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AN  
E S S A Y  
ON  
COLONIZATION.

PART I.



1850

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AN  
ESSAY  
ON  
COLONIZATION,  
PARTICULARLY APPLIED TO THE  
WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,  
WITH SOME FREE THOUGHTS ON  
CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE;  
ALSO  
BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS  
OF THE COLONIES ALREADY FORMED, OR ATTEMPTED, IN AFRICA,  
INCLUDING THOSE OF  
SIERRA LEONA AND BULAMA.

BY  
C. B. WADSTROM.

IN TWO PARTS.

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



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

And sold by G. NICOL, No. 58, Pall-Mall; W. FADEN, Corner of St. Martin's Lane, Strand;  
J. STOCKDALE, No. 191, Piccadilly; J. EDWARDS, No. 78, Pall-Mall; E. & J. EGERTON,  
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MDCXCIV.







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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FIRST PART  
PAUL LE MESURIER, M. P.

*LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON,*

IN TESTIMONY OF HIS LAUDABLE AND EXEMPLARY ZEAL,

IN PROMOTING THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

OBEDIENT AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

*C. B. WADSTROM.*



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FIRST LORD  
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CEMENT AND ART. HEMBLE 1894

C. B. WIDSTROM.



# C O N T E N T S

OF THE

## FIRST PART.

### INTRODUCTION.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

\* Privy Council’s Report, Part I. Art. “Produce.”



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

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



OBSTRUCTIONS TO

AN

# ESSAY

ON

## COLONIZATION, &c.

### CHAPTER I.

#### OBSTRUCTIONS TO COLONIZATION, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA.

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

Plans of the first European colonists ill digested.

Case of the natives.

page



C H A P.

I.

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

Africa hitherto neglected.

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

Causes of this neglect.

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

\* Postlethway's Dictionary, Article "Africa."



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

C H A P.  
I.

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

The Slave-trade.

\* Robertson's History of America.



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

The West Indies derive their importance from Africa.

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



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

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

C H A P.  
I.  
Opposition of  
merchants  
and planters.

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



C H A P.

I.

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

Objections against colonizing Africa answered.

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



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

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



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

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

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



C H A P. II.

CHARACTER AND DISPOSITION OF THE AFRICANS.

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

Governments, &c. form national character.

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

Misrepresentations of the character of the Africans.



C H A P.  
II.

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

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

Civilized nations governed by reason, uncivilized by passions.

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

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







C H A P.  
II.

Africans corrupted by the European traders.

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

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

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



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

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

Instance in  
the conduct  
of an African  
chief.

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



C H A P.  
II.

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

22. On this occasion it happened that only one captive  
was taken. This was a handsome young negrefs, who, not-  
withstanding her tears, was forthwith carried on board a  
ship then lying off Joal. As she belonged, however, to one  
of those families who, by the laws of the country, are ex-  
empted from slavery, this action shocked the people so much  
that a commotion ensued. The king having, by this time,  
come to his senses, and seeing the danger, entreated the pur-  
chafer to return the girl. The Frenchman, though fur-  
rounded by a great multitude of negroes, and though our  
party, including Dr. Sparrman, Captain Arrhenius, and my-  
self, consisted but of five white men, was so madly obsti-  
nate as to refuse his request. I say madly, for in all the  
conjunctures of my life, I never was so alarmed for the safe-  
ty of it. After much entreaty, however, he restored the  
young woman to her disconsolate relations, the king pro-  
mising him two slaves in exchange, whom he expected to  
seize on a future expedition.

Proofs of the  
industry of  
the Africans.

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

## C H A P. III.

## CIVILIZATION IN GENERAL.

Will and understanding, the leading faculties of the mind.

31. **N**O one will deny that the *will* and the *understanding* are the leading faculties of the human mind. The *will* is actuated by love for, or *affections* to, some objects in

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



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

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

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

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

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

Education and civilization defined and their relations explained.

Education and civilization defined and their relations explained.



