

TWO VOYAGES

to

SIERRA LEONE

During the

Years 1791—2—3,

In a Series of Letters,

By

ANNA MARIA FALCONBRIDGE

To which is added

A LETTER FROM THE AUTHOR

To

Henry Thornton, Esq. M.P.  
And Chairman of the Court of Directors

of the

SIERRA LEONE COMPANY

If I can hold a torch to others,  
'Tis all I want——.

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## PREFACE

THE Authoress will not imitate a threadbare prevailing custom, viz. assure the Public the following letters were written without any design or intention of sending them into the world; on the contrary, she candidly confesses having some idea of the kind when writing them, though her mind was not fully made up on the business until towards the beginning of April,—nay, for some time before then (from a consciousness of the inability of her pen) she had actually relinquished all thoughts of publishing them, which determination she certainly would have adhered to, if her will had not been overruled by the importunities of her friends.

In her first Voyage, she has given her reasons for going to Africa, described the incidents and occurrences she met with and (from ocular observations) the manners, customs, &c. of the people inhabiting those places she visited,— she has also made an humble attempt to delineate their situations and qualities, with a superficial History, of the Peninsula of Sierra Leone and its environs, which she certainly would have enlarged upon during her second Voyage, had not Lieutenant Matthews, previous to her returning to England in 1791, taken the start of her, by publishing his voyage to that Country;— that being the case, it would not only have been superfluous, but discovering more vanity than she could wish the World to suppose her possessed of, had she offered to tread in a path already travelled over by such an ingenious and masterly pen, to which she begs to refer the inquisitive reader.

This consideration and this alone, induced the Authoress to confine the letters of her last Voyage principally to the transactions and progress of a Colony, whose success or downfall she is persuaded the Inhabitants, at least the thinking part, of almost every civilized Country, must feel more or less interested about, and she is sorely afflicted to warn the reader of an unpromising account which could not be otherwise, unless she had done violence to veracity;—she is well aware Truth is often unwelcome, and foresees many facts produced to the World in the course of those letters will not be acceptable to the ears of numbers;—therefore, in vindication of herself, she refers the Public to the whole Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, and hopes, if it be in their power, either severally or collectively, to contradict one tittle she has advanced, they will do so in the most candid manner;—for the Authoress is open to conviction, and if convicted on this, occasion, she will, with all due deference, kiss the rod of correction.

## LETTER I.

London, Jan. 5, 1791.

My dear Friend,

The time draws nigh when I must bid adieu to my native land, perhaps for ever! The thoughts of it damps my spirits more than you can imagine, but I am resolved to summon all the fortitude I can, being conscious of meriting the reproaches of my friends and relations, for having hastily married as I did contrary to their wishes, and am determined rather than be an incumbrance on them, to accompany my husband even to the wilds of *Africa*, whither he is now bound, and meet such fate as awaits me in preference to any possible comfort I could receive from them.

Mr. Falconbridge is employed by the St. George's Bay Company to carry out some relief for a number of unfortunate people, both blacks and whites, whom Government sent to the river Sierra Leone, a few years since, and who in consequence of having had some dispute with the natives, are scattered through the country, and are just now as I have been told, in the most deplorable condition.

He (Mr. Falconbridge) is likewise to make some arrangements for collecting those poor creatures again, and forming a settlement which the company have in contemplation to establish, not only to serve them, but to be generally useful to the natives.

Mr. Falconbridge, his brother Mr. W. Falconbridge and myself, are to embark on board the Duke of Buccleugh, Captain McLean, a ship belonging to Messrs. John and Alexander Anderson, of Philpot Lane; these gentlemen I understand, have a considerable factory at a place called Bance Island, some distance up the river Sierra Leone, to which island the ship is bound.

The company have either sent, or are to send out a small cutter called the Lapwing, to meet Mr. F——, on the coast, she carries the stores for relieving the people, &c.

This is all the information I can give you at present, respecting my intended voyage, but as it is an unusual enterprize for an English woman, to visit the coast of Africa; and as I have ever flattered myself with possessing your friendship, you will no doubt like to hear from me, and I therefore intend giving you a full and circumstantial -account of every thing that does not escape my notice, 'till I return to this bless'd land, if it pleases him who determines all things, that should be the case again.

