six thousand pieces of eight *per annum* on condition that he gave these men power to act in his name,[8] pending arrival of orders from Spain. And these men have written to me to favour the captain and the despatch of the ship *St. Thomas,* asking the liberty to buy negroes that I had promised to Porcio, and promising to comply and correspond faithfully.

All this was transacted in Carthagena, while the *Ruby* rode outside. Porcio contrived to send a servant, St. Jago de Castillo,[9] on board the

[7] Gill's own side of his experiences with the assiento he put forward in a petition of Dec. 10, 1684: "I contracted with one Barrosse and Porcio for 4800 negroes, and had already brought about 900 to Jamaica as [in ?] a Spanish ship, but was forced to pay 2000 *l.* to Sir T. Lynch for license to trade with the Spaniards, and another 700 *l.* for the convoy of H. M. S. *Ruby.* I permitted, however, the Spanish Captain to bring some dry goods, though illegally, from Jamaica to Carthagena, and the ship was seized in Jamaica for trading therein. I was present at the seizure and a witness for the Crown, but was imprisoned by Sir T. Lynch, proclaimed a vagrant and idle fellow, and was forced to leave the Island privately, giving 1000 *l.* security, to give the King an account of these oppressions which are to the disadvantage of all his subjects, and especially of the Royal African Company. I beg that the proclamation may be nullified, and that I may be permitted to sue the executors of Sir T. Lynch for recovery of the money and for damages." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 748-749.

[8] Miss Wright states that Porcio's power of attorney was given to two Dutchmen, Van Belle and Beque (Beck ?). Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", p. 25, n. 3.

[9] St. James Castillo, later a resident of Jamaica, and agent for successive assientists. During the struggle between opposing factions to gain control of the privilege and the property of the assientists, in Jamaica, he represented the interests of Porcio.

frigate, with a present to Captain Tennant. Tennant received him, and also a present of two thousand pistoles from him and from Don Juan Coleman, an Irish priest; but without counting the money put it into his closet and sent an armed boat on shore from the frigate to fetch Porcio himself. The factors, however, informed the Governor, who put Porcio into irons, and by torturing some of his servants discovered the pistoles, and wrote me the letter enclosed to Mr. Blathwayt, on which I desire your instructions. About the 3rd instant the frigate and the *St. Thomas* arrived here. The two Dutch factors asked leave to careen their sloop and hire another to take them to Curaçoa. I readily granted it and treated them civilly; and they seemed wonderfully obliged and talked of buying plantations, negroes, and what not; but I doubt this was only *aegrotat demon,* for they are of a country where nothing binds but interest. At parting they gave me the Governor's letter that charges St. Jago de Castillo for running away, and Porcio for giving him two thousand pistoles of the Assiento's money. On this I gave an order to Captain Tennant to deliver the money to Colonel Molesworth and Captain Penhallow.[10]

I have been cruelly enraged with Captain Tennant for his behaviour in sending for Porcio, breaking orders, dishonouring and embroiling myself, and not delivering the money. First, he pretended that the sum was somewhat short of 1,600 doubloons, then he would not deliver it without St. Jago's order, then he restored but 1,239 pistoles, pretending that St. Jago had given him 360 for his passage, but at last, after twenty or thirty days' hesitation, he delivered the rest that he says he has received. I subsequently ordered the arrest of Castillo [11] to discover what had become of certain other money, but on the day that Captain Tennant paid the 1,239 pistoles he vanished, some say to Porto Bello, some say to Spain. I am extremely puzzled what to do, for we think Porcio inclined to us, and judge that this servant fled to save himself and serve his master. However, to keep the Governor of Carthagena in good humour, I wrote to him that if the Dutch factors would prosecute him criminally I would appoint judges, and that they should have justice, but they asked only that the money shall be secured, which it shall be until the Governor, the factors, or Porcio make it clear whose money it is. I should be glad of your directions in such cases, for I am no lawyer, though I am sufficient to be aware that I ought to have made an example of Captain Tennant. But I would not, for he promises amendment, and I was unwilling to ruin a young man who is sailor enough. Moreover, I was loth to embroil myself further till I had received your instruc-

[10] Feb. 4, 1684, "Orders from Sir Thomas Lynch to Capt. Matthew Tennant, H. M. S. *Ruby*", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 583.

[11] Feb. 26, 1684, "Order of Sir Thomas Lynch to the Provost Marshall of Jamaica", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 590.

tions; and, besides, I could not send him home prisoner, for no merchant ship would take charge of him, and if one did, what security is there for its expenses? If you and the Admiralty will not judge such a case remitted by affidavits, I beg you to consider how competent a court-martial of captains would be.

As to the negotiations, all I can say is that neither Dutch nor Spaniards come here out of kindness to us, but only from necessity and the convenience of our ports, or from the abundance of our negroes. I do not think it possible to keep any contract with the Spaniards, for their ill conduct will ruin any that trust them. Particular Spaniards may be in their senses, but the Government is out of it; and it is possible these Quaymans may find it so. They are said to have advanced five or six hundred thousand pieces of eight, at various ports in the Main, which is to be returned in galleons that are not yet arrived from Spain. Since Spain and France have broken, the trade of the Indies and the navigation to Curaçoa must be very hazardous, and if Holland takes part in the war I think the French should attack Curaçoa again, otherwise it will have little communication with the great trading ports. Altogether, if we can get negroes it is very likely that, let who will have the Assiento, they will come to us for negroes, but they will not come nor find the least credit unless they have convoys, a matter which I beg you to lay before the King. And pray inform His Majesty that, from the hour the frigates are withdrawn, we are ruined. The *Trompeuse* shows what a pirate can do.[12] The privateers are civil to the traders only for fear of the men-of-war, and, if the men-of-war were taken away, they would enter every port and harbour, carry away our men, and intercept the very boats that carry goods about. So that in two years we should be all negroes, the increase of whom and lessening of the whites gives me great apprehensions. . . .[13]

[12] *La Trompeuse,* a French pirate ship, which, after making trouble for a number of slaving vessels on the Guinea coast, had been harassing traffic in the Caribbean. She was captured and burned by the English in 1683. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 519-521, and index.

[13] Signed, Thomas Lynch. Inscribed, "Recd. 13 May 1684". On June 20 Lynch wrote to the Lord President of the Council that Gill and a companion, Matthew Meverell, with the connivance of James Bank and Roger Elletson, had attempted to seize the Spaniards. To undo as far as possible the unfortunate effect of this, Lynch had published a proclamation permitting the Spaniards to buy negroes. The Spaniards had not returned at the time Lynch wrote, but he thought that might be because there was no sale for negroes at Cartagena. Lynch however admitted that the Spaniards hated the English and would rather the Dutch had their money (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 656-657). Meverell's version was that the *St. Thomas* was a Dutch-built vessel, whose master and owner were Spanish, trading in defiance of the navigation act. So "vastly prejudicial to the people of Port Royal" was her trade that five and twenty sloops had been "obliged to lay up . . . in consequence". May 9, 1673, *ibid.,* p. 629.

120. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, 15th March, 1683/4.

Wee now alsoe send the Comp'as first acco'tt of Sales of Negroes per Capt. Clarke in which we spent much time to sell them being a sort of Negroes utterly disliked in this Countrey soe that wee were forced to sell many of them at low rates and for long day of pay and had they not bin well chosen Negroes, well provided for in theire Voyage and brought in as good condition as ever wee saw any Negroes brought to this Island, wee should have had a very hard talk to have sold the Midling sort of those Negroes at any rate.

The 28th Feb'ry last Capt. Thomas Browse arrived here in the *Daniel* alias *Elizabeth* bringing 428 Slaves of 530 taken in at Wheda on the Companyes acco'tt.

It is a most undoubted Truth and by experience wee soe find it that the Liberty the Company are pleased to give their Com'rs to sell theire Freight and Com'on Negroes when and where they please after they are divided and deliv'rd to them is a great hinderance to the Sale of both: both useing all possible endeav'rs to sell theire Negroes as well as they can and the Customers take advantage to beat downe the Markett by holding off till they can by that meanes get better penny worths from either then otherwise they could hope for if all were to be disposed off by one Interest. Nor is it a small Detrim't to the Compa. that by this Liberty the Masters of those Shipps forstall the Companyes Market for when a shipp comes in with Negroes wee are forced to stay 3, 4 or 5 daies from selling that soe wee may give due notice of the time of o'r Sales and invite Customers to come, many of which comeing to Towne goe on board the Shipps to see the Negroes in what condition and to informe themselves what sort of Negroes they are. when finding the Capt. at Liberty to sell his Negroes they buy of him rather then to come downe again to buy in a Crowd by w'ch wee not only loose the benefit of o'r Labor and Cost in Sending upp and downe the Countrey to Invite Customers to o'r day of Sales and soe become advancers of anothers Interest, but thereby alsoe loose the advantage of ready mony Customers and bill of Excha. men and none left us to deale withall but ill pay Masters and such as buy but few Negroes at a time which wee look upon as o'r bounden duty to give the Company an Acco'tt off, and submit it to theire consideracion.

Capt. Browse hath 92m of Gold for acco'tt of the Company and owners but noe Teeth.

[120] [1] T 70: 16.

Wee now send the Compa. 8 first bills of Excha. and three first rec'ts *vizt.*

Rich. Seawell on Tho. Henchman at 40 daies		£530.	00.	00
Jos. Harbin and Chas. Pope on Sam. Clay pay'bl 31st May		212.		
Gerrard Hawtaine on Jno. Easton pay'bl per mo. June		30.		
Jno. Wiltshire on Geo. Greene pay'bl ditto		30.		
Edwd. Parsons on Paul Allestree pay'bl ditto		30.		
Cash For Ja. Brownes rec't for head money on 174 Negroes per *Unity* Capt. Thomas Draper		8.	14.	
Ditto for Jno. Crofts rec't in part of Sallary Factor on Doegood		10.		
		£850.	14.	
Comission thereon at 7 per Ct. is		59.	10.	11
To Geo. Skutts 3 bills of Excha. on Ben. Skutts for 825 *l.* each for Negroes per the *Unity* is	£2475			
To Capt. Hen. Clarkes rec't for 128 Negroes in part of Freight at £15 per head is	1920			
	£4395			
Com. thereon at 1½ per Ct.		65.	18.	6
		£976.	3.	5

For w'ch we pray our Acco'tt may have Creditt

. . .

121. Act to Encourage the Importation of Negroes.[1]

Jamaica, April 2, 1684.

An Act for the encouragment of the Royall African Company of England to Import Negros into his Majesties Island of Jamaica.

Whereas his Majesty hath been pleased by his Letters Patents under the great Seale bearing date the 27th day of September 1672 to grant the Sole Trade to Africa from Sally to Cape buon Esperanza to the Royall African Company, And wheras his Majestys Subjects of this Island have made Complaints to [the Committee] that the said Company have not brought into this Island a sufficient quantity of Negros for the supply thereof, whereby there is a great want of them to the great prejudice of his Majestys Customes and the Inhabitants of this Island; To which the said Royall Company have answered and alleaged for reason of their not Importing into this Island the quantity of Negros required the great number of Interlopers who contrary to his Majestys said letters Patents Doe Trade on the Coast of Africa within the Limits aforesaid and freely bring Negros to this Island which doth disable them the said Company from bringing hither that quantity of Negros they otherwise should; Which

[121] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 64-66. A preliminary draft of this act was formulated by Nov. 14, 1683, shortly after the repeal of the Order in Council of November, 1680. It was sent to the agents of Jamaica on Jan. 22, 1684. On Feb. 28, the planters and merchants of Jamaica complained to the Lords of Trade that so long as this measure was under discussion they could not hope to receive any negroes from the company (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 544, 570, 579, 598, 601). The company, by no means satisfied with the bill proposed, petitioned for further hearings, and succeeded in reducing the number of negroes it was called upon to supply the first year from 5000 to 3000. C. O. 268: 1, pp. 113-117; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 624, 632, 636.

his Majestys Subjects of this Island taking into Consideration and being willing to give all reasonable encouragement to the said Royall African Company to supply this Island with Negro Slaves, Do enact and Declare, and it is hereby enacted and Declared by the Governor, Councill and Assembly and by the authority of the same that it shall not be the practice of any his Majestys Subjects of this Island to encourage any Interlopers nor deale with them for Negros, but whosoever of his Majestys Subjects residing in this Island shall directly or indirectly by himself or any other or by any Covin or fraudulent way or means buy or Cause to be bought in this Island any Negro or Negros brought by any Interloper or any person or persons whatsoever, but such as are therto impowered or appointed by the said Royall African Company from any of the Parts or Coast of Africa which are within the Limits of their Patent aforesaid shall forfeit and pay for every such Negro so bought the sum of ten pounds currant money of this Island, the one half thereof shalbe to our soveraign Lord the King his Heires and Successors for the publique use of this Island, and the other half to him or them that shall first sue for the same in any publique Court of Record in this Island in which no Essoign, Protection or wager of Law shalbe allowed. And this Act to continue in force for one whole year to comence from four months after the day of the passing the same; and if within the said year the said Royall African Company shall have Imported into this Island five thousand Negros then to continue in force for one year more otherwise to cease and determine at the end of the first year. And if the said Royall African Company shall before the expiration of the second yeare have Imported into this Island the Number of Three thousand Negros, then this Act to be in force for one year longer comencing from the expiration of the second year, otherwise to cease and determine at the end of the second year, The true intent and meaning of this Act being that if the said Royall African Company do not bring in the full number of five thousand Negros before the expiration of one year . . . then this Act to cease and determine at the end of one year [and so for 3000 more in the second year]. But in case the said Royall African Company do continue to bring in the full number of three thousand Negros yearly then this Act to continue and be in force from year to year reckoning from the expiration of the first year untill the end of that year wherin the said Company shall have failed to bring in the full number of three thousand Negros . . . Provided always that in consideration of the uncertainty of timeing the arrivall of Negros there, It shalbe understood that the supernumeraries of any yeare shalbe accounted on to the next year and so from year to year to be continued on as long as this Act shalbe in force.

And whereas this Island being of great extent and having many Bayes and Harbours where Interlopers may land their Negros and Dispose of the same to the Inhabitants of this Island in such manner that it wilbe very difficult for any one to prove that any Negros were bought from Interlopers, wherby the true intent and meaning of this Act may be frustrated, It is hereby further declared . . . that if any new Negros be found in the possession of any of the Inhabitants of this Island, and he or she be sued for the penalty appointed by this Act on such as do buy Negros of Interlopers, and that the said Party in whose possession such new Negro or Negros are found cannot prove they have had the said Negro or Negros in their possession for the space of three months before the comencement of the sute for the penalty, nor prove that the said Negro or Negros were Imported into this Island by Persons therto authorized by the said Royall African Company or there sold by the said Companies Factors, that then it shall be taken for granted, they were Imported by Interlopers, and the Party or Partys in whose possession the said Negro or Negros were found to pay the penalty by this Act Imposed.

122. The Case of the *Richard and Margaret*.[1]

12 No'r 1684.

Briscoe et alii contra navem le *Richard and Margaret* cujus Abrahamus Williams est magister.

Barret. Exton.

Quo die Exton nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus praefati Abrahami Williams omnibus melioribus et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur.

1. Imprimis, that the s'd shipp the *R'd and Margarett* whereof Abraham Williams is now M'r was designed upon an Interlopeing voyage to the West Indies and the same was knowne to the s'd Tho: Briscoe and others of the s'd shipps Company Marriners of the s'd shipp and that they knew that there was dang'r in tradeing there the same being contrary to the Charter of the Affrican Company and in case the s'd shipp should be there taken by any shipp or by any port belonging to the s'd Company or where they could procure the same to be seized the same would be confiscated et ponit communem divisionem et de quolibet.

2. Item that the s'd shipp soe tradeing with in the Limitts of the Charter to the s'd Affrican Company the M'r of the s'd shipp died

[122] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 192, pt. 1.

and Tho: Briscoe tooke upon him to be M'r and command'r of the said shipp and there were taken on board sev'all Negroes and other goods and the s'd Tho: Briscoe the then M'r with foure others of the shipps Company did on or about the 2d day of June 1683 take the shipps boate and goe on shoare and left not a sufficient number of the shipps Company on board to look after the s'd shipp and Negros or blacks and never returned to the s'd shipp againe although staid there above a month et ponit de quolibet alio numero nautarum et quolibet alio tempore.

3. Item that it is [not?] customary for a Mast'r of any shippe being in those parts and haveing such a Cargoe to goe on shoare upon any occasion whatsoever and especially when any negroes were on board and that the s'd shipp did stay in expectation of the s'd Briscoe the Mast'r and the other men untill the sixth day of July following to the hazard of the s'd shipp and Ladeing and the s'd Company remaineing on board for want of the Mast'r and the said foure other Marriners and alsoe for want of water were forced to put into Jamaica and the s'd shipp and ladeing was there taken and seized and by the Governor there afterwards confiscated and condemned and declared to be forfeited et ponit ut supra.

4. Item that the s'd shipp being soe seized confiscated and condemned the s'd Richard Walter now owner did buy the s'd shipp of the Governor of Jamaica and really and bona fide pay for the same et ponit ut supra.

5. Item quod praemissa etc.

THO: EXTON.[2]

Briscoe et Rogers contra navem the *Richard and Margarett* ac contra Richardum Walter proprietarium dictae Navis.

BARRETT. EXTON.[3]

Quo die Barrett nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictorum Brisco et Hodges omni meliori modo necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur vizt.

1. Imprimis that the said Thomas Brisco and John Bradley together with Thomas Curtis, Eliathim Tolman, and Samuell Whillett did at Tobago take the long boat and goe on shoare to hire a sloope to carry the Negroes to Barbadoes, to Mr. Richard Walter the own'r and m'r merchant of the sayd shipp, the shipp being fowle and leakey and not being able to gett to Barbadoes, and were cutt of or

[2] Endorsed: "*Richard and Margaret.* Thomas Briscoe et socii contra eandem. Allegatio per Exton data 12 Nov. 1684".

[3] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 194.

taken by the natives at Tobago, Hocque fuit et est verum etc. ponit tamen etc. Et ponit communem divisionem et de quolibet.

2. Item that sixty odd Negroes were sent in a sloope to the said Mr. Walter at Barbadoes and he or his order received them and the last Mr. Master Abraham Williams before the shipp was seized at Jamaica did send the rest of the Negroes and all the gold and other lading to Collonell Freeman and Mr. Kelly to Portomorant [4] for the own'rs use who received the said Negroes and all the gold and other lading for the said Mr. Walter the own'r, hocque fuit et est verum etc. ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item that the said Collonell Freeman and Mr. Kelly or one of them have paid all the rest of the marrin'rs and Seamen left on board the said shipp theire whole wages due to them, hocque fuit et est verum etc. ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item quod praemissa etc.[5]

123. Baltazar Coymans to the King of Spain.[1]

Sire: Don Baltazar Coymans, administrator of the contract relative to negroes, says that having asked permission to clear a vessel, called *El Profeta Daniel,* for the introduction [of negroes], which is anchored in the Bay of Cadiz, the captain of which is Juan Escholt, your Majesty was pleased to order that he should propose [for this

[4] Port Morant is on the southern shore of Jamaica.

[5] Endorsed: "*Richard and Margaret.* Briscoe et Hodges contra eandem. Allegatio per Barret data 2 Nov. 1684".

[123] [1] Archivo General de las Indias, 153-7-7-18A. The selections from the Archives of the Indies were made with the aid of Miss Irene A. Wright; the translation was done by Dr. James A. Robertson and Mrs. Fanny R. Bandelier. The abundance of Spanish papers dealing with the slave trade can be surmised from the fact that the documents here printed are but a small part of those dealing with a single episode in the administration of the contracts by means of which Spain gained her supply of black labor. On July 3, 1684, Franz Schoonenbergh, Dutch envoy extraordinary to the Spanish court, complained to the Council of the Indies concerning the administration of the assiento under Nicolas Porcio. This complaint, undoubtedly made at the instigation of Baltazar Coymans, stated that Porcio's debts were unpaid and that his creditors looked to the Dutch West India Company for their payment. This was seriously injuring the credit of the company. These charges the Council of the Indies was directed by the Spanish king to investigate. After some consideration the council reported that satisfactory terms had been arranged between Porcio and his creditors and that the Dutch were acting in bad faith. Porcio's agents seemed to be amply supplied with money but were encountering the opposition of the Dutch, who were doing all in their power to ruin the assientist, even enlisting in their service the Spanish governor of Cartagena, and spreading about word that Porcio was of unsound mind. The belief of the council was that the erring governor should feel his Majesty's displeasure and that the Dutch should learn that their efforts were of no avail (*ibid.,* 153-7-10). In October, 1684, Coymans presented to the Spanish king a memorial complaining further of Porcio. This he followed in February with a statement of the terms on which he was willing to administer the assiento until Porcio's contract should have expired. He apparently succeeded in convincing the council of the unfitness of Porcio, for an agreement was reached shortly after this by which Porcio was relegated to the position of agent to Coymans (Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", pp. 24-28). The letters which follow relate to the first vessel sent out under the new contract. The first letter here printed is undated but was acted upon in a council meeting of Mar. 13, 1685.

purpose]a vessel manned by a Flemish or Dutch crew, in accordance with the terms of the concession; but on account of the great delay which would result from having vessels come from Holland, owing to the ice which it is said has commenced to form, and since the lading of the abovementioned ship has been completed, and since it is very advisable to advance the introduction [of negroes] in the service of your Majesty, in order that this may have effect:

He entreats your Majesty to be pleased to grant him permission for the aforesaid ship to make one voyage only for the said introduction, the ship being manned by a Flemish and Dutch crew as agreed; that Don Pedro de Oreytia, president of the Casa [de la Contratación] take part in the inspection of this crew; that the aforesaid Juan Escholt be appointed captain of the said vessel with the approval of the said Don Pedro de Oreytia, both of them [Coymans and Oreytia] committing the charge of the ship to him. If this be done in this wise and he be given the proper dispatches for clearing the said ship he [Don Baltazar] will be greatly obliged.[2]

124. Pedro de Oreytia to Francisco de Amolaz.[1]

. . . Two days ago I was given a letter from your lordship in which the council ordains that I am to inspect the tonnage and clear a vessel which Don Baltazar Coymans is sending out, informing me (at the same time) that the contract relating to negroes is in his care. I at once complied with the order and I am told that the vessel will sail on the day after tomorrow and as soon as she is gone I shall inform your lordship about the manner in which the order of the council was executed . . .

Cadiz, March 18, 1685.

125. Pedro de Oreytia to Francisco de Amolaz.[1]

. . . I have gathered very special information concerning the person of Captain Juan Escholt [and I am told] that everybody knows him and considers him as a man of tested courage and very worthy of all confidence, and not only all these opinions are in his favor, but Count de Aguilar also knows him and [knows that] he was anxious to serve his Majesty, and señor Don Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan agrees with all this. I must therefore tell your lordship that he is

[2] This is followed by a minute from the council meeting of Mar. 13, 1685, giving permission to the *Prophet Daniel* to sail after the ship, crew, and captain had been inspected.

[124] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18B. The elaborate introductions and conclusions of these letters are omitted. Endorsed: "Council, March 27, 1685: Let this information be awaited, in order to know when he left and how it was executed."

[125] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18C. The first paragraph of the letter repeats the directions of the council meeting of Mar. 13.

well suited for the purpose. This captain was born in the city of Lubeck, a Hanseatic city in Germany. He was married and took up his citizenship in Amsterdam. He had two brothers who were in his Majesty's service in Flanders, one of whom, called Marcos Escholt, captain of a regiment of Germans, was killed in the defeat at Valenciennes, 1677. The vessel called *El Profeta Daniel* is a frigate of war, built in Hamburg. It has a crew of 160 men, all sailors and soldiers, carries 58 pieces of artillery, 14 stone mortars, and the ammunition corresponding to them.

As I have to leave for Seville at once, señor Don Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan remains in charge of the inspection of the crew and to see to it that everything is carried out as the council ordains and as it is set forth in the contract relating to negroes. I have sent an order to Seville that Don Juan Cruzado de la Cruz, the chief pilot and ship gauger, is to come down here at once to gauge the vessel. The necessary assistance will be given in every way so that this vessel may make its voyage with the speed that is desired, taking all the proper precautions. May God guard your lordship as many years as possible.[2]

CADIZ, March 24, 1685.

126. FRANCISCO LORENZO DE SAN MILLAN TO FRANCISCO DE AMOLAZ.[1]

Dear sir: I place myself at the command of your lordship and I solicit very fervently your grace, entreating your lordship to favor me by granting it to me and to command whatever might be to the service and pleasure of your lordship and this out of my affection and as one of your servants I solicit on this day.

On Thursday, the 6th day of this month, when the strong east wind which blew occurred, and when the ship called *El [Profeta] Daniel* (which is to take part in the negro trade in the interest of Don Baltazar Coymans, administrator of that contract), could have been made ready to sail, we went to take the measurements of the vessel, for which work I was personally present aboard the vessel. According to the measurements taken in compliance with the regulation for war ships, the vessel is of 509¼ tons burden, and for merchant vessels 424¼ tons. Therefore, advising that the vessel is provided with everything it needs and is ready to proceed immediately on her voyage,

[2] On Mar. 25 Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan wrote to Amolaz that he was executing the orders regarding the clearance of the vessel. Only a small proportion of the letters exchanged over the sailing of the *Prophet Daniel* are here printed, but enough are presented to show the nature of the Spanish supervision of the assiento.

[126] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18E. Endorsed: "Council meeting of April 17, 1685. Received, and that he is to continue with everything he mentions according to the orders given."

I shall now pass on to the inspection and survey of the crew, in the way his Majesty ordains.

I am also looking after the work on the pontoon and the finishing of the careening, of which I am reporting to your lordship as I have also done to the president, Don Pedro de Oreytia, who, for the time being, is in Seville. May God Our Lord guard your lordship the many years I desire and as is needful.

CADIZ, April 8, 1685.

127. PEDRO DE OREYTIA TO FRANCISCO DE AMOLAZ.[1]

Captain Juan Escholt, commander of the vessel called *El Profeta Daniel,* sailed with negroes to Cartagena and Porto Bello by virtue of the orders of the council: and since he carries aboard his vessel the flag of his Majesty, he wishes to obtain letters patent in case he should meet with pirates on the voyage or in one of the ports at which he touches. What I can affirm is that this man is a man of great courage and circumspection and he seems very devoted to the service of his Majesty. Will your lordship please to report [this] to the council, which will then order what it may consider best. May God guard the person of your lordship the many years I desire.[2]

SEVILLE, April 13, 1685.

128. REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INQUISITION TO THE KING.[1]

Sire: In minutes of December 1 and 24 of the year 1672, on the occasion of the contract of negroes which the Grillos owned on the island of Curaçao, occupied by the Dutch, and other landings made in the port of Cartagena in the Indies by other ships, which put in there under different pretexts, and especially those which say that they belong to some of your Majesty's armed fleets which are called the Guard of the Indies, this council represented to your Majesty the serious peril which might occur if those men were allowed to penetrate inland, on account of the injuries their sects and religious errors

[127] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18F.

[2] Endorsed: "Council held on April 17, 1685. The council having seen and examined this letter about the petition made by Captain Juan Escholt, your excellency having ordered it, agrees that although this matter should be brought before the Assembly of War, your excellency is herewith informed that under no circumstances will the council of its own dictate consent that he is to be given the privilege or grant he requests. Council, April 30th, 1685. He is to be answered to the effect that it has not been considered advisable to grant this petition, the more so after learning what he has written later on about this captain". On Apr. 24, 1685, Oreytia wrote: "The vessel called *El Profeta Daniel,* of which Juan Escholt is captain, and which is about to take part in the traffic in negroes, sailed on Wednesday last, the 18th of this month at sun rise and with favorable winds. With regard to this it will not be necessary to grant him the letters patent he had claimed. My idea in proposing it was to find out whether the man possessed much courage and experience and his willingness to oppose the pirates [he might encounter]." *Ibid.,* 153-7-7-18J.

[128] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-19 I.

might arouse among the natives contrary to the purity of our Holy Catholic Faith and your Majesty's service; your Majesty was petitioned [in these minutes] in order to prevent this to be pleased to permit the inquisitors of Cartagena and other tribunals in the Indies to be ordered as a duty to proceed against the English and Dutch in accordance with law and without restriction of any kind, as the tribunal proceeds against your Majesty's subjects and other residents of the Indies.

Your Majesty, in view of this representation and the advice of the Council of the Indies on this matter, with your customary holy zeal was pleased to make the following decision.

I agree with the opinion [of the council] and have ordained that an answer be given to the Council of the Indies in accordance therewith, and I do likewise to the Council of the Inquisition, but vessels that are forced to put into port must be excepted from this rule, because the agreements set forth in the articles of peace must be observed.

Having heard that a few Dutchmen are trying to make a contract for the negro trade in the Indies, and that, in order to carry on the business of trading there, they will try to penetrate inland—from which will arise against our religion those troubles that can be imagined, since those who will accompany the negroes, as aforesaid will be of the Dutch nation, and since the Grillos are permitted to have only one interpreter—the fear of injury may be augmented because of the savageness and weakness of those natives, especially of those inland; and since they find it necessary to stop [for purposes of trade] in many towns very far distant from the tribunal, and no aid can be given promptly because of the great distance, the Bishop Inquisitor General and the council are of the opinion that their first obligation is to entreat your Majesty that, in case any contract is made with the Dutch, you will please to ordain that all necessary orders be provided and issued for the utmost care of the conservation and purity of our Holy Catholic Faith, because one can very justly fear that if the negroes come by way of the Dutch, they may be greatly imbued with doctrines and errors and that if they be allowed to penetrate into the interior they might pervert many of these natives, and that this council should advise the inquisitors to exercise special vigilance. Your Majesty will ordain what seems best to your royal service.

MADRID, April 13, 1685.[2]

[2] Endorsed: "At the meeting of June 7 of the year 1686, I have adopted the resolution which will come before the council." On Apr. 16 his Majesty sent to the Duke of Medina the following decree: "Inasmuch as the Council of the Inquisition has heard that several Dutchmen are trying to make a contract relative to negro trade in the Indies, it represents in the enclosed consultation what was put forward for the greatest protection of the purity of our Holy Faith. Let this be examined in the Council of the Indies, and tell me what the council's opinion is with regard to its contents" (Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-19). It should be remembered that the Council of the Indies had taken, as it believed, adequate precautions to protect the faith of the negroes. On Feb. 10, 1685, it issued the following order: "Let an order be given to Don Baltazar

129. Francisco de San Millan to Francisco de Amolaz.[1]

On the 16 of this month I inspected the vessel called *El Profeta Daniel,* captain Juan Escholt, which is about to sail for the Indies at the expense of Don Baltazar Coymans of the contract and trade of negroes (the administration of which trade he assumed) and with an interpreter I examined the Flemish and Dutch crew with which the vessel is manned, and I listed them all, with their names, personal description, filiation, and nativity. Great care has been taken to prevent the ship from carrying merchandise and to this effect I went down into the hold personally with the officials. I inspected that, the places between decks, and the staterooms, and notified them that the vessel was to sail immediately as soon as the inspection was ended and they were provided with all the necessaries for this voyage. They carried this order into effect on Wednesday the 18th at sunrise, when they set sail and within a short time they were lost sight of. The necessary documents were given to the attorney of Don Baltazar Coymans by virtue of the orders of the Council [of the Indies] and in reference to the said visit of inspection, both the said attorney and the captains agreeing to comply with the obligation not to make more than this one voyage and to return to this port and then to substitute in place of one of the two naval ships which were granted him, another ship which is his own. For the present the above is all I have to report to your lordship, whom I entreat to keep me in your good grace and remember to command me [always]. . . .

Cadiz, April 22, 1685.

130. Order of the King of England in Council.[1]

April 29, 1685.

Whereas his Majesty hath been informed that notwithstanding the severall Injunctions that have been signified from time to time to the Governors of his Majestys Plantations in America for the due observance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, Yet neverthelesse that

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Coymans through the secretary's office to the effect that on the vessels which are to sail to his factories in Africa to buy negroes, ten discalced Capuchins are to be taken to the colonies. They are to be assigned to the vessels at the expense of the aforesaid Don Baltazar, who shall provide for their support in their respective colonies and also the customary ration and they shall be maintained in the said colonies" (Arch. Ind. 153-7-7-10). A royal decree of Mar. 25, 1685, confirmed this provision.

[129] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18I. Much the same information was contained in a letter of Apr. 16, by the same writer. *Ibid.,* 157-77-7-18G.

[130] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 81. In response to a petition from the company, James II. issued a proclamation, similar to that of Nov. 30, 1674, against interlopers. In this he spoke of the trade as "of late disturbed by several ill disposed Persons who preferring their private profit before the Publick Good, have . . . in a Clandestine and Disorderly manner, Traded into those Parts". *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society,* XII. 137-139; *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 80.

forrein vessells have Traded in those Parts, For the prevention wherof it is this day Ordered by his Majesty in Councill, that the Captains of such of his Majestys Shipps as shall be sent into America do seize all vessells belonging to strangers and forreine vessells not made free, which they shall finde trading or attempting to Trade there Contrary to the said Acts in order to their prosecution pursuant to the Lawes in that behalf, with this exception onely, that such Spanish vessells and ships imployed by Spaniards as shall come to Buy Negros at Jamaica or Barbados be permitted so to do, and that the said ships and persons may have free admission and liberty of bringing either money or Goods of the product of the Spanish Dominions in America, and to carry away from the said Places such negros as shall be agreed for provided they do nothing otherwise contrary to the Acts of Navigation and the Lawes Established on those Islands. Wherof Samuel Pepys Esqre. Secretary of the Admiralty is to take notice, and to cause all such Instructions to be given to the said Captaines of Shipps as shall be requisite for the said purpose.[2]

131. Lieutenant Governor Hender Molesworth to William Blathwayt.[1]

Jamaica, May 15, 1685.

Ten days ago arrived Don Baltasar Beck, a Dutch gentleman bred in Spain, bearing the royal cedulas of the King of Spain in favour of Don Baltasar Coymans—to whom the King has committed the sole management of the Assiento—for the introduction of negroes into the Spanish Indies, and for taking of all effects whatsoever out of the hands of Porcio and his Agents.[2] This was done on a suggestion that Porcio was wholly incapable of carrying it on for want of money; but from all that appeared here, the want was not of money, but of negroes. Having communicated his powers to me, he desired me to secure both the person of Porcio's agent and all effects in his hands belonging to the Assiento; to which I answered that this was impossible except by due process of law, that the Island itself was a kind of prison, which he could not leave nor send goods from without authority, and that I could not judge of the validity of his powers until I knew how they had been respected by the King of Spain's

[2] On the same day that this order was issued letters were sent to the governors of the plantations ordering strict observance of the acts of navigation, the letters to Barbados, Leeward Islands, and Jamaica instructing the governors to make an exception in the case of the Spanish trade in negroes (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 81). In 1687 the Lords of Trade found it necessary to recommend another order, this time against the importation of negroes from Curaçao. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 398, 404.

[131] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 44.

[2] See Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, I. 657-675; Wright, "The Coymans Asiento". The cedula issued Mar. 25, 1685, cancelled all previous grants and directed that legal protection be granted to the Coymans against Porcio. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 45.

Ministers in the Indies. He thought this reasonable, not doubting to hear soon of the ratification of his powers in the proper quarter. Meanwhile the two parties kept making demands and protests, etc., complaining each that I was partial to the other, though I did my best to be indifferent. Beck tries to make me believe that he is come, not so much to take away the business, as to establish it on a better foundation, and that he hopes to hear from London of a contract with the Royal African Company, acknowledging (as is true) that the negro-trade could not be driven so advantageously for the Assiento from any port in the Indies as from this. I told him that he would not want encouragement. He then made the following proposal as absolutely essential for the settlement of a trade here, *viz.*, that Coymans should be protected, as he was by the Spanish King's letters in the Spanish Indies, from any suit by Porcio for debts due to him. I answered that I could deny my King's justice to no one, but that I would write him [home?] for instructions, and meanwhile would do what I could to protect him against the creditors of the Assiento. I beg for instructions, and hope that my conduct will be approved. . . .[3]

132. Résumé of the Origin of the Introduction of Slaves into Spanish America.[1]

Résumé of the origin of the introduction of negro slaves into the Indies and the need there is of them in those provinces. From the book entitled *Norte de la Casa de la Contratación de las Indies*, by Don José de Veytia, it appears that a few years after the discovery of the Indies, it was found that the work in the mines and the cultivation of the fields could not be mastered by the Indians, and, in order to help them, it was resolved to bring some slaves over from Europe, such as negroes, but excluding Berbers and mulattoes and, from among the said negroes, those called "Gelofes" [Jolloffs?], who were considered as haughty and rebellious. Among other orders Veytia notes that by a cedula of July 16, 1550, the Casa de la Contratación was ordered not to allow any more negro slaves to go to the Indies from the Levant, for it was understood that some of these were descended from the Moorish race, or else had contact with them, and that it did not seem advisable that people of that sort should be taken to countries where the faith had been so recently planted, even if they were of the negro race of Guinea.

[3] Enclosures which went with this letter were: (1) grant of the assiento by the King of Spain to Don Balthazar Coymans, Madrid, Mar. 25, n. s.; (3) same, dated Mar. 5; (4) similar grant, ordering that Coymans be given legal protection against Porcio, Mar. 25; (5) order revoking all previous rights granted to Barroso and Porcio, Madrid, Mar. 15, 1685, printed. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 45.

[132] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-11, not dated.

It was also decreed that no Spanish-speaking negro [*negro ladino*] was to be taken to the Indies, all negroes who had been for one year in Spain or Portugal being considered as such, for they would cause the loss of the new negroes [*bozales*] by ill advice.

As time went on, and the work in the fields and in the mines increased, a still greater lack of laborers became evident: and, as the appreciation of the negroes increased and a good market was found for them, the number of those brought in continued to grow and at the time permits for this trade were being granted in Spain the price paid per capita was already as high as 30 ducats and a duty of over 20 reals. Those of the purchasers who were unable to pay cash in Seville obligated themselves to pay 40 ducats in the Indies and a duty of 30 reals instead of 20, this being the duty pertaining to the crown of Castile, and with respect to the crown of Portugal, another duty had to be paid there, as well as entrance duty in the Indies.

The duty payable on these licenses continued to grow in such a way that this gave rise to the formation of asientos to transport shiploads of negroes, and the income derived from these asientos was considered so steady that annuities were established which were publicly proclaimed by a crier in the manner of the revenues of the duties on import and export, or of the excise. The first asiento was the one provided by the decree of January 30, 1595, with Pedro Gomez Reynal,[2] for a term of nine years. He was allowed to ship 4250 slaves per annum, it being assumed that about 3500 of these would reach their destination alive and having the characteristics and conditions stipulated in the treaty. Inasmuch as Reynal died before executing his asiento, Juan Rodríguez Cutiño continued at the head of it from 1601 to 1609 under the same terms.

After this these rights were administered at the account of his Majesty till the year 1615, when a new asiento was made with Antonio Rodríguez de Rivas and this asiento lasted until 1622 and within this term 29,574 slaves were shipped.

After the year when the latter contractor died, the administration of this right was placed in charge of the tribunal of the Casa de la Contratación and the kind of contracts made with several people who obligated themselves to barter a certain number of negroes was called *avenças*.

This was followed by another asiento with Manuel Rodríguez Lamego, which ended in the year 1630. After an accounting had been rendered to his Majesty, the latter ordered the tribunal of the aforesaid Casa to adjust the *avenças,* until Don Luís del Alcazar, factor

[2] For a detailed account of all these contracts, see Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* vol. I., *passim.*

of the Casa, arrived, who had been appointed as administrator. In 1631 an asiento was made with Melchor Gómez and Cristóbal Méndez de Sosa: but after the rebellion of Portugal no other treaty was made and several years went by without an asiento being made, until the year 1662, when one was made. This was under charge of Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin, who obligated themselves for seven years to introduce 3000 slaves per year, paying at the rate of 100 pesos per *pieza de Indias*[3] or in all 300,000 pesos. They were to build several vessels, in addition to the rest of the conditions and qualifications expressed in their asiento, which was approved by decree of his Majesty dated July 31, 1662. By another decree, dated September 5, 1668, his Majesty approved the agreement made with regard to the aforesaid transaction of several lawsuits and the provision they promised to make in Flanders over and above the two years granted them to continue the introduction of slaves, as was their obligation. They obtained a continuation of another two. Then they had in all four years, which were to terminate on March 1, 1674, in the course of which they were to complete the number of negroes which they had failed to introduce in the first seven years of the asiento. They were to live up to the agreement and [to a further stipulation] that during the said four years of the continuation they could not introduce negroes anywhere else.