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Africans  
would be im-  
proved by in-  
nocent luxu-  
ry.

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

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

Interesting  
behaviour  
of African  
chiefs,

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



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

E

lated



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

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

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

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

ings,



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

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

*Agricultural  
colonies re-  
commended.*



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

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

C H A P. IV.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND WATER.

C L I M A T E.

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

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



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

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

Wet and dry  
seasons.

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

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

Quantity of  
rain.

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



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

Thermometer and Barometer.

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

S O I L.

From Cape Blanco down to the River Gambia.

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

\* Lind *ibid.*

† Bidrag til Beskrivelse over St. Croix, &c.

where



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

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

Basaltic.

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

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

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

Rice  
Grounds.

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

places



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

W A T E R.

Compara-  
tive qualities  
of different  
waters.

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

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



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

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

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



C H A P.  
IV.

To cool and  
purify water.

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

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



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

C H A P.  
V.

C H A P. V.

PRODUCE.

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

Slave ships  
bring little  
produce.

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

Captains of  
wood vessels  
deal in slaves.

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



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V.

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

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

Produce rots in Africa, for want of conveyance.

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

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

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



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

C H A P.  
V.

ANIMALS.

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

Cattle.

Horses.

Camels.

Asses.

Hogs, sheep, &c.

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



C H A P. V. ly stocked with hogs, sheep, goats and all kinds of poultry, which propagate with astonishing rapidity.—The woods afford shelter to an endless variety of game. The most valuable is a species of deer, a very beautiful animal.

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

Fish. Spermaceti whales, in particular, abound so much, that, in passing between Goree and the continent, distant about five miles, I have often been surrounded by them, and have been under no small apprehensions of their oversetting my canoe. Lower down on the coast, the Portuguese carry on a considerable fishery of those whales; and I have been informed that the English have lately paid some attention to the same object.—That valuable article, ambergris, is found in such quantities on the coast, that I have more than once seen the negroes pay their canoes with it. Till lately, the learned were not certain to which of the three natural kingdoms this substance was to be referred; but they seem now pretty generally agreed, that it is the excrement of the spermaceti whale.—Tortoise-shell may be had in any quantity: and bees wax, ostrich feathers, elephant's teeth, and the still more valuable teeth of the hippopotamus, or river horse, found in particular abundance near Cape Mesurado, already form very considerable articles of exportation. I do not know that we import ivory from any other part of the world than Africa.

Whales.

Ambergris.

Ivory, bees wax, &c.

## VEGETABLES.

Vegetables  
and fruits.

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

Millet



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

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

Rice of two species.

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

Wild sugar-cane.

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

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



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Wild cotton  
of several  
species.

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

Wild indigo.

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

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

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



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

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

Woods, &amp;c.

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



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Spices.

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

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

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

M I N E R A L S

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



## MINERALS AND METALS.

Minerals  
scarcely  
searched for.

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

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



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

Iron.

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

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

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



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

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

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

action



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

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C H A P. VI.

THE MEANS OF PRESERVING HEALTH.

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

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

Men and  
plants simi-  
larly affected  
by being  
transplanted.

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

74. During



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

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

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

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

Instance in St. Salvadore.

\* Essay on the Diseases, &amp;c. p. 50.

with-



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

Trade preferred to health.

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

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

and



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

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

Causes of mortality of soldiers and seamen.

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



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

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

Comparative  
salubrity of  
different  
places.

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

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

Paris.



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

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

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

Hints re-  
specting  
health.

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



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

## H O U S E S.

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

84. The entire construction of houses immediately on ar-

Their elevation from the ground, &c.

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

living,



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

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

Temporary  
and permanent  
houses.

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

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

dle,



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

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

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



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

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Sleep, dress,  
and employ-  
ment.

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



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

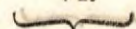
89. After what has been said, I need not dwell on the necessity of unseasoned Europeans avoiding exposure to the rains in the wet season, and keeping the feet dry and warm at all times. When a person unluckily gets wet, he should change his cloaths immediately; or, if that cannot be done, keep up the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

Cold bath recommended.