I have this instant learnt that we set off to-morrow for Gravesend, where the ship is laying, ready to sail; should we put into any port in the channel, I may probably write you if I am able, but must now bid you adieu.

## LETTER II.

Spithead, Jan. 12, 1791.

My dear Friend,

CONTRARY winds prevented us from proceeding directly out of the Channel, and made it necessary to put into this place. We have been here two days, but I am told there is an appearance of the wind changing, and that it is probable we shall make the attempt to get away some time this day; therefore I think it best not to defer performing my promise of writing to you, least we sail, and I am disappointed.

We embarked at Gravesend between eleven and twelve o'clock, the night after I wrote you. Every thing seemed in dreadful confusion; but this I understand is commonly the case on board ships when on the eve of sailing: besides the captain had several friends who came from London to bid him farewell.

You may guess that my mind, in spite of all the resolution a young girl is capable of mustering, could not be undisturbed; but I would not give way to any melancholy reflections, and endeavoured to smother them as often as they intruded; although I must confess they sometimes caught me off my guard, and my heart for the moment was ready to burst with the thoughts of what I had to encounter, which was pictured to me by almost every one in the worst of colours.

However I went to bed, and being much fatigued, was in hopes every care would be buried for the night in delightful sleep; but in this I was disappointed, for although my eyes were closed as soon as I got my head on the pillow, yet it was not of long continuance.

I had slept perhaps two hours, when the shocking cries of murder awoke me: I did not at the instant recollect where I was, but the first thoughts which occurred upon remembering myself on ship-board were, that a gang of pirates had attacked the ship, and would put us all to death.

All the cabin was by this time alarmed; the cries of murder still continuing while the captain and others were loudly calling for lights; and so great was the confusion, that it was a long while before any could be procured: at length the light came, when I found myself some what collected, and had courage enough to ask what was the matter.

My fears were removed, by being informed it was a Mr. B, a passenger, whose intellects were a little deranged: he continued his disagreeable hideous cries the whole night, and prevented every one from sleeping; for my part I scarcely closed my eyes again.

At breakfast Mr. B— apologized, by telling us that his wife had murdered his only child, for which reason he had left her. "And," said he, "the horrid act! has made such an impression on my mind, that I frequently think I see her all besmeared with blood, with a dagger in her hand, determined to take away my life also: it preys upon my spirits, for I want strength of mind to conquer the weakness."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Alexander Anderson came on board, and dined: he politely enquired if I was comfortable; assured

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<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to think this was only the imagination of a frantic brain, for we were not able to learn any thing more of the story.

me, that every thing had been put on board to render us as much so as possible.

In the evening he returned to town, and we got under weigh.

Nothing occurred on our passage here except such frequent returns of Mr. B's delirium, as has induced Captain Mc Lean to put him on shore, from the opinion of his being an unfit subject to go to the coast of Africa.

I did not experience any of those fears peculiar to my sex upon the water; and the only inconvenience I found was a little sea sickness, which I had a right to expect, for you know this is my first voyage.

There is one circumstance, which I forbode will make the remainder of our voyage unpleasant.

The gentlemen whom Mr. Falconbridge is employed by are for abolishing the slave trade: the owners of this vessel are of that trade, and consequently the Captain and Mr. Falconbridge mast he very opposite in their sentiments.

They are always arguing, and both are warm in their tempers, which makes me uneasy, and induces me to form the conjectures I do; but perhaps that may not be the case.

I have not been on shore at Portsmouth, indeed it is not a desirable place to visit: I was once there, and few people have a wish to see it a second time.

The only thing that has attracted my notice in the harbour, is the fleet with the convicts for Botany Bay, which are wind bound, as well as ourselves.

The destiny of such numbers of my fellow creatures has made what I expect to encounter, set lighter upon my mind than it ever did before; nay, nothing could have operated a reconciliation so effectually; for as the human heart is more susceptible of distress conveyed by the eye, than when represented by language however ingenuously pictured with misery, so the sight of those unfortunate beings, and the thoughts of what they are to endure, have worked more forcibly on my feelings than all the accounts I ever read or heard of wretchedness before.

I must close this which is the last, in all probability, you will receive from me, 'till my arrival in Africa; when, if an opportunity offers, I shall make a point of writing to you.

Pray do not let distance or absence blot out the recollection of her,

Who is truly your's.