By a decree of December 28, 1674, the Queen Mother, our lady (being at the time ruler of these kingdoms), was pleased to approve the instrument of the asiento made with Antonio García and Don Sebastián de Silice for five years for a payment of 450,000 reals of 8, for the right of introducing 4000 *piezas* of negro slaves into the Indies, with the qualifications and under the condition contained in the instrument of the contract, which was made with regard to it, but this did not become effective for lack of credit.

Later, on account of lack of funds and of credit on the part of the said Antonio García and other partners in the asiento which had been made with him, it was placed in charge of the Consulado of Commerce of the city of Seville, with whom an instrument was drawn up, which was approved by his Majesty in the decree of February 10, 1676, obligating themselves to introduce ten thousand tons which is equal to as many other permits for five years, at 2000 tons, annually, paying 112 pesos and a half per ton, which altogether amounts to 1,125,000 pesos, payable in the Indies in three voyages of the respective galleons, on each one of these voyages paying one-third, and a gift of 100,000 pesos more as a thank offering, in cash, besides advancing 150,000 pesos on account of the first payment, and comply-

[3] For *pieza de India* see the introduction, p. 106n.

ing with all the rest of the qualifications and conditions contained in the aforesaid asiento.

Upon the expiration of the term of five years, a new asiento of negroes was made with Don Nicolas Porcio, by power of attorney from Don Juan Barroso y Pozo, his father-in-law, a resident of Cadiz. In a decree dated January 31, 1682, his Majesty deigned to approve the instrument which had been drawn up in respect of the asiento during the time of the other five years, for the amount of 1,125,000 pesos, payable in the same form as had been agreed to with the said Consulado of Commerce, together with all the other conditions agreed to then, adding several more from the asiento made with Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin and others named in this instrument.

Lately an agreement was made with Don Baltazar Coymans, to assume the administration of this asiento for the term fixed with the said Don Nicolas Porcio and upon finishing this term, for another two years at his own account and risk, and with all the qualifications agreed upon with him. He also obligated himself by a separate asiento to furnish 200,000 escudos of his own, 50,000 of which were to be paid at once for the purchasing of four frigates for the royal navy, the remaining 150,000 escudos to be paid in 12 equal monthly payments in the state of Flanders, the first one of these payments to be payable on November 1, 1685.

A copy of each one of the asientos referred to, from the time one was committed to the care of Domingo Grillo, up to the present time, is enclosed with this Résumé and whatever is said about them is what has taken place with regard to the form adopted for the introduction of the said negro slaves and the making of asientos of negroes. As far as the need of negro slaves in the Indies is concerned, there are enclosed two consultas of the council—one of April 28, of the year 1674, in which an account was rendered to the Queen Mother, our lady (who at the time was ruler of these kingdoms), of the news received from the envoy of Portugal, as to whether negroes could be taken from the factories of that kingdom with whom to supply the Indies and how important it was that orders should be sent to the envoy to make arrangements for men to go and barter in the said factories and to attempt to arrange by asiento at Lisbon the duties on the negroes. About this her Majesty deigned to decree the following:

The necessity of availing ourselves immediately of the revenue which this operation might yield, because of the importunities of the present necessities of the monarchy, permits of no delay in the negotiations proposed by the council—especially since it is certain that they can not get along without negroes in the Indies; and it is to be believed that those who are not allowed to enter through us, will be taken in by others. Therefore, on this account, and because the

method of single licenses is not considered a good one, I order the council that it try to make a hard and fast asiento without any delay whatever in regard to the introduction of negroes, and to inform me of what is done in this regard and what is best so that this matter may be concluded with that haste that is fitting, for this is what I have decided on.

The other consulta is dated May 24, 1679, complying with an order by his Majesty, ordering the council to deliberate upon the best course to pursue in case they were to trade with the English, for the negroes whom they were accustomed to buy for the Indies from the Dutch might be had from the English at first hand and at more convenient prices. The council stated its opinion as to what it considered best in the matter and his Majesty was pleased to state the following:

I am informed of and I agree with the opinion [of the council] and with regard to the fact that all nations have negro factories merely to derive profit from their sale, and that there is great need of them here for the Indies, the council will consider whether there might be some way of establishing our own factories.

With regard to the order of his Majesty, that he be informed whether meetings of theologians and jurists have been held to determine whether it is licit to buy them as slaves and make asientos for them and whether there are any authors who have written on this particular question and to mention their names, no record has been found in the offices of the secretary regarding this matter, except the one meeting held lately at the lodging of the president, Don Vicente Gonzaga, which was attended, besides other officials, by Messrs. Don Luis Cerdeño and Don José de Veytia and the Minister Cornejo, but as this meeting is so well known, what was done is not discussed here; moreover the original reports of the meeting are in the hands of his Majesty, who asked for them as soon as the vote had been taken, and a memorandum of them is in possession of the fiscal.

133. Minutes of the Council of the Indies.[1]

Summary of what occurred in connection with the conveniences or inconveniences which might result from the treaty of administration, which was made with Don Baltazar Coymans in regard to the introduction of negro slaves into the Indies. . . .[2]

[133] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-10.

[2] Here follows a review of the negotiations which had been going on, with some details omitted in earlier accounts. On coming to the conclusion that the management of the assiento might well be withdrawn from Porcio's charge, the council sent one of its members secretly to Coymans, apparently to learn upon what terms he would take it. Shortly after this he presented a proposal to introduce negroes amounting to 3000 tons in shipping annually, to pay 200,000 escudos to the Spaniards, 50,000 of which were to be used to pay for frigates to be built in Holland. After some consideration it was agreed that the contract was to be given to him despite the fact that he was of the Dutch nation and therefore a heretic. Since he would take the contract on no other terms two warships manned by Flemish and Dutch were to be sent to the West Indies. An agreement following these terms was drawn up and sent to Coymans.

His Majesty was pleased to say in his royal order of May 4, 1684:

As it is advisable to investigate all that happened with regard to the contract for negroes granted for the Indies, I have resolved to form a committee, consisting of you, Don Vicente Gonzaga, Don Gil Castrejón, Don Antonio Ronquillo, and Don Toribio de Mier, of the Council of Castille, Don Luis Cerdeño and Don José de Veytia of the Council of the Indies, and Father Cornejo of the Order of St. Francis. And I ordain that you are to call a meeting for Sunday, the 6th day of the present month and to take thither all the consultas and documents touching this matter that may be necessary, and that they be examined with special care and that a report be given me immediately of what comes out and your opinion.

The meeting having taken place in accordance with this royal order, a consulta was held on that same sixth day of the month, and the report was made to his Majesty that at the said meeting Don José de Veytia had presented the recommendation made by the Bishop of Sigüenza, confessor of his Majesty, which originated this meeting, the contents of this recommendation being to the effect that the Nuncio of his Holiness had proposed a modification of the contract relative to the asiento of negroes which had been made with a Dutch heretic, because of the inconveniences and risks likely to befall religion in the dominions of the Indies, if this contract were allowed to be carried out as agreed. His Holiness being apprised of the contract, he ordered him [the nuncio] to make the most suitable recommendations in order to prevent [the said risks]. [He said] that he had started to make an investigation and in consequence thereof had spoken about it to his Majesty: but upon finding that his admonitions had no apparent effect, he considered it his duty to repeat the assertion that of all the intellectual and prominent persons with whom he had spoken about this contract, not one spoke well of it, neither as it concerned the state and political situation nor in its connection with the interests of his Majesty, and, what was no less important, in its relation to the safety of matters pertaining to religion. . . .[3]

As for the religious question which seemed to be the principal issue on which his Majesty ordered them to express their opinion, the committee unanimously declared that they had no doubt with regard to this matter, nor could they possibly have any. . . .

First, the intercourse was lawful when there was no danger of perversion; and this could not be feared even remotely, for, although the administration of the contract was entrusted to Dutch persons, this present manager had to reside in these realms [Spain], the business dealings were to be handled by Catholics, and if any Dutch trader

[3] The objections to the contract were carefully considered. The committee then reported to his Majesty that the contract was most favorable to the interests of the king and of the public, that Coymans had already set about fulfilling its terms, and that it would hardly be possible to cancel it.

had to assist tradesmen in their dealings, they were to obtain the advantages of such an one who had never had any business experiences in the Indies. Although many heretics of different sects have gone to the Indies, not one of them has ever tried to introduce his creed there. In case any such should go there, measures had been taken and orders had been given to the officials of the Inquisition, to punish them through their tribunal if they trespassed the permission granted them. The Faith was so firmly rooted in the Indies, and especially at ports where transports with negro slaves had to put in, that it could safely be said that it could not be more assured in the ports of Castile. There were no Indians at these ports nor even at a great distance from them, among whom they might, on account of their ready compliance, introduce their erroneous beliefs; and they cannot go into the interior of the country, because of the prohibitions in the laws of the Indies. As many cautions as possible were taken with regard to the two warships allowed to be manned by Flemish and Dutch crews in order to prevent these men from going ashore and from having any intercourse whatsoever with the Catholics. . . .[4]

Third, [the intercourse was lawful] since it was certain that the Indies could not be maintained without negroes, because the lack of Indians has made it necessary that they be supplemented by making use of these people both for the labor of the estates, and for service in the families, as it is impossible to obtain Spaniards or creoles who are willing to do this kind of work; also the Dutch own the factories whence the negroes are brought. The public reason for maintaining those realms makes the trading lawful, because the Catholic could purchase from the infidel what was distinctly for necessary use, and not only the purchase is lawful, but also the delivery of the goods by the same hand, especially when, notwithstanding the many efforts made, no Spaniard could be found who was willing to take the asiento, inasmuch as the Consulado, which alone could handle the trade and which had done so before, refused it. Wherever the public weal is concerned, intercourse and trading are not only permitted but also the alliance with and use of armed auxiliaries, even of heretics, in defense of those domains proper, in case assistance cannot be obtained in any other way, as has been done in many instances in the past.

Great care has been taken in this contract, not only to safeguard everything concerning religion, but so great stress was laid on this that the Dutchman with whom the matter was arranged was made to take ten Capuchin monks to his factories in order to instruct the negroes in our Holy Faith. He obligated himself to take them, to sup-

[4] Secondly, intercourse is lawful when there is no cause for scandal. In the trade under consideration there could be no such cause, since it granted no greater intercourse than was already permitted in Italy and Spain.

port them, and allow them to preach in public, a stipulation never before included in any asiento, and one which it was believed would not be allowed, as it was totally opposed to their [*i. e.*, the Dutch] religion.

These arguments were so weighty that, since the Nuncio was the one who first raised the question, as stated in the consulta of the Bishop Confessor, Señor Don Luis Cerdeño was ordered to go to inform him [*i. e.*, the Nuncio] of the motives which caused the contract to be executed. Upon receiving this information, the Nuncio replied that he was convinced.

Lastly, a matter that admitted no compromise to the most scrupulous investigation, was that the Council of the Inquisition, which applies itself with so great zeal to keeping our Holy Faith untouched and pure, upon notice of the asiento made with the Grillos, and of the permission for a foreign interpreter which had been granted in this asiento together with the introduction of other Englishmen and Dutchmen, advised his Majesty that it would be proper to issue the fitting warnings lest any spark be introduced prejudicial to the religion, by ordering the inquisitors to proceed against infidel foreigners who raised any disturbance, in the same manner in which they proceeded against Catholics who committed any crime against the Faith. His Majesty was pleased to come to such a resolution. If the Inquisition had found restriction or harm to religion in the contract it would have opposed it. That body took the same action in the consulta which it gave his Majesty on April 13 of that year with regard to this contract, when it represented to his Majesty that if the contract were to be executed, orders should be issued for the exercise of the greatest care in the preservation and purity of our Holy Faith. Since this tribunal is the one to decide all points of religion, its representations attest in every way the decision of the committee. . . .[5]

Until now no reply to this consulta has been received.

By decree of July 5, 1685, his Majesty was pleased to order the Council of the Indies to inform him at once concerning the advantage of the negroes in America and what damage would follow in case they could not be had; whether there had been held any meetings by theologians and jurists to decide whether it was considered lawful to buy them as slaves and form asientos for them; whether there were

[5] The report here reviews the communications which had been received from the Council of the Inquisition. This body had referred at great length to objections which it had made in 1672 against the introduction of negroes by way of Curaçao, and to the provisions that had been made to prevent any religious heresy from gaining entrance to the Spanish-American ports. At the present time, under the projected contract with the Dutch, there was great danger that the negroes might themselves be perverted on the voyage across the ocean, and might carry false doctrines to the natives of the interior. This the Council of the Indies regarded as highly unlikely, since the Dutch were interested only in their profits and would interfere in no way with the faith of their captives. These captives could be landed only at four ports in the new world, in all of which they would find representatives of the Church.

any authors who had written about this particular matter and who they were; and then were to state all other private information, that the council might have on hand or might acquire, with all other documents belonging thereto; all of which they were to place as soon as possible in his royal hands.

Complying with this order, the council made a consulta for his Majesty on August 21 following, stating that its information on this matter consisted of two points.

First. What is the advantage America derives from the fact that negroes are brought there and what are the damages that would follow if they did not have them?

Secondly. Whether any meetings had been held by jurists and theologians to determine whether the traffic in negroes was lawful and to make an asiento for them; and whether there were any writers who discussed this point.

As to the first, the introduction of negroes into America is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary, for reasons expressed in the consultas, several of which dwell more particularly on this matter.

From the absolute need of these slaves, the fatal consequences which would result from not having them were easily deduced, for if they are the ones who cultivate the haciendas, and there is no one else who could do it, because of a lack of Indians, and where Indians were to be found they would not be forced to render personal services, it would follow that if a prohibition were issued to discontinue bringing them, the food needed for the support of the whole kingdom would cease to be produced; the landed properties, the main wealth of which consists chiefly of negro slaves, would be lost, and America would face absolute ruin. This was experienced when the kingdom of Portugal separated itself from the Spanish crown,[6] for since [then] the asientos had lapsed and the bringing of negroes from Cape Verde and the factories owned by the Portuguese in Africa had ceased, and although certain permits were issued, they were not half enough to provide America where great poverty was suffered in consequence. It was then, in order to repair the loss, because the public weal demanded the support of those dominions, that the asiento was made with Domingo Grillo, slaves were provided, and immediately the benefit of their introduction was felt. Everything else connected with this question and deemed useful was considered.

With reference to the second point, as to whether there had been a meeting of theologians and jurists to consider whether it is lawful to purchase negroes as slaves and make asientos of negroes, on the question as to whether this slavery is permitted, there are many authors who discuss it, such as those noted in the above-mentioned

[6] Portugal's freedom from Spain was achieved in 1640.

consulta (who, however, are not named here in order not to lengthen this abstract). The council is therefore of the opinion that there cannot be any doubt as to the necessity of those slaves for the support of the kingdom of the Indies, and as to the importance to the public welfare of continuing and maintaining this procedure without any change; and with regard to the point of conscience, its probability because of the reasons expressed, the authorities cited, and its long-lived and general custom in the kingdoms of Castile, America, and Portugal, without any objection on the part of his Holiness or ecclesiastical state, but rather with the tolerance of all of them. This is what it seemed appropriate to the Council of the Indies to represent to his Majesty. After his Majesty had examined it, he was pleased to decide:

It is well.

134. Instructions to Sir Philip Howard as Governor of Jamaica.[1]

November 25, 1685.

. . . You are to give all due encouragement and Invitation to Merchants and others who shall bring Trade unto Our said Island, or any way contribute to their advantage, And in particular to the Royal African Company of England.

And as We are willing to recommend unto the said Compa. that the said Island may have a constant and sufficient Supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate Rates in Money or Commoditys, Soe you are to take care that payment bee duly made and within a competent time according to their Agreements.

And whereas Wee are informed that permission is granted from Spain for the Shipping of that Kingdom to come to Our Island of Jamaica to buy Negros, which Trade will probably bee of considerable advantage to Our subjects, and particularly to the Royal African Compa.; Our Will and pleasure is That, for the encouragement of the said Trade, you take especial care that such Shipps or persons as shall come to that Our Island bee civilly treated and receive all fitting encouragement in their design of buying Negroes. Provided they doe nothing contrary to the Act of Navigation or the Laws establisht in that Our Island; and that the said persons may have free admission of bringing in either Money or Goods of the product of any of the said Countrys. And Wee doe strictly require that noe other Duties or Impositions be exacted or demanded for the Blacks and Goods more than the Law doth appoint. And you are Likewise upon the coming or departure of Any Shippe to or from Our said Island to buy or carry away such Negroes, to order them to bee convoyd by Our

[134] [1] C. O. 138: 4, pp. 319-342.

frigates as far as you shall find conduceing to their Security, and encouragement of that Trade.

And it being represented unto us, that the said King of Spain hath granted power to Balthazar Coymans to Trade under a Patent formerly granted to Nicholas Porcio for Importing Negros into the Spanish West Indies, And to take possession of the Estate of the said Porcio for the benefit of his Creditors, And that the said Coymans hath impowred Diego Maget to settle in Our Island of Jamaica in order to continue the Negro Trade with Our subjects in that Island; You are therefore to permit the said Magett to have the free benefit of the Law and to Countenance him and all others concerned in the said Grant from the King of Spain in their proceedings there soe far forth as may consist with the encouragement of the Negro Trade in that island. . . .

SUNDERLAND.[2]

135. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN THOMAS WOODFINE.[1]

LONDON, the 10th December 1685.

According to our Agreement with you and your owners as obliged by Charter party (to w'ch Wee require yo'r due regard for what is to be performed on yo'r part) Wee have laden aboard your Shipp *Sarah Bonadventura* a Cargoe of Goods Consigned yourself proper for the Trade of Africa, Windward of Cabo Corsoe Importing £1906: 7: 6*d.* wherein yo'r owners are interested. You are therefore to firm bills of lading for what Goods are for our acco'tt or Permission laiden aboard yo'r said Shipp. And with the first good opportunity that God shall send, sett sail and apply as near to Cape Mount on the said Coast as yo'r Shipp can conveniently come where and at all Places of Trade on the Graine,[2] Quaqua and Gold Coasts (except at our Factoryes) before you arrive att Cabo Corso, You are to use yo'r best skill and endeavo'rs to dispose of the said Cargoe for Gold, Elephants Teeth, Mallagetta or what else is vendable in Europe. And when you have disposed of the said Cargoe or such part thereof as you find will sell in the time agreed for yo'r Stay in those parts, then sail to our Factory at Cabo Corsoe Castle and render our Agent Generall and Councill there a true acco'tt of the Disposall of the said Cargoe. You are also to deliver them the severall Goods Wee have Consigned them by yo'r Shipp according to bill of Lading from whome you are to take aboard for our Acco'tts Five hundred and fifty Negroes if they have or can procure them, within the time that you shall agree to stay on that Coast for them (without charging the

[2] Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, was principal Secretary of State.

[135] [1] T 70: 61, "Instructions to Captains, 1685-1700".

[2] The Grain or Pepper Coast extended from the River Sestos (or Sestro) to Cape Palmas. The Ivory, Quaqua, and Gold coasts were eastward from it.

Company Demorage and when laden stear away for Jamaica and deliver the Negroes to Coll. Hender Molesworth, Mr. Charles Penhallow and Mr. Walter Ruding . . . our Factors there. But to prevent the damage w'ch might accrue to yo'r owners by yo'r long stay on the Coast, if Negroes should be scarce and cannot in fit time and at reasonable tearms be Procured on the Gold Coast Wee have laden a Cargoe of Goods (such as you approved of) proper and fitt (Consigned yo'r Selfe) for the Purchase of the said Number of Five hundred and fifty Negroes on the Coast of Ard[3] w'ch Wee expect and require that you husband the best you can for our advantage, And if our Factors on the said Coast can further yo'r dispatch that you doe by them as directed in Charter party. But in case you have yo'r whole Number of Negroes from the Gold Coast you must then leave the said Cargoe with our said Agent and rest of the Councill, or such part thereof in proportion to the Number of Negroes you receive from thence or the Windward Parts.

Having purchased yo'r said Complement of Negroes or such part of them as you think Convenient for yo'r Shipp to carry Signe bills of lading for them for our Acco'tt and proceed to Jamaica aforesaid and deliver them to our said Factors from whom you are to Receive two third parts of yo'r Freight, in the said Negroes by lott and a Certificate to us for the Remainder.

And if any mortallity should happen among yo'r Negroes in yo'r voyage, Wee require for our Satisfaction that you send or bring home a Certificate under yo'r Mates and Chirurgeons hands testifying the Time of the Death of such as shall happen to dye, for Wee shall allow of none, but what are soe certifyed to be dead. . . .[4]

You are every night to enter what goods that day you sold, and for what, that yo'r Actings may be cleare for our Satisfaction in case of yo'r mortality this voyage (w'ch God forbid) and for that purpose Wee now deliver you a booke signed by our Dep'ty Govern'r.

Wee wish you a good voyage and rest Your loving Friends etc.

BENJA. BATHURST, Sub: Gov'r	JOHN MORGAN
JACOB LUCIE Dept'y Gov'r.	ABRA: HILL
JOHN BENCE	WM JUATT
WM. HUSSEY	GEORGE BONN
PETER JOYE	RICHARD CRADOCK
FRANCIS HOPEGOOD	JOHN SHORT
ROBT. WILLIAMSON	

[3] Ardra.

[4] The omitted paragraph closely resembles that in the instructions to Captain Kempthorne, May 4, 1686, beginning, "The Lawes having asserted", no. 136, below.

136. Instructions to Captain Samuel Kempthorne.[1]

London, the 4th May 1686.

You are with the First Opportunity of Wind and Weather that God shall send after receipt hereof, to Sett Sail with your Ship the *Loyall Factors* from the River of Thames, and make the best of your way to the Coast of Angola in Africa, and on Arrivall there, use yo'r utmost endeavours to dispose of the cargoe of Goods, wee have laden aboard your Shipp amounting to £1143: 12 *s*: 0 *d*. for the Purchasing of 300 Lusty and Sound Negroes and Provitions for them, according to Charter party to which wee expect you duely conforme, and with the Surpluse of the said Cargoe,[2] buy what Elephants teeth you can for our Acco'tts. Wee have likewise laden another Cargoe of Goods importing £173:17: for the buying Elephants teeth, wherein you and your Own'rs are conserned as agreed in Charter party.

Having finished your business on the Coast of Angola you are to direct your course to Jamaica where God sending you safe to arrive deliver the Negroes to Hender Molesworth Esq'r, Mr. Charles Penhallow and Mr. Walter Ruding our Factors there who will pay you two thirds of your Freight out of them, and give you Certificates for the remainder.

Wee expect that you bring or send home a certificate under your Mates and Chirurgions hands to testifie the Death of all Negroes that shall happen to dye in the voyage specifying the time of their Death, for wee will not allow of any for dead but what are soe certified.

Herewith you have a booke signed by the Dep'ty Gov'r in which you are daily to enter what Goods you Barter and what you receive for them, Signing the Same every Night for our Satisfaction, in case of your Mortality this voyage, (which God forbid). Give the Company full advises of your proceedings by all Opportunitys.

The Lawes having asserted his Maj'ties right to grant Charters and to punish any Subjects that shall presume contemptuously to violate his Prerogative therein, Wee have by vertue of his Maj'ties Charter given you a Commission to Seize Interlopers, and doe expect and require in Conformity to your Charter Party, that you put the same effectually in execution against all vessells and Persons you shall meet with, and find trading on the Coast contrary to his Maj'ties said Grant according to the Instructions Signed by our Secret'ys. And for your encouragement vigorously to execute the said Commission, the Royal African Company doe hereby engage their Stock to keepe and Save you harmlesse for what you shall act agreeable thereto, and grant you one fourth part of what prizes you shall seize and be condemned. And wee have ordered our Factors in the Plantations to Secure you against

[136] [1] T 70: 61.

[2] Despite the complaints made of the increasing price of negroes on the coast, they were evidently not expected to average £4 per head.

any trouble may happen to you for executing the said Commission. We wish you a good voyage. Yo'r Loving Friends etc.

BENJA. BATHURST Sub. Gov'r.	JEREMY SAMBROOKE
GAB. ROBERTS. Dep'ty Gov'r.	WILLIAM LANGHORNE
WM. TURNER	WM. DES BOUVERIE
HEN: TULSE	GEORGE BONN
JACOB LUCIE	FRAUN HOPEGOOD
JOHN SHORT	WILLIAM JUATT
JOHN MORICE	ROBT. WILLIAMSON
JOHN MORGAN	SAM'LL STANIER
RICH'D CRADOCK	JOHN NORTH
JOHN PERY	

P: S. If you meete any of these Interlopers that are to Strong for you, soe that you cannot take them, yett you shall doe well to enquire as much as you can who is the Master and from whence the Ship was Sett out and what is her Lading and who are the Owners or Imployers and what is the Name of the Ship and what other perticulers you can learne that may helpe us to a further discovery at their returne, and that no thing be forgott or lost of the discovery you make, lett all be plainely and fairly written in your Journall.

137. ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY: EXTRACTS FROM THE BLACK BOOK.[1]

The 16th March 1685[7 ?] [2]

Vide a letter from the factors at Jam'ca Dated the 2d Nov. 1686. On the 16th Ult. arrived the *Sarah Bonadventure* from the Gold Coast and Ardra with 250 very indifferent Neg'rs the remainder of 530 taken aboard. Capt. Tho. Woodfine her former Commander dyed about three daies before they Sailed from Ardra and one Thomas Attwell the Chief Mate Succeeded him as Master who Stopt at Barbados in his passage hither where wee Suspect he landed Some of his choicest Neg'rs but of that wee have yet noe certeine proof. About which Collo Molesworth hath writt to Collo. Steede to make some Enquiry and to advise you of it.

Out of the 250 Neg'rs Imported Attwell Endeavored to conceale 49 which were all hid in the hold and other private places of the shipp. at the first comeing on board but 2 daies after his arrivall he privately conveys 11 ashoare about two howers before day of which wee haveing some information and of the place where they were landed went imediately and seized them and soone after goeing aboard and telling

[137] [1] T 70: 1433, "Black Book of the Royal African Company of England from February 10, 1685, to July 28, 1702".

[2] The date of the entry in the Black Book is Mar. 16, 1685, which is probably a mistake for 1687, since the letter which is entered is dated Nov. 2, 1686.

the Ma'r what wee had done (carryeing with us two waiters which remained on board till after the day of sale) he did confess that he had 38 more in the Shipp which he would willingly have sold privately for Capt. Woodfines Widdow being as he sayes purchased with her husbends Goods but were all then produced unto us.

Notwithstanding Capt. Tho. Woodfine's many Oathes and protestacons both from himself and Shipps Company that he did not privately convey ashoare any Neg'rs last Voyage yet wee have some reason now to believe the persons that he employed haveing since his death confessed that they sold 18 for him to the Spaniards which were the Neg'rs wee formerly advised you in our Letter by him, that wee had in Suspition the Truth of which (notwithstanding the strict Enquiry wee then made) wee could not find out, those very persons that he employed at that time Voweing to us and offering to sweare that the Neg'rs they sold to the Spaniards were sent them out of the Country where they had bin a long time and belonged to severall people who ordered them to be left at theire house to be recruited and well fed before they were sold but wee feare it's too late for us now to recover any Satisfaction for them. Upon our Discovery of those Neg'rs that were privately landed wee demanded of Attwell what Gold belonged to you and the Own'rs but he told us he had none and Shewed us Agent Nurse and the rest of the Comnells [*sic*] receipt for it but being willing to be farther Satisfied what else was on board wee demanded to see what was in the Capt's chest where wee found the severall parcells mentioned in the enclosed paper under Attwells owne hand but wee beleiveing by the severall markes as well as the M's Information that most of it belonged to Agent Nurse and the other Factors at Cape Coast and that they might have had liberty from you to send home what they got in Gold or anything else, forbore the seizeing it but if you approve not of it the said paper will oblige Attwell to be accomptable to you for it.

Wee had almost forgot to advise you that upon Attwells first arrivall he informed C. P.[3] that he had a Negroe man aboard which was sent him by Agent Nurse but he not being well satisfied in the thing refused him and [he] goes included in the Number wee sold for the Company and for which wee have given rect's.[4]

[3] Charles Penhallow.

[4] The agents were not always as severe as in this ruling. "Capt. Kempthorne had a Negroe man and 2 small boyes which he shewed us and said they were not purchased with your Goods but were given him by the King of Angola in returne of a present he had made him which wee beleiveing would not take any thing for theire Freight considering the care he took in bringing your Goods in soe good condition, but refer him to you to deale by him about it as you think most convenient". Mar. 18, 1687, Jamaica factors to the company, T 70: 1433, p. 13.

138. The Council of the Indies to the King.[1]

Sire: By a decree of October 16 last, handed to the Marques de los Velez, your Majesty is pleased to state:

The Council of the Inquisition having made the enclosed report of a consultation after examining the one made by the Council of the Indies which accompanies it, and after the memorial touching the treaty for the introduction of negroes into those dominions (also enclosed) had been rendered at the same time in behalf of Don Nicolas Porcio, I have determined that in order that this matter might be examined and discussed as its seriousness and importance demand, a committee be called in your lodging, attended by you, namely, Marques de los Velez, Don Juan de Andicano, Don Luis de Salcedo, Don Juan de Tordecillas, of the Council of Castilla, Don Juan Lucas Cortes, Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, Don Francisco Camargo of the Council of the Indies, and Doctor Don Mateo Lozana, curate of the parish church of San Miguel of Madrid, and after having examined all these documents and after due consideration of the clauses therein contained, you advise me on what comes out and your opinion, I ordain that this be executed as stated.

In the execution of this order, the committee of officials above mentioned having been called together for November 29 last and the decree above mentioned having been read, the reports of consultation accompanying it were read. . . .[2]

In a paper from Don Manuel Francisco de Lira, dated November 1, 1686, your Majesty remitted to the Marques de los Velez a consulta of the Council of the Indies of October 25, of that same year (so that it might be examined by this committee), accompanied by a letter from Cardinal Portocarrero in which, by order of the Congregation of Cardinals of Propaganda Fide[3] which he says he has received, he notes the perils which he fears might befall the integrity of the religion, if the trading in negro slaves should be continued in the Indies through the intermediary of the Dutch. The council states that it has nothing to add to this comment and to what it expressed in its report of May 24, 1685, which includes another one

[138] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-57. In the margin are written the names of the members of the committee, with the note, "Let the assembly give me its opinion in order that I may try Porcio in justice".

[2] On Apr. 13, 1685, the Council of the Inquisition had formally protested against a contract with the Dutch. To the protest the Council of the Indies had replied that every precaution was being taken to safeguard the faith of the negroes. This response his Majesty sent to the Council of the Inquisition. Not satisfied, the council appealed to the board of censors, and was told by that board that the bargain with the Dutch was neither licit nor honest. The Dutch being "a sagacious people whose principles were malign", the negroes would certainly be corrupted. The Council of the Inquisition therefore insisted that the contract be declared void. In the section here omitted, which describes this interchange, occurs a reference to negotiations with the Dutch West India Company. Miss Wright calls attention to the fact that though this was the first time this company had officially appeared in the dealings with Coymans, nevertheless the Council of the Indies must have known that it was not dealing with Baltazar Coymans alone, but with John Coymans and Company of Amsterdam as well, and that to deal with John Coymans was in effect to deal with the Dutch West India Company and its sponsor the States General. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", p. 28.

[3] The Congregation of the Propaganda was established by Gregory XV. in 1622, as one of the chief administrative agencies of the Church.

of the sixth of the same month and year, issued by the special committee which your Majesty ordered to meet in the home of Don Vicente Gonzaga . . .[4]

From all these reasons proposed by one or the other of these tribunals, and from the careful consultation held concerning them, this committee, considering how much would be risked in case the perils which are feared so zealously and in so Catholic a manner should occur (which God forbid), and believing that the Council of the Indies bore them in mind when it approved the contract, would not dare to give an opinion which might oppose such authorized statements. Although the greatest safeguards, which seemed at that time sufficient to prevent the perils which it was feared might result from the trade with the infidels, were provided, not without grave sorrow does experience teach the ministers who compose the committee that not even those safeguards nor the very severe penalties provided by the laws of the Indies are sufficient to abolish the trading and commerce of the foreign nations, even without so natural a pretext as the treaty provides, and that, despite the assignment of the four main ports for the trade, since communication of news from one port to the other by means of smaller vessels cannot be controlled, such vessels will introduce all the unregistered negroes they please into the coves and inlets along the coast, and transport them into the interior wherever they can obtain the ends most suitable to them and most damaging to us, availing themselves of the carelessness of the governors, or of their permits, palliated by a necessary or enforced arrival in port [on account of accident at sea], although such transgressions are improbable because of the complicity of the one who ought to punish them or because of having to depose the one who assists them. And since the introduction of Mohammedan slaves into America is forbidden on account of the danger which lies in their intercourse with the Indians, with still greater reason should the intercourse with heretics be watched, who are so well versed in their perverse dogmas and who moreover are so close to their own islands that they attain by inducement the greater increase of their dominions and a numberless following of their erroneous creed. Despite the fact that it was agreed in the treaty that the negroes who were to be introduced should be new ones, brought directly from the African islands where [the Dutch] do their bartering, and while it is to their greatest interest to make as quick a transportation as possible, still they without fail stop with their armed vessels at Curaçao and hold fairs where they exchange the new negroes for rascals trained by their masters and who are

[4] At this meeting the committee met the protests of the Bishop of Sigüenza against the assiento with the contention that negroes were absolutely necessary to the American colonies and that permission to trade with infidel nations was the only means by which they could be obtained.

unhealthy, drunkards, and otherwise full of vices and perhaps already instructed in the precepts of their erroneous teachings. Only a small number of these would suffice to cause the damage which is so justly apprehended. Although one should be persuaded to the contrary, the trade with infidels which is regularly permitted in all Catholic courts (for the faith is so innate among all their inhabitants that suspicion is far removed) and the universal blessing of peace united with so inviolable and absolute a security dispense with the prohibition in those courts, yet it is most religiously observed in the Indies.

Assured by these superior principles the judgment of this assembly is to the effect that your Majesty should be pleased to declare the contract with Don Baltazar Coymans and Company for the introduction of negroes into America null and void for the time of his own obligation as well as while he acts as administrator for the unexpired term of Don Nicolas Porcio's contract, giving the necessary orders to this end, that they be given justice with as little delay as possible, concerning any credits they might hold against the treaty, and that a prompt settlement should be made of all the claims they are able to prove.

The committee does not proceed to advise your Majesty on the second point, namely whether or not Don Nicolas Porcio should be heard before a court of justice, but awaits the resolution your Majesty may deign to issue on this point. A rule should be provided for the measures to be taken with regard to his claim, to the course of the treaty, and to the safety of the assets, in order to settle promptly what may be proven to be due the exchequer and the rest of the creditors. The committee entreats your Majesty to give this matter the earliest and most reserved dispatch in order to obtain the cargo[es] in the ports of the Indies before suspicions are aroused and they succeed in hiding them.

The Licentiate Don Lope de Sierra, although he agrees that, for the motives given, the contract be declared null and void, hands in a separate opinion, which accompanies this decision, so that upon examining it all, your Majesty may ordain what seems best.[5]

MADRID, March 5, 1687.

[5] The minority report which accompanied this statement was a cogent presentation of the arguments against the position taken by the Council of the Inquisition: (1) Its action resulted in part from an episode which had occurred under the Grillo contract, not the present one. (2) The petitioner against the contract was a friend of Porcio and influenced by that friendship rather than by zeal for the Faith. (3) The Dutch were in the slave trade purely for profit. There was far greater profit in the sale of new negroes than in the sale of experienced slaves, therefore there was no danger that they would substitute the latter for the former. (4) At the ports of entry it was not possible for heretic crews to come in contact with native Indians, hence there was no danger that the natives would be corrupted. Therefore, since all the arguments were without foundation, the report of the Council of the Inquisition deserved no consideration. Nevertheless the contract with Coymans should be annulled, not because it was made

139. The Royal African Company to Captain John Low.[1]

London, 20 Sept. 1687.

You having desired to have the carrying the Black boy Charles to his Freinds upon your shipp the *St. George* we consent to it (god sending you wel to returne) we expect that you take account or give us some other good Proofe of his delivery. He being, as we are Informed sonne to the Messuca of Cabenda who is brother to the King of that Country and is in greatest authority under him whereby hee is able to doe us much prejudice or Furtherance in our Trade for which reason is our Desire to please him. He trusted his sonne to Capt. Seys, but what Instruction he had about more then to deliver him to us we know not, Capt. Seys having Been ill ever since he Came over but we understand by other Masters that have since been on that Coast that his father expects him back we have therefore Clothed and sett him out in such Maner as we are advised may be acceptable to his freinds w'ch we recomend to you[r] Managem't soe as may not only be advantagious to your Selfe but allsoe to our futer Trade in that place soe wishing you a good Voyage.[2]

140. Instructions to Captain Robert Barrett.[1]

London 25th October 1687

. . . and when you have disposed of yo'r Cargoe or such part thereof as you shall find will sell in the time agreed for your stay in those parts then saile to our factory at Cabo Corsoe Castle and render our three Cheif Merchants there a true accompt of the disposal of the said Cargoe and deliver them what goods you have remaining of the said Windward Cargoe together with the said Gold, Ellephants teeth etc. and you are to deliver them the severall Goods wee have consigned them by your ship according to the bill of Lading from whome

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with a heretic but because it had been obtained by trickery and fraud on the part of Coymans and had already been made the cover under which he had smuggled a large amount of merchandise into Spanish American ports.

[139] [1] T 70: 61. Instances of the visits of young Africans to England or to countries of Europe are not unusual in this century or the next. Barbot tells of one Emanuel, who was carried to Holland and there set free. He travelled in France and Portugal, then returned to his native land, where he became a governor at Portudal. This negro had been carried from Africa as a slave; but another black of whom Barbot writes was sent by his father from Bissam, on a sort of informal diplomatic mission to Portugal, where his baptism was made a great ceremony. One's faith is slightly shaken in the authenticity of these accounts by the fact that Barbot names both his European visitors Emanuel. Barbot, "Description of Guinea", Churchill, V. 425, 428.

[2] Roberts, subgovernor, and George Bonn (or Boun), deputy governor, signed this, along with Bence, Stanier, Morgan, Niccolls, North, Ashby, Dashwood, Cooke, Short, and Juatt.

[140] [1] T 70: 61. Captain Barrett's vessel was the *Dolphin*. His instructions for his early trading resemble those given to Capt. Thomas Woodfine, Dec. 10, 1685, save in one particular. Captain Barrett was directed to buy on the Windward Coast, before he reached Cape Coast Castle, 20 negroes, who were to be guards to those purchased later.

you are to take a receipt or receipts for the same under their hands and if you have not purchased the full Number of 20 Negroes they will make up that numb'r for which and for the Negroes Provisions you must give them bills of Lading.

Wee have laden another Cargoe of Goods consigned to Mr. Pettey Wyborne and Mr. Henry Stronghill at Whidah for the purchasing of 210 Negroes for the use of the Royall African Company of England which you are to deliver to him or them by such proportions as he or they shall first put the Value in Negroes aboard your Ship and your men and boats are to be assisting in Landing the Goods and Receiving the Goods as hath been accustomed, but if at your arrivall you find them both deceased or gone away then you are to use your utmost endeavours to purchase the Remaining Negroes mentioned in Charter party with the Cargoe of Goods Laden aboard you for that purpose and it must be your care to view well the Negroes that they may be sound and Merchantable between the ages of 15 and 40 and that the Major part be males. It is for your safety that Wee order you in Charter party to take in 20 Gold Coast Negroes for Guardians which you must carefully doe, and Receive the other 210 from Mr. Pettey Wyborne and Mr. Henry Stronghill at Whidah, you are to signe bills of lading at Cabo Corsoe for 20 Negroes you take in there consigned to our Factors, Mr. Henry Carpenter and Mr. Thomas Belchamber [2] our Factors at Nevis.