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

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





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

The spirits  
to be kept  
up.

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

Children  
sworn, the  
of every  
and they  
find the ef-  
fect best.

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

The mind  
too much ne-  
glected by  
physicians.



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



ing on one another, in a variety of ways. Hence most of their prescriptions relate almost exclusively to the body. C H A P.  
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93. There is indeed an old book, formerly of some authority in Europe, which prescribes many admirable medicines for a "wounded spirit." But our present race of physicians seem to disregard this antiquated volume, as quite foreign to modern *practice*.

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

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

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



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Apology to  
the faculty.

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

Utility of  
these hints.

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

Mortality at  
Senegal, e-  
scaped by the  
temperate.



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

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C H A P. VII.

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

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

Definition of  
glory, by  
Raynal.

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

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

lower



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

Colonial policy of modern Europe contracted.

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

\* Hist. Phil. & Pol. T. VI. p. 285.

which



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

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

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

Consequences of this narrow policy.

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

they



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

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



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

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

Comparison  
of nations  
and their co-  
lonies, to pa-  
rents and  
children.

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

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



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Nations  
should pro-  
vide territo-  
ry for their  
surplus po-  
pulation.

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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



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

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## C O M M E R C E.

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

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

Commission  
commerce

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

their



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

should be  
encouraged  
in a new co-  
lony.

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

116.

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



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

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Speculation-  
commerce.

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

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

rectly



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

Speculators  
unconnected  
with the  
community.

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

\* Mr. Burke.



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

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

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

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



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VII.and Dr.  
Johnson's.

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

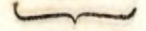
119. "These are the men," says Dr. Johnson, "who, without virtue, labour or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoverished. They rejoice when obstinacy or ambition adds another year to slaughter and devastation; and laugh from their desks at bravery and science, while they are adding figure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

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

Their operations tend to enslave mankind,

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



and why.—  
Money inde-  
pendent of  
commodities.

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

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

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



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

Commercial colonies tend to slavery, agricultural to liberty.

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



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

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

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

Necessity of  
caution in  
forming co-  
lonies.

\* See the queries at the end of this chapter.



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How colo-  
nists should  
be encour-  
aged.

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

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

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



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

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

Choice of  
colonists.

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

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

Native chiefs  
to be conciliated.

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

and



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



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

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

\* See Dr. Primatt's Essay on the Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals—also the Adventurer, No. 37.

† Milton.

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Men not to  
be substitut-  
ed for cattle.

The use of  
the plough  
recommen-  
ed.



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}

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

Objections  
to the  
plough an-  
swered.

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

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



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



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

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

Has been  
successfully  
used in the  
West Indies.

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

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



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

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

Why not universally used there.

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

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

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

‡ Privy Council’s Report Part. III. Article “Grenada and St. Christophers,” answer to query 42d.

being



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

Remarkable  
instance of  
its success.



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

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This subject  
 tropical agriculture  
 is very much  
 improved  
 since the  
 year 1763.

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

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

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

† See his printed letter to the East India Directors.

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



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Most other  
tropical arti-  
cles may be  
raised with it.

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

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

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

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



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

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Q U E R I E S.

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

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

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

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

\* Dr. Franklin's Essays, p. 138.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XIII.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXVII.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXXV.



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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

C H A P. VIII.

HINTS ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

E D U C A T I O N.

Its importance.

143. **T**HE happiness and stability of every society, entirely depends on the virtuous qualities of the individuals who compose it; and, if there be no influx of strangers, the continuation or increase of the society will depend on the rising generations, who are successively to become members of it. The mind receives it's most permanent impressions and habits during the period of nonage. The education of youth, therefore, is a matter of the highest importance to every society. So very important is it, that, in my opinion, it ought to form a distinct department of the administration of a new colony.

Schools and apprenticeships.

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





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

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

Colonists  
should in-  
struct natives.

of God.