### LETTER III.

Bance Island, Feb. 10, 1791.

My dear Friend,

We sailed the very day I wrote you from Portsmouth, and our passage was unusually quick, being only eighteen days from thence to this place.

The novelty of a ship ploughing the trackless ocean, in a few days became quite familiar to me; there was such a sameness in every thing (for some birds were all we saw the whole way) that I found the voyage tiresome, notwithstanding the shortness of it.

You will readily believe my heart was gladdened at the sight of the mountains of Sierra Leone, which was the land we first made.

Those mountains appear to rise gradually from the sea to a stupendous height, richly wooded and beautifully ornamented by the hand of nature, with a variety of delightful prospects.

I was vastly pleased while sailing up the river, for the rapidity of the ship through the water afforded a course of new scenery almost every moment, till we cast anchor here: Now and then I saw the glimpse of a native town, but from the distance and new objects hastily catching my eye, was not able to form a judgment or idea of any of them; but this will be no loss, as I may have frequent opportunities of visiting some of them hereafter.

As soon as our anchor was dropped, Captain McLean saluted Bance Island with seven guns, which not being returned I enquired the cause, and was told that the last time the Duke of Buccleugh came out, she, as is customary, saluted, and on the fort returning the compliment, a wad was drove by the force of the sea breeze upon the roof of one of the houses (which was then of thatch) set fire to the building, and consumed not only the house but goods to a large amount.

When the ceremony of saluting was over, Captain McLean and Mr. W. Falconbridge went on shore; but it being late in the evening, I continued on board 'till next day.

Here we met the Lapwing cutter. She sailed some time before us from Europe, and had been arrived two or three weeks.

The master of her, and several of the people to whose assistance Mr. Falconbridge is come, and who had taken refuge here, came to visit us.

They represented their sufferings to have been very great; that they had been treacherously dealt with by one King Jemmy, who had drove them away from the ground they occupied, burnt their houses, and otherwise devested them of every comfort and necessary of life; they also threw out some reflections against the Agent of this island; said he had sold several of their fellow sufferers to a Frenchman, who had taken them to the West Indies.

Mr. Falconbridge, however, was not the least inclined to give entire confidence to what they told us; but prudently suspended his opinion until he had made further enquiries.

Those visitors being gone, we retired to bed—I cannot say to rest; the heat was so excessive that I scarcely slept at all.

The following day we received a polite invitation to dine on shore, which I did not object to, although harassed for want of sleep the night before.

At dinner the conversation turned upon the slave trade: Mr. Falconbridge, zealous for the cause in which he is engaged, strenuously opposed every argument his opponents advanced in favour of the *abominable* trade: the glass went briskly round, and the gentlemen growing warm, I retired immediately as the cloath was removed.

The people on the island crowded to see me; they gazed with apparent astonishment—I suppose at my dress, for white women could not be a novelty to them, as there were several among the unhappy people sent out here by government, one of whom is now upon the island.

Seeing so many of my own sex, though of different complexions from myself, attired in their native garbs, was a scene equally new to me, and my delicacy, I confess, was not a little hurt at times.

Many among them appeared of superior rank, at least I concluded so from the preferable way in which they were clad; nor was I wrong in my conjecture, for upon enquiring who they were, was informed one was the *woman*, or *mistress* of Mr. —, another of Mr. B—, and so on: I then understood that every gentleman on the island had his *lady*.

While I was thus entertaining myself with my new acquaintances, two or three of the gentlemen left their wine and joined me; among them was Mr. B—, the agent, he in a very friendly manner begged I would take a bed on shore.

I thanked him, and said, if agreeable to Mr. Falconbridge, I would have no objection: however, Falconbridge objected, and gave me for reason that he had been unhandsomely treated, and was determined to go on board the Lapwing, for he would not subject himself to any obligation to men possessing such *diabolical* sentiments.

It was not proper for me to contradict him at this moment, as the heat of argument and the influence of an over portion of wine had *quicken'd* and *disconcerted* his temper; I therefore submitted without making any objection to come on board this tub of a vessel, which in point of size and cleanliness, comes nigher a hog-trough than any thing else you can imagine.

Though I resolved to remonstrate the first seasonable opportunity, and to point out the likelihood of endangering my health, should he persist to keep me in so confined a place.