And at Whedah alsoe signe like bills of Lading for 210 Negroes you take in there consigned as afores'd to Nevis . . . from whome you are to Receive two third parts of your Freight in Negroes by Lott and a Certificate to be for the Remainder: the Compa. not having of Late had any good satisfaction of the purchasing and disposing of our Negroes doe order that all Negroes as they are brought aboard shall be taken Notice off and Numbered by the Master, the Mates, and Boatswaine, Chirurgeon, and Carpenter, or soe many of them as shall be aboard, and dayly entered into the bookes signed by our Sub: Gov'r: or Dep'ty Gov'r: and that the said Officers doe signe the bookes as often as any Negroes come aboard, and that all said Negroes brought aboard be Expressed in bills of Lading to be signed by the Comander and witnessed by some of the said officers before they weigh anchor and one or more bills of lading to be left with our Factors ashoare if there be any, or with the next ship that is to follow to be sent to us. And that the Negroes be mustered within 14 days after setting saile and soe from 14 days to 14 days all the voyage untill their arrivall and that every Muster be entered into the said

[2] Belchamber was in 1679, it will be remembered, supporting interlopers, even to the extent of employing violence in their behalf. See no. 84, *ante*, and Higham, *The Leeward Islands*, pp. 162-163.

booke by the said Officers And if any Mortality shall happen amongst your Negroes in yo'r Voyage wee require for our satisfaction that you send or bring home a Certificate under yo'r Mates and Chirurgeons hands testefying the time of the death of such as shall happen to dye, for Wee shall allow none but what are soe certifyed to be dead.

You are every Night to enter what goods that day are sold and for what that your actings may be clear for our satisfaction in case of your Mortallity this voyage (which God forbid) and to that purpose wee now deliver you a booke signed by our Sub: Gov'r: or Dep'ty: Gov'r:[3]

141. Opinion of the Spanish Fiscal concerning the Assiento.[1]

The fiscal has examined the credentials of the States General and the memorial, both of which the envoy extraordinary of the Prince of Orange has placed in the royal hands of his Majesty, in order that the agreement celebrated with the Coymans and the Company of the West Indies with regard to the contract for negroes may be fulfilled, at the same time referring to specific representations which the envoy will make in regard to the matter. However, as until now the latter has done nothing special as is apparent from these documents, the fiscal can only discuss the point of the representation made by the States General, which is prejudicial to what has been agreed in the contract as well as to the interests of his Majesty therein; for since this contract was made with a private individual who, for its filfillment, pledged his person and his wealth, he obligated himself to render account and settlement to the creditors of the previous contractor, renouncing his personal rights and subjecting himself to the jurisdiction of the council. No report reached here that the contract was being discussed with the Dutch West India Company, or that that company or the States General had any part in this enterprise. It would seem that if attention were paid to these representations as representing the interests of the States General, the contract would be rendered null and void, as this fact would alter its nature and character; for never would it be possible to accuse the contractors, or demand an accounting of them, or force them to settle interests, or punish them for any violation of contract which they or their factors might commit, without being necessarily exposed to the States General's coming to the defense on every such occasion, claiming the same interest and

[3] The usual paragraph relating to interlopers follows.

[141] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-61. Don Baltazar Coymans died on Nov. 8, 1686. This deprived the Amsterdam house of Coymans of a representative trusted by the Spaniards and increased the difficulties of administering the assiento. In November, 1687, the Dutch envoy extraordinary had protested in behalf of John Coymans and the Dutch West India Company against Spanish intervention, supporting his protest by a request from the States General that he be given a hearing. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", pp. 52-53.

occasioning thereby, beside the loss, that, since it would become a state matter in accord with their desire, it would be reduced to the last motive: the judicial *litis pendencia*. The very memorial of the envoy sustains this judgment, when he expressly states that the States General make this representation because it concerns the reciprocal welfare of the royal service of his Majesty and the common interest of both parties and the cultivation of the good understanding which their masters always profess. It is therefore the opinion of the fiscal that if these perils should impress the council the latter should please discuss them with his Majesty so that he, bearing them in mind, may feel able to reply to the States General that, since Coymans has complained that the contractor of negroes owed him a considerable sum of money and that he had other creditors, he therefore petitioned the administration of the contract with the same qualifications and conditions under which the other enjoyed it, binding himself to everything he had agreed to with his person and wealth and to render account with payment and to be subject, both himself and his commissioners, to the penalties incurred by violation, without the West India Company or the States General intervening in this contract, for since these latter cannot be accused in this way under this subjection and agreement, it would not appear just to have them admitted to such intervention; and that to this moment everything agreed upon has been maintained with these individuals, with great amplification, with the sole purpose of maintaining the equilibrium of justice which, in Spain, is kept both with its own subjects and with foreigners; and that the same course will be followed in the future provided Messrs. Coymans, their factors, and administrators comply on their part with what was agreed.[2]

MADRID, November 23, 1687.

142. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN JOHN WOODFINE.[1]

LONDON the 16th February 1687/8

Wee have thought fitt to Inclose herein our Letter to be delivered to the King [of] Cacongo itt is in answer to a Letter we Received Dated in Molimbo [2] 15th July 1685 written in Portuguez and Signed Micom for the King of Cacongo to acquaint us that by the Death of

[2] On Nov. 29, 1687, the Council of the Indies reviewed the present status of the assiento. On the death of Baltazar Coymans the Amsterdam house of Coymans, with the support of the Dutch West India Company and the States General, had taken over the administration of the contract, appointing John Carcau as a Spanish agent. To this the Council of the Indies objected, since the original bargain had been made with an individual and Spain was not yet ready to admit that the States General had any share in the assiento. Arch. Ind., 153-7-61.

[142] [1] T 70: 61.

[2] Molimbo, south of Loango, in the Congo region, was largely controlled by the Portuguese.

the former King he now was Governor of that Countrey and that he would give Traders all simillar Usuage and Courtesie and not Longer hold up the old Customes w'ch in Truth are very high and advances the Price of Slaves alsoe the Governo'rs: all along the Coast of Angola From all hands we find are faulse and Imposing on all Comanders and itt is there Common Practice that when a Shipp hath aboard the greatest part of her Slaves that instead of a Speedie Dispatch they will hold Slaves to gett a higher price and more Custome then att first agreed for w'ch is very unjust and their unkind usuage makes us much Neglect them. Capt. Browne is the onely Person that tells us of any kin[dn]ess Showne to any of our Comanders w'ch was by the said King of Cacongos Mifuca in Safely Conveying aboard what goods we had ashore when the King of Loando[3] Armie came downe upon them for w'ch Civillity we returned him our Thankes and being the Substance of the Letter writt for him Imports Kindesse. we desire you to put itt upon him what he will doe by abaiting of Customes and the Prices of Slaves to encourage us to send Shipps to his Countrey and pray alsoe Consider his power how farr he is able to keepe his word with us and soe farr as you find may be done to our advantage we pray you to treate with him and take from him such assurance of his fidellitie thereto as he can give and the Like you may favor us with in dealing with the other Governo'rs and where you find itt may be realie a futur service to us wee would have you to present Severall things under mentioned laden on board you for that purpose and Seperate from your Cargoes for Trade and if you cannot meete with Termes that in prospect May Deserve our Present Wee desire you to bring them home to us Wee wish you a good Voyage and rest. GAB. ROBERTS Sub: Governor.[4]

143. FRANS SCHOONENBERGH TO THE MARQUES DE LOS VELEZ: A SUMMARY, 1688.[1]

True and very brief summary of what is happening at the present time in regard to the condition of the contract of negroes; reasons why the administrator of that contract avoids replying to the demands

[3] Loando, sometimes St. Paul de Loando, was south of the Congo, the cetnre of the Angola slave trade. Loango, also on the coast south of the Equator, was north of the Congo.

[4] These instructions were also signed by Thomas Nicolls, Samuell Dashwood, Thomas Heatly, Wm. des Bouverey, John More, Jacob Lucie, Peter Joye, John Cooke, Joseph Woolfe, Wm. Hussey, Edward Colston, Robt. W'mson, Abr'a Hill, and John Verney.

[143] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-11. The summary was sent on July 4, 1688. By this time the Spanish opponents to Coymans had gained control of the administration of the assiento, and his representative Carcau was imprisoned. The protest against the interference of the government in the execution of the contract came from the Dutch envoy rather than from the house of Coymans in Amsterdam or the imprisoned representative of the firm. From the summary one surmises that Porcio had succeeded in enlisting sufficient support to threaten the interest of the Dutch merchants.

of Porcio and others; injuries that his Majesty will receive from the intervention that has been placed; and the way in which this business may be managed from now on.

The administrator of the contract omitted to present himself to contradict the intervention and Porcio's demand:

First: Because in the contract made with Don Baltazar Coymans, his Majesty has agreed and pledged his royal faith and word to supply him in every possible way during all that time that the contract has yet to run. The intervention being determined on without any reason which the administrator might give, broke this agreement and he would become a criminal if he proceeded afterward to contradict the intervention and reply to Porcio's demand.

Second: That were the administrator to make the said reply and contradiction he might fear to injure the administration and Don Baltazar Coymans for whom he serves as administrator, in the interest that he [Coymans] and his property have therein, and in a sum of over 260,000 pesos which the contract and Porcio owe him (of which there is documentary proof), as well as the security for all of Porcio's debts, for all those of consideration that Porcio has under the contract, the said Don Baltazar Coymans made himself liable for by giving him credit; for had he not done so, no person would give him anything for the contract. This security and credit appear in the documents held by Porcio's creditors. These prove that Don Baltazar was the only person interested in the contract through his obligations and credits: and that Porcio would not have sent a single ship to the Indies unless through the intervention of Don Baltazar's aid has always been well known.

Third: The administrator feared also to prejudice himself with the Dutch West India Company with regard to the old and new obligation which it has in the contract and his administration as well as in the obligation of the other persons interested in the company which are still owing, so that the administrator might not have to suffer with such persons through any miscarriage that could not be blamed on him.

Fourth and most important: That the administrator ought not to make said reply and contradiction, for he had been advised not to do it by Don Juan Coymans and Company, to which he must render account, and which has aided the new administration with regard to the old obligations which it holds in the contract; and these subjects have an especial aversion to lawsuits and to avoid them abandon any business whatever, especially those of this kind which cannot continue if there be the least rumor.

The injuries that his Majesty receives from the intervention that has been made and Porcio's appeal, are many: First: all the injuries

which are received by the administration and those interested in the administration, which extend to those whom the administration has represented to his Majesty in a memorial of May 5 this year.

Second: the amount of the duties on shipments of negroes which failed to be introduced because of the said intervention; the distrust that is engendered because of the intervention; and the consequences of the loss it occasions; and that money which his Majesty was to continue to receive in cash has entirely disappeared because of the said intervention.

Third: the loss which must be considered in the long time that must elapse before the contract can regain the direction it had because of the lack of confidence engendered toward it by those persons who might again have to make pledges, and which they find it necessary to secure by mortgage and do so secure them in order to pass them.

The status that can be given to the administration of the contract of negroes under present conditions in order that it may regain its former force and credit, will be considered as follows:

To declare that said administration be placed in care of Don Juan Coymans and Company, he being the brother of Don Baltazar Coymans to whom the administration was granted—and that said Don Juan Coymans appoint a person to exercise it, and that he alone have obligation to render his account at the end of receipts and disbursements; and that it be in his possession, delivering it at the order of his Majesty, with which he shall have complied with his duty. That his Majesty and his officials take charge of the collection of what money may be at that time in the Indies, from the factors and persons who hold it and cause the said factors to render account just as the administration does in Spain, in order that which one is most satisfactory to his Majesty and to the administration might be known.

In this way, Don Juan Coymans and Company, grateful for this confidence, will put forth their best efforts to bring about the constant introduction of negroes with the greatest haste possible, and he only can succeed in doing it.

Besides the above, if necessary, and in order to avoid the senseless scuffle which has increased the disaffection and envy which follow this enterprise, especially that the administrator is a foreigner of this or that rank, assurance will be obtained from the said Don Juan Coymans that the person whom he may appoint for that purpose be a vassal of your Majesty and one approved by him; also that the administrator report beforehand to the council all the factors who should be appointed for the Indies, and these shall not exercise that duty without the approval of the council. This also means that his Majesty will also have information regarding these subjects and will be better

satisfied with them and with their rendering of accounts as has been said, and of the procedure of the administration, etc.[2]

144. John Coymans and Company to Manuel Coloma.[1]

Your Excellency: As your excellency was pleased to favor us by writing to the Marques de los Velez about the reasons we had for trying to obtain the settlement due us, of the 200,000 escudos, which we paid for the asiento pledged by my brother, Don Baltazar Coymans, we acknowledge that the remonstrance made by your excellency, produced the effect, that lately his Majesty deigned to ordain that the petitions formulated by the envoy extraordinary, Don Francisco de Schoonenbergh, were to receive an answer, and the States General have sent to us (to the members of the West India Company as well as to ourselves for the part which concerns us) a copy of the official communication, which the constable of Castile wrote to the said envoy extraordinary containing the resolution adopted by his Majesty. As we are placing this in the hands of your excellency, we shall not expand on its contents but together with it, in a separate report, we hasten to inform your excellency of the reasons which prompt us and which may eliminate those the constable thinks fit to maintain.

It being indisputable that what we claim is due us, and that by right we could adopt the means which we can and must make use of in order to attain the full settlement, therefore we once more hasten to place these reasons before the great understanding of your excellency, hoping that your excellency will be pleased to favor us by seeing that the settlement be not delayed and that we shall not be obliged to obtain and put into execution the means which in any instance would only serve to disturb the cordial understanding existing between his Majesty and their lordships the States [General], since those all powerful ones will concur and protect us as their subjects.

We also bring to the attention of your excellency the fact, that whatever is assumed in the reply and resolution of his Majesty to the effect that it is possible to continue the asiento with the intervention placed on it is quite contrary to what is actually happening, because Don Francisco de Rivas, factor in Panama, and Don Juan Francisco

[2] The Dutch reply to the protests of the Spanish government maintained that there could be no possible objection to the States General taking a hand in the affairs of the assiento, since it was the business of that body to protect the interests of all its subjects. It further contended that the Spanish government had violated the contract with Coymans, which exempted the property of foreigners from seizure and provided for the payments of all debts due to him. The fact that he had died should have made no difference whatever in the conduct of the bargain, as the original instrument provided for the continuance of the business under a successor in case of his death. The interference of the Spaniards had disrupted the administration of the assiento and had left the Dutch with no alternative but to obtain what was their due by any means in their power. Arch. Ind., 153-7-8-47C.

[144] [1] Arch Ind., 153-7-8-47B. Coloma was Spanish minister at the Hague.

Massis, factor of the asiento in Cartagena, have written us that it is impossible to continue the course of the asiento with the intervention by officials who mingle their own private interests [with it] and embarrass everything. Therefore, despite the fact that at the present time there are five or six thousand *piezas* [*de Indias*] negro slaves on the island of Curaçao and that Don Juan Carcau, general manager of the asiento, is in those seas with two warships, the *Rey Baltasar* and the *Santiago de la Victoria,* and the frigate *Santa Rosa,* which left Cadiz bound for America with the register of the Casa de Contratación y Comercio de las Indias and which might be used for the transportation of the aforesaid negro slaves to ports of the Indies, we can assure your excellency that all this has been embarrassed on account of the intervention placed on the asiento. Hence the company finds itself with the pledge contracted and with five or six thousand negroes on the island of Curaçao, Don Juan Carcau facing the considerable expenditure for two warships of 50 cannons and 120 men each and a frigate of 20 cannons, not counting the salaries of the factors, whom he is obliged to keep at all the factories, while we are unable to collect what pertains to us for the expenditures we have made, inasmuch as the asiento is deprived of its resources by stopping its operations, and the resources in the Indies, as well as in Cadiz, are embarrassed because of the intervention. The one to lose most is the royal treasury of his Majesty for there is no doubt but that the negro slaves referred to would have been introduced and the royal treasury would have collected 500,000 pesos in tonnage dues: but now everything is exposed to a total loss, and moreover, in one way or the other, means will not be wanting to introduce the negroes into the Indies, without paying duties. Your excellency, with absolute truth, may report that all this is just as we say and that the people in Spain should disabuse themselves [of delusion], and that as long as the intervention is not lifted no further step will be taken to carry on the enterprise and that we shall be forced to take action by claiming the settlement which by right is ours, and that the one to lose most will be the royal treasury.

Your excellency is pleased to favor us and it is for that reason that we are going into details in informing you with all our characteristic frankness and zeal, which we have shown to good purpose on the occasion of the settlement of the 200,000 escudos. We trust that your excellency may be pleased to intercede in order that a settlement may be made with us and, if your excellency so ordains, we shall await a reply and in the meantime we remain, with all resignation, subject to the obedience of your excellency's orders, praying that God may protect the most excellent person of your excellency many and most happy years.

AMSTERDAM, November 30, 1688.

145. JOHN COYMANS TO MANUEL DE BELMONTE.[1]

Dear sir: As your lordship will have understood from the burgomaster-president what steps were taken in order to obtain the settlement of our part in the contract of negro slaves, and that everything will be suspended until we know what the good offices may produce which Don Manuel Coloma has offered to use [in our behalf], I have nothing to add to this, except to place in the hands of your honor a copy of the letter I wrote to the aforementioned envoy extraordinary, and also a copy of the summaries which will serve to dispel the arguments contained in the royal resolution handed to his excellency, the envoy extraordinary Don Francisco Schoonenbergh. And since his excellency, the Marques de los Velez has been pleased to write to your lordship in his letter dated November 4, to the effect that his excellency is pleased to help our cause and [to say] that he will contribute to expediting it as soon as possible in such a way that we may obtain satisfaction, we entreat your lordship to put us at the feet of his excellency, assuring him of our submission to whatever may be to his greatest service, and that we implore his excellency to be pleased to give the last stroke to this business, as its course is interrupted and there is no possibility of a continuation unless the intervention be lifted. We should be exceedingly sorry to be obliged to avail ourselves of means which might disturb the amicable intercourse and understanding now existing between his Majesty and the States General, and therefore we expect from the magnanimity of his excellency a favorable resolution without any further delay and beg to remain at the service and command of your lordship. At this your house, December 6, 1688.

146. MANUEL DE BELMONTE TO THE MARQUES DE LOS VELEZ.[1]

Your Excellency,

Sir: The twelve magistrates of this city of Amsterdam have sent me word by the burgomaster-president, stating, that they are obliged to protect the interests of Don Juan Coymans and Company and that they would very greatly regret, if the settlement which they consider is fully due them, were delayed, because in such case they would be under the unavoidable necessity of providing the means that might contribute to its attainment [*torn*].

Your excellency, so that this settlement may not be delayed, I have taken the liberty of assuring them full payment, as your excellency has ordered me to do and Don Juan Coymans has written me the enclosed note, accompanying the papers that were sent with it. I am placing them all in the hands of your excellency, trusting that your

[145] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-8-47A. Belmonte was Spanish resident in Amsterdam.
[146] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-8-47.

excellency may be pleased to order that I be advised as to what I shall answer to the letters of the magistrate. . . .

AMSTERDAM, December 6, 1688.

147. ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA TO THE KING AND QUEEN.[1]

July 26, 1689.

We think it our duty to make known to you the state of this Island by the late Governors [2] and the usage of the factors of the Royal African Company towards the planters. Though some thousands of negroes have been imported by the Company into this Island, pursuant to the instructions of King Charles, within the past six years, yet few of these have fallen to the planters' share; the factors, of whom Colonel Molesworth was one, grasping all into their own hand by countenancing none but their own creatures. Before the Assiento was settled here the royal frigates were employed in convoying shiploads of the choicest negroes to the Spaniards. After it was settled, the negroes were picked to suit the Spaniards, the factors and their particular friends still reaping all the benefit, the Dutch factors for the Assiento allowing these gentlemen 35 per cent.; and now it is feared that the Dutch have quite taken the whole trade from us. Lists were published of the sharers in the 35 per cent., as though it were a public concern, but most of them were favorites or servants of the factors, and the most eminent merchants get but small sums. Thus foreigners get the best of the negroes, and we only the refuse at £22 a head.

Again, when planters have gone on board to buy negroes, their ready money has been refused because it was not pieces-of-eight. The factors have received several thousand pounds for interest, and sometimes the interest has exceeded the principal. When planters have agreed with masters of ships for their freight and commission, the factors have threatened not to load sugar on their ships and have forced them to forego the bargain. An act provides that two planters shall always be joined to two merchants for the equal lotting of the negroes, but they have always appointed their own creatures to this time. The Duke of Albemarle demanded from the factors of the African Company a list of the debts due from the planters, that it might be seen whether the Island was indebted for such vast sums as the Company represented. Colonel Molesworth promised a perfect list in a few days, and on a second demand Captain Ruding also promised the same. His Grace reminded him of the promise but was

[147] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 106-107.

[2] At the close of Sir Thomas Lynch's administration in 1684 the lieutenant governor, Hender Molesworth, acted as governor until the arrival of Albemarle in 1687. His short service (1687-1688) was followed by that of Sir Francis Watson, lieutenant governor and a Jamaica planter.

answered that the list could not be furnished without the Company's orders. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that it is not the planters but the factors' favorites who are the debtors. Heretofore the Company's factors used to ship home their debts in produce of the Island, but now that the factors have fallen into a private way of trade this is no longer done. In one parish it is well known that not £2000 is due to the Company, yet it can easily be shewn that £4000 has been lost by buying refuse negroes of Jews and beggarly sub-brokers, who buy sick negroes at £8 or £10 a head; so that scarce a third of the negroes bought by the planters from the Company are now alive. It is now near nine months since the Duke's happy arrival, and we have had but one small ship from the African Company, and we know not when to expect another. In St. Jago del Castillo's answer to Don Nicholas Porcio in the Court of Chancery here it will be seen that sundry sums were paid in 1684-1685 to the Governor, Captains of frigates, and the factors of the Company. Sir Thomas Lynch in fact voided King Charles's grant that negroes should be delivered to us at £17 a head; and thus it is that several planters have been ruined and forced to leave the Island. We beg therefore a repetition of King Charles's order that we may be provided with good negroes at reasonable rates. We would ask you to consider the difference to trade and the customs if all the negroes that died on the planters' hands in the past six years had lived and worked. At a moderate computation a full third of the net proceeds of our produce passes into the Royal Exchequer.[3]

148. Accounts of the *Arminian Merchant*, 1689-1691.[1]

London the 11 December 1689.

Invoice of goods Laden aboard the "Arminian Merch't" Capt. John Hosea Command'r for accompt of the Royall African Company of England Bound for Cabo Corso Castle and other places for the purchasing Negroes att s'd Place or to Leeward thereof And consigned unto the s'd Capt. John Hosea att all Places to windward of the River Volta and to Leeward of s'd River to Capt. Percy Wyborne or to the s'd John Hosea according to the s'd companies instructions vizt.

		£	s.	d.
Cowries, 46 Barrells [details given amounting to]				
97 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lb. att £4. 10. 6		440.	14.	
Brass basons, 1 cask, 173 basons, 2 att £7		14.		
Callawapoose, 1 case, 50 pcs., att 16 *s.*		40.		
Chintz, 2 cases, 200 [pieces] Kaddy Chintz, att 5 *s.* 6*d.*		53.	6.	8
Longcloath, 2 bales, 1 case, 70 white Longclo. att 30 *s.* £105.				
2000 Rangoes att 24 *s.* per ct.	£ 24. 0. 0			
234 Ozs. Corrals att 3 *s.* 2*d.*	£ 37. 1. 0			
		166.	1.	

[3] At the foot: "Oath of Ralph Knight that he was present when the address was voted, and was commissioned to bear it. Sworn 12 July 1689. Signed Ralph Knight."

[148] [1] T 70: 916, p. 40, "Invoice Book Outwards of the Royal African Co., No. 11, From Feb. 13, 1688/9 to Dec. 15, 1692".

[*Accounts*—continued:]

				£	s.	d.
Brought forward				714.	1.	8
Trunks, 20 Nets, att 16 *s.*				16.	0.	0
Perpetuanoes, 1 bale, 25 pcs. at 23 *s.* 3 *d.*				29.	1.	3
Sayes, 1 case, qt. [quantity] 20 pieces, att 39 *s.* 6 *d.*				39.	10.	0
Brandy, 1 hhd.				11.	15.	
Iron Barrs, 126 cwt. 25, att 13 *s.* 6*d.*				85.	4.	1
				895.	12.	0
On the amount of the aforegoing goods in this cargo 1½ per cent in consideration of Extraordinary charges				13.	8.	8
For customs and all other charges				16.	5.	5
				925.	6.	1
Provisions for the Negroes						
2 hhds. qt. 128 gall's Eng. spirritts:	18.	7.	0			
5 puncheons Bisquett qt. 14. 3. 3	7.	7.	9			
7 hhd. qt. 36. 3. 21 Beefe / 3 barrill	55.	10.	0			
1 puncheon qt. 3 Tobacco	16.	16.	0			
1 hhd. qt. 20 gross Tobaccoe pipes	1.	0.	0			
2 hhds. Beans ca 25 *s.*	2.	10.	0			
2 hhds. qt. 18 bush'l salt	2.	5.	0			
38 quarters Beanes	45.	10.	0			
For charges of shipping	12.	0.	0	161.	5.	9
				£1086.	11.	10

LONDON the 26 June 1691.[2]

Acco't Sales of Negroes by the "Arminian Merch't" Capt. John Hosea Command'r for acco't of the Royall African Company of England.

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	£	s.	d.
Sold Joseph Holdersby to pay in Aprill	1		1		40	0	0
" Eliza Ramsay " " " 3 months		1			18	—	—
" John Phillips " " " ready money	2				45	—	—
" John Newsam " " " 6 months	1				26	—	—
" William Dotten bills of the shipp	13		1		333	—	—
" Jonathan Walke to pay 15% money rest in 6 ms.	2	2	1		82	—	—
" Edmond Scrope " " in 3 months	3	2	1	1	130		
" Joseph Kirle " " ready money	2	1			40	—	—
" Nicholas Handmary to pay ready money	1	1			35	—	—
" Phillip Scott " " in 6 ms	2				46		
. . .							
[Total][3]	172	99	12	8	5138[4]	10	
Delivered to Capt. his Comision Negroes	9	6	1				
Ditto on acco't of freight according to charter party	71	44	6	3			
	252	149	19	11			

[2] T 70: 945, "Invoice book homewards, From March 23, 1690—Sept. 6, 1692".

[3] There precedes this total a list of 90 similar purchases, no purchase being of more than 12 slaves, several of only one.

[4] Apparently intended as the equivalent in Barbadian currency of the items shown above, in sterling.

[*Accounts*—continued:]

	£	s.	d.
Charges on sd Negroes *vizt.*			
To Cash paid for mustering the Negroes, bringing the Gold a Shore and afterwards Deviding the Negroes		12.	6
paid for 4400 qtl. Potatoes at 7/6 per cent.	16.	10.	0
paid for Lymes		19.	7½
paid for 100 last Fish		17.	6
paid for Plantines		5.	0
pd. for Boate Hire to carry on board the Potatoes att severall Times		17.	6
pd. for provision with wine brandy and sugar att Sale	19.	17.	0
pd. for Seven days boate hire aboard and ashore att Sale	1.	15.	0
	41.	14.	1½
Commission money att 7 per cent	2.	16.	10½
	44.	11.	0
To accot. of the Royall African Comp'y of England for the nett proceeds carried thither without our projudices five thousand Ninty three pounds nineteen shillings curant money of Barbad.			
	5093.	19.	0

Memorand. the four negroes was found aboard vizt. two boys and 2 girles which was owned by the Master and Mates.

The usuall Affidavitt.

Barbados 27th Feb. 1690.

149. Marques de los Velez to the King of Spain.[1]

Madrid, May 12 (?), 1690.

Sire: By a decree of your Majesty of the 20th of last March, addressed to me, the Marques de los Velez, your Majesty is pleased to state:

I refer to you the three letters of Don Manuel Coloma and two memorials by the Envoy Schoonenbergh, which are herewith enclosed, all of them concerning the asiento of negroes made with the firm of Coymans, in order that you may examine them and after obtaining the opinion of such members of the committee appointed to consider the matter as seems desirable to you, you may at once, without loss of time, enter into conference with Schoonenbergh and discuss with him the means of adjustment most suited to my service, in order to avoid complaints by the Dutch and to the greatest satisfaction of the interested parties. You shall consult with me on the conclusions you may have reached, in order that I may take the proper action.

In obedience to what your Majesty was pleased to order me, I convoked a meeting of the members of the committee which your Majesty has assigned in matters touching the asiento of negroes, as it seemed to me that after conferring with them and having their

[149] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-9, "Private session about the treaty of negroes. Report to his Majesty." On Apr. 4, 1689, the committee into whose hands affairs pertaining to the assiento had passed reported that Porcio's claims, not those of Coymans, were to be maintained. The West India Company thereupon opened a market for negroes in Curaçao. A renewal of Coyman's request for the 200,000 escudos advanced by him to his brother caused the re-examination here printed.

opinions, I could with greater assurance, inform your Majesty what was discussed in this matter.

At this meeting the decree above referred to and the documents accompanying it were examined, the originals being returned into the keeping of your Majesty. These documents consist of three representations made by the Envoy Schoonenbergh through the Constable of Castile, minister of state, who was assigned to hear this envoy, the first of these petitions dated November 9, 1689, accompanying a letter of the States General of Holland to his Majesty, written at the Hague on September 21 of the same year. The second one was dated January 9 of the present year, and the third and last was dated March 12 last, and enclosed a second letter from the States General, dated January 21 of this year.

The two letters by the States General and the representations presented by their envoy extraordinary, aim solely to present a claim for damages suffered by the West India Company and the firm of Coymans, from the intervention imposed on the administration of the asiento of negroes which was under the management of Baltazar Coymans, for the account and risk of Nicolas Porcio, principal contractor as well as creditor (which he was supposed to be) of large amounts supplied for operation of the asiento. They state that not only were these amounts left unsettled, but they had increased through losses and deaths which had occurred among a large number of slaves they brought to the island of Curaçao, to be sent from there to the Indies, a thing they had not dared to do on account of the remarkable occurrence of the intervention. This damage involved them in new and bigger claims both against the exchequer and against the asiento itself when they least expected it, the royal word of your Majesty having been pledged for the safety of the operation of their administration. They conclude by asking for a settlement of the amounts to their credit (which they supposed to be very much increased), transgressing so far as to give to understand that if this were not granted them they would find the means to take it.

At the same time three letters, written by Don Manuel Coloma, his Majesty's minister to the Hague, were read, dated respectively, January 3 and 17 and February 14 of the present year. The contents of the first two letters confine themselves to referring to the continued demands made on him by the firm of Coymans and by the Dutch West India Company with regard to the credits they claimed to hold against the asiento, and to the declaration made by him both of the justifiable motives which preceded the installation of the intervention and the rehabilitating of Porcio and of your Majesty's just displeasure because of the lack of moderation in the representations made through the envoy extraordinary at this court about the inter-

ests referred to, a settlement of which had been attempted, giving him to understand that orders had been issued to the pensionary-general to write a strong rebuke to that minister, which, it was assured had been done.

The last letter of Don Manuel notes that at a meeting which he had with those States on February 4 of this year, the president of the meeting had declared to him that the West India Company had stated to them and shown clearly its interest in the asiento of negroes of Nicolas Porcio, to whom the firm of Coymans doing business at Amsterdam had advanced large sums (as did the company as well); that he must support their rights and ask the States to do the same with your Majesty; and that they requested him [Don Manuel] to interpose his good offices so that your Majesty might show them justice and settle with them. To this he [Don Manuel] replied that the States had been poorly informed about the fact, as the West India Company desired to have a share in the asiento of negroes, which it could not have directly or indirectly, and no less with regard to the rights of the Coymans. If the latter were legitimate creditors of Porcio and would appear at the right time and in the proper manner, they would be heard and justice would be administered to them in accordance with the customary rectitude of your Majesty's courts. He had informed the States General of what was taking place, and since later the matter had again been broached to him, he would make it evident by the summary of the lawsuit which was discussed in the special committee appointed by your Majesty to consider this asiento and the claims of Coymans, who was interested with Porcio as a private individual. Having put aside his legal right and submitted to that of your Majesty's magistrates, from which he could make no objection, for apparently his rebellious spirit was put on for the purpose of disquieting that company by interposing himself with the States; and although because of that he was legitimately debarred from being heard in justice, still your Majesty's merciful graciousness would extend mercy to him so that he might be heard in accordance with the justice which existed for the parties to a suit. He advised that on that very day he had delivered over all the papers and the declaration which he had made relative to this matter. He entreated your Majesty to favor him and order what should be done.

In view of the abovementioned representations and letters from the States General and their envoy extraordinary to this court and the contents of the information reported by Don Manuel Coloma, the committee reports to the lofty understanding of your Majesty that the complaints propounded are without justification although upheld by superficial reasons which aim to give body to a fantasy. For, if the credits they claim to hold against the asiento are certain, they ought

to offer them as a lawful plea to this committee which your Majesty was pleased to appoint for their determination. With regard to the credit against Nicolas Porcio who (touching what he has proven in the committee) has just as great claims and rights against Coymans who managed the asiento for four years at his own account and risk, taking for his own use whatever it produced. This liquidation of credits should be continued in the usual way within legal terms without their trying to become plaintiffs instead of defendants, or judges instead of litigants, threatening that they will take justice into their own hands. The committee leaves the decision on this immoderate representation to the sober deliberation of the Council of State, whom it chiefly concerns; and only goes on to execute what your Majesty orders it to make manifest. According to the contents of the last letter of Don Manuel Coloma the two letters of the States General enclosed in the report of the meeting which Don Manuel had with them are earlier, and earlier than the presentation of the abstract of what took place with regard to this matter and the defense offered therein. After these dispatches, apparently no positive reply was given by the said States, from which one must morally infer that having recognized the equity of what had been done, they calmed down, and, should this not be the case, it is to be hoped that they will give that answer after their investigation. It is the opinion of the committee that your Majesty ought to order that Don Manuel Coloma on his part should insist on an answer, giving them to understand repeatedly that in your Majesty's great equity and graciousness and through the equity with which your tribunals proceed the subjects of those States may be certain of receiving fair judgment without a difference being made in favor of the natives of these realms, provided they justify their interests by regular means. That through the constable an answer is to be given to the envoy extraordinary Schooenbergh, stating that your Majesty is awaiting a positive answer from the States General to the proposition made to them through his minister by the committee of February 4 last in which he concurred and the abstract and other documents which he showed them relative to the moderate procedure on the part of your Majesty's officials with regard to this matter, believing that if they are convinced of the truth, they should induce their subjects to pursue the method of petitioning justice for that which by right belongs to them, as has been so often declared to them by your Majesty, who will look after their interests with that consideration that will maintain the most sincere relations with them.

In order to curtail somewhat the ardent zeal of this envoy the committee considers it best not to execute this business with him until the mail for the north has left which carries to Don Manuel

Coloma the orders I have proposed, provided your Majesty is pleased to approve them.

Your Majesty after examining all this will order what seems best.[2]

150. Systema Africanum: or a Treatise, discovering the Intrigues of the Guiney Company, 1690.[1]

It being every true English Man's Concern, to endeavour, to the utmost of his power, the Honour and Welfare of his Country, and to stir up all good Men, in this Juncture of time, to put thereto their helping hand, by representing to the Parliament jointly and severally, the great Inconveniences which this Nation lieth under, by the many Violences committed upon their Fellow-Subjects in general upon the Coast of Africa by the Royal African Company. And because I am experienced in their Intrigues, and a Sufferer by their Arbitrary Proceedings, I will cast in my Mite with others who have laboured under the same Oppression, and drunk of the same Cup of Afflictions. . . .

And first having monopolized all the Coast of Africa from Sally in South Barbary . . . to Cape de Bona Esperanca, . . . Which vast Tract of Coast is lockt up from none but the Subjects of England, but, in a manner, free to all Strangers, as French, Dutch, Portuguese,

[2] In 1692 the Spanish government agreed to name a committee which should arbitrate between Coymans and Porcio. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", pp. 60-61.

[150] [1] *Systema Africanum: or a Treatise, discovering the Intrigues and Arbitrary Proceedings of the Guiney Company, and also How prejudicial they are to the American Planters, and Woollen, and other English Manufactures: To the visible Decay of Trade, and consequently greatly Impairing the Royal Revenue, which would be infinitely Encreased, provided Merchants and Mariners were Encouraged, who can discover several Places not yet Known, or Traded unto, by the African Company.* Together with a True Account of their Fortifications. Humbly Submitted to Their Majesties, and to the Consideration of Both Houses of Parliament, By William Wilkinson Mariner (London, 1690). "The Epistle to the Reader. The following Treatise is written by a Person well Experienced in the Affairs of Africa, having, for many Years, frequented those Coasts, as well the parts belonging to the English, as those which appertain to the Portuguese, French and Dutch." The writer goes on to say that he intends to set forth the abuses practised on the interlopers and the servants of the company, the ruin of the trade, and the dishonour of the nation. One phase of the history of the Royal African Company can from this point on be followed in Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, vol. II.

With the Revolution of 1688 all outstanding charters were nullified. This forced the company into a struggle for legal sanction of the monopoly rights which heretofore it had always possessed. As a result, a war of petitions and counter-petitions began, which, with some interludes, continued until 1750. The question was brought before Parliament by a request from the company in January, 1690 (repeated in March and October), for leave to offer a bill confirming its rights. The company emphasized its protection of trade, its encouragement to manufactures, its grants of credit to the plantations, its addition to the wealth of the nation and the revenues of the crown. Merchants and planters of Jamaica and Barbados, interlopers who had suffered at the hands of the company, woollen manufacturers, clothiers, cutlers petitioned against a monopoly. On Nov. 26, 1690, a hearing was granted and a bill introduced, against which the company promptly petitioned (Stock, II. 16-45 *passim*). The pamphlet, extracts from which are here printed, was written, as the author says, to influence the result of this struggle against a renewal of the monopoly privilege. With it should be read the committee report presented to the House of Commons by Sir Peter Colleton, Nov. 26, 1690. *Ibid.*, II. 32-35.

Danes and Hamburghers, who, to the great detriment of this Nation in several Respects, carry the greatest part of the Traffick to their respective Habitations, which might come directly for England, if this Inconveniency were removed.

And this is not all the Evil which we suffer by this Charter, but the Trade of the several Manufacturers of the Growth of England is most wretchedly impaired, Lands undervalued and laid as it were neglected. The Merchants enhanced,[2] the Artificers ruined, the Shipping and Navigation discouraged, the Poor distressed for want of Employment, the Trade decayed; and consequently that Branch of the Royal Revenue, whose Lustre depends upon the greatness of Trade, is visibly decayed.

Let us descend to Particulars, relating to the Actions of the Royal Company, and their Agents abroad in Africa, who, by vertue of this Charter, oppress their Fellow-Subjects, by taking their Ships, imprisoning and starving their Seamen, illegally condemning the said Shipps and Goods without any Jury, and converting the said Ships and Goods to their own use.

To this, add the Injuries committed upon those persons which miserably fall under their power, as the breaking open their Chests, and rifling their Writings, concealing and hiding their Books of Accompts, to the end that such poor men may forever be incapacitated of redressing the Disorders, or of making up their Accompts without their Employers here in England. If after such Cruelties they escape with their Lives to return home, which few do, by reason of the barbarous usage of their persons by the Agents of the Company aforesaid, who have often declared, That they will shew more mercy to a Turk, than to an Interloper, as they term those of the King's Subjects which Trade upon the Coast of Africa without their Licence, which proves the undoing of many a good Subject, the loss of many good Seamen, and the ruin of many good Families in England, who were harassed with the hardships of Imprisonment, and want of Sustenance, which is ever accompany'd with Sickness.[3]

To this, add the continual Upbraidings of the Agents, that at length, sinking under their Afflictions, are forced to take up in the Company's Service, to shun the Dangers which threaten them every way, that is, the want of present Subsistence, and the hardships of Imprisonment, whilst they refuse to serve the Royal Company. . . .

Whereas if a Free Trade were granted to the Subject, it would raise a desire in the great Undertakers, and Money'd Men, to prepare

[2] "Reduced" is here inserted with pen.

[3] Among the petitions presented during the spring of 1690 were two complaining of the imprisonment on the coast of the crews and officers of private vessels, the *Henry and Mary* taken in 1683, and the *Alligator*, in 1686. Stock, II. 22.

considerable quantities of Goods, and build many Ships, which by consequences would encourage the Ingenious Artizans to make up store of Manufactures of all sorts, and many Thousands of Poor would be employed, which at present want Bread; and Men of design would be every where seeking to improve their Talent. And first of all, as to the Manufactures of the Growth and Product of England, as Cloth, Bays, Says, Perpets, Serges, Bridwaters,[4] Iron, Brass, Copper, Tin, Lead, Glass, Felts, Shoes, English Spirits, Knives, and infinite others would be Daily Exporting, to the great Encouragement of all Men; for by this means Lands would bear a better Price, yea, more Rent, and each Man's Industry would be upon the stretch to outdo his Fellow; and instead of 100,000 *l.* worth of Goods, which are now Exported in a Year, we should have Four Times the Quantity Exported, which, without all peradventure, would infinitely Increase, according to the Encouragement given.