Education  
of the  
natives  
of the  
colony  
for  
the  
benefit  
of  
the  
community.

Schools and  
apprentice-  
ships should  
join practice  
with theory.

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



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

African children already sent to Europe for education.

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

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

get



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

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R E L I G I O N.

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

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

African ideas  
of God.

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



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VIII.Toleration  
recommended.

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

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

## E M P L O Y M E N T S.

Employ-  
ment pre-  
vents vice.

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



ject for this department in the government should be employment for *men*, for *women* and for *children*. C H A P.  
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## CONTRACTS AND LAWS.

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

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

Marriage  
contracts.

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

Social con-  
tracts.

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

Civil con-  
tracts.



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

Political  
balance.

Laws found-  
ed on con-  
tracts.

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



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

Laws.

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

Judicial.

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

Political.

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



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

Æconomical.

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

#### EXTERNAL WORSHIP.

External  
worship.

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

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

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

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

HEALTH.



## H E A L T H.

Health.

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

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

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

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

## C U L T I V A T I O N.

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

Cultivation  
of raw ma-  
terials.

I. *Of the animal kingdom,*

II. *Of the vegetable kingdom,*

III. *Of the mineral kingdom.*

## M A N U F A C T U R E S.

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

Colonial  
manufac-  
tures to be  
encouraged.



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

C O M M E R C E.

Commerce.

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

I. *The*



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

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

## D E F E N C E.

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

Internal polity and defence, by frankpledge.

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

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



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

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



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

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

#### FINANCES.

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

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

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

III.



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

POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Political ar-  
rangements,

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

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

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

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



## C H A P. IX.

## SPECIFIC PROPOSITIONS APPLIED TO THE CASE OF A NEW COLONY.

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

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

## P R O P O S I T I O N I.

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

F O R



FOR CULTIVATING AND RAISING  
TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS

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

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

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

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

ation,



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

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

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

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

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DIVISION



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

## FIRST DIVISION.

Promotive  
with respect  
to morals.

1. For promoting *regular marriages* in the colony, as the foundation of all social order and true religion. This head depart. includes three kinds of duties.
  - 1. The adjustment of differences between married partners. } See § 150.
  - 2. The promoting and encouraging the marriage of young men. } 153.
  - 3. The promoting and encouraging the marriage of young women. } 153.
2. For promoting *education and instruction*, which is the second object of importance, and without which no civilization can take place. This department includes also three duties, viz.
  - 1. The preparatory or family educat. of children under 10 years. } See § 144.
  - 2. The education of boys, separately, above ten years of age. } 144.
  - 3. The education of girls, separately, above ten years of age. } 144.
3. For promoting *useful occupations or employments* in the colony. This is of essential consequence, next to the two before mentioned, in order that the colony may flourish. The objects for this depart. are,
  - 1. Children. } See § 151.
  - 2. Men. } 151.
  - 3. Women. } 151.

## SECOND DIVISION.

Executive  
with respect  
to order.

1. The executive department of the *laws*, viz.
  - 1. The laws of justice. } See § 152, & seq.
  - 2. The laws of police, and polity, (see § 166.) } 152, & seq.
  - 3. The Economical laws. } 152, & seq.
2. The executive department for the performance of the *healing art*, as comprehending
  - 1. The Medical. } See § 162.
  - 2. The Surgical. } 162.
  - 3. The Pharmaceutical. } 162.
3. The executive department for the performance of *external worship*, particularly in the three essential ordinances, viz.
  - 1. Baptism. } See § 161.
  - 2. Confirmation } 161.
  - 3. The holy supper. } 161.



THE SECOND CLASS,

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

FIRST DIVISION.

- Promotive with respect to practical art.
1. For promoting the *production of raw materials* in the colony from the three natural kingdoms, viz.
    - { 1. Animal,
    - 2. Vegetable,
    - 3. Mineral. } See § 163.
  2. For promoting the *internal trade and manufactures* of the colony, or the formation and the employment of the before mentioned raw productions for, the immediate use of the colony, reducible to
    - { 1. Food,
    - 2. Cloathing,
    - 3. Building. } See § 164.
  3. For promoting the *commerce* of the whole colony, viz.
    - { 1. Their interior or colonial trade,
    - 2. The trade of exportation,
    - 3. The trade of importation. } See § 165.