This remonstrance I made the next morning, after passing a night of torment, but to no purpose; the only consolation I got was,—as soon as the settlers could be collected, he would have a house built on shore, where they were to be fixed.

I honestly own my original resolutions of firmness was now warped at what I foresaw I was doomed to suffer, by being imprisoned, for God knows how long, in a place so disgusting as this was, in my opinion, at that time.

Conceive yourself pent up in a floating cage, without room either to walk about, stand erect, or even to lay at length; exposed to the inclemency of the weather, having your eyes and ears momentarily offended by acts of indecency, and language too horrible to relate—add to this a complication of filth, the stench from which was continually assailing your nose, and then you will have a faint notion of the Lapwing Cutter.

However, upon collecting myself, and recollecting there was no remedy but to make the best of my situation, I begged the master (who slept upon deck in consequence of my coming on board) to have the cabin thoroughly cleaned and washed with vinegar; intreated Falconbridge to let me go on shore while it was doing, and hinted at the indecencies I saw and heard, and was promised they would be prevented in future.

With these assurances I went on shore, not a little elated at the reprieve I was to enjoy for a few hours.

The gentlemen received me with every mark of attention and civility; indeed, I must be wanting in sensibility, if my heart did not warm with gratitude to Messrs. Ballingall and Tilly, for their kindnesses to me: the latter gentleman I am informed will succeed to the agency of the island; he is a genteel young man, and I am told, very deservedly, a favourite with his employers.

Mr. Falconbridge this day sent a message to Elliotte Griffiths, the secretary of Naimbana, who is the King of Sierra Leone, acquainting him with the purport of his mission, and begging to know when he may be honored with an audience of *his Majesty*.

In the evening he received an answer, of which the following is a copy:

Robana Town.

KING Naimbana's compliments to Mr. Falconbridge, and will be glad to see him to-morrow.

(Signed)

A. E. Griffiths, Sec.

Such an immediate answer from a *King*, I considered a favorable omen, and a mark of condescension in his Majesty, but the result you shall hear by and by; in the mean while, I must tell you what passed the remainder of the day at Bance Island, and give, as far as my ideas will allow me, a description of this factory.

We sat down to dinner with the same party as the first day, consisting of about fifteen in number; this necessary ceremony ended, and towards the cool of the afternoon, I proposed walking for a while: Mr. Tilly and a Mr. Barber offered to accompany and show me the island, which not being objected to, we set out.

Adam's Town was the first place they took me to; it is so called from a native of that name, who has the management of all the gramattos, or free black servants., but under the control of the Agent.

The whole town consists of a street with about twenty-five houses on each side:— on the right of all is



Adam's house.

This building does not differ from the rest, except in size, being much more spacious than any other, and being barricaded with a mud wall;—all of them are composed of thatch, wood, and clay, something resembling our poor cottages, in many parts of England.

I went into several of them—saw nothing that did not discover the occupiers to be very clean and neat; in some was a block or two of wood, which served for chairs,—a few wooden bowls or trenchers, and perhaps a pewter bason and an iron pot, completed the whole of their furniture.

In every house I was accosted by whoever we found at home, in the Timmany language *Currea Yaa*, which signifies — How do you do, mother ? — the most respectful way they can address any person.

Leaving the town, we proceeded first to the burying ground for Europeans, and then to that for the blacks; — the only distinction between them was a few orange trees, that shaded two gravestones at the former,—one in memory of a Mr. Knight, who had died here after residing fifteen years as Agent;—the other on the supposed grave of a Captain Tittle, who was murdered by one Signior Domingo, a native chief, for (as Domingo asserts) being the cause of his son's death.

The circumstance leading to the murder, and of the murder itself, has been represented to me nearly in the following words:

"One day while the son of Domingo was employed by Captain Tittle, as a gramatto, or pull-away boy,<sup>2</sup> Tittle's hat by accident blew overboard, and he insisted that the boy should jump into the water and swim after it, as the only means of saving his hat.

"The boy obstinately refused, saying, he could not swim, and he should either be drowned, or the sharks would catch him; upon which Tittle pushed him into the water, and the poor boy was lost; but whether devoured by sharks, or suffocated by water, is immaterial, he was never heard of, or seen after.

"The father, though sorely grieved for his son's death, was willing to consider it as accidental, and requested Tittle would supply him with a small quantity of rum to make a cry or lamentation in their country custom.