And I hope that the Persons concerned in these several Manufactures, and whose particular Grievance and Concern this is, will not be wanting to make their Addresses to their Majesties, and this present Parliament, for a Redress of these Abuses, they being sensibly wronged hereby, and particularly the Serge-Workers, who by these proceedings are debarred the Vent of their Manufacturers, the Subject not daring to Buy being debarred of the privilege of Transporting the said Commodities to that part of the World which Expends most, that is, to the Coast of Africa; and by this means the Publick Vent of Serges is in a manner lost, and the Sale limited by the Royal Company, who are but one joint Stock, and by this means screw up the Tradesmen to a limited Quantity and Price, Length, Breadth and Weight, and allowing but just what they please for them, which many Poor Persons are obliged to take, though not capable of maintaining the Workmen, yet for the Causes aforesaid, are by their present want of Money obliged to take what they can get, to the great disheartning of such Undertakers, and the utter Ruin of that once Flourishing Trade.

And the same Measures are to be taken by those whose Trade consists in the Manufactures of Iron, Tin, Copper, etc. whose Interests it is to promote the Publick Exportation of those Commodities, being of the Growth and Manufacture of this Land, and do lie under the same Circumstances as the Serge-Workers do. . . .

Or, If we consider Trade of Negro Servants, which proves so Advantageous to the Western Plantations in the several Islands of America, as well as that Continent whose chief Commerce is Sugar, Tobacco, Indico, Ginger, Cotton, and Dying Stuffs, which are the

[4] Bridgewater, a kind of English cloth, named from the town in which it was first manufactured.

Natural Product of this New World, whose Penury or Plenty lies indispensably upon the Trade of Negro Servants from Africa, which the Royal Company manage with more than an ordinary Sight for their own Advantage, taking Care that the Planters shall never be furnished with Negroes sufficient to follow their Business with Satisfaction, and Imposing what Prizes they please, and do Trust but Six Months; for which they exact such an Interest, that they in a manner sweep away the profit of their Labours; so that altho' the Planter's Industry be never so great, yet he shall not be able to effect his Designs, because his Hands are thus bound by the Company; yet I am sure that if the Planters were furnished with Negroes from Africa, Answerable to their Industry, that Four times the Sugar, Indico, Cottons, etc. would be Imported every Year; then let every Rational Man judg, If this would not be infinitely more Advantageous to the Kingdom in general.

And to such a heighth is the Pride of this Company grown, that they presume not only to Oppress the Subjects abroad, but likewise to Lord it over them here in England, by Imposing 40 per Cent. upon such as with their License Trade to Africa, as Samuel Shering, and others, now in London, can Witness, who paid them the Value aforesaid, for a Permission to Trade at Angola, a Place in Africa, and remote from any of their Castles and Factories, and in the Portuguese Territories, which is both hurtful to Traffick, and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative and Revenue, it being a part of Religion to pay Tribute to Cesar; but I never heard of any Law or Gospel, to oblige Men to pay Tribute to the African Company. . . .[5]

We will now speak of the Forts and Dwelling-places which the Royal Company pretends to have on the Coast of Africa, and I will begin with that of James Island in the River of Gambia, which is the first Fort they have on the Coast of Africa. The Walls about 12 Foot high, having 4 Flankers to the 4 Winds, whereof those to the North and West are kept in good order, having 6 Guns apiece mounted; the other two seldom in order, and between Factors and Soldiers, 40 men.

They have likewise two Platforms of 6 Guns apiece lately repaired, but unfit for service, there being no shelter for those men which play those Guns, they being exposed to the Enemy.

Fresh Provisions, Wood or Water they have none, but what is daily brought from the Continent, which the Negroes hinder them when they please; so that this is all the Fortification or Footing which the Company have in all this Trackt of Coast from Sally to Gambia, by Computation 1200 miles.

[5] The author lists the French forts as Arguin, St. Louis, Goree, and Albreda.

From Gambia to Siera Leona, is about 360 miles, where they have a sorry House, with 12 men, and sometimes not eight; and 14 or 16 Guns laid without any manner of Art, but open to the Enemy.

From Siera Leona to Sherbro, is about 36 miles, where they have a small House without any Guns, and 4 or 5 men.

From Sherbro till you come to Succunde, they have not the least Footing, which is about 740 miles.[6]

At Succunde they have a small House of Thatch with 2 men, and no Guns.

From Succunde to Comenda, is 18 miles; they have there a Thatcht Hovil with 3 men, and no Guns.

From Comendo to Cape Coars, is 20 miles, where they have a Castle, with about 40 Guns mounted, and about 100 Soldiers: But the English have not had it above 5 [25] [7] years' for it was taken from the Dutch by Sir Robert Holmes. The Dutch lost this Fort for want of men to defend it, having lost their men by Sickness, and the Mortality which hapned amongst them that year. But chiefly by the help of the Danes, and the Natives, under whose protection the English landed their Guns and men, which caused the Surrender of that place: But Admiral Stoaks the foregoing Year having been before it, and the Natives at that time not inclined to favour the English, they returned *Re Infecta*. By which it appears, that the Natives are the best Bulwark to defend any Hold the English have upon those Coasts; and for want of the Natives good will, Cormanteen Castle was taken by the Dutch in the Year 1664, and they have it in possession to this day.

From Cape Coars to Anamabo, where they have lately built a small Fort of 6 or 8 Guns, and 10 or 12 men, and is from Cape Coars 12 miles.

From Anamabo to Agah, where they have a small Fort with 6 or 8 men, and is about one mile distant.

From Agah to Acra, where they have a small Fort with 16 Guns, and about 20 men; the Dutch having a better Fort, and more Guns in the same Town, and within Musquet shot; and as well here, as all the Coast along, can command the English Force. And 'tis manifest the English Security is founded in the Interest they have with the Natives, who will not suffer the Dutch to interrupt them, their Policy teaching them to invite all Nations to come and Trade freely with them, causing such as have any Forts or Factories amongst them, to keep at peace one with another. The Danes preservation is a good Instance of this, whose Castle may at any time be taken by

[6] Sir Peter Colleton's report to the House of Commons gave 600 miles, which is nearer the truth. His summary of the testimony against the company somewhat modifies these statements. Stock, II. 35.

[7] The figures in brackets have been inserted in the pamphlet with pen.

the Dutch from Castle de Mina, but the Natives will not suffer it to be done, these places being distant about 70 miles.

From Acra to Papa, and so to Ardah, where they have a thatcht House, and 2 white men, is about 200 miles.

From Ardah to Binin is about 120 miles, where they have a thatcht House, and about 5 men.

From Binin to the furthest part that they have any Trade to, but no Footing House or Castle, being the Rivers of Congo and Loango, and is about 900 miles.

And so to Angola, a Portuguese City, and all the Coast as far as Cape Bona Esperanca, which they have included in their Patent, not having Fort or House, or any Footing or Trade, being 1600 miles.

Thus you see how the vast rich Coast of Africa is managed by the Royal Company, who, in effect, do not occupy 300 Leagues themselves, and, at best, do but go halfs with the French in that which they seem to have. And this is evident enough, for notwithstanding their Fort of Gambia, the French not only Trade in that River, but likewise hinder the Company from Trading in the River's Mouth, witness James Jobson now in London, who was sent by Agent John Costle in the Year 1680, or 81, to trade with the Companies Sloop with a Cargo fitted for the Coast of Jually, and Portudaly, was taken by a French Ship of 10 or 12 Guns, and carried up to Gorey, and there detained Prisoner for the space of 42 days or more, it not being in the power of the English to demand their Liberty, to the discredit of the Nation, and the ruin of Trade.

Again, Benedict Stafford, the following Year, being by the same Agent commanded to go and trade upon the Coast aforesaid (at Portudaly, which is the River's Mouth of Gambia) was taken by the French, and carried up to Gorey, and detained during their Agent's pleasure.

Again, in the Year 1687/8 a Sloop, commanded by Samuel Lee, called the *Mary,* was sent to Trade by the Companies Agent A. C. [Alexander Cleeve] which the French having Notice of, went in search of the said Sloop, and having found her in the River of Geba, set upon her with their Long-boat only, and a few small Arms. . . .

In Fine, the French have so pestered those Northern parts, that the English are in continual apprehensions of losing their Royal Fort of Gambia, and not without some reason; for the French are always better provided of Men, Ammunition and Arms than they are, and not able to make any considerable Resistance, did they not depend on the friendship and assistance of the Negroes.

By this time I hope the Parliament will be undeceived by the Pretences wherewith the Royal Company endeavour to Lull the Nation asleep, by suggesting strange things of their Force in Africa.

Let us now speak something of the great Charge which they pretend they are at in keeping their Forts, and herein you shall see with what Injustice the Royal Company Acts towards their own Servants, and this is worth your Observation.[8]

It is generally believed, that the Royal Company do allow to every Soldier Twenty Shillings, and to every Seamen Twenty Seven, or Twenty Eight Shillings, which is a most notorious Untruth, for altho' they promise as aforesaid, yet it is most certain that the Wages paid Men in Africa will not amount to above Five Shillings and Nine Pence, or Six Shillings at most, for Twenty Shillings sterling pro rato, that is, according to the Price of Goods between London and Guiney, *viz.*

London.

One Blew Shirt Value Two Shillings and Eight Pence.
One Pair of Shoes Value Two Shillings and Nine Pence.
One Quart of English Spirits Value Four Pence.
Which in all comes to Five Shillings and Nine Pence.

Africa.

One Blew Shirt Value Nine Shillings.
One Pair of Shoes Value Nine Shillings.
One Quart of English Spirits Value Two Shillings
Which in all comes to Twenty Shillings

Now let any Rational Man judg what Expences the Company are at to keep Seven Houses and Four Forts with less than Two Hundred Men, which they pay off at lesser Rates than the Bankrupts in London Compound with their Creditors, and what security they can propose in this their Weakness from so powerful a Rival as their Neighbours the French are; to say nothing of the Dutch, Portuguese, and other Nations, who go snacks with them for the Trade of those parts; and what pity it is that a Coast of about Five Thousand Three Hundred Miles should be thus slighted and kept under by the Company, who are not able to manage one Quarter thereof themselves, it being impossible to furnish that Trade with so limited a Stock as One Hundred Thousand Pounds sterling per Annum, when as if the matter were regulated, as is done by the Turkey Company, the Trade of Africa would consume Six times the quantity of Goods. . . .[9]

Consider I pray what has been said in this short Treatise, wherein the Truth hath been said without Prejudice, only designing to serve his Country.

[8] The company reported to the committee of the House of Commons that it had eight forts on the coast, which cost between £19,000 and £20,000 a year.

[9] The author then dilated on the unwholesome climate and the high death-rate of the English on the coast.

And withal to shew the World how far the Royal Company are from being what they pretend to be.

What Inconveniences they by their Charter bring upon this Nation.

What Opportunities and Advantages they give the French, and other Nations, to our own Ruin. . . .

But as I have laid this Foundation, in representing these Disorders, I hope God of his Mercy will favour this Nation, by putting into the Hearts of our Gracious King William and Queen Mary, together with the present Parliament now Assembled, like another St. George, to Defeat this African Monster, or like an other Alexander, to Cut in pieces with his Victorious Sword this Enchanted Gordian-Knot for the good of these Nations.

151 Petition to the House of Commons.[1]

April 21, 1690.

A Petition of divers Clothiers of Suffolke and Essex, and others, employed in the Woolen Manufacture of Says, and Stuffs, was read; setting forth, That the Petitioners enjoyed an open Trade for the Woolen Manufactures of Says, when Trade was free for all Merchants to send their Ships to Guiny; whereby there was so quick a Vent and so good Prices given, that the Petitioners, were encouraged to carry on the Making of far greater Quantities of Says and Stuffs; which gave Employ to many Thousands of Inhabitants of the County; But that now, and for some Years past, such their former Trade is restrained, their Goods under-priced and left upon their Hands, if not sold, for what Prices the Company, trading to Guiny, will give for them; who, being the alone Buyer, and none else suffered to export the said Goods, the Petitioners are forced to sell at the Rates they are pleased to allow; whereby great Quantities of the Petitioner's Goods lie upon them; by which Means (having no other Sale than as aforesaid) they must be forced to lay down their Trades; the Effect whereof is too manifest in the Ruin of many poor Families, and the Tradesmen dealing in, and living upon, the Woolen Manufactures: And praying, That the said Trade may no longer be restrained; but that all Merchants may have Freedom to export them, many being ready to buy, and encourage the Petitioners in making such their Manufactures, had they Liberty, and Freedom of Trade.

[151] [1] *Commons Journals*, X. 382; a similar petition of Oct. 21, 1690, is to be found in the *Journals*, X. 448. Those given in this work are sufficient to make clear the character of the appeals which were made to Parliament for increased freedom of trade and to illustrate the widespread ramifications of the African trade in English industry.

152. Charles Penhallow and Walter Ruding to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica per mo. July 1690.

On the 14th ulto arrived here The Shipp *Hanah* with 359 Negros the remainder of 400 taken in on the Coast of Arda Where Capta. Danvere the Master dyed and Mr. Tebitt the Chief Mate succeeded him in the Comand, On the Arivall of this Shipp St. James Castello desired to have the Negros in part of his Contract with You. A Coppy of which wee rec'd in Yo'r Letter But this Shipp being Sent out Long before any Such Contract was made, Wee were of Opinion that the Compa. never intended this Shipp Should be Included in that Agreement. However to supply St. James's present Occasion as alsoe to Gratifie the Country (w'ch the Governor [2] recomended to us it being the first Shipp of Negros that Arived Since his taking the Government upon him) Wee Concluded to putt them all into Lotts as formerly and that St. James Should have the Greatest part of them all att the same rate the Rest were sold to the Country, Which he willingly Consented unto with this provisoe that wee Would by the first Opportunity advise you what wee had done and in Case You Should Consent that those Negros, Should be taken in part of his Contract that then the Overplus of the Mony he paid more [than] that Contract menc'one Should be Refunded, About w'ch pray lett us have Yo'r Orders by the first Opportunity.

153. Cornelius Hodges to the Royal African Company.[1]

James Island Sept the 16th 1690.

. . . The Manner and Reasons for the Merch'ts purchasing Gold and Carring it into the Moores Cuntrey as they doe are thes following

[152] [1] T 70: 17, "Abstracts of Letters from Dec. 14, 1687, to Nov. 10, 1693."

[2] On July 6, 1690, Governor Inchiquin had written to the Lords of Trade that the company had sent out but one cargo, of 300, which may have been the cargo of the *Hanah*. Later the company itself complained that it had been able to send out but a scant supply because of the embargo of the previous year. It was not possible for the African vessels to adjust their sailings to the time of the convoys and therefore the company asked permission to send ships as occasion might require (Sept. 11, 1690, "Memorandum of the African Company to the Lords of Trade", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, p. 610). The "account of ships sent out by the Royal African Company", of Dec. 21, 1691, indicates that their activity well-nigh ceased with the Revolution of 1688: in 1685, 38 ships; in 1686, 32; in 1687, 24; in 1688, 24; in 1689, 9; in 1690, 6; in 1691, 3.

[153] [1] T 70: 17. On Mar. 11, 1689, Cornelius Hodges was sent by John Booker, agent of the Royal African Company at James Island, up the Gambia River, to learn what he could of gold mining in the interior. This was one of the few attempts made by the company to learn something of the interior of the country whose littoral it occupied. In his explorations he gleaned a little knowledge of the slave trade of the inland, though he, like Jobson seventy years before him, was less interested in traffic in the natives than in gold. He passed about 225 miles beyond Barracunda, then turned back to that point and left the Gambia to travel by land to the Senegal. On July 14, 1689, he reached the Camberdoo River, a branch of the Senegal. Here he was detained for some months by his inability to obtain supplies, the entire country suffering

In the first place It is to be understood that Merch'tts and Bittcheereen Esteeme Nothing Riches more then Slaves and Cows. I doubt not But yo'r Hon'ors are Sincible the quantity of Slaves that Are brough[t] down Annually by them are Considerable but we never find that in a Thousand they [bring] Either woman boy or Girle but in Generall Men Slaves such as they Know not what to doe with all, Either through Stubborness or feare of theire Runi'g, Otherwise [than] to bring them to us to sell, for the which haveing Received Goods [they] Return'd up through the Countreys of Comberdoo Commanna and Bamboo where the[y] Purchase gold as being Light and Saife to Carry and the Most Exteemed of anything at Tarra [Jarra ?] [2] where they carry it to purchase Slaves—Men Slaves which they purchase for Sale they buy for 1 Ounce, Boys and Female Slaves w'ch is for theire owne use 2 oz and sometimes more accoding to there features.

A farthor Reason is this such as Carry any Europian Goods pays such Customs both by the way and att Tarra that Though they buy theire Slaves verry Cheape yett they find In [they?] turne to A verry small acco'tt. Still another Inconvenience for them with Europian Goods as thus before they Can purchase Slaves they must turne theire Goods Into Coathes and with those Cloathes purchase Salt of the Moores who Brings It above 1100 Miles on Camells and will Truck it for no oth'r Soart of Commoditi then Cloathes Gold and Slaves. aft'r haveing purchased Salt they truck it for Slaves w'ch is the Reason that many times before they can dispatch the Goods of 4 or 5 Slaves that It Costs them ½ as much for Lodging and provisions. But he that Goes with 500 Oz of Gold paye Noe Customes and may turne it Into what Comodity he pleaseth In Less than Two Dayes. . . .

After I had binn some small time in the Countrey understanding that a Greate part of the Gold of those parts was Conveyed Over the River of Sannaga [3] Into the Moores Countrey to Tarra w'ch I know to be Onely Mart for Slaves in all these Wast'm p'ts of Affrica I fitted 13 men with a Reasonable Cargoe and sent them to the Aforesd Tarra. It being bett'r than 300 Miles nearer E N E from Yafara to make Inspection Into the Countrey that I mought be sattisfied of y'r way of dispossall of the Gold and Purchasing the Slaves for the Moores as well as they are Supplyed with Slaves from thence. After they'r Passing a Greate Many Difficulties they arrived were they found the place to be Built with Stone and verry Neare as Bigg as the

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from famine. The following passage explains why the natives carried their gold to the Moors, that is, north of the Senegal, rather than to the English. For the entire letter sent to the court of assistants of the Royal African Company see Thora Stone, ed., "The Journey of Cornelius Hodges in Senegambia, 1689-1690", *English Historical Review*, XXXIX. 89-95.

[2] All these places are between the Gambia and the Senegal rivers, perhaps 300 miles from the coast.

[3] Senegal.

City of Lon'd within the Walls. . . . Now the Famine haveing almost Frustrated all Hopes of any Good in these parts made some what the more Willing to Goe, and Accordingly the 9th Jan'ry I sett forward. Now the Bitcherren's of Cadjada began to play theire parts Bravely Saying that Since I was not Sattisfied with understanding the Gold trade, but that I must make Inspection into the Slave trade I should pay Dearly for my Experience for before I Could Cross the River of Sanaga w'ch is about 90 miles from Yalara Nearest E the place were I Crossed over called Canjure Some 6 or 7 miles below the Falls they had Raised forces and besett me B'times to destroy me. . . .[4] So that finding though by chance I mought gett Saife to Tarra Yett I found It Impossible to gett Safe Back for as yett I had not gott into the Emperors dominions Soe upon a Farther Consideration thought it more discreet to Returne with what they had Left me than to proceed and Never returne Soe the next Morn I began my Journey Back and by Noone Crossed the River of Sannaga here Called the Black sea being Come to this Place I thinke It Requisitt to Give Your Hon'rs a Short acco'tt how the French manages Affaires here As thus the River is one of the most Delightsome Spationest Considering how high it Runs that Ever I have Seene but att no time Navigable so High Except in the Mo. of Aug'st and sume part of Sept and Though unknown to the French there is severall fine Swaches that a vessell mought Ride all the yeare Long Inn. For this 4 Yeares Last past the French with a Greate deale of Trouble and vast Expence in Customs has Come up to a porte within 20 Miles of Canjure Called Darremane[5] and though they have Come with 2 vessells as Last yeare in 6 or 7 days has dispatched and Return'd but gives the Same prices or verry Neare what we give at Jellefree[6] the French If once they gett a True understanding of the trade of those parts may with a greate deale of Ease Frustrate us of the Greatest part of o'r Trade for Slaves and Raise thrice the Quantity that wee doe.[7]

154. Earl of Inchiquin to the Assembly of Jamaica.[1]

July 30, 1691.

I understand, by a message I sometime since received from you, that you had once read and passed a bill for raising a duty of forty

[4] The writer no sooner escaped from this danger and crossed the river than he was attacked by three or four hundred armed men, and would have lost his life had not some Mohammendan priests come to his rescue.

[5] Dramanet, to which the Mandingoes brought slaves. A French report on the commercial value of this inland region had been published by Chambonneau, director general of the French Senegal Company in 1688. Stone, "Journey of Hodges", in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX. 89.

[6] Gillifree.

[7] Of the French development of the gold trade Hodges has little fear, so bitter is the enmity of the natives who control it toward them. His return, arduous because of the famine, was accomplished safely and he reached Barracunda July 4, 1690.

[154] [1] *Interesting Tracts relating to Jamaica* (1800), p. 236.

shillings per head on negroes exported. . . . The first is absolutely repugnant to the commands I have received from the king, and should it pass, would, in my judgment, be highly prejudicial to the kingdom of England and this island, it being the greatest blow that can be given to trade, which is the life of this place, and I am bound to encourage and protect, and will do it. . . .

155. Petition of John Gardner and Letitia Bawdon.[1]

[January 23, 1692/3 ?]

To the Right Hon'ble the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament Assembled.

The humble Petition and Appeale of John Gardner Merchant and Dame Letitia Bawdon Widow and Executrix of S'r John Bawdon [2] dec'd from an Order made in the Court of Exchequer on Saturday the 7th Day of May last, and from a Decretall Order made in the said Court the 13th Day of June last, both Orders made in a Cause there depending between the Pet'es Appellants P'l'ts and the Royall Affrican Compa. of England Def'ts and from a final Decree made in the said Cause on the 24th day of November last.

Sheweth

That yo'r Pet'r Gardner and the Testator S'r John Bawdon being interested in severall Plantations in the West Indies and haveing most absolute Occation for Negroes from Guinea and other Places in Affrica, to be imployed in, and for the necessary Support and Carrying on of the said Plantations and Trade in the West Indies Your Petitioner and the said Testator did for the Support of the said Trade and Plantations send severall Ships att severall times to trade first to the Coast of Affrica and there to take in Negroes, and soe to proceed to the West Indies. But the Company's Agents pretending the Company had the Sole Trade in those parts of Affrica did take and seize the said Ships and Goods, sometimes before their Arrivall in Affrica,

[155] [1] House of Lords MSS., calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Rept.*, App. VI. (*MSS. H. of L.*, 1692-1693), pp. 314-315. See *Lords Journals*, XV. 195, 231; Stock, II. 69. John Gardner, a London merchant and private trader, was the signer of a petition from the sugar planters in 1690 (*ibid.*, II. 43). In March, 1694, he was one of the witnesses examined by a committee of the House of Commons which was investigating the state of the African trade (*ibid.*, pp. 91-92); on Dec. 10, 1695, he presented to the Commons a list of vessels captured by the French between Guinea and the West Indies (*ibid.*, p. 135 n.). His own losses he reported as £13,300. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[2] Possibly the Sir John Bawden, or Baudon, who some years before had brought suit against Captain Billop for the seizure of negroes from the *Providence* (see this work, vol. III., New York; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 441). Sir Thomas Lynch, in writing to Blathwayt in 1683, referred him to a Colonel Bawden for further information of the pirate Van Horn (*ibid.*, p. 394). On Nov. 3 of that year the Committee of Trade and Plantations called for his attendance as one concerned in the Leeward Islands. *Ibid.*, p. 537.

and sometimes upon their Arrivall in Affrica, and sometimes after the said Ships had taken in Negroes and were sailing from Affrica towards the West Indies, and converted them all to the Companys the Def'ts *Viz.*, by force, and contrary to Law (as Your Petitioners are advised) And Your Petitioner Gardner and the Testator Applying themselves thereupon to the Def'ts They the said Company Justified the same and absolutely refused to let Your Petitioner and the Testator Trade to the Costs of Affrica for Negroes, unless they would pay them 30 *li* and 4 *li* per Cent. for Permission money, and take a Lycence from the said Company to Trade in Affrica and alsoe to take the Companys Goods and Merchandizes here att such Rates as the Company should impose upon the same or otherwise that they would Grant noe Lycence att all.

That the Trade of the West India Plantations not being any wayes to be carryed on, or the Plantations preserved without Negroes from Affrica, and the Appellant Gardner and Testator (in those dayes) not being able to Right themselves att Law, Your Petitioner Gardner and the said Testator were enforced to comply with the Company in what Termes soever they then imposed, and accordingly did take Lycences to Trade, and paid 30 and sometimes 40 *li.* per Cent permission money to the Company and Carryed from hence to Affrica such Goods as the Company thought fitt to let the Appellant and Testator have, and paid such prises for them as the Company thought fitt to impose And particularly the Appellant and Testator did about June 1688 take a Cargoe of Goods from the Company to Trade with to Affrica for Negroes in the Ship *John* and thereupon the Company made a Bill of Particulars and prises thereof and therein lett downe and demanded 425 *li* odd moneys for Permission money and Oblidged your Petitioner Gardner and Testator with Sureties to enter into a Bond of 3000 *li* and odd pounds penalty Conditioned for payment of 1504 *li.* 6 *s.* 7 *d.*, into the said Company wherein was included the said 425 *li.* odd moneys Permission money.

That the Company, the better to Colour their designes, use to take Articles and Charter parties from the persons to whom they gave Lycence, and therein insert what facts they thinck fitt, and contrary to the very Truth of the matter, And alsoe took security for and have exacted, and received from your Petitioner and Testator severall other Great Sumes of money for Lycence or Permission money to Trade to Affrica.

That the said S'r John Bawdon being Dead Your Petitioners did prefer their Bill in the Court of Exchequer to have a Discovery and Account of the Ships and Goods seized by the Companys Agents and Particularly the Ship whereof George Nanter was Master and to have an Account of the permission money soe unjustly received, and

to be relieved against the said Bond and the permission money therein contained and in all other the premisses, to part of which said Bill (*Vizt.*) to such part as demanded a Discovery Account or Releife touching the Ship whereof George Nanter was Master and the Goods and Negroes taken by the said Companys Agents and to all charges touching the seizing and disposeing of the said Ships and Goods the said Company Pleaded the Statute of Limitations which Plea was allowed by the Court by the said Order of the 7th of May last, and the Residue of the said Cause proceeding to hearing the Court of Exchequer att the hearing were not pleased to Relieve the Petitioners as to the permission money but declared they would not Intermeddle with the same And Decreed Your Petitioner to Account for the whole 1504 *l.* 6 *s.* 7 *d.* without haveing any Abatement for the permission money in the said Bond, or haveing any Account for the other Lycence or permission money soe unjustly exacted as aforesaid.

By which Orders and Decree Your Petitioners humbly conceive themselves agreived.

First in That the said Plea of the Statute of Limitations was allowed by the Court though the matters in Demand were transacted upon and beyond the Seas and being alsoe matters of Account And transactions between Merchants And the Plea itt selfe being very insufficient Informall and Wanting proper averment.

Secondly In that the said Court of Exchequer did not Relieve Your Petitioners against the said Frauds Impositions and Practices of the said Deft's and against the said Lycence or Permission money but left Your Petitioners Remediless therein.

Wherefore Your Petitioners most humbly Appeale from the said Orders and Decree unto Your Lordships in Parliament And humbly pray Redress therein from your Lordships in this most Supreme Judicature according to the Usuall method of proceedings in Appeales before Your Lordships.[3]

[3] The Lords, having listened to the reading of the petition, called for the answer of the Royal African Company, which was delivered Feb. 1: "In 1688 the Company made an agreement with Gardner and Sir John Bawdon touching the ship *John*, of London, whereof William Portlock was Master, for a trading voyage to Africa, and an account was adjusted, before the ship left Gravesend, concerning the cargo bought of the Company, amounting to 1504 *l.* 16 *s.* 7 *d.*, for payment whereof in 18 months Gardner, Sir John and Portlock gave a bond of 3008 *l.* 13 *s.* 0 *d.* Only 500 *l.* has since been paid, and that not before August 1690. Sir John having died, and Appellants refusing to pay the rest, Respondents sued Gardner upon the bond, and obtained judgment. Appellants then brought their Bill in the Exchequer. The Court, after allowing Respondents' plea of the Statute of Limitations with regard to the ship whereof Nanter was master, proceeded to hear the Cause on 13 June, and referred it to the Deputy Remembrancer to certify what was due upon the bond, and to take a distinct account of the elephants' teeth and gold laden on the ship *Swan*. The Report, being heard, was ordered to be reviewed by allowing the Appellants their share in some gold, which was the produce of part of the windward cargo of the *Swan* outwards, and saving Respondents harmless against the other owners and partners of the ship in that respect. The Deputy Remembrancer accordingly certified 777 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* due to

156. William Hardringe and Nicholas Prideaux to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados the 11th Feb'ry 1692/3.

. . . Upon The first of Novemb. arrived here the *Sept.* Capta. William Parrish with Six or Seven Hundred Negroes taken in the most Part at Whida the said Did also dispatch Capta. Chantrells Sh'p from the Gold Coast with foure hundred gold Coast Slaves who Meetting amongst the Islands with Some french Privateeres was taken and Carried to Martineco. Capta. Bell also an Interloper was Taken to the Leward of Acra after a Sharp Dispute and was brought to anchor by the French but the Cable being Shott in the Fight the Sh'p rann ashore and was Lost and almost all the Negroes. Capta. Parrish dyed the Second or third daye of the Sale of his Negroes. the whole ship came out as we have bin Certainley Inform'd at fourteen Pounds per Head one shill. more or Less. the Negroes were very Young, but wanting victualls were Reduced to Greate Poverty which we the Rather advise of, that The Compa. may Give Strict Orders to y'r Mast'rs not to Stint theire Negroes in Victualls and for as much as Corne is not at all Times to be Procured it may much Conduce to the Good of the Voyage to but [put] in a good Quantity of Beanes at home which Provision is Found verry Serviceable and more nurishing then Corne but in this wee only humbly offer our Oppinions upon the discourses we have Heard on this Subject. . . .[2]

According to the first Intentm'tt, we cannot omitt to add our Second Intreaties to the Compa. to Revoke the Power Given our Governors to Sell the negroes by Inch of Candle[3] which will Prove a most Pernissious evill to Theire Concernes by being Bound up and all Interlopers left at theire Liberty. But more espetially if the Spannard Should Trade here againe as we hope they may in Time,

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Respondents, and the Court on 24 Nov. confirmed his Report and ordered payment. The Orders and Decree are just and equitable. Pray that the Appeal may be dismissed with costs. Sealed with the Company's seal. Endorsed as brought in this day". *MSS. H. of L.*, 1692-1693, p. 315.

The company's answer was endorsed: "John Gardner and Letitia Bawdon, Pet., *v.* Affrican Company, made 23 Janu 1692. Febry 15th 1692, heard by Mr. Gardner for himselfe and the Lady. Ordered that the petition be dismissed and the decree affirm'd". The case was heard Feb. 11, 1693, and on Feb. 15 petition and appeal were dismissed and the orders of May 7, June 13, and Nov. 24 were affirmed. Stock, II. 69, 72, 74.

[156] [1] T 70: 17.

[2] The company seems to have followed this advice about provisioning the negroes. On Nov. 10, 1698, an Order in Council grants to the African Company leave to export beans for supplying their negroes in transportation. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 326.

[3] That is, by auction, bids being received while the candle burned an inch. This method of sale is encountered on the Continent in the eighteenth century, but seems never to have been a favorite one in the West Indies.

from the Late Encouragem'tt that is Given by the Late act[4] upon which Mr. Scroope went downe to Informe and Invite them hether, and we hope his designe will have a good Issue. Negroes are now much wanted and if either or both the Shipp[s] that touched at Madera come here we hope will find a good Sale.

157. Voyage of the *Hannibal*, 1693-1694.[1]

. . . After my return to England,[2] I was for some time destitute of employment, until my ever honoured patron and benefactor, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, Knt.[3] out of his extraordinary generosity and good will to me, understanding that the ship *Hannibal* of four hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-six guns, was to be sold, gave me orders to buy her. Having done this he was pleas'd to deposit the money for her out of his own pocket; and after, by his interest, to bring in his worthy brother, John Jeffreys, Esq., Sam. Stanyer, Esq., then sub-governor of the African company, and some other eminent merchants, to be part-owners with me, and then to recommend me and the ship to the royal African company of England; from whom, upon his account, I found acceptance: Being entr'd into their service, on a trading voyage to Guiney, for elephants teeth, gold, and Negro slaves; and having the needful cargoes on board, wherewith to purchase them, as well as supplies of merchandize, stores, etc., for the company's castles and factories; my business being compleated at London, I took boat for Gravesend the fifth of September in the evening, and got on board

[4] The reference is to a Barbados act of Aug. 2, 1692: "Whereas heretofore the Subjects of the Kingdom of Spain, have been permitted to trade here, and to buy and purchase Negroes; which Trade hath been in some measure restrained by an Act of this Island, or by some clause or clauses thereof, laying a Tax or Duty on such Negroes so bought and purchased, which said Act long since expired: To the intent therefore that the same may be manifest and made known, Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted and declared by his Excellency, Colonel James Kendal, Captain General and chief Governor of this and other the Caribbee-Islands, the Honourable the Council, and General Assembly of this Island, and by Authority of the same, That the said Act, and all and every Act and Acts of this Island, and all and every the Sentences, Clauses and Penalties therein contained, which did lay a Tax or Duty, on any Negro or Negroes, so bought or purchased by any Subjects of the King of Spain, shall be and are hereby declared absolutely null, void and of none effect; and that the said Subjects of the King of Spain, may have free liberty of trading to this place for Negroes as aforesaid; and that no Tax or Duty shall be laid upon or required from them for such Negroes as shall be by them bought for the future". *Acts passed in the Island of Barbados* (1764), pp. 127-128.

[157] [1] "A Journal of a Voyage made in the *Hannibal* of London, Ann. 1693-1694, from England, to Cape Monseradoe, in Africa; and thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbadoes. With a Cursory Account of the Country, the People, their Manners, Forts, Trade, etc.", by Thomas Phillips, commander of the said ship; from Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), VI. 173-239. Astley, *Voyages and Travels* (II. 387-416), contains an abstract of this account.

[2] The author introduces his narrative by a brief account of his capture by the French and detention in France just before this voyage.

[3] One of the influential London members of the Royal African Company, concerned in trade to Virginia. See this work, vol. III., Virginia.

about eleven at night, with money to pay my men their river-pay, and one month's pay advance-money, as per agreement (p. 173). . . .[4]

Until the fifth of October, in the morning, we had fair weather, smooth sea, and a small gale of wind at S.S. W. which towards evening veer'd about to the S.E. and E. and invited us and the rest of the outward bound ships, in the Downs to go to sea;[5] of which those for Guiney were, the *East-India Merchant*,[6] of thirty guns, Capt. Thomas Shurley commander; the *Hannibal* of thirty-six guns, Thomas Phillips, for the gold coast; the *Mediterranean* of twenty-four guns, Capt. Daniel, for Angola; the *Jeffrey* of twelve guns, Capt. Somes, for the Bite; the *Fortune* of twelve guns, Capt. Hereford, for Angola; and the *Eagle* packet boat, Capt. Perry, for Gambo and the coast. We having agreed among ourselves, that Capt. Thomas Shurley, who had been long acquainted with the Guiney trade should give sailing orders, shape the course, and carry the light, we came on board to unmoor our ships, and about eight were under sail (p. 174).[7] . . .

[*Dec. 23.*] We found the other two vessels to be one Gubbins an interloper come from Barbadoes, chiefly laden with rum, to trade for gold and slaves, of which I bought about 500 gallons of him cheap and sold it to good advantage; the other vessel was the *Stanier* sloop, with Mr. Colker on board her, who was agent of Cherborough,[8] and came thence to trade along the coast for teeth (p. 190). . . .

The 28th came in here [9] Capt. John Soans, in the *Jeffrey*, and having supply'd himself with some wood, water, and rice, set sail again

[4] The vessel carried as passengers thirty-three employees of the African Company, who were to be delivered at their forts.

[5] Bad weather overtaking them, they did not leave the Downs until Oct. 25.

[6] The *East-India Merchant* had recently delivered a negro cargo in Jamaica. On Jan. 7, 1692, Walter Ruding, one of the company's factors, wrote that the cargo of the *East-India Merchant*, Captain Shurley, just sold, had amounted to £6982 5 *s.* 11*d.* above the freight. T 70: 17.

[7] Details follow concerning the weather, navigation, and incidents of the voyage. The most serious mishap was an encounter with a French man-of-war in which five of Phillips's men were killed and thirty-two wounded. Among the wounded was a brother of Phillips, a lad of sixteen. On Dec. 2 they reached Santiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands, under Portuguese control. Here Phillips put in for water and provisions, and had an interview with the governor of the island, who desired payment for the provisions in money: "I gave him to understand that I had none of that, nor was it customary for merchant ships to carry monies with them to purchase necessaries, having either credit where they come, or effects to raise money with, more especially in my voyage to Guiney, where we had good factories, and where our European coins were not passable" (Churchill, VI. 186). On Dec. 23, steering along the shore close to Cape "Monserado" (Mesurado), he saw three vessels, one of them the *East-India Merchant*, badly shattered by a storm. Phillips went at once to the rescue of the vessel, explaining, "my best friend Sir Jeffry Jeffries, Knt. and some others of my worthy owners, as well as the royal African company being deeply concern'd in her". From this time until the *Hannibal* sailed for Barbados the two vessels remained together.

[8] Sherbro.

[9] Cape Mesurado. Of this spot Phillips writes: "Cape Mounseradoe is about sixteen leagues distant from cape Mount. . . . Here is a store of good rice, and cheap, which they brought us in abundance . . . The chief commodity we traded for was rice, of which I bought about five tuns, paying mostly for it in booges or cowries, which are the goods they chiefly esteem, for a pint of which we could buy 30 lb. of rice. The other goods they approved of were iron bars and red Welsh plains; but they had

for the Bite, on Thursday the 3d of Jan. having left me a packet of letters directed to Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys to be forwarded to Europe with the first conveniency. Agent Colker set sail for Sherberow, on the 5th, and Gubbins in the Barbadoes interloper, the same morning for the gold coast, by whom I sent letters to the African companies three chief merchants at Cabo Corce castle, signifying my agreement with the company to slave upon the gold coast, and bespeaking their diligence in procuring what numbers they could for me against my arrival there, with what else was needful: I was forced to stay here ten days after I had compleated my business for Capt. Shurley to refit his ship, which at length being done, we both set sail with the morning breeze, on the 9th of Jan. 1693/4 for the coast: The negroes of this place, express'd a great affection for the English, and as much hatred to the French; two of them took Capt. Shurley's and my name, assuring us their next sons should be call'd so (p. 194). . . .

[*Monday, Jan. 15.*] At ten we were off the river Sino, about twelve leagues from Sanguin,[10] which is easily known by a tree making like a ship with a top-sail loose; from whence came several canoes aboard us with pepper, or, as they call it, Malagetta, which is much like our India pepper, and, for ought I know, as good. It was brought in ozier baskets. I bought 1000 weight of it at one iron bar (value in England three shillings and six pence) and a dashy of a knife or two to the broker. The reason of our buying this pepper is to give our negroes in their messes to keep them from the flux and dry belly-ach, which they are very incident to (p. 195). . . .[11]

[*Wed. to Mon., Feb. 4.*] Being anchor'd he [12] sent his boat aboard us, with a private commission from king William, whereby he appear'd to be a Dutch privateer, tho' a trader upon the coast, where he had been above nine months up and down without being able to dispose of all his cargo; he was lately come from Angola, the Captain's name was William Fleming, the master's name Stephen Waterman, the ship's name *Jacob Hendrick*; she had 16 guns and 42 men; the Capt. was sick; they advis'd us that Capt. Gubbins and his doctor in the Barbadoes-Interloper were dead; that the country was all in wars; that there was little gold upon the coast, by reason the negro-traders could not bring it down in safety, the passages and roads being stopt;

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nothing considerable to trade with us for them. We bought some fowls of them . . . we also purchas'd some limes, wild oranges, pine apples, and two or three small goats" (Churchill, VI. 191). Here Phillips supplied himself with water and wood.