SECOND DIVISION.

- Executive with respect to peace.
1. The executive department for the *defence of the colony* when attacked
    - { 1. By land,
    - 2. By sea,
    - 3. By ferocious animals. } See § 166, & seq.
  2. The executive department of *colonial finances* for defraying the expences of
    - { 1. Public charities
    - 2. Public works
    - 3. Public defence } See § 170.
  3. The executive department for all those *political* affairs, whereby the colony must maintain its connection
    - { 1. With its government or direction,
    - 2. With other companies or colonies,
    - 3. With it's neighbouring African nations. } See § 171.



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

181.

\* This is nothing more than what took place in the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago ceded to Great Britain, in 1763. In those islands 174,000 acres of land were sold by commissioners, authorized by the government, for £620,000 sterling, or £3 : 11 : 3 per acre, being thirty times the price which the lands at Bulama have cost the subscribers: yet the purchasers in the ceded islands were bound, under a heavy penalty, to clear and cultivate, at least one acre in twenty, every year, till one half of the land they held was brought into cultivation. (See the evidence of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Greig in Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons in 1790, p. 166 and 221.)—Cultivation proceeded slowly in Antigua, till the colonial legislature of that island laid a tax of five shillings per acre, on all manurable lands that should not forthwith be opened and cultivated. The effect was that every man exerted himself to the utmost, or sold such land as he could not cultivate; and thus, in a short time, all the manurable lands in the island were bearing canes, cotton or other produce. (See Long's History of Jamaica, Vol. I. p. 409.)—In short, bad roads, scarcity of provisions, the obstruction of population, and the detriment of health, and inability or difficulty of defence, are the certain consequences of suffering purchased lands to lie uncultivated in a colony, especially an infant colony. For an account of the evils Jamaica has laboured under, from this cause, see Long, vol. I. p. 283, 405 *et seq.* 598.—See also Douglas's History of New England, Postlethwayt's Com. Dictionary, Art. "Colonies" and "Paraguay."—Reasons for establishing the colony of Georgia, p. 15, 29, and Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. p. 370.

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



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

*PROPOSITION III.*

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

*PROPOSITION IV.*

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

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

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

that



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

PROPOSITION V.

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

PROPOSITION VI.

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

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

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

*PROPOSITION VII.*

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

*PROPOSITION VIII.*

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

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



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

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2640lb.  
of sugar to be paid into the company's storehouse for a share of 500 acres;—the same plan to be followed, with respect to all other goods.



## PROPOSITION IX.

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

## PROPOSITION X.

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

## PROPOSITION XI.

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

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



C H A P. of frankpledge should also be introduced; but with some al-  
 IX. teration to adapt it to the present state of things\*.

PROPOSITION XII.

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

PROPOSITION XIII.

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

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

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



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

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PROPOSITION XIV.

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

PROPOSITION XV.

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

PROPOSITION XVI.

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

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

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



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

PROPOSITION XVII.

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

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



## C H A P. X.

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

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

## THE PORTUGUESE †.

200. The Portuguese explored the coast of Africa, before

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

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

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Portuguese  
first explored  
the African  
coast.

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

Congo.

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

Loango and  
Benguela.

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

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



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

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

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

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speak

Missionaries.

Portuguese  
slave-trade.



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

Portuguese colonies on the East of Africa.

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

St. Martin, Puado.

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

Sofala.

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

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

Portugal.



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

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

Great quantity of gold.

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

Mongas.

Mount  
Ophir.

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

Mazam-  
bique.

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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X.L. 129 A  
. 129 A

4 129 A M

Brava.



C H A P.  
X.Ajan and  
Adel.

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

MADEIRA †.