[10] Sanguin River, "where the Grain or Malagetta coast begins". Sino was a short distance from Sestos. The coast from this point on is described in much detail by Barbot. Churchill, V. 136-138.

[11] For Barbot's description of Guinea pepper, see *ibid.*, V. 132.

[12] The captain of a near-by ship at which the *Hannibal* had fired, taking it for a French vessel. On the voyage down the coast Captain Shurley, Phillips's brother, and several of his men were taken sick. On Jan. 17 his brother died. On Jan. 25 and 26, Phillips lay off Bassam, trading for gold. Here natives came out in canoes, promising slaves, but the promise was not kept. Churchill, VI. 196-198.

and that the negroes had taken the Danes fort [13] at Accra, kill'd one of the factors, and much wounded the other. . . .

[*Mon. to Wed., Feb. 6.*] Here were above a dozen Dutch interlopers at this time trading upon the coast, notwithstanding all the Dutch are prohibited that trade, except the ships belonging to their Guiney company, who have orders to fight and take by force of arms the said interlopers where-ever they meet them upon the coast, who upon such capture become as much prize as any declar'd enemy, the ship and goods being confiscated to the use of the said company, and the men made prisoners in the dungeon at the Mine; and if I mistake not, the captain and other principal officers condemn'd to die (p. 199). . . .

[*Thur. Feb. 14.*] . . . By this canoe [14] [from Cape-Coast Castle] I received a letter from our agents, advising me to dispose of as much as I could of my cargo before I came there, where there was no trade nor gold, by reason the country was all in wars; and that there was no probability of procuring any number of slaves upon the gold coast (p. 201). . . .[15]

[*Feb. 16.*] we fill'd some water here,[16] got a little wood, and some cancy-stones, for our slaves to grind their corn upon; and no trade presenting, we parted thence the 19th for Succandy (p. 202). . . .[17]

[*Feb. 27.*] The castle of Cabo Corce is the chief of all those our African company have upon this coast, and where their agents or chief

[13] Christiansborg castle. The Danes had had a lodge or factory here since the middle of the century. Through the treachery of a factor the castle was surrendered to the Portuguese in 1679, to be regained by the Danes in 1682 or the beginning of 1683. It was held by them until the natives seized it in 1693, to which capture Phillips here refers. Bosman stated that the Dutch helped the Danes to regain it on this occasion (William Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* 1721, pp. 59-60). There are pictures of Christiansborg in *Laegen Paul Iserts Breve fra Dansk Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1917), pp. xviii, 8, 141, 142.

[14] The *Hannibal* was anchored at Axim, about two miles from the Dutch fort, and had been entertaining on board the Dutch factor, Mr. Rawlinson, who was frightened into hasty departure by the sight of the canoe here mentioned.

[15] Rawlinson, recovering from his fear that the canoe contained the Dutch fiscal, come to examine into his affairs, returned to the ship, and invited Captains Shurley and Phillips and Mr. Buckridge to have dinner with him the next day. This gave them an opportunity to inspect the town and view a native dance. Phillips observes that this is the best and cheapest place to buy the canoes used in slaving at Whydah, "they being very scarce and dear to leeward". Resuming their leisurely way down the coast, they passed the Brandenburg fort, Great Friedrichsburg, and Cape Three Points, and anchored at Dixcove Feb. 16. Churchill, VI. 201-202.

[16] Dixcove. The English had begun a fort here in 1691, after a dispute with the Brandenburgers over possession of the location. It was not completed until 1697. Claridge, *The Gold Coast,* I. 127.

[17] According to their charter-parties from the Royal African Company, Sekundi was the last point at which to dispose of their windward cargoes, of which they had £3000 apiece, and had not yet bartered away £200 each. Here they found the factor, Johnson, insane. Here, also, the *Eagle* joined them and they learned that Captain Perry was dead. On the 21st they sailed to Shama, or Chama, and Ampeny Point, half way between Elmina and Cape Coast Castle. Along the coast they had some trade in gold but found the natives afraid to trade with them because of their awe of the Dutch, who held Commenda near by and were trying to destroy the English trade, being, as Phillips wrote, "very insolent upon that coast". Churchill, VI. 203.

factors always reside, to which all the other factories are subordinate. This castle has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular and well contriv'd fortification, and as strong as it can be well made, considering its situation, being encompass'd with a strong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-secur'd and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine and spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercis'd. It has four flankers which have a cover'd communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns. . . .[18]

In this castle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the soldiers, I believe there are not better barracks anywhere than here, each two having a handsome room allow'd them, and receive their pay duly and justly in gold dust once a week for their subsistence. The castle has in all about forty guns mounted, some of them brass, and commonly 100 white men in garrison, with a military land officer to discipline and command them under the agents (p. 204). . . .[19]

I also carried there on account of the African company, muskets, niconees, tapseals, baysadoes, brass kettles, English carpets, Welsh plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, etc. None of which did answer expectation, being forc'd to bring back to England a great part of them; and those we sold were at a very low rate (p. 206) . . . .[20]

At Cabo Corce we took in part of the Indian corn order'd us for the provision of our negroes to Barbadoes, the allowance being a chest which contains about four bushels for every negro. It is charg'd the company at two achies per chest, and bare measure; but we could buy better of the blacks at an achy and ½, and heap'd measure. Here is some palm oil, but it is cheaper at Whidaw, tho' the island of

[18] Here is omitted a lengthy account of the cistern which supplied the fort and occasional visiting vessels with water. The space which Phillips gives to the account is some indication of the importance of the water supply in all the English stations. Lack of it was considered the greatest weakness of James Fort, in the Gambia.

[19] The *Hannibal* landed thirty soldiers for the Royal African Company, all in good health, though two months later nearly half of them had died. The company kept here three merchants, who at this time were Joshua Platt, William Ronan, and William Melrose. Phillips's stay of 29 days gave him time to observe food, buildings, gardens, as well as to trade in gold. He tells of a school maintained in the castle to teach the small black children of the town to read and write and "so prepare them to be made christians". Mr. Clayten, chief of Fort Royal, once the Danish Fort Frederiksborg, died while he was there, and John Rootsey, a Barbadian who had come out on the *Hannibal* or the *West Indian Merchant,* was appointed to the place (Churchill, VI. 204-207). The Danish Fort Frederiksborg had been delivered to the Royal African Company in 1685, and renamed Fort Royal. In 1699 the old fort was torn down and a new one built.

[20] Here follows a description of the method of trading for gold. Up to this time Phillips's trade had been entirely for teeth and gold.

St. Thomas is the cheapest place, and where there is most plenty of it (p. 208) . . . .[21]

[*Apr. 26.*] . . . and after dinner I went ashore to Mr. Searle the factor here,[22] to know where and when we should send for the corn assign'd us here by the chief merchants at cape Corce, there being not enough to supply us there, and therefore were to call for the rest at this place, and Aena [Accra?], to compleat our quantity of 700 chests each. Mr. Searle immediately order'd what quantity he had to be delivered us whenever our boats came for it, and entertain'd us very lovingly till night when Capt. Shurley and I went on board. Animabo lies in the Kingdom of Fantine, is a pretty large town; the negro inhabitants are accounted very bold and stout fellows, but the most desperate treacherous villains, and greatest cheats upon the whole coast, for the gold here is accounted the worst, and the most mix'd with brass, of any in Guiney; it lies about 4 leagues to the East of Cabo Corce. Our castle is pretty strong, of about 18 guns, where we were very kindly entertained by Mr. Searle some days, and by Mr. Cooper at Aga on other days. Aga is a small thatch'd house, about half a mile to the east from Animabo, on the sea-shore, having little or no defence except a few muskets (p. 209). . . .[23]

May the 12th. . . . Here [Accra][24] Mr. John Bloome the factor order'd us the remainder of our corn, to compleat 700 chests apiece, which we got aboard, fill'd some water, and had pretty good trade (p. 211). . . .

May the 19th. Steering along shore within three leagues, with fine easy gale, we spy'd a canoe making off towards us, whereupon we lay by and staid for her; when she came aboard the master of her brought in three women and four children to sell, but they ask'd very dear for them, and they were almost dead for want of victuals, looking like meer skeletons, and so weak that they could not stand, so that they were not worth buying; he promis'd to procure us 2 or 300 slaves

[21] At Cape Coast the two vessels landed their cargo for the castle, amounting to about three hundred tons of goods each, disposed of what they could of their windward cargo, and after two months sailed for Anamabo, passing the Dutch Fort Nassau and the English establishment at Anashan on the way.

[22] Anamabo.

[23] Shurley and Phillips remained at Anamabo till May 2, taking in 180 chests of corn and two boats of water. Here they entertained and were entertained by Mr. Fasleman, the Dutch governor of Cormantine; here Henry Nurse, third mate on the *East-India Merchant* and eldest son of the African agent who built the fort at Sekundi, died; and here, Phillips wrote, "I had two little negroe boys presented me here by our honest factors, and two before at Cape Corce, with good store of Muscovy ducks, and other fresh provisions" (Churchill, VI. 210). May 4-9 the two captains spent at Winneba, with Mr. Nicholas Buckridge, the company's factor. At this place they procured canoes for their slaving at Whydah. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

[24] "Acra fort has about 20 guns, but a thin garrison, not consisting of above 12 white men; it is in form square, having a bastion or flanker at each angle, on which the cannon are mounted. . . . The Dutch fort of 16 guns, lies about musket-shot from ours, much higher, so that it looks into our fort, and would be able to do it a great deal of mischief in case of war" (*ibid.*, p. 213). Captain Shurley died during the stay of the vessels at Accra.

if we would anchor, come ashore, and stay three or four days, but judging what the others might be, by the sample he brought us, and being loth to venture ashore upon his bare word, where we did not use to trade, and had no factory, we sent him away, and pursu'd our voyage; besides that we were upon the Alampo coast, which negroes are esteem'd the worst and most washy of any that are brought to the West-Indies, and yield the least price; why I know not, for they seem as well limb'd and lusty as any other negroes, and the only difference I perceiv'd in them, was, that they are not so black as the others, and are all circumcis'd, which no negroes else upon the whole coast (as I observ'd) are: The negroes most in demand at Barbadoes, are the gold coast, or, as they call them, Cormantines,[25] which will yield 3 or 4 *l.* a head more then the Whidaws, or, as they call them, Papa negroes;[26] but these are preferr'd before the Angola, as they are before the Alampo, which are accounted the worst of all. . . . .

May the 21st. This morning I went ashore at Whidaw, accompany'd by my doctor and purser, Mr. Clay, the present Capt. of the *East-India Merchant,* his doctor and purser, and about a dozen of our seamen for our guard, arm'd, in order here to reside till we could purchase 1300 negro slaves, which was the number we both wanted, to compleat 700 for the *Hannibal,* and 650 for the *East-India Merchant,* according to our agreement in our charter-parties with the

[25] Coromantines, or Kormantines, the name applied in the West Indies to the negroes from the Gold Coast, many of whom came from Cormantine, east of Anamabo. Bryan Edwards says of them, "They sometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have constitutions well adapted for it", a sufficient reason for the high degree of favor with which they were regarded both in the West Indies and in the continental colonies (*Hist. of the West Indies,* third ed., 1794, II. 63). On the occasion of an uprising in Antigua Christopher Codrington wrote to the Board of Trade a description of these negroes: "They are not only the best and most faithful of our slaves, but are really all born Heroes. There is a difference between them and all other negroes beyond what 'tis possible for yr Lordships to conceive. There never was a raskal or coward of that nation, intrepid to the last degree, not a man of them but will stand to be cut to pieces without a sigh or groan, grateful and obedient to a kind master, but implacably revengeful when ill-treated. My Father, who had studied the genius and temper of all kinds of negroes 45 years with a very nice observation, would say, Noe man deserved a Corramante that would not treat him like a Friend rather than a Slave, and all my Corramantes preserve that love and veneration for him that they constantly visit his grave" (Dec. 30, 1701, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1701, p. 721). See also this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

Oronooko, Mrs. Aphra Behn's romantic hero, was a Cormantine. Of his country she wrote: "Coramantien, a Country of Blacks so called, was one of those Places in which they found the most advantageous Trading for these Slaves, and thither most of our great Traders in that Merchandize traffick; for that Nation is very warlike and brave; and having a continual Campaign, being always in Hostility with one neighbouring Prince or other, they had the Fortune to take a great many Captives; for all they took in Battle were sold as Slaves; at least those common men who could not ransom themselves. Of these Slaves so taken, the General only has all the Profit; and of these Generals our Captains and Masters of Ships buy all their Freight." *Works,* V. 133-134.

[26] Whydah, Fida, or Juda, was near the centre of the Slave Coast. The Popo or Pawpaw negroes came from the region round Great and Little Popo, on the Slave Coast near Whydah.

royal African company; in procuring which quantity of slaves we spent about nine weeks. . . .

Our factory [at Whydah] lies about three miles from the sea-side, where we were carry'd in hamocks, which the factor Mr. Joseph Peirson, sent to attend our landing, with several arm'd blacks that belong'd to him for our guard; we were soon truss'd in a bag, toss'd upon negroes heads, and convey'd to our factory (p. 214). . . .[27]

Our factory built by Capt. Wiburne, Sir John Wiburne's brother, stands low near the marshes, which renders it a very unhealthy place to live in; the white men the African company send there, seldom returning to tell their tale: 'tis compass'd round with a mud-wall, about six foot high, and on the south-side is the gate; within is a large yard, a mud thatch'd house, where the factor lives, with the white men; also a store-house, a trunk for slaves, and a place where they bury their dead white men, call'd, very improperly, the hog-yard; there is also a good forge, and some other small houses. . . . And here I must observe that the rainy season begins about the middle of May, and ends the beginning of August, in which space it was my misfortune to be there, which created sicknesses among my negroes aboard, it being noted for the most malignant season by the blacks themselves, who while the rain lasts will hardly be prevail'd upon to stir out of their huts. . . .[28]

The factory prov'd beneficial to us in another kind;[29] for after we had procured a parcel of slaves, and sent them down to the sea-side to be carry'd off, it sometimes proved bad weather, and so great a sea, that the canoes could not come ashore to fetch them, so that they returned to the factory, where they were secured and provided for till good weather presented, and then were near to embrace the opportunity, we sometimes shipping off a hundred of both sexes at a time.

The factor, Mr. Peirson, was a brisk man, and had good interest with the king, and credit with the subjects, who knowing their tempers, which is very dastard, had good skill in treating them both civil and rough, as occasion requir'd; most of his slaves belonging to the factory, being gold coast negroes, who are very bold, brave, and sensible, ten of which would beat the best forty men the king of Whidaw had in his kingdom; besides their true love, respect and fidelity to their master, for whose interest or person they will most freely expose their own lives. . . .

As soon as the king understood of our landing, he sent two of his cappasheirs,[30] or noblemen, to compliment us at our factory, where

[27] Phillips here interpolates an account of the method of travelling in hammocks.

[28] Here is omitted the record of what was apparently the author's first encounter with mosquitoes.

[29] The first service which the factory rendered was to house the goods which were brought ashore at night, too late to be carried to Phillips's own warehouse.

[30] Caboceers.

we design'd to continue, that night, and pay our devoirs to his majesty next day, which we signify'd to them, and they, by a foot-express, to their monarch; whereupon he sent two more of his grandees to invite us there that night, saying he waited for us, and that all former captains used to attend him the first night: whereupon being unwilling to infringe the custom, or give his majesty any offence, we took our hamocks, and Mr. Peirson, myself, Capt. Clay, our surgeons, pursers, and about 12 men, arm'd for our guard, were carry'd to the king's town, which contains about 50 houses (p. 216). . . . [31]

We returned him thanks by his interpreter, and assur'd him how great affection our masters, the royal African company of England, bore to him, for his civility and fair and just dealings with their captains; and that notwithstanding there were many other places, more plenty of negro slaves that begg'd their custom, yet they had rejected all the advantageous offers made them out of their good will to him, and therefore had sent us to trade with him, to supply his country with necessaries, and that we hop'd he would endeavour to continue their favour by his kind usage and fair dealing with us in our trade, that we may have our slaves with all expedition, which was the making of our voyage; that he would oblige his cappasheirs to do us justice, and not impose upon us in their prices; all which we should faithfully relate to our masters, the royal African company, when we came to England. He answer'd that the African company was a very good brave man; that he lov'd him; that we should be fairly dealt with, and not impos'd upon; But he did not prove as good as his word; nor indeed (tho' his cappasheirs shew him so much respect) dare he do any thing but what they please . . .[32] so after having examin'd us about our cargoe, what sort of goods we had, and what quantity of slaves we wanted, etc., we took our leaves and return'd to the factory, having promised to come in the morning to make our palavera, or agreement, with him about prices, how much of each of our goods for a slave.

According to promise we attended his majesty with samples of our goods, and made our agreement about the prices, tho' not without much difficulty; he and his cappasheirs exacted very high, but at length we concluded as per the latter end; then we had warehouses, a kitchen, and lodgings assign'd us, but none of our rooms

[31] They were conducted to the presence of the king, with much hand-clapping and many obeisances on the part of the caboceers.

[32] Here follows an account of the repast which the king set before them, and of his loud expressions of grief on learning of Captain Shurley's death, Shurley having, so the king maintained, promised to bring him many gifts on this voyage. The grief changed to anger and charges of bad faith against his guests when he was assured by Captain Clay that the cargo contained no silks, muskets, or pictures intended for him. Churchill, VI. 217.

had doors till we made them, and put on locks and keys; next day we paid our customs to the king and cappasheirs, as will appear hereafter; then the bell was order'd to go about to give notice to all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to sell us: this bell is a hollow piece of iron in shape of a sugar loaf, the cavity of which could contain about 50 lb. of cowries: This a man carry'd about and beat with a stick, which made a small dead sound (p. 217). . . .

Capt. Clay and I had agreed to go to the trunk [33] to buy the slaves by turns, each his day, that we might have no distraction or disagreement in our trade, as often happens when there are here more ships than one, and the commanders can't set their horses together, and go hand in hand in their traffick, whereby they have a check upon the blacks, whereas their disagreements create animosities, underminings, and out-bidding each other, whereby they enhance the prices to their general loss and detriment, the blacks well knowing how to make the best use of such opportunities, and as we found make it their business, and endeavour to create and foment misunderstandings and jealousies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the disposal of their slaves.

When we were at the trunk, the king's slaves, if he had any, were the first offer'd to sale, which the cappasheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would shew us any other, saying they were the Reys Cosa,[34] and we must not refuse them, tho' as I observ'd they were generally the worst slaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's prerogatives: then the cappasheirs each brought out his slaves according to his degree and quality, the greatest first, etc. and our surgeon examin'd them well in all kinds, to see that they were sound wind and limb, making them jump, stretch out their arms swiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappasheirs are so cunning, that they shave them all close before we see them, so that let them be never so old we can see no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and sleek with palm oil, 'tis no easy matter to know an old one from a middle-age one, but by the teeths decay; but our greatest care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, lest they should infect the rest aboard. . . .

When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before

[33] "I could hardly stand or go to the trunk without assistance, and there often fainted with the horrid stink of the negroes." Phillips complained of violent pain in his head during most of his stay on the coast. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[34] Reys Cosa, or slaves of the king. Phillips, engaged in the English trade, Barbot, in the French trade, and Bosman, in the Dutch, all traded on the coast at the end of the seventeenth century and all have left somewhat detailed descriptions of the processes of trade which make possible a comparison of their trade and their dealings with the natives.

the king, how much of each sort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchas'd to the number of 50 or 60 we would send them aboard, there being a cappasheir, intitled the captain of the slaves, whose care it was to secure them to the water-side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were lost, he was bound to make them good, to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any ran away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the slaves comes to carry them away: These are two officers appointed by the king for this purpose, to each of which every ship pays the value of a slave in what goods they like best for their trouble, when they have done trading; and indeed they discharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having lost one slave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

There is likewise a captain of the sand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come ashore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the sea shore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithstanding his care and authority, we often came by the loss, and could have no redress.

When our slaves were come to the seaside, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the sea permitted, and she convey'd them aboard ship, where the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or swimming ashore.

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbadoes than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, etc: we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to Barbadoes, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs and arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thought of it, much less put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves; nor can I imagine why they should be despis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsick value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him (pp. 218-219) . . . .

The present king often, when ships are in a great strait for slaves, and cannot be supply'd otherwise, will sell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his slaves than those bought of the cappasheirs, his measure for booges being much larger than theirs, and he was allow'd accordingly in all other goods we had.

For every slave the cappasheirs sold us publickly, they were oblig'd to pay part of the goods they receiv'd for it to the king, as toll or custom, especially the booges, of which he would take a small dish-full out of each measure; to avoid this they would privately send for us to their houses in the night, and dispose of two or three slaves at a time, and we as privately would send them the goods agreed upon for them; but this they did not much practise for fear of offending the king, should he come to know it, who enjoyns them to carry all their slaves to be sold publickly at the trunk with his own; sometimes after he had sold one of his wives or subjects, he would relent, and desire us to exchange for another, which we freely did often, and he took very kindly (pp. 219-220). . . .[35]

[35] The pages here omitted, all relating to Whydah, describe many native customs, and give the account promised by Phillips at an earlier point, of a war waged by the Akanna (called by the author Arcany), an inland people designated by Phillips as "the best traders to our ships and castles", against the Fetu people, who had refused passage to the Akanna through their territory. According to Phillips, the Dutch were the instigators of the Fetu policy, they desiring to absorb the Akanna trade. The English supported the Akanna, even to the extent of sending them arms and a few soldiers. Joined by the people of Sabo, they were victorious, and named a new king of the Fetu, whom they forced to swear allegiance to the Royal African Company. This ceremony Phillips witnessed while he was at Cape Coast Castle. Churchill, VI. 224-225.

After we are come to an agreement for the prices of our slaves, ere the bell goes round to order all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to be sold, we are oblig'd to pay our customs to the king and cappasheirs for leave to trade, protection and justice; which for every ship are as follow, *viz.*

To the king six slaves value in cowries, or what other goods we can perswade him to take, but cowries are most esteem'd and desir'd; all which are measur'd in his presence, and he would wrangle with us stoutly about heaping up the measure.

To the cappasheirs in all two slaves value, as above.

The usual charges here which we pay at our departure when we have finish'd our trade, in any goods that remain, are

One slave value to the captain of the trunk for his care of our slaves while there; one slave value to the captain of the sand for his care of our goods; one ditto to the captain of the slaves who conducts them safe to the sea-side; one ditto to captain Tom the interpreter, for his trouble; one ditto for filling water; half a slave, or as much cowries as the cavity of the bell can contain, to the bell-man.

Besides all which our factory charges, victualling the negroes after bought till they get aboard, and hire of porters to bring up the goods from the sea-side, which is seven miles at least, and the stoutest fellow would not bring above two bars of iron at a time, and make but one trip in a day, took up great quantities of our cowries, we paying these last charges in nothing else but these shells.

The best goods to purchase slaves here are cowries, the smaller the more esteem'd; for they pay them all by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest, but take them from us by measure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-slave.

The next in demand are brass neptunes or basons, very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make anilias or bracelets, and collars for their arms legs and necks.

The other preferable goods are blue paper sletias, cambricks or lawns, caddy chints, broad ditto, coral, large, smooth, and of a deep red, rangoes [36] large and red, iron bars, powder, and brandy.

With the above goods a ship cannot want slaves here, and may purchase them for about three pounds fifteen shillings a head, but near half the cargo value must be cowries or booges, and brass basons, to set off the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, etc. else they will not take them; for if a cappasheir sells five slaves, he will have two of them paid for in cowries, and one in brass, which are dear slaves; for a slave in cowries costs us above four pounds in England; whereas a slave in coral, rangoes, or iron, does not cost fifty shillings; but without the cowries and brass they will take none of the

[36] Arrangoes, English cloth.

last goods, and but small quantities at best, especially if they can discover that you have good store of cowries and brass aboard, then no other goods will serve their turn, till they have got as much as you have; and after, for the rest of the goods they will be indifferent, and make you come to their own terms, or else lie a long time for your slaves, so that those you have on board are dying while you are buying others ashore; therefore every man that comes here, ought to be very cautious in making his report to the king at first, of what sorts and quantities of goods he has, and be sure to say his cargo consists mostly in iron, coral, rangoes, chints, etc. so that he may dispose of those goods as soon as he can, and at last his cowries and brass will bring him slaves as fast as he can buy them; but this is to be understood of a single ship: or more, if the captains agree, which seldom happens; for where there are divers ships, and of separate interests, about buying the same commodity they commonly undermine, betray, and out-bid one the other; and the Guiney commanders words and promises are the least to be depended upon of any I know use the sea; for they would deceive their fathers in their trade if they could.

Sayes, perpetuanoes, knives, old sheets, pewter basons, muskets, etc. which are the best goods on the gold coast for gold, are in no esteem here; for they would have four perpetuanoes for a slave, which at prime cost in England, came to 4 *l.* 15 *s.* so of the rest, especially salempores or fine callicoes, of which they would have four for a slave, which were charged to us by the African company at six pounds first cost; so that it was great loss to send such goods; for we could buy for ten ounces of good coral, 300 in number of good red rangoes, or fourteen bars of iron, which did not come to above forty-five shillings, as good a slave as for four pieces of calicoes that cost six pounds Sterling.

The only money they have here are these cowries or shells we carry them, being brought from the East-Indies, and were charg'd to us at four pounds per cent. of which we gave 100 lb. for a slave; as soon as the negroes have them, they bore holes in the backs of them, and string them on rushes, 40 shells on each, which they call a foggy; and five of such foggys being tied together, is call'd a galina, being 200 shells, which is their way of accounting their shell-money (pp. 226-228). . . .

The canoes [37] we buy on the gold coast, and strengthen them with knees and weather-boards fore and aft, to keep the sea out, they plunging very deep when they go against a sea. . . . those that are most fit for the use at Whidaw, are five hand or seven hand canoes; of which each ship that buys many slaves ought to carry two, for they are very incident to be staved by the great sea when they overset, and

[37] All carrying to and from the ship was done in canoes.

here is none for supply, and without them there is no landing or coming off for goods or men: The canoe-men we bring from Cape Corce being seven in number, of which one is boatswain, and is commonly one of the most skillful canoe-men in Guiney. . . . their pay is certain and stated, half of which we pay them in gold at Cape Corce, and the rest in goods when we have done with them at Whidaw; 'tis also customary to give them a canoe to carry them back, and cut up the other for fire-wood, unless an opportunity offers to sell it, which is very rare. They lost us six or seven barrels of cowries, above 100 bars of iron, and other goods, by the over-setting of the canoes in landing them, which we could never recover, or have the least satisfaction for, but were forced to give them good words, lest they should, in revenge, play us more such tricks; we kept two men ashore here constantly to fill water, which lay and eat at the factory, which fill'd our small hogsheads in the night, and roll'd them over the sand to the sea-side, ready to raft off in the morning, before the sea breeze came in, which is the only time, we having no other way to get it off but by rafting, and in halling off to the longboat the great sea would often break our raft, and stave our cask, whereby we lost a great many. The longboat was chiefly employ'd in bringing water aboard, which we started into our butts in the hold, and sent the small cask ashore again next morning, of which we had two gangs on purpose; we had a little deal yaul which did us great service in bringing off cows, hogs, slaves, letters, etc. from the canoes, with only two boys in her: When our slaves are aboard we shackle the men two and two, while we lie in port, and in sight of their own country, for 'tis then they attempt to make their escape, and mutiny; to prevent which we always keep centinels upon the hatchways, and have a chest full of small arms, ready loaden and prim'd, constantly lying at hand upon the quarter-deck, together with some granada shells; and two of our quarter-deck guns, pointing on the deck thence, and two more out of the steerage, the door of which is always kept shut, and well barr'd; they are fed twice a day, at 10 in the morning, and 4 in the evening, which is the time they are aptest to mutiny, being all upon deck; therefore all that time, what of our men are not employ'd in distributing their victuals to them, and settling them, stand to their arms; and some with lighted matches at the great guns that yaun upon them, loaden with partridge, till they have done and gone down to their kennels between decks: Their chief diet is call'd dabbadabb, being Indian corn ground as small as oat-meal, in iron mills, which we carry for that purpose; and after mix'd with water, and boil'd well in a large copper furnace, till 'tis as thick as a pudding, about a peckful of which in vessels, call'd crews, is allow'd to 10 men, with a little salt, malagetta, and palm oil, to relish; they are divided into messes of ten

each, for the easier and better order in serving them: Three days a week they have horse-beans boil'd for their dinner and supper, great quantities of which the African company do send aboard us for that purpose; these beans the negroes extremely love and desire, beating their breast, eating them, and crying Pram! Pram! which is Very good! they are indeed the best diet for them, having a binding quality, and consequently good to prevent the flux, which is the inveterate distemper that most affects them, and ruins our voyages by their mortality: The men are all fed upon the main deck and forecastle, that we may have them all under command of our arms from the quarter-deck, in case of any disturbance; the women eat upon the quarter-deck with us, and the boys and girls upon the poop; after they are once divided into messes, and appointed their places, they will readily run there in good order of themselves afterwards; when they have eaten their victuals clean up, (which we force them to for to thrive the better) they are order'd down between decks, and every one as he passes has a pint of water to drink after his meat, which is serv'd them by the cooper out of a large tub, fill'd before-hand ready for them (p. 229). . . .

When we come to sea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, considering that should they kill or master us, they could not tell how to manage the ship, or must trust us, who would carry them where we pleas'd; therefore the only danger is while we are in sight of their own country, which they are loth to part with; but once out of sight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ships of consequence, that had a good number of men, and the least care; but in small tools where they had but few men, and those negligent or drunk, then they surpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the vessel drive ashore, and every one shift for himself. However, we have some 30 or 40 gold coast negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make guardians and overseers of the Whidaw negroes, and sleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can discover any caballing or plotting among them, which trust they will discharge with great diligence: they also take care to make the negroes scrape the decks where they lodge every morning very clean, to eschew any distempers that may engender from filth and nastiness; when we constitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exercise with great authority. We often at sea in the evenings would let the slaves come up into the sun to air themselves, and make them jump and dance for an hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and fiddle, by which exercise to preserve them in health; but notwith-

standing all our endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to have great sickness and mortality among them.

Having bought my compliment of 700 slaves, *viz.* 480 men and 220 women, and finish'd all my business at Whidaw, I took my leave of the old king, and his cappasheirs, and parted, with many affectionate expressions on both sides, being forced to promise him that I would return again the next year, with several things he desired me to bring him from England; and having sign'd bills of lading to Mr. Peirson, for the negroes aboard, I set sail the 27th of July in the morning, accompany'd with the *East-India Merchant,* who had bought 650 slaves, for the island of St. Thomas, with the wind at W.S.W. (pp. 229-230). . . .[38]

We supply'd ourselves with some Indian corn, figolas, or kidney-beans, plantins,[39] yams, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, limes, oranges, etc., for the use and refreshment of our negroes, at the following rates, *viz.*

Indian corn at two alcars per dollar.

Figolas or kidney beans, at dollars three per chest, which would contain near four bushels.

Plantins at dollars two and a half per thousand, by tale.

Yams, which are great large roots, and eat very sweet, much like potato in taste, at dollars 25 per thousand, by tale.

Cocoa-nuts at dollars 10 per thousand nuts.

Limes, oranges, limons, bananas, etc. for little or nothing (p. 232). . . .

Having completed all my business ashore in fourteen days that I lay here, yesterday in the afternoon I came off with a resolution to go to sea. Accordingly about six in the evening we got up our anchors, and set sail for Barbadoes, being forc'd to leave the *East-India merchant* behind, who could not get ready to sail in nine or ten days; which time I could not afford to stay, in respect to the mortality of my negroes, of which two or three died every day, also the small quantity of provisions I had to serve for my passage to Barbadoes (p. 234). . . .[40]

[38] On Aug. 9 Phillips commented on his need for wood, water, and provisions, and added that his slaves were dying fast; on the 12th he anchored at São Thomé, put all his negro men into irons lest they should swim ashore, and interviewed the governor of the island. Here he took water from a brook which crossed the island, "which to my taste and apprehension seem'd very good, tho' the distempers and mortality that afterwards happen'd among my men and slaves, made me suspect it did partake of some of the malignity of the island thro which it runs". Phillips obtained wood here as well as pork and other provisions, all of the best quality and very cheap. Churchill, VI. 232.

[39] According to Miss Mary Kingsley, the coarse bananas of the West Coast were called plantains. When used for food on the Middle Passage they were sometimes dried.

[40] Here follows a table giving daily observations of wind, weather, and the course of the vessel. Phillips reckoned it 4075 miles to Barbados. Early in the voyage, fearing that his provisions would become exhausted, he limited the men to "short allowance of provisions, and to two quarts of water per man per day, boiling our provisions in salt water". It is difficult to see why Phillips failed to provide ample provisions unless he found it impossible to barter the goods he carried for food. He makes no mention of such difficulty save at Santiago.

We spent in our passage from St. Thomas to Barbadoes two months eleven days, from the 25th of August to the 4th of November following: in which time there happen'd much sickness and mortality among my poor men and negroes, that of the first we buried 14, and of the last 320, which was a great detriment to our voyage, the royal African company losing ten pounds by every slave that died, and the owners of the ship ten pounds ten shillings, being the freight agreed on to be paid them by the charter-party for every negroe deliver'd alive ashore to the African company's agents at Barbadoes; whereby the loss in all amounted to near 6560 pounds sterling. The distemper which my men as well as the blacks mostly die of, was the white flux, which was so violent and inveterate, that no medicine would in the least check it; so that when any of our men were seiz'd with it, we esteem'd him a dead man, as he generally proved. I cannot imagine what should cause it in them so suddenly, they being free from it till about a week after we left the island of St. Thomas. And next to the malignity of the climate, I can attribute it to nothing else but the unpurg'd black sugar, and raw unwholesome rum they bought there, of which they drank in punch to great excess, and which it was not in my power to hinder, having chastis'd several of them, and flung over-board what rum and sugar I could find (p. 236). . . .[41]

The negroes are so incident to the small-pox, that few ships that carry them escape without it, and sometimes it makes vast havock and destruction among them: but tho' we had 100 at a time sick of it, and that it went thro' the ship, yet we lost not above a dozen by it. All the assistance we gave the diseased was only as much water as they desir'd to drink, and some palm-oil to anoint their sores, and they would generally recover without any other helps but what kind nature gave them.

One thing is very surprizing in this distemper among the blacks, that tho' it immediately infects those of their own colour, yet it will never seize a white man; for I had several white men and boys aboard that had never had that distemper, and were constantly among the blacks that were sick of it, yet none of them in the least catch'd it, tho' it be the very same malady in its effects, as well as symptoms, among the blacks, as among us in England, beginning with the pain in the head, back, shivering, vomiting, fever, etc. But what the small-pox spar'd, the flux swept off, to our great regret, after all our pains and care to give them their messes in due order and season, keeping their lodgings as clean and sweet as possible, and enduring so much

[41] Here Phillips relates his difficulties with one of his sailors, William Lord, who deserted him in Barbados, to ship on a New England frigate which had been fitted by Barbados merchants for the Madagascar slave trade, or possibly a piratical raid in the Red Sea. The form of the author's reference to the Madagascar project makes it evident that he accepted it as an entirely legitimate enterprise. Churchill, VI. 207-208.

misery and stench so long among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine; and after all our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry negroes; for those have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery; and yet by their mortality our voyages are ruin'd, and we pine and fret our selves to death, to think that we should undergo so much misery, and take so much pains to so little purpose.

I deliver'd alive at Barbadoes to the company's factors 372, which being sold, came out at about nineteen pounds per head one with another (p. 237). . . .[42]

158. Representation of Gilbert Hetchcott and John Gardner.[1]

To the Hon'ble the Com'ee to whom the consideration of the Petition in the name of the Royall African [Company] of England is referred.

Gilbert Hetchcott and John Gardner of London Merchants haveing been summoned by this Hon'ble Committee to offer what they have to alledge against the Petition of the said Company humbly represent to this Hon'ble Comittee.

That wee are advised that at present there is noe Affrican Company in being for that the said Company stand Actually dissolved by an Act of this present Parliam't. That while they were a Company they acted very Illegally and Oppressively.

1. By Stoping shipps outward bound and bringing them up from Gravesend when they were loaden and ready to Sail, and had paid all Duties and were cleared according to the Laws of the Land and deteining such Shipps until the Masters and owners had given Bonds on Great Penalties not to Trade on the Coast of Guiny to the great Damage of the Merchants and overthrow of many of their Voyages.

2. By seizing many Shipps with their Merchandizes in the open Sea and in ports in a Hostile manner, whereby severall lost their lives.

3. By setting up arbitrary Courts of Judicature in Foreigne parts and trying the validity of their Actions by their owne Agents.

[42] At Barbados, which Phillips considered a most unhealthful place, he reports the death of 18 of his own men and of 20 masters of vessels while he sojourned there. As return cargo he took on board 700 hhds. of sugar, at 9 and 10 *s.* per hundred weight for the muscovadoes, and 11 for the clayed; cotton at 2 *d.* per lb.; and ginger at 8 *s.* per cent. He sailed for England Apr. 2 under convoy, as a French squadron was reported to be lying in wait for merchant vessels near Martinique (Churchill, VI. 237-238). On the voyage home Phillips was taken ill and lost his hearing, an affliction which eventually sent him into retirement in Wales for the rest of his life. This therefore recounts his last voyage.

[158] [1] Br. Museum, Harleian MSS. 7310, ff. 207-209.

4. By Imprisoning Masters of Shipps and others taken in the said Shipps and not suffering them to come out, untill by Petition they had owned their pretended Crime and promised not to comitt the like again and keeping some in Prison untill they had given Bond they would not prosecute the Company in England and withholding the Wages and keeping the wearing Cloathes of the Masters and Seamen.

5. By makeing the Governors of the Plantations (who are Judges of the Courts of Equity) their Factors for selling their Negroes and recovering in their Debts, by which meanes no releife could be had ag't their Oppressions.

6. By unreasonably Screwing and mulcting the Masters of Shipps and Seamen that went in their Service and by Starting differences with most people with whom they dealt, and refused to referr them to any but those of their own Company, which the persons concerned were forced to submitt to rather then contend at Law with their Joynt Stock.

7. By exacting of others 30 and 40 per Cent for Lycence to Trade and obligdng the persons soe Lycenced to buy their goods of the Company at their own rates notwithstanding which one that did pay the Company 40 per Cent. for Lycence to Trade was forced to take down the Companys Colours and pretend he was an Interloper or Free Trader or the Natives would not suffer him to Trade.

All which considered, if such a Monopoly should be established, wee presume the Persons who have been of the Company have less reason to expect soe distinguishing a Favour should be shown to them above all other their Majesties Subjects who have an equall right to the Trade, and hope they have done nothing to Forfeit it. But while wee consider not our own private Interest but that of the Nations wee are humbly of Opinion that it is much more for the advantage of the Kingdome in Generall that the said Trade be Free to all in a regulated Company whereby every one that Trades will contribute equally to the publick charge and wee further Add.

1. That when the Trade was open much more of our English Manufacture was sent to and vended on the Coast of Guinea then since it was managed by the late Company insomuch that then the Dutch and other Nations began to decline the Trade

2. That when the late Company began to monopolize the whole Trade some sorts of our Woolen Manufactures proper for that Trade fell 20 and 30 per Cent to which the sellers were forced to submitt there being no other buyers.

3. That if the Trade were open and Free to all, it would encrease to a considerable degree and much more of the manufactures of this Nation would be exported thither then has been done by the late

Company and other Nations would hardly be able to carry on the Trade.

4. That it is more for the advantage of the Nation that the Woolen Manufactures be bought by many then by one buyer only.

5. That there are many places where the late Company have had noe Trade to which private and particular Persons would report.

6. That the Forts and Factories on the Coasts are nothing neer soe considerable as they pretend and that they can hinder none from Tradeing out of the reach of their Gunns.

7. That one man of Warr would be a greater Protection and Security on that Coast to the Trade then all the Forts.

8. That wee humbly conceive that it may be made appear Forts and Castles are not necessary for the preserveing the Trade to Affrica, but if they shall be thought necessary they togather with the whole Trade may be better maintained both in Warr and Peace by an easy contribution of Persons Tradeing in a Regulated Company then by a Joynt Stock

9. That the Forts and Castles may be not only maintained but paid for by chargeing 10 per Cent. or some reasonable Imposition on the Trade, and allowing persons that should advance money thereon Interest till the said imposition shall repay what the Forts shall be reasonably valued at.

10. That a great part of the Trade to Affrica is for Negro Servants which are sent to the English Plantations by whose labour all the West India Comodities as Sugar Indigo Cotton Ginger Tobacco etc. are produced.

11. That the Plenty and Cheapness of Negroes would enable the English Collonies to produce the said Comodities Cheap so as to outdoe other Nations.

12. That the late Company have not supplyed the said Plantations with Suffitient numbers of Negroes and haveing the Sole Trade have sold at what rates and imposed what Termes they pleased on the Planters whereby they have been greatly discouraged and other Nations by that meanes have gained ground upon the English w'ch otherwise they could not have done, and whereas formerly the English have supplyed France and Holland with great quantities of Sugar etc. those Nations now furnish themselves for the most part from their own Plantations.

13. That the Plantations have brought great Riches to this Kingdome by not only furnishing Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, Ginger, Tobacco, etc. to our own consumption which was formerly brought in from abroad, but supply great quantities to other Nations and would be enabled to doe much more and much cheaper were the Trade to Affrica

Free and open whereby the Nation would be yet more enriched, and not only the Navigation and number of Seamen but their Majesties Revenue greatly increased.

All which Particulars respecting *Vizt.*

1. The Dissolution of the late Company.
2. Their evill practices
3. The advantage it will be to the Nation to have many buyers of our Woolen Manufactury and much greater Quantities exported.
4. The Advantage it will be to the Plantations to have Negroes cheap by being brought by many and not one only.
5. The Increase of our Navigation
6. The Great [gain to] [2] the Revenue of the Crowne

Wee doubt not to prove to the Satisfaction of this Hon'ble Committee if they shall think fitt and please to allow a Reasonable time.

Feb'y 1693.[3]

159. A Petition to the House of Commons.[1]

February 19, 1694.

A Petition of the Clothiers, in and about Witney in the County of Oxon, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That, by reason of the great Difficulties and Disturbance occasioned by Interlopers who trade to Africa, the Royal African Company of England have been much discouraged in their Trade to those Parts; whereby the Petitioners, who have their chief Dependence on the said Company, are so much impoverished, that, unless some speedy Relief be given, they cannot subsist in their several Employments: And pray-

[2] Here had been bracketed "gain", "gaining", and several other experiments, all crossed out.

[3] Endorsed, "Mr. Gardner and Mr. Hetchots paper. Feb. 13, 1693/4".

[159] [1] *Commons Journals,* XI. 100. On Jan. 1, 1691, the Royal African Company presented a petition against the African bill then under consideration (Stock, II. 45). Apparently Parliament did not revert to the subject from that date until Jan. 24, 1694, when the company again petitioned, this time for the introduction of a bill granting to it its old monopoly rights (*ibid.,* II. 88). Meanwhile the assembly of Barbados had formulated its grievances against the company: aside from the general objection to monopoly and the complaint that foreign nations were driving the English from Africa, it charged more specifically that incorporation of a monopolistic company had reduced the number of vessels engaged in the negro trade, had lessened the king's customs, and had diminished the supply of negroes in the islands, which in turn had injured the sugar trade (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1693-1696, pp. 200, 207). The petition of the company, the action of the Barbados assembly, and the usual petitions for and against the company's monopoly which followed every appearance of the African question (one of which is here printed) were referred for committee consideration, and on Mar. 2, 1694, the committee made an extended and informative report to Parliament of the testimony from both sides, presenting at the same time a series of resolutions. These were considered but the session closed without the passage of a measure (Stock, II. 90-95); rough notes of a debate are to be found in Harleian MSS. 7310, ff. 211-229, labelled "Mr. Harley's Minutes", Mr. Harley being chairman of the committee of the Commons which considered the African trade.

ing, That the Traffick of the said Company may be protected in such manner as the House shall think meet.

160. The Case of the *Avarilla*.[1]

10 Dec. [*1694*]. The case of the owners of the ship *Avarilla*, burthen 350 tons. The said ship was, in September 1694, permitted by the Government to go to Guinea in the service of the Royal African Co., manned with 60 men and 30 guns, and from thence intended to Barbadoes and Virginia. In June 1695 she arrived at Barbadoes with her freight of negroes, having by the providence of God not buried one man, nor had one man sick during the voyage to that place. But, immediately upon her arrival there, Capt. Doyley, commander of his Majesty's ship the *Bristol*, pressed fifteen of his seamen and in 3 days after Capt. Massam, commander of a small frigate, pressed six men, upon which seven or eight more deserted the ship, for fear, as is supposed, of the same usage. There remained then on board but four common seamen, besides boys and about twenty officers; and, upon consultation, they thought it not safe to proceed to Virginia, being so disabled, but to determine their outward bound voyage at Barbadoes, the master there disposing of his negroes, and lading home from thence to London. But, finding his number of men insufficient to navigate his ship and make any reasonable defence in case of an attack, thought it advisable to redeem four of his men of the captain that pressed them, at five pounds per man, and withal gave to the captain of the *Bristol* ten pounds to convoy him clear of the Leeward Islands. In his passage home to England, in company with eleven sail more, was met by two French privateers in Soundings, and, after a fight of three hours, in which the captain and six more were killed and six or seven wounded, the said ship and four men were taken, to the loss of the interested in that single ship of above twenty-five thousand pounds. In all probability, had he had his complement of men, he might have escaped, the two privateers not exceeding him together in number of guns, but were encouraged to assault him by his insufficiency to defend himself. This is the third ship that some of these gentlemen have lost by pressing their men at sea and in foreign parts.

Arthur Bailey.[2]

[160] [1] *MSS. H. of L.*, 1695-1697, II. 97-98; *Lords Journals*, XV. 609, 611, 615.

[2] The owners of the *Avarilla* had made their first complaint of impressment in 1689, when she was carrying tobacco from Virginia. On this occasion she was captured by the French because of her lack of seamen (Stock, II. 11-12, 60-61). On Dec. 13, 1695, after Bailey had testified that both Captain Massam and Captain Doyley had pressed his men, his complaint was sent to the Admiralty, which replied on Dec. 17, that the matter would be inquired into as soon as Captain Doyley, then commander of the *Bristol*, had returned from the West Indies (*Lords Journals*, XV. 611, 615; Stock, II.

161. Losses reported by the Royal African Company.[1]

(i) *African Company's Paper.*

Dec. 10, 1695.

Anno 1689. Losses since the War		Valued at Prime Cost, as per Invoice. £	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Taken by the French on the north parts of Guinea, ships and cargoes		8,620	4	2			
In the							
Hare, in Guinea		500	0	0			
Alexander		961	1	0			
Maryland	a[t] Nevis	117	10	0			
North Sound	a[t] Nevis	265	7	0			
Unity, at Sierra Leone and Sherbro		2,809	15	11			
Loyal Factor		476	6	5			
Happy Conclusion		455	19	3			
Friends' Adventure		628	17	5			
William and John		1,594	3	0			
					16,428	17	9
					[16,429	4	2]
Anno 1690. Losses since the War							
In the							
Two Friends, a[t] Barbadoes		528	14	0			
Seaflower	a[t] Jamaica	1,225	16	4			
Blossom	a[t] Jamaica	350	0	0			
Swan, a[t] Montserrat		312	0	0			
					2,416	10	4
Anno 1691. In the							
Berkeley Castle, and goods in her, a[t] Barbadoes		1,844	19	9			
Guinea frigate, and her cargo		9,359	17	0			
Ann and Mary		1,662	7	7			
Lisbon Merchant		1,777	9	0			
Elizabeth		242	17	9			
Insiquin		180	10	0			
					15,068	1	1
Anno 1692. In the							
Scipio	Barbadoes	312	5	6			
Advice	Barbadoes	3,966	2	5			
3 Brothers	Barbadoes	865	15	11			
Loyal Steed	Barbadoes	2,720	5	0			
Caesar		2,276	14	2			
Benjamin	Jamaica	583	2	2			
Mediterranean	Jamaica	227	16	0			
James	Jamaica	997	2	5			
3 Brothers, a[t] Antigua		527	7	3			
					12,476	10	10

136, 137, 140, 143). The embargo and the danger of impressment added greatly to the usual difficulties of the company, even though the government seemed disposed to allow to its vessels sufficient seamen to keep the trade alive. In 1693 the *Katherine* was granted 30 seamen, one-third of them to be foreigners, and one-fifth of the whole landsmen, to look after the negroes (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 219, 221, 222). On June 15, 1693, the company was given permission to send six ships, with 200 men, and stores for the coast and merchandise for the purchase of negroes. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[161] [1] *MSS. H. of L.*, 1695-1697, II. 79-81. The paper here presented was laid before the committee of the whole House in response to a request from that committee for a statement of the losses of the company.

[*African Company's Accounts*—continued:]

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Anno 1693. In the							
Carolina, a[t] Jamaica		1,195	0	0			
Richard and James	Antigua	228	10	0			
Blossom	Antigua	241	5	0			
Vintage	Antigua	382	0	0			
Diamond and in Capt. Dolberry, 325 NK of Gold		10,230	0	0			
Antelope		740	0	0			
Ann, Capt. Thomas Leech, in the north parts of Guinea:—							
tons.	£ s. d.						
32 of Gum	2,264 10 0						
45 of Teeth	9,000 0 0						
25 of Wax	2,500 0 0						
125 of Wood and in gold, etc.	7,500 0 0						
	2,000 0 0						
		23,264	10	0			
					36,281	5	0
Anno 1694. In the		£	s.	d.			
Tiger		2,532	4	1			
Bridgetown	Jamaica	658	15	9			
China Merchant	Jamaica	2,656	16	11			
Henry and William	Jamaica	1,104	1	0			
African		4,000	0	0			
Eagle ship, and goods in her		1,366	13	2			
William	Barbados	677	18	5			
Biscay Merchant	Barbados	455	1	5			
Prosperous	Barbados	184	10	1			
Bilboa Factor	Barbados	453	18	10			
William and Mary	Barbados	650	8	0			
Hopewell	Barbados	737	19	8			
Shield		1,190	11	9			
3 Brothers, Montserrat		377	2	0			
Agreement, Antigua		568	10	3			
					17,719	11	4 [*sic*]
The French descent at Jamacia					20,000	0	0
The re-taking Senegal and Goree					20,000	0	0
1695. This year, by a separate paper[2]					29,500	0	0
					£169,890	16	4

Signed, by order of the African Company, WARWICK YARD, accountant.

(m) *13 Dec. African Company's amended Paper, adding dates to their previous Paper (i) above (see MS. Min., 10 Dec.), as follows:*[3]

An account of the Royal African Company's losses from March 1695 to October 1695:

	£
The *Three Brothers*, Capt. Hudson, taken by a French man of war on the north part of Guinea, in April, 1695. . . .	3,000
The *Return*, Capt. Reeves, taken between Old Calabar and Barbadoes, in May	4,000
The *Guinea* Galley, Capt. Piles, taken by two privateers near Cape Clear the 1st of August, and carried into Brest. . . .	1,650

[2] The separate paper (i') is not reproduced, as the information which it contains is also given in "m", which follows.

[3] *MSS. H. of L.*, 1695-1697, II. 87-88.

[*African Company's Accounts*—continued:]

		£
The *Avarilla*, Capt. Robinson, taken by two privateers off Scilly the 23 August[4]		7,000
The *Deborah and Martha*, *Reformation*, *Providence*,	taken by two privateers off Scilly the 23 Augt.	4,000
The *Joan*, The *Eagle*	Both taken in the Channel, much about the same time, the *Joan* from Barbadoes and the *Eagle* from Antigua	
By several ships from the Leeward Islands, of which no invoice yet come to hand		10,000
		£29,650

Signed, For the Royal African Company of England, SAM. HERON Secty.[5]

162. PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

Dec. 29, 1696.

A Petition of the Clothworkers of the Town of Shrewsbury, in the County of Salop, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth,

[4] "The occasion of the loss of this ship was that great part of her men were pressed out of her at Barbadoes, from whence she was returning to England." *Ibid.*, p. 81, paper "i".

[5] "Delivered this day, and read in Select Committee on 14th, where these losses, except the first two, were referred to the Admiralty for explanations. MS. Min., 13 Dec.; Com. Book, 14 Dec." These, be it noted, were losses sustained since the war. Some years later the company stated its entire losses by war as £400,000 (Davenant, "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the African Trade", in *Works*, V. 157). The next year the company reported to the House of Commons its outstanding debts as follows:

Barbados	£ 38,254	5	6
Nevis	3,177	1	0
"	22,055	15	8
Mountserrat	3,602	13	4
Antigua	2,545	19	4
Jamaica	53,571	05	0
	£123,206	19	10

The assets, exclusive of these debts, were £286,751 7 *s.* 3 *d.*, of which £40,000 was represented by the African forts. The company's own debts amounted to £113,788 7 *s.* 8 *d.* Stock, II. 184-185.

[162] [1] *Commons Journals*, XI. 636. The usual petition from the African Company for a bill settling the trade to Africa was brought in soon after the opening of the session of November, 1694, with petitions in opposition to the request from Barbados and Jamaica. The committee reported resolutions on Feb. 14, 1695, but there the matter remained (Stock, II. 101-103, 108-109). Before Parliament convened in the autumn of 1695, the company presented to the king a petition which was to be laid before the House of Commons for consideration (Nov. 16, 1695, Sir William Trumbull to the Duke of Shrewsbury, *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1695-1696, p. 103). The claims of the Royal African Company were once more put forward during the discussion of the establishment of a Scottish company for trade with Africa, and Jamaica found opportunity to present her need for open trade (*MSS. H. of L.*, II. 3, 13, 15-19; Stock, II. 140 n.). In January, 1696, the company again asked that the trade be established by legislation, maintaining that it could not carry it longer without help. Petitions for and against open trade followed, among them petitions from the planters of Virginia and Maryland, and a bill was introduced, but too late in the session for enactment (Stock, II. 145, 160-170). In the session convening Oct. 20, 1696, the question was again up and a bill was once more introduced. The council and assembly of Barbados and the agents of the island depicted its sad state and asked for the relief of free trade, the company made a brief statement of its financial condition, and numerous petitions were presented, among which were the two here printed. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1696-1697, pp. 61, 217; Stock, II. 179, 181-185.

That the Royal African Company labouring under great Difficulties, for want of haveing their Trade secured to them against Interlopers, the Petitioners, who have their Dependence on the said Company, will be impoverished for want of Employment, without some speedy Relief: And praying, That the Traffick of the said Company may be preserved in such manner as the House shall think fit. . . .

A Petition of the Weavers in and about Kidderminster, in the County of Worcester, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners, and many Hundred Families in Worcestershire, who have their chief Dependence upon the African Company, must go a begging, in case the Trade to Africa be not secured to the said Company from Interlopers: And praying, That the said Trade may be preserved to the said Company. . . .[2]

163. Memorandum to the Royal African Company.[1]

York-Island, in the River Sherbrow,

January the 17th, 1697/8.

Some extracts of such written testimonies as have been transmitted to the Royal African Company, concerning several abuses committed by the separate traders at or near the River Gambia, on the north coast of Africa.

Memorandum, that on the 9th day of this instant, the ship *New London,* Mr. Robert Ford commander, and the ship *Empress,* Mr. Henry Pitman commander, came both into the said river.

[2] During these years the controversy continued outside Parliament as well as within it, and assertions made in petitions to the House of Commons were often answered in pamphlet form as well as by counter-petitions. One of the sharp dissensions throughout the controversy concerned the effect of an incorporated monopoly on the woollen industry, the company contending that it contributed greatly to the growth of that industry, while a pamphlet of 1695 maintained that before the incorporation Suffolk had exported 25,000 cloths a year to Africa, while two years after the incorporation the number was but 500 (*Reflections upon the East Indy and Royal African Company*). Latimer's dictum on the African exports of the clothworkers and weavers, "in fact [they] were insignificant", was probably not far from the truth. John Latimer, *History of the Merchant Venturers*, p. 179.

These petitions, along with two for an open trade received the same day, were referred to the committee of the whole which was considering the bill (Stock, II. 186). Throughout January and February, 1697, consideration of African trade continued. On Mar. 11 the company stated that it could no longer maintain the trade and asked that those who were actually trading be called upon to bear the expense. Nevertheless the session ended without action. Stock, II. 187, 190, 202, 203.

[163] [2] Charles Davenant, "Reflections upon the African Trade", in *Works,* V. 170-171. Davenant's defense of the privileges of the company belongs to the controversy of 1709, but that part of his evidence which pertains to the period before 1698 is here printed. In ch. I. of the "Reflections" he presented testimony to the abuses committed by the separate traders in the Gambia region.

The same dispute over monopoly privileges that harassed the Guinea Company also went on during these years, in connection with the East India Company; see *A Letter to a Friend concerning the East India Trade* (1696, B. M., Harleian MSS. 7310); *A Treatise concerning the East-India-Trade: being a most Profitable Trade to the Kingdom, and best Secured and Improved by a Company and a Joint Stock* (1696).

The ship *Empress* came within a league of our factory, and there anchored. Captain Ford, with his ship the *New-London,* came only to Bob-Island, and not farther up; however, he went in his boat up to Matthew Skinner's, the chief wood-factor here, and staid three days: at his return he stopt here, asked how we all did, and so went on board the ship *Empress,* and then on board his own ship the *New-London,* where, upon his arrival, he and his company combined together, and seized and secured to the number of 16 men, natives of the country, and put them in irons, with an intent to carry them into the West-Indies; moreover, they killed two other men, which so incensed the whole country, that several hundreds of people flocked and bodied on this factory, with an intent to cut us all off; so that we, being in jeopardy of our lives, were forced to take to the great house, and every man to stand to his arms in his own defence. Some then on board negotiating for us, were taken, and put us also to the log for a time: and all this occasioned by the aforesaid Captain Ford, who himself not only seized our Blacks, but the Blacks, for his default, seized and secured our white men. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands,

HENRY PITTMAN.
RICHARD LILLY.
URIAN PULFORD.

We, who have hereunto subscribed, attest this to be a true copy of the original now before us,

MAURICE MATTHEWS, Clerk
THOMAS WILLIAMS.
ROBERT BEERE.
JOHN BRIDGMAN
HUMPHREY LOWE.

164. AT OLD CALABAR, IN 1698.[1]

The ship *Dragon* traded there in April, for two hundred and twelve slaves, men, women, boys and girls, the ship being but a hundred tuns burden; a hundred and two men, from forty to forty eight copper bars per head; fifty three women, from twenty eight to thirty six of the same; forty three boys, from twenty to forty bars; and fourteen girls from seventeen to thirty, according to their age and constitution, for the following goods.

Iron bars seven hundred and seventy one; copper bars four hundred and fifty two; rangoes seven hundred and thirty; beads five hundred and forty six pounds, four pounds making a bunch; pewter tankards fifty two; basons No. 1, thirty six; No. 2, twenty six; No. 3,

[164] [1] Barbot, "Supplement", Churchill, V. 464-466.

forty two; No. 4, forty seven; linen two hundred and twenty yards; knives ninety six; brass bells, No. 1, eight hundred and forty one; No. 2, sixty two; No. 3, sixty nine; No. 4, fifty six. These goods reduced to copper bars, as follows.

	Copper Bars
One bar iron	4
One bunch of beads	4
Five rangoes	4
One tankard	3
One bason, No. 1	4
The other numbers less in proportion.	
One yard of linen	1
Six knives	1
One brass bell, No. 1	3
The other numbers less in proportion.	

Purple copper armlets, made at Loanda de S. Paola, in Angola, are a very good commodity here, and at Rio del Rey; and the Portuguese carry a great quantity of them.

Paid for provisions here: forty baskets of plantains, sixty copper bars; twenty copper bars to duke Aphrom for game; sixty to king Robin for the same; twenty to captain Thomas, at Salt-Town, for the same; twenty to captain Thomas at the watering-place, for the same. . . .[2]

165. GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM BEESTON TO THE BOARD OF TRADE.[1]

JAMAICA, July 5, 1698.

Since my last the business of settling Sir [St.] James Castillo, as the factor of the Portuguese African Company for the Assiento,[2] has been concluded, and the merchants have sold that factor three hundred negroes to be delivered at Vera Cruz, the money to be returned on the merchant's risk. As there are still several French pirates roving about these seas, they applied to me for one of the King's ships to escort the negroes and bring back the money, which at first I was unwilling to do; but considering that it was upon the first settling of that trade, that the money would go to England, that the ships lay idle in port, and that the men would be more healthy at sea than in harbour, I allowed the *Foresight* to go with them. She sailed about ten days since, and I hope will be back in five weeks.[3]

[2] Eight similar items follow.

[165] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1697-1698, p. 320. After the coming of William III. to the throne Parliament had made an effort to obtain the direction of colonial affairs but had succeeded only in removing them from the Privy Council to a new Board of Trade and Plantations, to be appointed and controlled by the crown. For this board William issued the first commission May 15, 1696, and henceforth references to the Board of Trade, the Lords of Trade, or the Lords Commissioners of Trade refer to this body. Andrews, *British Committees*, p. 113.

[2] See introduction, p. 107.

[3] Endorsed, "Recd. 23 Sept. Read 20 Oct. 1698".

166. An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa.[1]

[July 5, 1698.]

I. Whereas the Trade to Africa is highly beneficial and advantagious to this kingdom, and to the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: and whereas Forts and Castles are undoubtedly necessary for the preservation and well carrying on the said Trade And whereas the Forts and Castles now on the said Coast of Africa have been, and are, maintained at the sole Cost and Charge of the present Royal African Company of England toward which Charge it is most reasonable that all Persons tradeing to such Parts of the said Coast of Africa, as are herein after limited and appointed should contribute; Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That from and after the Four and twentieth Day of June in the Year One thousand six hundred ninety and eight the said Royal African Company their Successors and Assigns by and with their Stock, and Duties herein after appointed to be paid, shall maintain, support and defend all such Forts and Castles as the said African Company now have in their Possession or shall hereafter purchase or erect for the Preservation, Improvement and well carrying on the said Trade and those Forts and Castles from time to time and at all times hereafter as occasion shall require shall supply with Men Artillery, Ammunition and Provision, and all other Necessaries and incident Charges whatsoever.

II. And the better to enable the said Royal African Company, their Successors and Assigns, to maintain the said Castles and Forts and for the Preservation and well carrying on the said Trade to and for the Advantage of England and the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: Be it further enacted That it shall and may be lawfull to and for any of the Subjects of His Majesties Realm of England as well as for the said Company from and after the said Four and twentieth Day of June to trade from England, and from and after the First of August One thousand six hundred ninety and eight from any of His Majesties Plantations and Colonies in America, to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, the said Company and all other the said Subjects answering and pay-

[166] [1] *Statutes of the Realm,* VII. 393-397; 9 and 10 Wm. III. c. 26. The persistent company presented a petition Jan. 16, 1697, and another in March (Stock, II. 187, 190, 202). Petitions against its request followed, but it was over a year later before the bill here printed was actually introduced in the House of Commons (Feb. 12, 1698). It received the royal signature July 5. Its legislative progress can be followed in Stock, II. 216-245, *passim.* As is usual with compromises, it satisfied neither side, and the conflict broke forth again ten years later, as the time for the expiration of the act approached.

ing for the Uses aforesaid a Duty of Ten Pounds per Centum ad Valorem for the Goods and Merchandize to be exported from England or from any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope and in proportion for a greater or lesser Value in Manner and Forme as herein after expressed.

III. And for the better collecting such Duty, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That the Master, and Owner or Freighter of every Ship or Vessell intending to sail or trade between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid, at one of the Chief Custom-Houses in England or in such of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies from whence such Ship or Vessell is to sail shall make Entry of the Name of such Master and the Name of such Ship or Vessel and the Burthen thereof soe freighted or intended to sail or trade between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid Fifteen Days before any such Ship or Vessel shall be cleared from any such His Majesties Custom-Houses; And that the owner or Exporter of such Goods and Merchandise intended to be shipped or put on board every such Ship or Vessel so entred for a Voyage to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid, shall at one of the said Custom-Houses make Entry upon Oath as is herein after expressed, of the Quanti[ti]e, Quality, and the true and full Value of all such Goods and Merchandise to be shipped or put on board every such Ship or Vessel so entred and shall sign such Entry by him, them and every of them so made; And at the time of such Entry and Oath made shall pay or cause to be paid the Duty aforesaid to the Collector or other chief officer (for the Time being) of His Majesties Customs at such Custom-Houses as aforesaid, who is and are hereby authorized impowered and required to demand and receive such Entries and such Duties, as aforesaid, to and for the Use of the said Company and to pay or cause to be paid the said Duty to and for the Use of the said Company in manner as herein after is expressed; and that all such Goods and Merchandize exported from England to the Colonies and Plantations in America and from thence exported for the Coast of Africa shall be deemed and valued at noe more than the true and reall Value of what they cost in England.

IV. And that the said Oaths may be the more duely administred, Be it further enacted, That the Collector or other Chief Officer as aforesaid residing in or near such Ports or Places from whence such Shipps or Vessel is or are to be cleared shall and are hereby required and impowered before the said Ship or Vessel shal be cleared to administer the Oaths following: and every Master of every such Ship or Vessel at clearing, shall make Oath in the Words following: *vizt.*

I A. B. do swear That the Manifest or Particular now by me given in and signed to the best of my knowledge and beleif doth contain specify and expresse all the goods Wares and Merchandizes which are laden or intended to be laden or put on board the Ship or Vessel called the whereof I A. B. am Master for this Voyage to Affrica. So help me God.

V. And every Owner or Exporter of Goods to be shipped on board every such Ship or Vessel upon Entry thereof shall make Oath in the Words following:

I A. B. Do sweare That the Entry by me now made and signed doth contain and specifie all the particular Quantities Qualities and true and full Value of all the Goods Wares and Merchandizes therein expressed or to be shipped on board the Ship or Vessel called the whereof is Master for the Voyage she is now to proceed on to Africa. So help me God.

VI. And that when and as often as any Goods or Merchandizes are or shall be exported from the Colonies and Plantations to Africa, as aforesaid, that were there imported from England, the said Owner or Exporter of such Goods and Merchandizes so exporting the same shall also swear That to the best of his Knowledge and Belief such Goods and Merchandizes so entred were imported from England into that Colonie or Plantation and that the true and real Value thereof, as cost in England, is fully expressed in the said Entry: And that the said Master and one of the Owners or Freighters of every such Ship or Vessel so entred as aforesaid at the time of such entry or before the said Ship or Vessel shall be Cleared at the Custom-house shall give Bond to his Majesty his Heirs and Successors to the Value of such Ship and Lading, That the said Ship or Vessel shall (Wind and Weather permitting not being hindred by other unavoidable Accidents) sail directly to the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid and from thence shall directly return to and unlade in England or in one of his Majesties Colonies or Plantations aforesaid: and the said Collector or Chief Officer of the Custom-house aforesaid, for receiving the said Entries and Duty as aforesaid and administrating the Oaths by this Act appointed to be administred, is and are hereby directed and appointed to take such Bond as aforesaid and to keep in a Book or Books a particular Account, seperate and distinct from the Custome-house Accounts, of all such Entrys made and Duties paid and payable to and for the Use of the said Company as aforesaid And on Demand made by the said Company or any Person or Persons by them for that Purpose appointed shall render and deliver or cause to be rendred and delivered to the said Company or their Assigns a true and fair Duplicate of all such Entries and Oaths made and signed

and Bonds given and Moneys paid by the Person or Persons so swearing signing and paying the same and shall pay or cause to be paid to the said Company or their Assigns, all such Sum and Sums of Money by him or them so received, or to be received as aforesaid, deducting the Sum of Five Pounds for every Hundred pounds accounted for and paid to the said Company and so in proportion for a greater or lesser Sum, received for and on the behalf of the said Company, in Recompence for his or their Trouble.

VII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the Four and twentieth Day of June One thousand six hundred ninety and eight it shall and may be lawfull to and for any of the Subjects of his Majesties Realms of England as well as the said company to trade from England or any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to the Coast of Africa between [Cape] Blancho and Cape Mount, answering and paying a Duty of Ten pounds per Centum ad valorem for the Goods and Merchandize to be exported from England or any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount and in proportion for a greater or lesser Value and answering and paying a further Sum and Duty of Ten pounds per Centum ad valorem Redwood only excepted, which is only to pay Five pounds per Centum ad valorem, at the Place of Importation, upon all Goods and Merchandize (Negroes excepted) imported into England or any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America from the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid: And every Master and Trader sailing and trading or intending to sail and trade from England or from any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies aforesaid between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid shall make the like Entry and Oath and give the like Bonds as is before directed for Masters and Traders touching the Trade between Cape Mount and Cape Good Hope and upon such Entry and Oath made as aforesaid shall Pay the Duty aforesaid, in like manner as is directed for the Duty to be paid by Traders trading between Cape Mount and Cape Good Hope aforesaid: And the Collector or Chief Officer of his Majesties Chief Custom-houses in England, or any of his Majesties Plantations from whence such Ship or Vessel shall be dispatched, are and is hereby impowred and required to take such Entrys and Bonds and administer such Oaths and receive such Duties and on Demand made by the said Company and on their Behalf to pay the same to the said Company or their Order for the Uses as before directed and every other Matter and Thing to do *mutatis mutandis* as is and are herein and hereby directed and appointed, touching Masters, Owners and Traders trading or intending to trade between Cape Mount and Cape Good Hope; and

that all Goods and Merchandize (Negroes excepted) that shall be laded or put on board any Ship or Vessel on the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount, and shall be imported into England or into any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies aforesaid, shall answer and pay the Duties aforesaid and that the Master or Chief Officer of every such Ship or Vessel that shall lade or receive any Goods or Merchandize (Negroes excepted) on board of his or their Ship or Vessel between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount shall upon makeing Entry at any his Majesties Custom-houses aforesaid of the said Ship or Vessel or before any Goods or Merchandize be landed or taken out of the said Ship or Vessel (Negroes excepted) shall deliver in a Manifest or Particular of his Cargo and take the following Oath: *vizt.*

I A. B. do swear That the Manifest or Particular now by me given in and signed to the best of my Knowledge and Belief doth contain, signifie and express, all the Goods Wares and Merchandizes (Negroes excepted) which were laden or put on board the said Ship called the during her Stay and continuing on the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount whereof I A. B. am Master.

VIII. And that the Owner or Importer of all Goods and Merchandize (Negroes excepted) which shall be brought to England or any of his Majesties Plantations from any Port of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid shall make Entry of all such Goods and Merchandize at one of his Majesties Chief Custom-houses in England or in such of his Majesties Plantations where the same shall be imported with the Collector or other Chief Officer of the Customs there, upon Oath, and sign the same, of the Quantity Quality and true Value of all such Goods and Merchandize as they are worth to be sold at the Place of Importation and pay the Duty for the same as aforesaid; And the Collector or other Chief Officer of his Majesties Custom-houses in England or in any of his Majesties Plantations where every such Ship or Vessel shall arrive are and is hereby impowred and required to take the Entries and Manifests and administer the Oaths and take and receive the Duties aforesaid and on Demand made by the Company or on their behalf to Pay the same to the said Company or their Orders for the Uses afore directed and shall render and deliver to the said Company or their Assigns a true and fair Duplicate of all such Entries and Oaths made and signed as aforesaid.

IX. Provided always, The said Collector or Officer shall deduct for his or their Trouble Five Pounds for every Hundred Pounds for all the Duties ariseing and to be received by vertue of this Act, excepting what Duty shall arise from the Exports and Imports of

the said Royal African Company, which shall be exempted from the said Allowance Any thing in this Act contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding: And that the said Company and their Successors shall give and render a particular Account in Writing of all the Moneys by them received and also by their Exports and Imports ariseing for the Duties aforesaid and how and in what manner they have disposed and laid out the same yearly within Three Months after the Expiration of every Year unto the Cursiter Baron of the Court of Exchequer; and the said Cursiter Baron of the Court of Exchequer is for the better Discovering the Truth of such Account hereby impowred to examine such Person or Persons as they judge necessary upon Oath touching the Articles or Particulars in such Account expressed or as many of them as the said Cursiter Baron of the Exchequer shall think fit: and that all Goods or Merchandizes (Negroes excepted) which shall be brought from any Part of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid which shall be unladen or landed before Entry made and signed and Oath of the true and real Value thereof Made and the Duty paid as aforesaid shall be forfeited or the Value thereof.

X. And for the True Performance of the Payments Duties and Directions in this Act ordained; Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That every Ship or Vessel which shall contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act sail from any Port or Place in England or from any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to or for the Coast of Africa as aforesaid without being duly entred, Oath made, and Bonde given, as herein before is directed shall be forfeited, or the Value thereof, and every the Goods and Merchandize which shall contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act be put on board any Ship or Vessel whatsoever sailing from England or from any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid before due Entry be made of the said Goods and Merchandize and of the Value thereof and the Duties paid for the same as is before directed, such Goods and Merchandize shall be forfeited or the Value thereof and that every Ship and Vessel and all and every the Goods and Merchandizes therein or belonging or appertaining to any of his Majesties Subjects that shall sail or be conveyed from any other Part or Place than from England or his Majesties Plantations and Colonies to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid shall be Forfeited.

XI. And be it further enacted, That one third part of all or any of the Forfeitures aforesaid, shall be to the Use of his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors, One other third part to and for the Use of the said Company and their Successors to be applyed for the Maintenance of the said Forts and Castles, and the other Third part to

and for the Use and Benefit of him or them that shall inform and sue for the same.

XII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That for the recovering and obtaining all and every the Forfeitures and Penalties by this Act inflicted it shal and may be lawfull to and for all and every Person and Persons whatsoever to sue for the same or any Part thereof in any of his Majesties Courts of Record of this Kingdom or in any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America, by Bill Plain Information or otherwise, wherein no Essoign, Wager of Law or Protection shall be allowed, nor any more than one Imparlance.

XIII. Provided nevertheless, That if any Ship or Vessel trading to the Coast of Africa and the Goods exported therein shall be cast away or otherwise lost or destroyed before such Ship or Vessel shall arrive at her Port or Place of Delivery then the Proprietors or Exporters of the said Goods and Merchandize in such Ship or Vessel so lost or destroyed as aforesaid shall, upon their sending any other Ship or Vessell to the Coast of Africa be allowed so much as was paid to the said Company for the Goods and Merchandize so lost as aforesaid, Any thing herein before contained to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

XIV. Provided always and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That all Persons being the natural born Subjects of England trading to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid and paying the Duties by this Act imposed, shall have the same Protection Security and Defence for their Persons Ships and Goods by from and in all the said Forts and Castles and the like Freedom and Security for their Negotiations and Trade to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever as the said Company their Agents Factors and Assigns and their Ships and Goods have, may or shall have, and that all and every Person and Persons trading to Africa and paying the Duties as aforesaid may and are hereby impowred at their own Charge to Settle Factories on any part of Africa within the Limits aforesaid according as they shall judge necessary and convenient for the carrying on their Trade without any Lett Hindrance or Molestation from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, and that all Persons not Members of the said Company so trading and paying the said Duties as aforesaid shall, together with their Shipps and Goods, be free from all Molestations Hindrances Restraints Arrests Seizures Penalties or other Impositions whatso[e]ver from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, for or by reason of their so trading, Any Charter Usage or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

XV. Provided always and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Goods or Merchandizes which shall be exported

for the Coast of Africa and shall have paid the Duties due and payable by this Act shall be brought back again to England or to any of his Majesties Plantations it shall and may be lawful to export the same Goods again for Africa without paying any Duty, Oath being first made by Two credible Persons not having any Property in such Goods that the same Goods have already upon their first Exportation paid the Duty by this Act imposed, and a true Copy of the Entry of such Goods made upon the former Exportation thereof being first produced and attested upon Oath of Two Credible Persons as aforesaid.

XVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all the Duties and Impositions ariseing and collected and paid by virtue of this Act shall be and are hereby appropriated wholly to the Maintenance of the Forts and Castles on the Coast of Africa and now are and hereafter shal be in the Possession of the said Royal African Company and for keeping them always in good condition and well Repaired and for the providing Ammunition and all needful warlike Stores and a sufficient Number of Soldiers to defend the same and for paying the said Officers and Soldiers belonging to them and to noe other use or purpose whatsoever, and that a just and true account of the said Duties and laying out of the same for the Uses above mentioned shall be kept in a Book or Books for that purpose which Book or Books shall lye open at the African House scituate in London to be perused at all seasonable times by all Persons trading to Africa; and that an account shall be stated and made up yearly and every Year at Michaelmas or within Twenty Days after and be recorded in the Court of Exchequer.

XVII. Provided always and be it enacted and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That no Duty imposed by this Act shall be Required levyed or collected in England or any of the Colonies aforesaid for any Gold or Silver imported from Africa but that the same may be Landed without Entry or Declaration thereof, Any [thing] in this Act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

XVIII. Provided always, That nothing contained in this Act shall be interpreted to hinder or exclude any Person or Persons from Trading to that part of Africa commonly called Barbary extending Southerly as far as Cape Blancho.

XIX. And whereas by an Act of Parliament made in the Fifth and Sixth Years of the Reign of His present Majestie and the late Queen Mary among other things it was enacted, That no other Copper than what is made of English Oar only should be exported, which proving very prejudicial to the Trade of England by enabling Foreigners to export Copper much cheaper than it can be Carryed from England, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That it shall and may be

lawful, to and for any of His Majesties Subjects to export from England all such Copper Barrs as hath or shall be imported into England from foreign Parts and upon Exportation shall draw back all Duties, or vacate the Securities, paying the half of the Old Subsidy, as is usual in other Commodities.

XX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Governor or Deputy Governor of any of his Majesties Colonies or Plantations in America or His Majesties Judges in any Courts there for the time being nor any other Person or Persons for the use or on behalf of such Governor or Deputy Governor or Judges from and after the Nine and twentieth Day of September One thousand six hundred ninety eight shall be a Factor or Factors, Agent or Agents for the said Company, or any other Person or Persons for the Sale or Disposal of any Negroes and that every Person offending herein shall Forfeit Five hundred pounds to the Uses aforesaid to be recovered in any of Mis Majesties Courts of Record at Wes[t]minster by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information wherein no Essoign, Protection, Privilege or Wager of Law shall be allowed nor any more than one Imparlance.[2]

Provided that this Act shall Continue and be in Force Thirteen Years and from thence to the end of the next Sessions of Parliament and no longer.[3]

[2] "Since mine of 13 October the Act for settling the Royal African Company has reached us, at the end whereof is a clause that no Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, nor Judge in any Court shall be factors for them or for any others in the sale of negroes. This has put us in such disorder that I see nothing but that law and justice must cease among us and therewith the King's authority, if there be no officers to support it. Several of them have resigned already, and the rest, when they please, will make it an argument that they serve in those offices for no reward, and therefore not knowing how soon their friends in England may consign them a ship of negroes, they will not part with that which is a sure profit for that which is nothing but trouble and expense. Besides it frightens them all that an information shall lie against them in Westminster Hall, where any envious people may inform against them and judgment may be given against them before they know of it, which no man will hazard. . . . They [the assembly] have also continued the duty on . . . exported negroes, though for eight months only" (Dec. 5, 1698, Governor Beeston to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1697-1698, pp. 567-568). Before replying to this the Board of Trade asked the opinions of the agents of the plantations as to whether the clause had actually worked inconvenience in the colonies. Cary, agent of Nevis, thought not. The agents of Barbados expressed hearty approval of the clause: "when men in great authority are factors they are apt to make use of their powers to promote the advantage of their employers. As a matter of experience, when factors or agents of the African Company in Barbados have been members of the Council there, and one was Lieut.-Governor, the condition of those who had dealings with them—in effect the whole island—was made much worse and gave rise to complaints, which, we believe, was one reason for the Parliament's passing the said clause" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, pp. 456, 458). On Oct. 12 the Council wrote to Beeston simply that the clause could be changed only by act of Parliament and that the other plantations seemed to approve of it. *Ibid.*, p. 461.

[3] With the passing of this act private traders, who had been more or less restrained up to this time, were able to enter into open competition on the African coast. Labat, writing of the effect of the change, said:

"It is scarce possible to conceive what a Number of English Vessels this Permission brought to the Gambra, and what Confusion it occasioned in the Trade. Each Captain out-bidding the other to get the sooner loaded, the Price of Negros at Jilfray rose to

167. A Voyage to New Calabar, 1699.[1]

The thirteenth of January 1698-9, we sail'd from the Downs.

Twenty fifth [February], we anchor'd before Sestro river; there we staid till the twentieth of March, getting in wood, water, rice, malaguette, fowls, and other refreshments and provisions, etc. . . .

Eighth [April], anchor'd before the Prussian fort, Great Fredericksburgh,[2] at Tres-Pontas.