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

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

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

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

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

supply.



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

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



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

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

cannot

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

good



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

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

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

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



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

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

Military.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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MADEIRA.

Priests.

Population,  
births,  
deaths.

Climate.

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

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

Oppressed  
by monopoly.

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

Inhabitants.

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



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

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Causes of  
their wretch-  
edness.

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

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

which



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ISLANDS.

Agriculture:

Exports and  
manufac-  
tures.

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

236. After what has been said, the state of agriculture in these islands cannot be expected to be very flourishing.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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Harbours.



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

Curious  
stones.

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

People en-  
slaved by the  
Duque d'A-  
veiro.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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Sugar-mills.

Whale-fishery, Orchella, manufactures:



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

ST. THOMAS.

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

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

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

Cinnamon.

brown



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

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X.  
ST. THO-  
MAS.

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

Imports.

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

PRINCE'S  
ISLAND,  
FERNANDO  
PO, ASCEN-  
SION AND  
ANNABONA

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

Eligible for  
colonies.

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

General re-  
flections on  
the Portu-  
guese settle-  
ments in  
Africa.



C H A P.  
X.

—

British progress in Africa might exceed Portuguese.

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

S P A N I S H.

CANARY ISLANDS\*.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

Tenerife.

Productions.

Pike.

Towns,  
courts, &c.

Canaries,



C H A P.

X.

CANARIES.

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

Population,  
manufac-  
tures, wine,  
sugar.

Gran Cana-  
ria.

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

Locusts.

Proportion of  
arable land.

Wine.

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



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

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

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

C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

Population.

Palma.

Produce.

Fern-bread.

Lancerota and  
Fuerteventu-  
ra.



C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

Produce.

Orchella.

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

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

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



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

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

Exports.

Wheat better than European.

260. A small mountainous island, not above 17 leagues in circumference. It is blessed with excellent air and water, corn sufficient for it's inhabitants, with every other necessary, and many of the luxuries, of life, in such plenty that, if the colonists were encouraged to manufacture their own wool and silk, they might live almost independent on the rest of mankind. For their island also furnishes every material for building, except iron, the only article they would find it necessary to import. In addition to the animals common to the other islands, Gomera has plenty of deer, and produces more mules than any of them. But it is also the only one in which there are any snakes, which are, however, removed, and the present administration seems seriously intent on the encouragement of agriculture, and the real and lasting interests of the nation.—I acknowledge that as things now stand in Europe, monopolies may, in certain cases, be unavoidable. In all cases, however, they should be retained in the hands of the government, who have, or ought to have, the same interests with the nation.

Gomera.

might be almost independent of the rest of the world.



C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

*Hierro or  
Ferro.*General ob-  
servations,  
on the Cana-  
ries.

Climate.

Soil.

Population.

Humane pe-  
licy of Spain.

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

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

262. The principal differences in the climates of these islands, arise from their different elevations above the sea. For eight months in the year, the summits of them all, except Lancerota and Fuerteventura, are covered with snow. Yet, in their vallies and shores, the cold is seldom so great as to render fires necessary.—A very great proportion of the surfaces of all the Canaries is covered with lava, calcined stones, and black dust or ashes, formerly emitted by volcanoes, the remains of which are still very visible in all the islands, and some of them, among which is the Pike of Tenerife, are not yet extinguished.

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

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



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

C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

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

Character of  
the Canari-  
ans.Blinded by  
priests and  
lawyers, but  
averse to war.

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



C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

Marriages.

Religion.

Inquisition.

Diseases.

Commerce.

neutrality for their islands.—The intercourse between the sexes, before marriage, is much restrained. Hence their love is romantic, and their matches are disinterested. Yet they form more unhappy ones than in countries where the parties are better acquainted, previous to their union.—Their ideas of religion are so narrow, that it is extremely uncomfortable for any but catholics to live among them, except in Tenerife, where there are indeed a few protestant merchants; but the trade with protestant countries is chiefly carried on by Irish merchants of the catholic communion. The bishop resides in Gran Canaria, and has an annual income of about £6000 sterling. In each island is an office of the inquisition who, till very lately, exercised their power, and sometimes very much abused it, independently on the civil magistrates.

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

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



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

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

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

C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

Manufac-  
tures.

Revenue.



C H A P.  
X.

CANARIES.

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

## FRENCH\*

ISLE DE  
BOURBON.

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

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



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

C H A P.  
X.ISLE DE  
BOURBON.

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

Exports.

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

Bourbon and  
com. Surat  
cotton com-  
pared.

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

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



C H A P.

X.

ISLE DE  
FRANCE.

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

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

Rats.

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

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

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



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

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

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

C H A P.  
X.ISLE DE  
FRANCE.

Population.

Spices.

Y

would



C H A P.  
X.

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

MADAGAS-  
CAR.

Former flourish-  
ing esta-  
blishments  
there.

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

Colony at-  
tempted in  
1767.

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

\* Printed, London 1728.

" But



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

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

*Benyowsky’s*  
noble enter-  
prize, in 1772

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

Is not pro-  
perly fitted  
out.

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



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

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

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

Lands at last in Madagafcar.

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



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

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

Builds fort  
and makes  
road.

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

Distributes  
lands and  
digs a canal.

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

Opposed by  
some chiefs,  
supported by  
others.



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CAR.Cloaths his  
troops in the  
country clothNot support-  
ed by the  
French mi-  
nistry.

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

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



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

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

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

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



C H A P.  
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CAR.Acknow-  
ledged such  
by several  
chiefs.Interrogated  
by commis-  
sioners from  
France.Interesting  
particulars.

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

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

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

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

	<i>Livres s. d.</i>
For levying and transporting the regt. of Benyowsky, and supplies for trade.....	342,649 12 5
Bills of exchange, drawn to the amount of.....	113,000 10 3

Total received 455,650 2 8

EXPEND-



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

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

\* This sum is not neat profit. The result of this account is, that the colony cost the French Liv. 455,650 2 8 and Liv. 245,000 (which he advanced) making together Liv. 700,650 2 8. This is not equal to the whole charge or Liv. 854,212 18. But the colony paid the difference, Liv. 153,562 15 4, and also supplied the I. de France and the king's ship's with Liv. 286,835 11 7. This last sum is the only return, and if taken from the whole sum advanced, will leave Liv. 13,814 10, or the balance due to the French government, at this period of the undertaking.—Note of the editor.



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

288.

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

The Count's estimate at p. 347 vol. 2. differs from the above; probably because he had not sufficiently considered it. The title of the paper, of which it is a part, shows what were his views, and makes it probable, that the paper, itself was never presented officially to any minister; for it is not dated.—“Reflections upon the project of a colony at Madagascar, in case any power should adopt the *system of civilization, founded on the basis of an alliance.*” Of the estimate, which forms the first article, the following is an abstract.—The colony of Madagascar may be formed, in ten years, with Liv. 3,000,000 and 720 military sent the first year; 200 yearly for the 2d and 3d years; and 150 yearly for the 7 following years; exclusive of an annual importation, for the whole 10 years, of 120 European husbandmen, 30 creoles, and 50 natives of India or China. In all, about 4170 persons who, says the Count, “will annually produce 600 children, the total of whom, at the end of the tenth year,

will



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

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The C. re-  
signs his Fr.  
commission  
and is de-  
clared Am-  
panfacabe.

Singular  
sanction of  
the chief's  
oath.

Natives ac-  
knowledge  
one God.

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



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

Chiefs em-  
power him to  
treat with  
France, &c.

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

He embarks  
for France.

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

The French  
minister's  
instructions,  
&c.

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

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



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

Curious paragraph.



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

The Count's  
Decl. and  
Propof. to  
His Britan-  
nic Majesty.

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



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

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

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

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Offers 5000  
soldiers and  
2000 sea-  
men.

The C. sails  
from London  
to Baltimore.