The Prussian general receiv'd us at his fort very civilly, but told us, he had no occasion for any of our goods; the trade being every where on that coast, at a stand, as well by reason of the vast number of interlopers and other trading ships, as for the wars among the natives, and especially that which the English and Dutch had occasion'd on account of a black king the English had murder'd, which must be the king of Commendo before mention'd in this supplement,[3] and that the armies had actually been in the field for eight months, which stopt all the passes for merchants to come down to the forts,

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forty Bars a head; so that the Mercadores or Mandingo Merchants would no longer sell their Slaves either at Barakonda, or Guioches, to the French or English Company for the usual Price of fifteen or seventeen Bars, but chose to come down the River, tempted by the great Profits made, which sufficiently compensated their Trouble. By this Means the Servants of the French and English Companies were forced to sit idle, and wait patiently to see the Issue of this ruinous Commerce. Between January and June, 1698, these separate Traders exported no fewer than three thousand six hundred Slaves, by which Means they overstocked the Country with more Goods than they could consume in some Years. Nothing could be more imprudent than the Conduct of the English Company, who had better have received nothing from the Parliament for the Reparation of their Fort, than have accepted this Benevolence of Ten per Cent. on Conditions wholly destructive to their Trade, as appears from the extravagant Rate to which the Price of Slaves was risen. It was easy to see their Intention was to ruin the French Company, without reflecting, that, while they hurt them but a little, they ruined themselves intirely." Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 78.

The effect of this legislation on the number of negroes sold in the West Indies was immediately noticeable in Jamaica:

	Barbados	Jamaica	Nevis
1698	477	313	151
1699	486	797	217

In none of the three islands was there a noticeable drop in price; in Nevis there was a marked increase, the average price in 1698 being £21 1*s.*, in 1699, £30 3*s.* C. O. 388: 10, H 105.

[167] [1] "An Abstract of a Voyage to New Calabar River, or Rio Real, in the Year 1699, taken out of the Journal of Mr. James Barbot, Super-Cargo, and Part-Owner with me, and other Adventurers of London, in the *Albion-Frigate*, of 300 Tons and 24 Guns, a Ten per Cent. Ship", "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", in Churchill, *Voyages and Travels*, V. 455-466. To the "Description of Guinea" which Barbot had written in 1682 he added here all the information which he could collect from correspondence and the accounts of travellers, and also an account of a voyage made to New Calabar by his brother James in 1699, and one made to the Congo by his nephew James in 1700 (*ibid.*, V. 423). After John Barbot's service on the coast for the French company he apparently spent some time in London, as an independent trader. Ten-per-cent. ships was the term applied to those ships not belonging to the company, which paid a duty of ten per cent. for the privilege of trading on the coast, according to the terms of the act of 1698.

[2] The Brandenburg Fort Friedrichsburg, about three miles east of Axim, was built about 1682. It was described as "a handsome fortress, mounted with about forty guns" and was said to have the most beautiful gate on the coast.

[3] Churchill, V. 441.

to trade; that it was expected there would be a battle speedily, betwixt them; that the Hollanders, a people very jealous of their commerce at the coast, were very studious to have the war carried on among the blacks, to distract as long as possible the trade of other Europeans, and to that effect were very ready to assist upon all occasions the blacks, their allies, that they might beat their enemies, and so the commerce fall into their hands.

On the tenth [April], a small Portuguese ship anchor'd by us, the master a black said he had been but three weeks from St. Tome, and that about three months before he saw there four tall French ships coming from the coast of Guinea, loaded with slaves, mostly at Fida; one of them commanded by Chr. Damou. Those ships were sent by the French king with a particular commission, to purchase slaves in Guinea, to indemnify the freebooters of St. Domingo, for their pretensions to the booty taken formerly at Cartagena by Mess. de Pointis and du Casse,[4] in lieu of money; and thereby engage them to return to St. Domingo, and push on their settlement there, which they have abandon'd; it being agreed to sell them the slaves, at no more than two hundred and fifty livres, per each Indian piece at St. Domingo, which accordingly has made them return to their settlements there. Those ships had been forc'd to give near fifty crowns a piece,[5] at Fida; slaves being then pretty thin at that place, and in great demand.

The blacks there, through malice, had diverted the channel of the fresh water ashore, to hinder us taking any, of which we complain'd to the Prussian general, who thereupon gave orders to let us have water.

He lent us some of his bricklayers, to set up our copper aboard,[6] for our slaves before hand.

The Portuguese master begg'd our protection to convoy him safe to cape Corso, in his way to Fida, fearing the Hollanders at Mina, who, whenever they can, force all Portuguese ships to pay them a very high toll, for the permission of trading at the coast.

We have abundance of our men sick, and several already dead, the weather being intolerably scorching hot, and we can hardly get any provisions for them, but a few goats very dear: we had from the Portuguese, one goat, one hog, and seven chickens, for five akies in gold.

[4] Jean du Casse (1646-1713) was well acquainted with the African trade when, in 1691 or 1692, he was made governor of Santo Domingo, for he had visited the African coast in the service of the French Admiralty, had been director of the French Senegal Company, and a governor on the West Coast, where he contributed to the prosperity of Arguin and Goree.

[5] The value of the French crown was about $1.10.

[6] The large boiler used on board ship for cooking. It was customarily set up and repaired by bricklayers.

Here we perceiv'd that above an hundred pounds worth of horse-beans, we had bought at London, for subsisting our slaves in the voyage, were quite rotten and spoil'd, for want of being well stow'd and look'd after ever since.

On the seventeenth of April, we were before Mina Castle and found seven sail in the road, three or four of them tall ships; among which two frigats, each of about thirty guns, and a hundred and thirty men, cruizers at the coast; who had taken three interlopers of Zealand, one of which carried thirty-six guns, who having made a brave resistance, the commander was to be try'd for his life. One of the frigats having been already two years at the coast, was ready to return home, with a thousand marks of gold (pp. 455-456). . . .

We found no corn there [Cape Coast], every body telling us it was very dear at the coast.

On the twenty-first [April], we set sail, saluting the castle with seven guns, and anchor'd at Anamabou; where we purchas'd with much trouble, and at a very dear rate, a quantity of Indian wheat, and sold many perpets, and much powder: we paid three akies for every chest of corn, which is excessive dear; but having lost all our large stock of horse-beans, were forc'd to get corn at all rates. Here the blacks put a great value upon perpets, in painted wrappers; oil-cloths with gilt leads, with large painted arms of England.

The tenth [May], we sent the boat to Anischan, at east, for fewel; and bought her loading of billets at three akies for each hundred, very dear wood. . . .

The twenty-sixth, as we work'd our small bower aboard, both cable and buoy-rope breaking, we were forc'd to sail, leaving the anchor behind, which was hitch'd among the rocks at the bottom; and having purchas'd sixty-five slaves along the Gold Coast, besides gold and elephants teeth, saluted the three European forts, each with nine guns; and steered east south-east, for four or five leagues, then south-east by east for twenty-eight leagues, towards New Calabar, to buy more slaves (p. 456). . . .

[June 23].[7] Our man reported, that the ship we could see within the river was English, commanded by one Edwards, who had got his complement of slaves, being five hundred, in three weeks time; and was ready to sail for the West-Indies: and that he would spare us an anchor of about eleven hundred weight, which rejoiced us much.

He reported farther, that as soon as the blacks could see our ship off at sea, they immediately went up the river to buy slaves, besides a hundred and fifty that were actually at Bandy town when he left it; and that king William had assur'd him, he engag'd to furnish five hundred slaves for our loading, all lusty and young. Upon which, we

[7] The vessel reached Calabar June 18, but did not enter the river. Instead, the longboat was sent up.

consulted aboard with the officers, and unanimously agreed to carry up the ship, if possible, for the greater expedition (p. 458). . . .

On the twenty fifth [June] in the morning . . . we went ashore also to compliment the king, and make him overtures of trade, but he gave us to understand, he expected one bar of iron for each slave, more than Edwards had paid for his; and also objected much against our basons, tankards, yellow beads, and some other merchandize, as of little or no demand there at that time. The twenty sixth, we had a conference with the king and principal natives of the country, about trade, which lasted from three a-clock till night, without any result, they insisting to have thirteen bars of iron for a male, and ten for a female slave; objecting that they were now scarce, because of the many ships that had exported vast quantities of late. The king treated us at supper, and we took leave of him. . . .[8]

The thirtieth, being ashore, had a new conference, which produced nothing; and then Pepprell, the king's brother, made us a discourse, as from the king, importing, He was sorry we would not accept of his proposals; that it was not his fault, he having a great esteem and regard for the Whites, who had much enriched him by trade. That what he so earnestly insisted on thirteen bars for male, and ten for female slaves, came from the country people holding up the price of slaves at their inland markets, seeing so many large ships resort to Bandy for them; but to moderate matters, and encourage trading with us, he would be contented with thirteen bars for males, and nine bars and two brass rings for females, etc. Upon which we offered thirteen bars for men, and nine for women, and proportionably for boys and girls, according to their ages; after this we parted, without concluding any thing farther.

On the first of July, the king sent for us to come ashore, we staid there till four in the afternoon, and concluded the trade on the terms offered them the day before; the king promising to come the next day aboard to regulate it, and be paid his duties. . . .

Our pinnace returned at night from Dony, brought a slave for ten bars of iron and a pint tankard; and a cow and a calf, which cost a hundred and fifty rings.

The second, heavy rain all the morning. At two a-clock we fetch'd the king from shore, attended by all his caboceiros and officers, in three large canoes; and entring the ship, was saluted with seven guns. The king had on an old-fashion'd scarlet coat, laced with gold and silver, very rusty, and a fine hat on his head, but bare-footed; all his attendants showing great respect to him: and since our coming hither, none of the natives have dared to come aboard of us, or sell the least thing, till the king had adjusted the trade with us.

[8] They continued to higgle over prices on the 27th and 28th. On the 29th they did not go ashore.

We had again a long discourse with the king, and Pepprell his brother, concerning the rates of our goods and his customs. This Pepprell being a sharp blade, and a mighty talking black, perpetually making sly objections against something or other, and teazing us for this or that dassy, or present, as well as for drams, etc. it were to be wish'd, that such a one as he were out of the way, to facilitate trade.

We fill'd them with drams of brandy and bowls of punch till night, at such a rate, that they all, being about fourteen with the king, had such loud clamorous tattling and discourses among themselves, as were hardly to be endured.

Thus, with much patience, all our matters were adjusted indifferently, after their way, who are not very scrupulous to find excuses or objections, for not keeping literally to any verbal contract; for they have not the art of reading and writing, and therefore we are forced to stand to their agreement, which often is no longer than they think fit to hold it themselves. The king order'd the publick cryer to proclaim the permission of trade with us; with the noise of his trumpets, being elephant's teeth, made much after the same fashion, as is used at the Gold Coast, we paying sixteen brass rings to the fellow for his fee. The blacks objected much against our wrought pewter, and tankards, green beads, and other goods, which they would not accept of.

We gave the usual presents to the king and his officers; that is,

To the king a hat, a firelock, and nine bunches of beads, instead of a coat.

To captain Forty, the king's general, captain Pepprell, captain Boileau, alderman Bougsby, my lord Willyby, duke of Monmouth, drunken Henry, and some others, two firelocks, eight hats, nine narrow Guinea stuffs.

We adjusted with them the reduction of our merchandize into bars of iron, as the standard coin, *viz.*

One bunch of beads, one bar. Four strings of rings, ten rings in each, one ditto. Four copper bars, one ditto. One piece of narrow Guinea stuff, one ditto. One piece broad Hamborough, one ditto. One piece Nicanees, three ditto. Brass rings, ditto. And so pro rata, for every other sort of goods.

The price of provisions and wood was also regulated.

Sixty king's yams, one bar; one hundred and sixty slaves yams, one bar; for fifty thousand yams to be deliver'd to us. A butt of water, two rings. For the length of wood, seven bars, which is dear; but they were to deliver it ready cut into our boat. For a goat, one bar. A cow, ten or eight bars, according to its bigness. A hog, two bars. A calf, eight bars. A jar of palm-oil one bar and a quarter.

We paid also the king's duties in goods; five hundred slaves, to be purchased at two copper rings a head.

We also advanced to the king, by way of loan, the value of a hundred and fifty bars of iron, in sundry goods; and to his principal men, and others, as much again, each in proportion of his quality and ability.

To captain Forty, eighty bars. To another, forty. To others, twenty each.

This we did, in order to repair forthwith to the inland markets, to buy yams for greater expedition; they employing usually nine or ten days in each journey up the country, in their long canoes up the river (pp. 459-460). . . .

The fifth [August], the king sent aboard thirty slaves, men and women; of which we pick'd nineteen, and returned him the rest.

The sixth, the king came aboard with four slaves, which, with the nineteen others of the day before, made twenty-three, for which we paid him two hundred and forty seven bars, three of the women having each a child. We allowed him for twenty four heads in specie, a hundred and twelve bars, in Rangoes ten bars, in beads forty six bars, in copper fifty one bars, and in Guinea stuffs twenty eight bars.

Thus from day to day, from this time to the twenty ninth of August following, either by means of our armed sloop making several voyages to New Calabar town, and to Dony, to purchase slaves and provisions; and by the contract made with the king, and his people of Bandy town, and circumjacent trading places; we had by degrees aboard six hundred and forty eight slaves, of all sexes and ages, including the sixty five we had purchased at the Gold Coast, all very fresh and sound, very few exceeding forty years of age; besides provisions of yams, goats, hogs, fowls, wood and water, and some cows and calves. As for fish, this river did not afford us any great quantity, which was a great loss to us, being forced to subsist the ship's crew with fresh meat from land, at a great charge, it being here pretty dear, and most of our salt meat being spent, and have but for three months more of sea-biskit left in the bread-room. Several of our sailors are tormented with cholicks, and some few dead (p. 460). . . .[9]

168. The Factors of Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 5th March, 1699.

With submission to your honours, it is no wonder the 10 per cent. men made voyages, when at the same time we have little or no busi-

[9] On July 22 John Grazilhier, with the sloop, made a trading excursion along the coast to New Calabar, gathering up slaves for the cargo. He returned to the ship on July 31, with nearly 100 slaves. He took on a fresh cargo of trading goods, and repeated his trip in August. At the same time Mr. Barbot was trading on other parts of the coast.

[168] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 183-184. Chapter II. of Davenant's "Reflections on the African Trade" contains what evidence Davenant could collect on the abuses inflicted

ness, which is customary in all parts of the world where ships resort to, unless their cargoes are consigned to some factor, or others on shore; for natives and inhabitants will never come to a factory or ship to lay out their money, when they can b[u]y goods 30 per cent. cheaper on board a ship than can be afforded in either of the former. The 10 per cent. men, for the most part, sold perpets at six ackeys each, and so proportionably the rest of their merchandize.

169. Captain Matthew Wilson to the Royal African Company.[1]

King's Town, Whidah, 26th June, 1699.

We arrived the 31st of May, having purchased 215 negroes. The cargo, with what has been disposed of on the Gold-Coast, will fall very short of our complement, the King playing tricks with us, as likewise with other ships that are here. When we came to pay him, he raised his price from his first agreement, being grown very haughty and proud since Whidah has been attended with so many ships.

170. Negotiations between M. André Brue and Mr. Corker.[1]

Memoir of Mr. Corker, November 10, 1699.

I. That the French Company should enjoy the same Liberty of Trade in the Gambia they had before the War, *viz.* the Right only

on the company by the separate traders on the Gold Coast. Those ten-per-cent. men or separate traders, now allowed by the act of 1698 to trade on the coast after a payment to the company, could no longer be described as interlopers. The factors signing this letter were Nicholas Buckridge, Howsley Freeman, and Samuel Wallis.

[169] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 183. Capt. Wilson was master of the company's vessel *Edward and William*.

[170] [1] Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, II. 79. Astley's account, taken from Labat's rendering of Brue's papers, explains the negotiation between Brue and Corker by the difficulties into which the company had been plunged by the act of 1698. In order to meet the competition of the ten-per-cent. men Croker "established new Factories up the Gambra, and at Jereja, where his Company had none before. He also made Settlements at Joval and Portudali; and to bring over the Damel, or King of Kayor, to the English Interest, sent his Clerks with Goods to his Court, with Orders to sell them at an under Value, and make exorbitant Presents to that greedy Prince; who, after making them dance Attendance from Place to Place, as he had done before, sent them away without a Payment, glad to escape in a whole Skin. Not content with this, General Corker sold the Company's Goods at as low a Price as the Interlopers; and by Force hindered the French Company's Ships from trading up the Gambra, stopping some of their Vessels, and firing upon others, for sailing without his Passport. In a Word, he shewed a great Enmity to the French on all Occasions. In the End, he discovered his Error, and saw plainly, that the Consequence of the Parliament's laying open the Trade, would be the Ruin of the Company's Affairs; and that the separate Traders, selling their Goods at so low a Price, would spoil all Commerce on the Gambra. He wrote to his Principals, that it was better to quit the Ten per cent. and repair Fort William at their own Charges, than to be obliged at last to abandon it for want of Trade. He resolved at the same Time to accomodate Matters with the Sieur Brue, proposing an Agreement, by which the Price of Goods should be regulated between the two Companies, who should unite to maintain their Trade to the Exclusion of Interlopers, as soon as the English Parliament should repeal the Act of 1695 [1698] in their favour. For this End he sent an Officer to the Sieur Brue, November 10, 1699, with his Compliments, and to propose the Concordate, as set forth in the following Memoir."

of trading to Albreda and Jereja [Joar ?]; and of having Factories at those Places, to live in good Correspondence with the English Company's Servants as before.

II. That, as the English Company had always Settlements at Joal and Portudali before the War, they should still enjoy the same Privileges.

III. That the French Sloop of the Sieur Desnos being only stopped, should be restored on the Sieur Brue's Order: That this Seizure was only made, because the said Desnos, under Pretence of going to Ghikar to recover the French Company's Debts, had carried on an illicit Trade, and had the Insolence to insult the English General, by threatening to destroy his Fort.

IV. That, as so many Ships came yearly on Commission from England to the Coast, it was at that Time impossible to settle a Tariff for Slaves, but that it should be regulated as soon as the English General received the Company's Orders.

V. That the English Royal African Company were forbidden to molest the separate Traders, who act by Authority from Parliament, which requires the Company to aid and assist them as much as lies in their Power.

Answer of M. André Brue.

I. That, by the Peace of Ryswick, it was agreed, the Conquest made on either Side should be restored, and all Matters settled as before the War broke out: That before the War the English Company's Trade was wholly confined to the Gambia, whereas that of the French extended by Charter from Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leona: That the French Company had always claimed a Right to trade in the Gambia jointly with the English, having always held Factories at Albreda and Jereja: That the French had certainly an equal Right to trade up the Gambia with the Portugueze and English Interlopers: That it was the mutual Interest of both the Companies to unite in a free Trade; and to regulate a Tariff for their Goods, which, by their Power, they might oblige the Negros to observe, who could then no longer take Advantage of their Misunderstandings.

II. That the English Company's Commerce being limited to the Gambia, it was not reasonable to propose settling Factories at Joal and Portudali, which was incroaching on the Rights of the French Company.

III. That Sieur Brue hopes, from General Corker's Equity, that he will restore to the Sieur Marchand, the French Company's Storekeeper at Albreda, the Sloop and Effects seized-on trading up the Gambia, according to the Inventory delivered by the said Marchand:

That with Regard to the Sieur Desnos, the Sieur Brue would have done Mr. Corker the Justice due to his Character, if he had asked it of him, and had already recalled Desnos to answer for his Conduct; but he intreated for the future, that he would forbear violent Methods, contrary to the Law of Nations, and which could only serve to break the good Correspondence and Harmony he desired to cultivate.

IV. That he earnestly wished the General would represent to his Company the Necessity of fixing a Tariff for the Price of Slaves, which should be the same for both Nations, and enjoining their respective Officers to observe it.

V. That, with all Deference due to the English Parliament, he would Venture to say, it was unjust to give a Liberty to separate Traders to the Prejudice not only of the English Company, but the French, whose Interests on this Occasion were the same.

The Sieur Brue concluded with exhorting Mr. Corker to write pressingly to the Company, to use their Interests to suppress the Licences of the separate Traders; assuring him, that he would write to his Principals to unite in laying this Matter before the English Parliament.[2]

171. Description of the Coast of Guinea.[1]

. . . Till within these two last years the chief factors of Mouree and Cormantyn [2] had also the advantage of the slave trade of Fida and Ardra, which turned to some account, and was indeed more advantageous to them than the gold trade; the commerce there being at so low an ebb, that without the mentioned slave-traffick they could not live up to the part which the dignity of their posts required, without suffering by it. But since some ill-meaning men have prepossessed

[2] Not long after this attempt to establish friendly relations between the two companies on the basis of their common enmity to the ten-per-cent. traders, Corker was recalled and his place was taken by Mr. Pinder. Active hostilities between France and England for a time interrupted Brue's attempted efforts at reconciliation, but in 1705 the companies reached at least a temporary agreement. See this work, vol. II., 1705.

[171] [1] *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts,* etc., "Written originally in Dutch by William Bosman, Chief Factor for the Dutch West India Company at the Castle of St. George d'Elmina. And now faithfully done into English." The account was written in 1701, the Dutch edition published in 1703, a French edition in 1705, the same year that the first English version was published. William Bosman served the Dutch West India Company on the African coast, during which time he wrote a series of twenty letters dealing with the history of European settlements on the coast, and describing native customs.

[2] Fort Nassau at Mouree had been the chief place of residence of the Dutch before they captured Elmina. The natives there were obliged to pay one-fifth of their captures of fish to the Dutch factors who governed the town. The Dutch fort at Little Cormantine, Fort Amsterdam, had been taken from the English by De Ruyter in 1665 (Bosman, ed. 1721, p. 51). Bosman concludes his description of the Dutch and English forts on the Gold Coast by the statement that the two nations had there equal power, that is, none at all.

the directors of the company in prejudice of them, by urging that by this means they became too rich; for which reason, they have thought fit to entrust the slave trade to the masters of the ships, which they send thither: the consequence of which time will discover; but for my part I don't expect they will find it conduce much to their interest; for the commanders of ships, though very expert in all sea affairs, yet being unacquainted with the negroes, will not be able to succeed very well: besides that some of them are of such a boorish nature, that they hardly know how to preserve the honour of the company amongst the negroes. I would not here be understood to speak of them all, for there are several men of very good parts amongst them: but the difference occasioned by this new practice will clearly appear with respect to the other Europeans trading hither; and I cannot believe it will turn to the advantage of the company (pp. 96-97). . . .[3]

The remaining trade of these people consists in slaves; which are also bought up by the mentioned negroes: but most of them are transported thence by the English, French and Portuguese ships. Sometimes the slave trade here proves very advantageous, especially about the village Lay.

It sometimes happens that when the in-land countries are at peace, here are no slaves to be got: So that the trade of this place is utterly uncertain; and it only serves to touch at in our passage this way, without depending on any thing from it (p. 327). . . .

The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave trade; in both of which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with a much larger share of courage, they rob more successively [successfully] and consequently by that means encrease their trade: Notwithstanding all which, to fraight a ship with slaves, requires some months attendance.

In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver me one or two hundred. I seemed to approve their proposal, but went on board under pretence of fetching some goods ashore which they desired, and immediately weighed anchor and set sail for Fida; where I was informed that their incursions succeeded so well, that they returned with above two hundred slaves; which, for want of other ships, they were obliged to sell to the Portuguese.

[3] Bosman's reference is to the inhabitants between Ponni and the River Volta on the Slave Coast, a portion of the country which he calls Lampi. Part II., from which the remaining selections are taken, is entitled, "A Description of the Slave Coast of Guinea. To which is added a Just Representation of the Slave Trade, and a General Account of the Slave Coast, the Country of Ardra: Together with a Circular Tour made by the Author in the Year 1698 to the Rio de Gabon, Cabo-Lopez di Consalvez, the Islands of St. Thome and Annaboa and his Return to the Gold Coast".

This nation is more than ordinary fraudulent and thievish. It is their common practice to assure the merchant or factor that they have a stock of slaves, only to draw him on shoar; which having done they never part with him without having fleeced him, and besides detained him several months.

The Portuguese are cheated by them more than any nation; notwithstanding which they cannot avoid trading with them by reason they are loaded with such sorry goods, that they can scarce get slaves any where else.

In 1698, I found a Danish ship there, which was obliged to wait a longer time to deal for five hundred slaves, than I spent in trading for two thousand at Fida: during which time they met with such ample proofs of their villanous nature, that I don't believe any of that nation will venture thither again.

A year or two before this, they dealt in the same manner with an English ship, and besides cheated him of some of his goods; but he coming thither again in my time, recovered his damages in the following manner: As soon as he had dropt anchor before Popo, some of the great men, amongst whom was the king's son, came on board him; all which he clapt in the Bilboa's: from whence he did not discharge them till he was first re-imbursed and had obliged them to pay a summ besides.

In the reign of this king's brother, this nation was more easily dealt with, for when he had done his business, he would not suffer his subjects to impose on the Europeans. In his time one of our companies ships in eleven days dealt for above five hundred slaves; but that is not what is likely to happen again: For that nation is at present so fraudulent, that undeniably every person that deals with them must be more or less cheated (pp. 333-335). . . .

They [4] are so diligent in the slave trade, that they are able to deliver one thousand slaves every month, if there are no ships at Jakin, which is subordinate to great Ardra, and situate but three miles below Fida; which makes a very sensible alteration; for the King of Great Ardra, through whose territories most of the slaves are obliged to pass, when the ships are there, to favour his own subjects, very commonly shuts up all the passes to Fida by a very strict prohibition; upon which his subjects are obliged to deal by stealth with those of Fida (against whose king he is an irreconcilable enemy) which yet they continually do, seeming not much concerned at their king's disputes. Notwithstanding which, trade doth not flourish so well as when the King of Ardra leaves commerce open betwixt his subjects and those of Fida (pp. 343-344). . . .

[4] The natives of Whydah.

The Hollanders were in my time extraordinary well treated here [Whydah], for the king provided them better than all other nations, and frequently sent them a double portion; but since the captains of ships have managed the trade here, I am informed our nation is treated by the king with very small distinction; for which these masters of ships are solely to blame; for they being utterly ignorant of the manners of the people, don't know how to treat them with that decency which they require; and the natives here being very judicious, have doubtless lessened their former esteem for them: Upon which ground I dare prophetically averr, that they will certainly ruine the slave trade here, and so manage it that every body shall be obliged to pay dearer for slaves than usually. But having touched on this subject in the seventh letter, I shall quit it at present; as also that I may not anger the sailors, who fancy they understand the slave trade as well as we our selves: But since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors here.

The first business of one of our factors when he comes to Fida, is to satisfie the customs of the king and the great men, which amounts to about 100 pounds in Guinea value, as the goods must yield there. After which we have free licence to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the cryer.

But yet before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves at a set price; which is commonly one third or one fourth higher than ordinary. After which we obtain free leave to deal with all his subjects of what rank soever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must then resolve to run the risque of trusting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: For you ought to be informed that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as those of beasts with us.

Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other: but those who think so deceive themselves; for this never happens on any other account but that of necessity, or some great crime. But most of the slaves that are offered to us are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty.

When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prison all together, and when we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large plain; where, by our chirurgeons, whose province it is, they are throughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked too both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good are set on one side;

and the lame and faulty are set by as invalides, which are here called mackrons. These are such as are above five and thirty years old, or are maimed in the arms, legs, hands, or feet, have lost a tooth, are grey-haired, or have films over their eyes; as well as all those which are affected with any veneral distemper, or with several other diseases.

The invalides and the maimed being thrown out, as I have told you, the remainder are numbred, and it is entred who delivered them. In the mean while a burning iron, with the arms or name of the companies, lyes in the fire; with which ours are marked on the breast.

This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French or others; (which are also marked with their mark) and to prevent the negroes exchanging them for worse; at which they have a good hand.

I doubt not but this trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by meer necessity it must go on; but we yet take all possible care that they are not burned too hard, especially the women, who are more tender than the men.

We are seldom long detained in the buying of these slaves, because their price is established, the women being one fourth or fifth part cheaper than the men. The disputes which we generally have with the owners of these slaves are, that we will not give them such goods as they ask for them, especially the boesies (as I have told you, the money of this country;) of which they are very fond, though we generally make a division on this head in order to make one sort of goods help off another, because those slaves which are paid for in boesies cost the company one half more than those bought with other goods. The price of a slave is commonly—

When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prison; where from that time forwards they are kept at our charge, cost us two pence a day a slave; which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: So that to save charges we send them on board our ships with the very first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs; so that they come aboard stark-naked as well women as men: in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the Ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them to cover their nakedness.

You would really wonder to see how these slaves live on board; for though their number sometimes amounts to six or seven hundred, yet by the careful management of our masters of ships, they are so regulated that it seems incredible: And in this particular our nation exceeds all other Europeans; for as the French, Portuguese and English slave-ships, are always foul and stinking; on the contrary ours are for the most part clean and neat.

The slaves are fed three times a day with indifferent good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. Their lodging-place is divided into two parts; one of which is appointed for the men the other for the women; each sex being kept a-part: Here they lye as close together as is possible for them to be crowded.

We are sometimes sufficiently plagued with a parcel of slaves, which come from a far in-land country, who very innocently persuade one another, that we buy them only to fatten and afterwards eat them as a delicacy.

When we are so unhappy as to be pestered with many of this sort, they resolve and agree together (and bring over the rest of their party) to run away from the ship, kill the Europeans, and set the vessel a-shore; by which means they design to free themselves from being our food.

I have twice met with this misfortune; and the first time proved very unlucky to me, I not in the least suspecting it; but the up roar was timely quashed by the master of the ship and my self, by causing the abettor to be shot through the head, after which all was quiet.

But the second time it fell heavier on another ship, and that chiefly by the carelessness of the master, who having fished up the anchor of a departed English ship, had laid it in the hold where the male slaves were lodged; who, unknown to any of the ships crew, possessed themselves of a hammer; with which, in a short time, they broke all their fetters in pieces upon the anchor: after this they came above deck and fell upon our men; some of whom they grievously wounded, and would certainly have mastered the ship, if a French and English ship had not very fortunately happened to lye by us; who perceiving by our firing a distress'd-gun, that something was in disorder on board, immediately came to our assistance with chalops and men, and drove the slaves under deck: Notwithstanding which before all was appeased about twenty of them were killed.

The Portuguese have been more unlucky in this particular than we; for in four years time they lost four ships in this manner (pp. 363-365). . . .

For which reason [5] one barren year occasions an incredible famine here; and sometimes free-men here have sold themselves for victuals; others set their slaves free, perfectly discharging them of their slavery, because they could not keep them in victuals. An English ship, which was here at that time, got his whole shipfull of slaves, without parting with any other merchandize than victuals, with which he very luckily had abundantly provided himself.

[5] The reason was that the surplus of grain raised at Whydah was sold each season, rather than stored for the future.

When he had fill'd his ship full of slaves, he went to the Portuguese islands, where he afresh stor'd himself with provisions for his goods (pp. 391-392). . . .

All sorts of ships, which have been to fetch slaves, touch here [6] or at the other Portuguese islands in order to take in refreshments, except only our company's vessels, which avoid it (I believe) out of a groundless jealousie, that when our masters of vessels come to these islands, they should drive a clandestine trade to the prejudice of our company; but in reality at Annaboa, the chief of these isles, nothing else is to be gotten but bare refreshments as well for our own people as the slaves: And of what assistance and advantage this would be to our company, I leave to those who have experienc'd it only to determine.

It is morally certain, that so many of the slaves would not sicken and dye, if they were sometimes furnished with refreshments. But the directors of the company are otherwise informed, on what grounds I know not. But perhaps the reason why our vessels do not touch here, may be either unknown or unfit to be known by me; and leaving it so I come to Rio de Gabon (p. 400). . . .

172. Petition of Merchants trading to Africa and the Plantations.[1]

February 17, 1700.

In carrying on the trade to Africa to purchase gold and other commodities, and to procure negroes for the Plantations, several sorts of East India manufactures are exported. The certificate by the chief magistrate of the goods having been landed, required by clause 2 of the Bill, cannot be procured on the coast of Africa, where the trade is carried on by boats coming off from the shore with gold, elephants' teeth and negroes, and taking our commodities in exchange. In many places for several hundred miles there are no English merchants residing, nor any chief magistrate under whose seal such certificate can be procured. Pray they may be under no greater difficulties in their trade, which is so beneficial to this nation, than according to the method now practised at the Custom House, whereby Petitioners are obliged to make oath that the foreign goods they export shall not be landed again in England.

[6] Principe (Prince's Island), one of the three Portuguese islands.

[172] [1] *MSS. H. of L.*, IV. 94. "Signed by John Brown and 38 other persons. Endorsed as read this day and rejected. MS. Min. No entry in the L. J." The petition was presented in connection with a bill for the encouragement of manufacturing, which prohibited the use of the East India silks and calicoes. *Lords Journals*, XVI. 519.

173. The Factors at Gambia to the Royal African Company.[1]

Gambia, March 4, 1700.

. . . The whole trade of the river is in the hands of the ten per cent. ships, who are here at present, seven in number, some from Carolina, and the rest from England, who daily encrease the price of slaves in this river, which is very prejudicial to your interest.[2] Before Mr. Gresham's decease, our factory at Joally was insulted by the King, who seized 7 or 800 bars cargo, upon account of one slave taken away from him unpaid for, by one Captain Smith, a ten per cent. ship trading in this port, and then bound to the river for further trade; which slave being afterwards returned by Mr. Gresham, yet denied the return of our goods: so that we stand in fear of settling a factory there, which is a considerable loss to your honours, it being the chiefest support to the fort we had hereabouts. . . .

174. The Board of Trade to the King.[1]

June 28, 1700.

In obedience to your Order in Council, June 13, we have considered the petition of William Bird, etc., and humbly report that the *William and Jane*[2] was belonging to your Majesty's subjects and had licence

[173] [1] Davenant, *Works*, V. 175-176. The factors were Nathan Piles, Thomas Rayner, and Richard Oakley.

[2] Complaints were already coming from the plantations, though the act opening the trade had been in force but two years. On Jan. 5, 1700, Sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, wrote to the Board of Trade: "Another fatal thing to the settling and increasing these Plantations is the merchants of London have never left soliciting against the Royal Company under pretence they would supply negroes more plentiful and cheap, till they have gotten them out and themselves in, and whereas the Royal Company usually supplied negroes at £22 and £24 per head and gave 6, 8, and 12 months' credit, now the Merchants sell for £34 per head and give no credit at all." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 19.

[174] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 386, enclosed in a letter from the Board of Trade to James Vernon, secretary of state, with the request that since it concerned the general subject of English trade it be laid before the king. The Council had reported to the king on June 12 that it had examined the two complaints contained in a memorial from the French ambassador: (1) that the English attempt to trade in the River Senegal, which is French territory; (2) that they obstruct French trade in the Gambia. The English company denied the first; as to the second, it contended that the trade up the Gambia belonged solely to the English. The Council, having heard these statements, expressed the opinion that the French should refrain from trading in the Gambia, and that the trade along the coast should be kept free and common to both nations. *Ibid.*, p. 336; see also p. 352.

[2] The specific case which had brought this matter up was that of the *William and Jane*, a ten-per-cent. or licensed ship trading for negroes at Portudal, which had been seized by the French Mar. 1, 1699, and condemned as prize by the French Admiralty. The English, unwilling to accept exclusion from this part of the coast or to resign hopes of restitution for this vessel, protested, and a long diplomatic correspondence followed. In response to a request from the owners of the vessel, William Bird and others, the Lords Commissioners of Trade undertook to examine the English contention that the vessel was pursuing a lawful trade (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, pp. 338-339, 346). After examining the reasons put forward by the French Senegal Company for seizing the ship and the answer of the Royal African Company, the board sent to the king the representation printed here.

from the African Company according to the late Act of Parliament, and in pursuance of her lawful voyage was trading for negroes at or about Porta Dally [3] on the coast of Africa, but was violently assaulted and taken by some French, since owned therein by the French Senegal Company, brought into France and condemned as prize. Upon application of the owners to the African Company touching the right of your Majesty's subjects to trade on the said coast of Guinea, the Company answer that by their charter and by their customary trading, they have and always had right to trade in the countries of Porta Dally and Joally, having frequently, and as often as they found it [to] their interest, traded considerably thereto with their vessels without molestation from any persons whatsoever, except in times of war, and except two vessels seized upon by the French in Porta Dally, 1680, 1681, and carried to Goree, but were afterwards by them released and full satisfaction made to the Company for the same. The French Ambassador's Memorial, communicated to us by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Jersey, Jan. 16 last, owns the right of the English to trade along the coast, and propose(s) that the English and French should unite to exclude the Dutch from interloping there.[4] The coast of Africa supplies great numbers of negroes for your Majesty's Plantations, and especially of that sort which are most fitting for your Majesty's Colony of Virginia. Whereupon we are humbly of opinion that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to insist upon the restitution of the said ship and damages, and to give such orders as your Majesty shall think fit to prevent the like violence on your Majesty's subjects for the time to come.[5]

175. James Vernon to the Earl of Manchester.[1]

Whitehall, July 8/19, 1700.

My Lord, . . . The French Ambassador staid a Day or two after him [King William], but he embarked yesterday in the River. Before

[3] Portudal.

[4] "The French Company of Senegal complain that the English Company established in the River Gambia, far from being grateful for the care with which they have executed the Treaty of Ryswick, by giving back the Fort they had taken from the English during the last war, and from uniting with them as their interests demand against the interloping Dutch, try to stop the French Company from entering the River Gambia, though the French have always had the right of entry and also had a habitation on the banks of this river. The English Company wishes to trade in the River Senegal, where they have never had a station. The two companies would have come to blows if the French had not hoped to obtain justice in Europe. I beg the Earl of Jersey to send orders to the English Company to restore things to the footing on which they were before the war." Signed, Tallard (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 30). Camille Tallard, marquis de Baume d'Hostun, was French ambassador to England 1698-1700.

[5] The next day the Privy Council referred to the Board of Trade the papers relating to the seizure. The board asked for proofs that the vessel had a right to trade at the place where it was seized. See the "Reasons of the Senegal Company for confiscating the *William and Jane*", and the "Reply to the above", *ibid.*, 1700, pp. 338-339, 346.

[175] [1] *Memoirs of Affairs of State: containing Letters, written by Ministers employed in Foreign Negotiations from the Year 1697 to the latter End of 1708*, published by

he went, I spoke to him about a Ship called the *William and Jane* which was seized by the French trading to Port Dally or Joally, on the Coast of Africa, between the River Senegal and Gambia. I know your Excellency has sollicited the Restitution of it, but without effect hitherto, it having been referred to the Commission of Trade. I inclose their Report, which has been laid before His Majesty, and by His Command I spoke to the French Ambassador, that he would procure Right to be done us. He has promised, that he would represent the Case as strongly as he could; how he will have performed it, your Excellency will best judge. I desired him to consider, that there is a Concern of seven Thousand Pound: that our trading on that Coast was never questioned but once before, two Ships being then seized by the French, but upon our Complaint they were both released, and full Satisfaction was given. I hope they are as well disposed to do us Justice now, and that the good Understanding between us may not only appear by the late Treaty,[2] but by all other Acts of Friendship, and a mutual good Treatment of the Subjects on both sides. I hope the Count de Tallard does us that Right to let it be understood, with what Readiness all Dispatch is given to whatever he has to sollicit. . . .

176. Earl of Manchester to James Vernon.[1]

Paris, July 24, 1700.

Sir, I Was in hopes not to have heard any more of the Ship *William and Jane,* since I cannot see any likelihood of Success, and whatever Count Tallard has promised, he will do it in such a manner that we cannot expect much good from it. Mr. Stanyan [2] is acquainted with the whole matter, and I must also refer you to the Papers, which I sent to Lord Jersey, where you will see I have not been wanting to press it as far as it was possible. I should be glad nevertheless to have a Copy of Mons. de Tallard's Memorial of the 16th of January last, wherein he owns the Right the English have to trade on that Coast, which they absolutely deny here. And as for the two Ships that

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Christian Cole, Esq., some time Resident at Venice (London, 1733), p. 168. The Earl of Manchester had but recently arrived in Paris as ambassador, taking the place of the Earl of Jersey, who returned to England to become Secretary of State for the Southern Department, an office which he resigned in June for that of Lord Chamberlain. The later correspondence was with James Vernon, commissioner of prizes 1693-1705, and from May 2 to Nov. 5, 1700, sole Secretary of State. Manchester had written to Jersey on May 12, reporting that he had endeavored to induce M. de Torcy, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, to reverse the French judgment which declared the *William and Jane* a prize, but in vain. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[2] England had signed the second partition treaty, to which reference is here made, on June 11, 1699, the other nations in the months following.

[176] [1] Cole, *Historical Memoirs*, pp. 171-172.

[2] Abraham Stanyan, in 1699 appointed clerk to the Council extraordinary. In 1702 he became secretary to the Earl of Manchester.

were released, they never were brought into France, neither could we learn the Names of them. The African Company [3] here is supported by the greatest Men at Court, and it is easy enough to find Arguments for a Case the French have ever disputed, and as yet it is not settled; and I am of opinion, that when they have not taken our Ships, the Reason always was, that they were too strong for them, as this very Ship was, had she not been surprised, very able to defend herself. I will see what effect Mons. de Tallard's writing will have, and I will continue to do what I can in it. I do remember that the last time I spoke of it, I shewed Mons. de Torcy the ill Consequences that this might have on another occasion, since it would be a warning for our Ships to defend themselves; that what was our Case now, might be theirs another time. All the Answer he made me was, that if so, it would only be a Dispute between this Company and that of England, and could not engage the Crowns. I told him, I wished it did not, and that he would agree that all the ways should be taken to prevent it. To repeat the many Arguments we had upon that Subject, would be endless. . . .

177. James Vernon to the Earl of Manchester.[1]

Whitehall, July 18, 1700. O. S.

My Lord, . . . I have Directions from the Lords Justices to send you the inclosed Petition and to desire you will procure the Petitioners what Relief you can. This seems to be the same Case with the *William and Jane*. The Ship [2] has been seized in or near the same place, on the Coast of Africa, upon the same Pretence of being an unlawful Trader, and confiscated to the Senegal Company. I suppose they intend to proceed against her in the same manner, in some Court of Admiralty; for I suppose the Company has not that Privilege, by their Charter, to seize what Ships they please, and convert them to their own use without Process, or giving the Owners an Opportunity to defend their Rights. If Judgment be given, I think it adviseable, that an Appeal be brought in both Cases according to the Treaty. Thus our Right may, upon so solemn a hearing, be either asserted or given up: for otherwise the Consequence, your Excellency foresees, will be unavoidable, that People must be left to a lawless State on that Coast, and he that is strongest must have the Trade;

[3] The Senegal Company of France, created in 1696. For an account of this company see introduction, p. 96.

[177] [1] Cole, *Memoirs*, pp. 174-175. On July 28 Manchester wrote to James Vernon that he understood that the ship under consideration had already been condemned. It had been brought into France as a prize, the French declaring that the English had no right to trade on the coast. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

[2] Doubtless the *St. George*, mentioned by name later.

and when such a Hearing is ordered, our African Company will think fit to concern themselves a little more than they are said to have done hitherto for those that are Permission-Ships [3] tho' they have all the Right to that Trade by Act of Parliament that the Company can have, paying them that states Allowance for their Licence. Yet as the Company opposed their being admitted into this Privilege, while the Act was passing, so the Merchants think they are careless what becomes of their Ships, provided their own be secured. But when the Point of Right must come to be determined, they will consider how far they are concerned in it, and I don't accuse them that they have hitherto been wanting herein. But I give this hint, by what I have gathered from the Persons, who came to me about the *William and Jane*.

I send your Excellency the Copy of Mons. Tallard's Memorial, which you writ for. I take notice of an Expression in it, which says the English and French Companies ought to join, and drive the Dutch Interlopers from the Coast. I take the meaning of it to be, that all Ships, which do not belong to one or other of those Companies, ought to be treated as Interlopers:[4] but that is giving a very wrong name to Ships that trade thither under an Act of Parliament, which are now admitted to the said Freedom of Trade that the Company has. The Act of Parliament was made for the good of our Plantations, that they may be furnished with Negroes in greater plenty, and at a cheaper rate by the Merchants supplying them, upon paying an Acknowledgement to the Company, or fetching them in their own Ships; and if these are to be looked upon as Interlopers, and be confiscated, whenever they are overpowered, the Act is made insignificant, and the Plantations will be put into a worse Condition than they were before. Since this Controversy is likely often to recur, and being a matter of such consequence, I think it ought to pass through all its Forms; and the rather, since the Senegal Company is so befriended at Court, Tryal ought to be made how far it influences in Judgment. When a final Sentence is given, His Majesty must consider whether His Subjects must acquiesce in it. . . .[5]

[3] The ten-per-cent. ships.

[4] Nothing in the wording of the French memorial as we have it explains why Vernon should have thought the term "Dutch interlopers" applied to separate traders of all nations. It is true however that Brue, and probably the French Company as a whole, were bitterly opposed to the English ten-per-cent. ships and would gladly have driven them from the coast had it been possible.

[5] On July 25, 1700, O. S., Vernon wrote to Manchester: "I shall forbear saying any more concerning our ships, that have been seized on the Coast of Guinea, 'till I see in what the African Company justify their Right to that Trade. I asked Mr. Prior, whether the Case of the *William and Jane* had undergone an Appeal. He thinks it has not, but it rests upon the Sentence given in the inferiour Court. He is of your Lordship's opinion, that a Review of the sentence will have little effect; and the rather, since Mons. Ponchartrain will preside, when the appeal comes to be heard, who, he hears, is very much interested in that Company: but I think that Reason should not discourage

178. Earl of Manchester to James Vernon.[1]

Paris, August 4, 1700.

Sir, I Have yours of the 18th of July, O. S. with a Petition of one Daniel Johnson[2] taken on the Coast of Africa. It is certainly the same Case as that of the *William and Jane.* I have inclosed the Reasons, which the Senegal Company gave for condemning her as a Prize, and Mr. Prior[3] can give you the whole Proceedings. I fear this will have the like Fate: nevertheless I do intend to give in a Memorial. I cannot tell by the Petition, whether the Ship was brought to Havre de Grace, or sold where it was taken. Besides, the Master should, on his landing, have made a Complaint to the Admiralty Court there, and entered his Depositions; and if he had not there Justice done, he might appeal, as may also the Persons concerned in the *William and Jane,* if they please: but then they must send some Person to follow it at Havre de Grace, or at the Admiralty of that Province. All I can do is to assist them at Court, for generally the Proceedings are not at Paris; besides, there is a considerable Expence, which I suppose they cannot expect I should be at, and great Attendance. I do own, that if we ever had a Right to trade on the Coast, it ought to be settled if possible; but you will see by the Papers inclosed, that they say we have none, and by their Charter, etc. this King has granted them this Coast of Portudal, exclusive of all Persons whatsoever. So that, if this be Matter of Fact, there is no doubt, but upon the Senegal Company's producing this, they will have Judgment for them in all the Courts of France. I take it, that it does concern very much our African Company to take care of this Matter, in case they would preserve this Trade: but I am rather of opinion, they do not intend it, and as much as I can see, they have very seldom traded there; and as for the River of Gambia, the French do not dispute our Right. The Extract of Count Tallard's Memorial is a Complaint in those Parts, and has no relation to the Coast of Portudal. I should be glad to know if any of our African Company's Ships do trade on that Coast; and if so, whether they have not Leave of the Senegal Company here or if their Ships are taken, etc. I thought

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any from bringing an Appeal. An interested Man does not always care to appear so in publick Judicature: but there his Reputation is a Counter Ballance to his Interest, which will help to keep off a determination against a well-grounded Title. If our Company are not well assured they have such a one, I would have no body be further troubled in this Matter. That we shall better see, when their Reasons are drawn up." Cole, *Memoirs,* p. 183.

[178] [1] Cole, *Memoirs,* p. 182.

[2] A Daniel Johnson was engaged in the slave trade for the company early in the eighteenth century. See this work, vol. III., South Carolina.

[3] Matthew Prior had returned to England from a brief sojourn in Paris and an audience with Louis XIV., in November, 1699. Apparently he had not been on the Continent since that time. L. G. W. Legg, *Matthew Prior,* pp. 116-117, 121.

it proper to enlarge on this Subject, that you may see how the Case stands, and I need not tell you how high they are here in a Case, where they seem resolved to assert. This should not make me decline any thing that is possible to do, in case the Parties concerned would take right Measures, and would follow it as they ought: but to speak plain, they are for saving their Money, insomuch that the Captain of the *William and Jane* could hardly obtain what was sufficient for his own Expence here. They should employ some Merchant here, that is acquainted with the Proceedings of this Country, and who on all Occasions might apply to me. . . .[4]

179. James Barbot's Voyage to the Congo River.[1]

[August 28, 1700.]

. . . Soon after the pinnace return'd aboard,[2] with two blacks of the country, who spoke broken Portuguese, and assur'd us they had a great quantity of slaves to dispose of, at the town of Songo or Sony,

[4] Manchester wrote again on the 7th and the 11th, feeling slightly encouraged. He had learned that Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese were making the same complaints and that M. de Torcy was growing uneasy over the situation. Nevertheless, two French ships were then ready to sail, with orders to seize all vessels upon the coast (Cole, *Memoirs*, pp. 185, 187). On the 14th he wrote that he had given in a memorial on the *St. George*, but could not tell whether to press for an answer until he knew what the African Company was planning to do (*ibid.*, pp. 191-192). On Oct. 13, he wrote: "I cannot see more by the Answer of the African Company, than that they assert they have a Right to trade on those Coasts, which they deny here, and I do perceive the French have all along taken our Ships; and tho' some may have been released at Gorea, yet whenever they were brought hither, we never had any Satisfaction. I will see what can be done, tho' I am almost persuaded they will make none. The only way that is left, is to serve them in the same manner." On Dec. 15: "As to the Owners of the *William and Jane*; one Arthur, a Merchant here, had Orders to follow that matter; and upon Enquiry whether an Appeal did lie, they do assure me that what has passed in that Case does not admit of it. The whole Proceedings were before the King in Council, and were adjudg'd by him for the Senegal Company here; so that there is nothing more to be done, or to be expected from hence, they still insisting that none have a Right to trade on those Coasts but themselves; which I ordered my Secretary to tell the Person that was employed for them." *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 262-263.

The English had not confined themselves entirely to negotiations. The *Rochester*, Captain Mayne, was sent to defend English shipping in the neighborhood of the Senegal, and the captain sent word to Brue that he was directed to obtain restitution for the *St. George*. Brue replied by sending to him a copy of the action of the Council of State by which the *William and Jane* had been declared lawful prize in spite of the fact that it had paid the ten per cent. duty. The *St. George*, since it had not paid the duty, had even less claim for consideration than had the former, and could scarcely maintain on any pretext whatever that it was a lawful trader. Astley, *Voyages*, II. 82, citing Labat.

[179] [1] "An Abstract of a Voyage to Congo River or the Zair, and to Cabinde, in the Year 1700", by James Barbot, jr., supercargo, and John Casseneuve, first mate, in the ten-per-cent. ship *Don Carlos* of London, from "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", by John Barbot, in Churchill, *Voyages*, V. 497-522. James Barbot was a nephew of John, the author of the "Description", who had never visited this region of the African coast, and takes his material from Dapper, Carli, Merolla, and other travellers and geographers, as well as from the two journals here cited. It is not always possible to discern the point at which he ceases to quote his nephew's journal, and introduces other material.

[2] The *Don Carlos*, which sailed from the Downs Apr. 8, 1700, was now in the Congo River. The master had a short time before gone ashore in the pinnace.

the ordinary residence of the prince or earl of that name, lying about five leagues inland from this point; and that there were only an English and a Dutch ship at Cabinde,[3] which had almost got in their compliment of slaves (pp. 502-503). . . .

Our master and mate in the pinnace, conducted by two or three blacks of Sony point, got up the creek of Sony twelve miles, rowing all the day; and being set ashore, walk'd about six English miles by land to the town, and were kept there a pretty while, before they could speak with the prince: at last being admitted to audience, according to the custom of the country, they presented him with six yards of fine chints, which he received favourably, and presently order'd a hen to be dress'd and serv'd up in a sorry pewter dish, to treat them. In the discourse the black prince, or count, hearing the captain say, he was come to trade for slaves, ask'd him, Whether he would take due care that those slaves should be instructed in the christian faith; and whether he had waited on the Portuguese Padre there, which was requisite should be done: and so dismissed him, after presenting him with a goat and six hens.

The captain return'd aboard at eleven at night, accompanied with Manfouge, that is, the receiver of the Whites, Manchingue, and Mananbache, three men of quality, sent by the prince to inspect our goods aboard, the mate being left at Sony as an hostage for them.

The thirtieth [August], those persons examined all the goods, and liked them very well; at dinner they fed on bread and cheese, it being friday, and consequently a fast for Roman Catholicks, the prince of Sony and all his court being such; and maintaining there two Portuguese friars, or the order of Bernardins, one of whom was but lately dead. Those noble blacks wore long beads and a cross, with some Agnus-Dei at their neck.

At three in the afternoon they return'd to Sony, the captain accompanying them thither, in order to treat with the prince; but could do nothing, the said prince telling him, that neither he nor his subjects could well trade with him for slaves, unless he had first satisfied the Portuguese Padre, pretending it was not in his power, to let him purchase slaves in his territories, without having obtained his license to that effect. The captain was forced to comply, tho' with much reluctancy at first.

The Padre, when he waited on him, hearing of his design, started some difficulties; alledging chiefly, that the English carried the slaves to Barbadoes, to the hereticks, where he was sure the poor wretches should never be instructed in the christian faith: whereupon the cap-

[3] The bay of Cabinda is a short distance west of the mouth of the Congo. The town was on the north shore of the bay, the trading factory on the south shore.

tain shew'd him his commission,[4] but the father not understanding English, desired to have it render'd into the Portuguese or Latin tongue, which none there could do, and so the father seemingly consented to his request.

Then the prince of Sony order'd the same three gentlemen blacks, adding to them his secretary, who could read and write Portuguese, and by his post of far greater dignity than the three others, to return aboard the ship, to examine yet more nicely the nature of our cargo, and to return him an exact account forthwith.

These being arriv'd aboard, were entertained as well as we could; and we drank with them their prince's, the father's, and their own healths successively and separately, and each health was saluted by firing of five guns.

They staid aboard till the second of September, and then returned to Sony, with a certain quantity of our merchandize, to store the lodge we were to set up there, on the assurances they gave us, that in two months, or ten weeks at farthest, we might there buy five hundred slaves; and upon this persuasion we had our lodge settled, being a house in Sony, contrary to the usual custom there, to settle the lodge near the creek, or river of Sony.

The fifth, they persisted to settle the price of slaves at eight pieces a man, and seven for a woman slave; and for boys and girls proportionably, according to their age and strength; but fearing what did happen afterwards, that these Sony blacks, being bigotted to their Padre's opinion, as to the use of the slaves, would only amuse us,[5] we sent our long boat to Cabinde, to observe the trade of slaves there; having been told by a black, who spoke indifferent good English, and shew'd some certificates of British commanders of trading ships, of his good-nature, and readiness to serve the nation, that we should have a more ready dispatch, at Cabinde, than there, he could but advise us to send a message to the duke of that country, as he stil'd him (pp. 503-504). . . .

The first mate left as factor at our lodge at Sony, sent us word, there was no likelihood of any trade till we had adjusted with the prince the price of slaves, and the standard of our merchandizes; as also the king's customs.

Whereupon the fifteenth [September], Mr. Casseneuve went up to Sony town, and there first waited on the Portuguese friar, and presented him with some small refreshments of Europe, (such as they were, after a five months passage thither) which he received with

[4] The destination of the *Don Carlos* seems to have been Jamaica, but the fact that the captain considered his commission one which would satisfy the fear of the negro prince suggests that the ultimate destination of the negroes was to be Spanish America. The *Don Carlos* actually stopped at Barbados, for there James Barbot died.

[5] *I. e.,* trick us.

great satisfaction, and return'd him his present; being some fine sweet oranges and bananas, and treated him with wine.

Then he waited on the prince, who was sitting on a great chair, his head newly shav'd and naked; having a kind of black cloak over his shoulders, but very short; and a clout of the same black stuff as his cloak about his middle; his legs bare, but slippers on his feet. When Casseneuve enter'd the room, he made a sign to him with his hand, to sit down opposite to him; after some discourse concerning trade, he call'd for a large pot of palm-wine, which he caused to be presented to him, after drinking himself in a great silver cup, on a plate instead of a salver. . . .

We privately agreed with the prince about the trade of slaves, at eight pieces for men, and seven for women; and for the measure of our goods, six foot two inches to each fathom for his, and of five foot only for the people; this prince generally making a better bargain for himself than for them (pp. 504-505). . . .

As we suspected with great reason, that we should have but an indifferent trade at Sony, finding more and more by the discourses of the natives, that they were possess'd with an opinion, that we were not christians, and that we used to carry the slaves to the Turks, and other infidels and hereticks, where they were never baptiz'd; thought proper to lose no time, in looking out for a better place to settle a lodge or factory, in Congo-river: and being inform'd, that on the northern shore, at or near a point several leagues up that river, called point Gitaar, lying eighteen or twenty leagues farther eastward, we might settle one, and traffick with the inhabitants of the circumjacent territory, call'd Zairy or Serry. . . .[6]

We found in Cabinde road, a little English ship, having a hundred and twenty slaves aboard, and was to compleat its cargo, to two hundred and fifty. The Dutch interloper, that was there when the captain first went to Cabinde, had since been carry'd away as prize, by another belonging to the Dutch West-India company.

The third of October, we adjusted with the king's officers for the customs, which we paid in this manner.

Pieces of sundry sorts of goods.

For the king's customs	47
That of Maufouco	31½
For the Manchins	17
For Mafuco Mabouco	17
For Manabele	17

[6] Here a temporary factory was established to which the king and his retinue came, a reversal of the usual order.

The forty-seven pieces paid to the king, consisting of;

Tapseils holland,	piece 1
Annabasses	10
Nicanees holland	1
Black basts, holland	1
Pintadoes, holland	1
Case of spirits	1
Paper, Slesia	1
Brass pan	1
Knives, dozen	2
Four sticks of scarlet, at twenty-nine inches per stick	4
Six sticks black basts, at twenty-nine inches per stick	6
Half case of spirits fine	2
Powder barrels	4
Muskets	2
Coral string,	piece 1
	47

And so proportionably, of the same species of goods, for the fees of the officers; as above said.

The fourth, we began to send goods ashore, to settle our factory, paying beforehand five pieces for the rent of the house, for all the time we might keep it; and Mr. Barbot, assisted by two whites, gave constant attendance there. Besides the black servants we had hired to assist him, the king gave us two of his own, and each of the before-named officers one; being in all ten or eleven gromettoes or hired men, to whom we are to pay one fathom in goods per week for all of them, to buy their provisions; and when we shall break up the factory, each servant is to have three pieces of goods: one of them is to serve for an interpreter, and is besides imploy'd to keep off the mob, from insulting us. This is practised commonly here, as well as at Zair.

We did not adjust a settled price for the slaves, as is customary at Sonho and Zair, but bargain'd daily with the owners of them, as they were brought either aboard the ship or the factory; sending also along the bay, some goods in the boat, to trade with the inhabitants of the adjacent villages: so that Mr. Casseneuve, who had the care of the commerce in the bay, and aboard ship, bought forty-five slaves, from the seventh of October, to the seventeenth of November. The twenty-ninth, he was sent to take care of the factory, Mr. Barbot being sick; where he purchased to the sixteenth of December, forty-eight slaves, making in all ninety-three *viz.* sixty-five men, sixteen women, nine boys and three girls, for seven hundred seventy-one pieces of sundry goods, the first cost whereof upon invoice, amounted to three hundred seventy-two pounds six shillings six-pence sterling; and so amounted to four pound sterling a head, one with the other. . . .

After this they were oblig'd to give one piece more for a slave than before, because the blacks saw five other English ships come

one after another, in the space of eight or nine days time, to purchase slaves and elephants teeth; and therefore brought no more slaves to the factory, but oblig'd us to give them ten pieces for a man, and nine for a woman. But by good fortune, we had then got our compliment within thirty or thirty-five slaves: which we had soon after, and in all aboard, four hundred seventeen men, women, boys and girls.

Being short of provisions for our slaves, we bought a hundred baskets of Indian wheat, tho' at an excessive dear rate, *viz.* at one piece of our best sorts of goods, brass basons and annabasses, of an English captain Eriford, necessity having no law; which we fetch'd aboard the thirty-first of December. . . .

For the better understanding of the measure used here, to value European goods in trade, we must observe, that it consists of three sorts, call'd a piece, a fathom, and a stick. The stick is eighteen inches; three sticks are accounted a fathom, and four fathom make what is here call'd a piece.

The rate of slaves is uncertain, as depending on the scarcity or plenty of them, and the number of foreign ships trading there together.

We esteem slaves here at a reasonable price, when they are at seven or eight pieces a man, and six or seven a woman, Indian piece, as the French stile it.

Many of the blacks of Cabinde, who dwell near the shore, speak some English, and are commonly call'd portadors, being a sort of brokers to the natives up the inland, to whom they repair, when any ships are in the bay, and bring merchants down aboard or to the factory, and there usually buy and sell for them; but very often taking advantage of their not understanding English, make them pay a piece, and sometimes two, above the price they contract for with Europeans, which they fetch off after they are gone home again: for here as well as at the Gold Coast of Guinea, the factors must in some manner wink at their knavery, in order to forward their commerce (pp. 510-511). . . .

On the first day of January [1701], Casseneuve's journal takes notice of their sailing out of Cabinde bay, in the morning in order to proceed to Jamaica, and towards night, had got the bay at south-east by south, about five leagues distant; himself, the super-cargo, Mr. Barbot, the captain, and the first mate, with several of their men being sick, and having buried here and at sea, six of their crew and the third mate; the air of Cabinde being very unwholesome: which gave an opportunity to the slaves aboard to revolt on the fifth, as follows.

About one in the afternoon, after dinner, we according to custom caused them, one by one, to go down between decks, to have each his pint of water; most of them were yet above deck, many of them provided with knives, which we had indiscreetly given them two or three days before, as not suspecting the least attempt of this nature from them; others had pieces of iron they had torn off our fore-castle door, as having premeditated a revolt, and seeing all the ship's company, at best but weak and many quite sick, they had also broken off the shackles from several of their companions feet, which served them, as well as billets they had provided themselves with, and all other things they could lay hands on, which they imagin'd might be of use for their enterprize. Thus arm'd, they fell in crouds and parcels on our men, upon the deck unawares, and stabb'd one of the stoutest of us all, who receiv'd fourteen or fifteen wounds of their knives, and so expir'd. Next they assaulted our boatswain, and cut one of his legs so round the bone, that he could not move, the nerves being cut through; others cut our cook's throat to the pipe, and others wounded three of the sailors, and threw one of them over-board in that condition, from the fore-castle into the sea; who, however, by good providence, got hold of the bowlin of the fore-sail, and sav'd himself, along the lower wale of the quarter-deck, where, (says Casseneuve) we stood in arms, firing on the revolted slaves, of whom we kill'd some, and wounded many: which so terrify'd the rest, that they gave way, dispersing themselves some one way and some another between decks, and under the fore-castle; and many of the most mutinous, leapt over board, and drown'd themselves in the ocean with much resolution, shewing no manner of concern for life. Thus we lost twenty seven or twenty eight slaves, either kill'd by us, or drown'd; and having master'd them, caused all to go betwixt decks, giving them good words. The next day we had them all again upon deck, where they unanimously declar'd, the Menbombe slaves had been the contrivers of the mutiny, and for an example we caused about thirty of the ringleaders to be very severely whipt by all our men that were capable of doing that office.

I shall conclude the abstract of the journals, of the voyages to Congo and Cabinde, with some particular observations, on the nature of the merchandize then of most demand at Cabinde, at the latter end of the year 1700, and of the custom of measuring and accounting them after the manner of the blacks there; which I found noted in Mr. Barbot's pocket-book, sent home to London, with his trunks from Barbadoes, after his decease there.

Blue-basts, a piece containing six yards, and of a deep, almost black colour; and is measur'd either with a stick of twenty seven

inches, of which eight sticks make a piece; or by a lesser stick, of eighteen inches long, twelve of which are accounted a piece.

Guinea stuffs, two pieces make a piece; tapseils, have the same measure as blue-basts, nicanees, the same measure; black-bays, two yards and a half for a piece; measured by five sticks of eighteen inches each; annabasses, ten to the piece; painted callicoes, six yards to a piece; blue-paper slesia, one piece, for the piece; scarlet, one stick of eighteen inches, or half a yard, is accounted a piece; muskets, one for a piece; powder, the barrel or rundlet of seven pounds goes for a piece; brass-basons, ten to the piece: we carry thither the largest; pewter-basons, of four, three, two, and one pound, the No. 4. goes four to the piece; blue-perpetuanas are become but of late in great demand; they are measured as blue basts, six yards making the piece; Dutch cutlaces are the most valued because they have two edges; two such go for a piece; coral, the biggest and largest is much more acceptable here, than small coral, which the blacks value so little, that they will hardly look on it; usually one ounce and a half is computed a piece; knives, with horn hafts, the blade very broad and long, twenty four to a piece.

Memorandum: A whole piece of blue-basts contains commonly eighteen yards and a half; however some are shorter, others exceed.

Pintadoes commonly contain nine or nine yards and a half the piece; tapseils, the piece usually holds fifteen yards; nicanees, the piece is nine or nine yards and a half long (pp. 512-513). . . .[7]

The chiefest trade of the Portuguese and other whites [in Congo] consists in slaves, carried thence to several ports in the West-Indies, to work at the sugar-mills, and in the mines, the Europeans not being sufficient for that labour; and no men can do it so well as these Angolans for a time: and thus it is at the expence of the lives of these poor wretches, that we draw such vast wealth from America. It is affirm'd, that when the Spaniards were masters of Portugal, they transported every year fifteen thousand slaves out of Angola, into the new world. And the Portuguese still transport a very great number.

All those slaves the Portuguese cause to be bought, by their pomberroes, a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues up the country, whence they bring them down to the sea-coasts; have but little food by the way, and lie on the bare ground every night in the open air, without any covering, which makes them grow poor and faint. But the Portuguese at Loanda, before they are ship'd off, put them into a great house which they have built there for that purpose,

[7] Here Barbot entirely abandons the journals and inserts a description of the country and its commerce, derived from various authors. Such items as these stand as lists in Churchill but are uniformly run together here to save space.

and give them their fill of meat and drink, as also palm-oil to refresh and anoint themselves with. But if it happens that there are no ships ready, or that they have not slaves enough to send away, then they use them for tilling the ground, and to plant or cut mandioca;[8] but at last when they put them on board, they take great care to preserve them from sickness, and that they may come safe and sound to their intended ports, they provide medicines, especially lemons and white lead to use against the worms; and if by chance any fall sick, they separate those from the rest, and lay them alone to be cur'd, where they are well provided for, with warm diet. In the ships they have mats to lie on, of which they take great store with them, especially when they go over to the West-Indies, to give every ten or twelve days a fresh mat. But the Hollanders and other Europeans take no such care in transporting their slaves to America, but ship them poor and faint, without any mats, or other necessaries, which occasions many of them to die at sea.

The Portuguese also cause the slaves they ship off to be baptiz'd, it being forbid under pain of excommunication to carry any to Brazil, that are not christened. However, it is pitiful to see how they croud those poor wretches, six hundred and fifty or seven hundred in a ship, the men standing in the hold ty'd to stakes, the women between decks, and those that are with child in the great cabin, and the children in the steeridge, which in that hot climate occasions an intolerable stench.

The voyage is generally perform'd in thirty or thirty-five days, the trade-wind carrying them, so that they sail over in a line; but some times they are becalm'd, and then the passage is longer.

The Portuguese deal for slaves at Kamkamba, but not so much as in Massingan and Embakko; for there, when the adjacent blacks want any merchandize, they bring their slaves to the Portuguese colonies for exchange (pp. 518-519). . . .

Season to sail for Guinea.[9] I Am of opinion, that the properest season to render the Guinea voyages most prosperous and safe, is to depart from Europe about the latter end of September, to enjoy the longer the good season on that coast; and to have a sufficient time to carry on the trade there, so as to reach the Leeward islands of America by the latter end of April following, which is the time when they make the sugar there; that so ships may have their full lading, and sail thence for Europe again before the season

[8] Mandioca, or manioc, a plant the roots of which provided meal.

[9] "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", book II., by John Barbot, Churchill, V. 523-588. This general account of the French trade sums up Barbot's observations, extending over a period of nearly twenty-five years. It is placed here merely to combine it with other material from Barbot, not because it has peculiar significance for the year 1700.

of hurricanes there; and arrive here before the boisterous weather, which usually reigns on our coasts about the beginning of October, which the French stile Coups de vents de la St. Michel, or Michaelmas storms (p. 523). . . .

Thus far concerning our passage from Guinea to America; which, if observ'd, will not fail of making it easy and expeditious, and may reasonably be perform'd in fifty days to any of the Caribbee islands, or two months at most, to Jamaica: whereas, if we keep our course near to the equator, it may be much longer, because of the great calms we usually meet thereabouts, which is a great disadvantage to our slave-ships; the tediousness of the passage causing a great mortality among them, especially when they are too much crouded, and come from any of the ports of the Bight of Guinea, which often spend a whole month or more in getting from St.Thome, or to cape Lope, and too often the ships are over-loaded with slaves.

I have observ'd, that the great mortality, which so often happens in slave-ships, proceeds as well from taking in too many, as from want of knowing how to manage them aboard, and how to order the course at sea so nicely, as not to overshoot their ports in America, as some bound to Cayenne with slaves, have done; attributing the tediousness of their passage, and their other mistakes, to wrong causes, as being becalm'd about the line, etc. which only proceeded from their not observing the regular course, or not making due observations of land when they approach'd the American continent; or of the force and strength of the current of the Amazons.

Others have been faulty in not putting their ships into due order before they left the Guinea coast, a thing very much to be minded; and have not taken care before they sail'd from Whidah, or cape Lope, to set well their shrouds and stays, tarr them well, with all the running ropes and blocks. If the port or road will allow it, we clean our ships as low as is possible, and tallow them well, to give them the better way: besides all this, during the passage, we take care, in good weather, to have the ships well caulk'd without and within, as well as the decks. The work of the outside we do in fair weather; and if bad, the carpenters work within, and tarr all over, that every thing within may be kept dry, as well for its preservation as decency.

As to the management of our slaves aboard, we lodge the two sexes apart, by means of a strong partition at the main mast; the forepart is for men, the other behind the mast for the women. If it be in large ships carrying five or six hundred slaves, the deck in such ships ought to be at least five and a half or six foot high, which is very requisite for driving a continual trade of slaves: for the greater height it has, the more airy and convenient it is for such a

considerable number of human creatures; and consequently far the more healthy for them, and fitter to look after them. We build a sort of half-decks along the sides with deals and spars provided for that purpose in Europe, that half-deck extending no farther than the sides of our scuttles and so the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, and as close together as they can be crouded.

The Dutch company's ships exceed all other Europeans in such accommodations, being commonly built designedly for those voyages, and consequently contrived very wide, lofty, and airy, betwixt decks, with gratings and scuttles, which can be cover'd with tarpawlins in wet weather; and in fair uncover'd, to let in the more air. Some also have made small ports, or lights along the sides at proper distances, well secured with thick iron bars, which they open from time to time for the air; and that very much contributes to the preservation of those poor wretches, who are so thick crouded together.

The Portuguese of Angola, a people in many respects not to be compar'd to the English, Dutch or French, in point of neatness aboard their ships, tho' indeed some French and English ships in those voyages for slaves are slovingly, foul, and stinking, according to the temper and the want of skill of the commanders; the Portuguese, I say, are commendable in that they bring along with them to the coast, a sufficient quantity of coarse thick mats, to serve as bedding under the slaves aboard, and shift them every fortnight or three weeks with such fresh mats: which, besides that it is softer for the poor wretches to lie upon than the bare deals or decks, must also be much healthier for them, because the planks, or deals, contract some dampness more or less, either from the deck being so often wash'd to keep it clean and sweet, or from the rain that gets in now and then through the scuttles or other openings, and even from the very sweat of the slaves; which being so crouded in a low place, is perpetual, and occasions many distempers, or at best great inconveniences dangerous to their health: whereas, lying on mats, and shifting them from time to time, must be much more convenient; and it would be prudent to imitate the Portuguese in this point, the charge of such mats being inconsiderable.

We are very nice in keeping the places where the slaves lie clean and neat, appointing some of the ship's crew to do that office constantly, and several of the slaves themselves to be assistant to them in that employment; and thrice a week we perfume betwixt decks with a quantity of good vinegar in pails, and red-hot iron bullets in them, to expel the bad air, after the place has been well wash'd and scrubb'd with brooms: after which, the deck is clean'd with cold vinegar, and in the day-time, in good weather, we leave all the scuttles open, and shut them again at night.

It has been observ'd before, that some slaves fancy they are carry'd to be eaten, which make them desperate; and others are so on account of their captivity: so that if care be not taken, they will mutiny and destroy the ship's crew in hopes to get away.

To prevent such misfortunes, we use to visit them daily, narrowly searching every corner between decks, to see whether they have not found means, to gather any pieces of iron, or wood, or knives, about the ship, notwithstanding the great care we take not to leave any tools or nails, or other things in the way: which, however, cannot be always so exactly observ'd, where so many people are in the narrow compass of a ship.

We cause as many of our men as is convenient to lie in the quarter-deck and gun-room, and our principal officers in the great cabbin, where we keep all our small arms in a readiness, with sentinels constantly at the door and avenues to it; being thus ready to disappoint any attempts our slaves might make on a sudden.

These precautions contribute very much to keep them in awe; and if all those who carry slaves duly observ'd them, we should not hear of so many revolts as have happen'd. Where I was concern'd, we always kept our slaves in such order, that we did not perceive the least inclination in any of them to revolt, or mutiny, and lost very few of our number in the voyage.

It is true, we allow'd them much more liberty, and us'd them with more tenderness than most other Europeans would think prudent to do; as, to have them all upon deck every day in good weather; to take their meals twice a-day, at fix'd hours, that is, at ten in the morning, and at five at night; which being ended, we made the men go down again between decks; for the women were almost entirely at their own discretion, to be upon deck as long as they pleas'd, nay even many of the males had the same liberty by turns, successively; few or none being fetter'd or kept in shackles, and that only on account of some disturbances, or injuries, offer'd to their fellow captives, as will unavoidably happen among a numerous croud of such savage people. Besides, we allow'd each of them betwixt their meals a handful of Indian wheat and Mandioca, and now and then short pipes and tobacco to smoak upon deck by turns, and some cocoa-nuts; and to the women a piece of coarse cloth to cover them, and the same to many of the men, which we took care they did wash from time to time, to prevent vermin, which they are very subject to; and because it look'd sweeter and more agreeable. Towards the evening they diverted themselves on the deck, as they thought fit, some conversing together, others dancing, singing, and sporting after their manner, which pleased them highly, and often made us pastime; especially the female sex, who being a-part from

the males, on the quarterdeck, and many of them young sprightly maidens, full of jollity and good-humour, afforded us abundance of recreation; as did several little fine boys, which we mostly kept to attend on us about the ship.

We mess'd the slaves twice a day, as I have observed; the first meal was of our large beans boil'd, with a certain quantity of Muscovy lard, which we have from Holland, well pack'd up in casks. The beans we have in great plenty at Rochel. The other meal was of pease, or of Indian wheat, and sometimes meal of Mandioca; this provided in Prince's island, the Indian wheat at the Gold Coast; boil'd with either lard, or suet, or grease, by turns: and sometimes with palm-oil and malaguette or Guinea pepper. I found they had much better stomachs for beans, and it is a proper fattening food for captives; in my opinion far better to maintain them well, than Indian wheat, Mandioca or yams; tho' the Calabar slaves value this root above any other food, as being used to it in their own country: but it is not at certain times of the year to be had in so great a quantity as is requisite to subsist such a number of people for several months; besides that they are apt to decay, and even to putrify as they grow old. Horse-beans are also very proper for slaves in lieu of large beans: there is good plenty of them in Great Britain, which, as well as the other beans, will keep, if well put up in dry fats [vats] or casks.

We distributed them by ten in a mess, about a small flat tub, made for that use by our coopers, in which their victuals were served; each slave having a little wooden spoon to feed himself handsomely, and more cleanly than with their fingers, and they were well pleased with it.

At each meal we allow'd every slave a full coco-nut shell of water, and from time to time a dram of brandy, to strengthen their stomachs.

The Dutch commonly feed their slaves three times a day, with indifferent good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. The Portuguese feed them most with Mandioca.

As for the sick and wounded, or those out of order, our surgeons, in their daily visits betwixt decks, finding any indisposed, caus'd them to be carried to the Lazaretto, under the fore-castle, a room reserv'd for a sort of hospital, where they were carefully look'd after. Being out of the croud, the surgeons had more conveniency and time to administer proper remedies; which they cannot do leisurely between decks, because of the great heat that is there continually, which is sometimes so excessive, that the surgeons would faint away, and the candles would not burn; besides, that in such a croud of brutish people, there are always some very apt to annoy and hurt others, and all in general so greedy, that they will snatch from the sick slaves the fresh

meat or liquor that is given them. It is no way advisable to put the sick slaves into the long-boat upon deck, as was very imprudently done in the *Albion* frigate, spoken of in the description of New Calabar; for they being thus exposed in the open air, and coming out of the excessive hot hold, and lying there in the cool of the nights, for some time just under the fall of the wind from the sails, were soon taken so ill of violent cholicks and bloody fluxes, that in a few days they died, and the owners lost above three hundred slaves in the passage from St. Tome to Barbadoes; and the two hundred and fifty that survived, were like skeletons, one half of them not yielding above four pounds a head there: an oversight, by which fifty per Cent. of the stock or outlet was lost.

Much more might be said relating to the preservation and maintenance of slaves in such voyages, which I leave to the prudence of the officers that govern aboard, if they value their own reputation and their owners advantage; and shall only add these few particulars, that tho' we ought to be circumspect in watching the slaves narrowly, to prevent or disappoint their ill designs for our own conservation, yet must we not be too severe and haughty with them, but on the contrary, caress and humor them in every reasonable thing. Some commanders, of a morose peevish temper are perpetually beating and curbing them, even without the least offence, and will not suffer any upon deck but when unavoidable necessity to ease themselves does require; under pretence it hinders the work of the ship and sailors, and that they are troublesome by their nasty nauseous stench, or their noise; which makes those poor wretches desperate, and besides their falling into distempers thro' melancholy, often is the occasion of their destroying themselves.

Such officers should consider, those unfortunate creatures are men as well as themselves, tho' of a different colour, and pagans; and that they ought to do to others as they would be done by in like circumstances; as it may be their turn, if they should have the misfortune to fall into the hands of Algerines or Sallee men, as it has happen'd to many after such voyages perform'd. They ought also to consider the interest of their owners, who put them into that employment; and, unless they have laid aside the sense of gratitude and credit, it may be an inducement to curb their brutish temper, and move them to a gentle humane carriage towards the poor slaves, and to contribute as far as in them lies, to keep them clean, healthy and easy; to lessen the deep sense of their lamentable condition, which many are sensible enough of, whatever we may think of their stupidity. These methods will undoubtedly turn to the advantage of the adventurers, their masters, and is the least return they can reasonably expect from them.

It also concerns the adventurers in Guinea voyages for slaves, not to allow the commanders, supercargo or officers, the liberty of taking aboard any slaves for their own particular account, as is too often practised among European traders, thinking to save something in their salaries by the month: for experience has shown, that the captain's slaves never die, since there are not ten masters in fifty who scruple to make good their own out of the cargo; or at least such licence-slaves are sure to have the best accommodations aboard, and the greatest plenty of subsistance out of the ship's stock: and very often those who were allow'd to carry but two slaves, have had ten or twelve, and those the best of the cargo, subsisted out of the general provisions of the ship, and train'd up aboard, to be carpenters, coopers, and cooks, so as to sell for double the price of other slaves in America, because of their skill, etc. And such commanders, when return'd home, and requir'd to account for such licentious practices, and to restore the product of such slaves so dispos'd of, allowing them their first cost, not only refuse to comply with so reasonable a demand, but knowing how many formalities the law in England requires, to compel them to it, which reduces it almost to an impossibility, they fall out with, and ungratefully abuse their benefactors and patrons. So that it were infinitely better, in lieu of such grants, to augment the salaries, proportionably to the great fatigues and imminent hazards of life in such voyages, with this condition, that any persons whatsoever transgressing in this point, shall forfeit not only such slaves as he shall presume to carry over without permission, but also all his wages, and pay a reasonable fine besides. All this rigorously executed, would have a great influence, and deter many from their ill practices for the future (pp. 545-548). . . .

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EDITED BY
ELIZABETH DONNAN
Professor of Political Economy in Wellesley College

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