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



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MADAGAS-  
CAR.from Balti-  
more to Ma-  
dagascar;

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

lands in  
Madagascar,

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



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

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

C H A P.  
X.MADAGAS-  
CAR.is attacked,  
by order of  
the French  
ministry.and killed,  
the Count  
Benyowsky  
and his  
followers.



C H A P.  
X.MADAGAS-  
CAR.by order of  
the French  
ministry.

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

Circum-  
stances de-  
scriptive of  
his character.

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



C H A P.  
X.  
MADAGASCAR.

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

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

The conduct  
of the French  
Ministry  
seems unjusti-  
fiable.



C H A P.  
X.MADAGAS-  
CAR.

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

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

than



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

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

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

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

since



C H A P.  
X.

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

D U T C H.

C. OF GOOD HOPE.

Van Riebeck proposes a colony there.

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

Liberality of the Dutch E. India co.

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

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



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

C H A P.  
X.C. OF GOOD  
HOPE.Their choice  
of colonists.

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

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

land,



C H A P.  
X.C. OF GOOD  
HOPE.Expence very  
great.Difficulties  
very discour-  
aging.

Climate.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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X.  
C. OF GOOD  
HOPE.

Animals,

Metals.

A station for  
Dutch East  
India ships.

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



C H A P.  
X.

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HOPE.

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

Exports.

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

Farming.

Tenure of  
lands.

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



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

C H A P.  
X.  
C. OF GOOD  
HOPE.

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

Dutch and  
Portuguese  
policy con-  
trasted.

Cape town.

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



C H A P. X.   
 C. OF GOOD HOPE.

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

Mortality of men kidnaped by Dutch Soul-mongers.

No toleration at the Cape.

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

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

ated



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

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

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

C H A P.  
 X.  
 C. OF GOOD  
 HOPE.

Government  
 and revenue,  
 sketched by  
 Forster.



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HOPE.

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

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



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

C H A P.  
X.  
C. OF GOOD  
HOPE.

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

Military and  
population.

## AUSTRIAN.

312. The Bay of Delagoa, on the east of Africa (lat. about 26° S.) was discovered in 1545, by Laurenço Marquez, a Portuguese. In this bay his nation afterwards formed a settlement, on the river Manyeffa, then the only one in Delagoa, navigable for large ships. They built a fort of which the vestiges still remain; but abandoned it, on the Manyeffa becoming unnavigable by an accumulation of sand:

DELAGOA  
BAY.

Portuguese  
settle there



C H A P.

X.

DELAGOA.

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

and Dutch.

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

Large tracts  
unoccupied  
by Europe-  
ans.

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

Austrian at-  
tempt, under  
Col. Bolts.

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

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



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

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

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

\* See his Considerations on India Affairs, 9 vols. 4to. in 1772. † See § 294.

C H A P.  
X.  
DELAGOA.

The Colonel  
sails Sept.  
1776;

is opposed  
by commer-  
cial bodies;

arrives at  
Delagoa bays



C H A P.

X.

DELAGOA.

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

buys land of  
two chiefs ;

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

builds tem-  
porary  
houses, &c.

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

begins a  
trade ;

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



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

C H A P.  
X.

DELAGOÀ.

sends a Mahomedan missionary to the colony.

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

Natives intelligent.

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



C H I A P.  
X.

DELAGOA.

The colony  
thrives.

But, Prince  
Kaunitz dis-  
avowing it,  
the Portu-  
guese break  
it up.

Col. Bolts  
the restorer  
of the Aus-  
trian East In-  
dia trade.

Claims of  
Spain and  
Portugal ri-  
diculous.

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

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

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

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



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

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

slave-

Flagrant abuse of commerce exemplified.

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

Col. Bolts consulted about a Swedish colony.

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

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



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

C H A P.

X.

DELAGOA.

## N E W P L A N

F O R

## E X P L O R I N G A F R I C A

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



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

END OF THE FIRST PART.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

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



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

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

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