"The Captain, by promise, acquiesced to the demand, and sent him a cask; but, instead of spirit, filled with emptyings from the *tubs* of his slaves.

"As soon as Domingo discovered this insult and imposition, he informed Tittle he must either submit to the decision of a Palaver, or he would put him to death if ever an opportunity offered; but Tittle laughed at these threats, and disregarded them, vauntingly threw himself into the way of Domingo—while the trick played upon him, and the loss of his son were fresh in his memory.

"The African, however, instead of being daunted at the sight of this headstrong man, soon convinced him he was serious: he had Tittle seized, and after confining him some time in irons, without food, ordered him to be broken to death, which was executed under the inspection of the injured father, and to the great joy and satisfaction of a multitude of spectators."

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<sup>2</sup> African term for an Oar-man.

Not a sentence or hint of the affair is mentioned on the tombstone; the reason assigned for the omission, was a wish to obliterate the melancholy catastrophe, and a fear lest the record might be the means of kindling animosities at a future day.

Now, although I cannot without horror contemplate on the untimely end of this man, yet he assuredly in some degree merited it, if the account I have heard, and just now related to you, be true, which I have no reason to question; for he who unprovoked can wantonly rob a fellow creature of his life, deserves not life himself!

From the catacombs which lay at the south east end, we walked to the opposite point of the island, it is no great distance, for the whole island is very little more than a fourth of a mile in length, and scarcely a mile and a half in circumference.

Several rocks lay at a small distance from the shore at this end; they are by the natives called the Devil's Rocks,— from a superstitious opinion, that the *old Gentleman* resides either there or in the neighbourhood,

Sammo, King of the Bulloms, comes to this place once a year to make a sacrifice and peace-offering to his Infernal Majesty.

From this King Messrs. Andersons hold all their possessions here, and I understand they pay him an annual tribute—but to what amount I cannot say.

The King comes in person to receive his dues, which are paid him in his canoe, for he never ventures to put his foot on shore, as his *Gree Greemen* or fortunetellers have persuaded him the island will sink under him, if ever he lands.

I am told at one time he suffered himself to be dragged up to the Factory House in his boat, but no argument was strong enough to seduce him to disembark, for he did not consider he incurred the penalty his prophets denounced while he continued in his canoe; though he could not avoid shewing evident tokens of uneasiness; till he was safe afloat again.

We now returned to the Factory, or as it is otherwise called Bance Island House.

This building at a distance has a respectable and formidable appearance; nor is it much less so upon a nearer investigation: I suppose it is about one hundred feet in length, and thirty in breadth, and contains nine rooms, on one floor, under which are commodious large cellars and store rooms; to the right is the kitchen, forge, &c. and to the left other necessary buildings, all of country stone, and surrounded with a prodigious thick lofty wall.

There was formerly a fortification in front of those houses, which was destroyed by a French frigate during the last war; at present several pieces of cannon are planted in the same place, but without embrasures or breast-work; behind the great house is the slave yard, and houses for accommodating the slaves.

Delicacy, perhaps, prevented the gentlemen from taking me to see them; but the room where we dined looks directly into the yard.

Involuntarily I strolled to one of the windows a little before dinner, without the smallest suspicion of what I was to see ;— judge then what my astonishment and feelings were, at the sight of between two and three hundred wretched victims, chained and parcelled out in circles, just satisfying the cravings of nature from a trough of rice placed in the centre of each circle.

Offended modesty rebuked me with a blush for not hurrying my eyes from such disgusting scenes; but whether fascinated by female curiosity, or whatever else, I could not withdraw myself for several minutes—while I remarked some whose hair was withering with age, reluctantly tasting their food — and others thoughtless from youth, greedily devouring all before them; be assured I avoided the prospects from this side of the house ever after.

Having prolonged the time till nine at night, we returned to our floating prison, and what with the assiduity of the master in removing many inconveniencies, my mind being more at ease, want of rest for two nights, and somewhat fatigued with the exercise of the day, I thank God, slept charmingly, and the next morning we set sail for Robana, where we arrived about ten o'clock: I think it is called nine miles from Bance Island.

We went on shore, and rather caught his *Majesty* by surprise, for he was quite in *dishabille*; and at our approach retired in great haste.

I observed a person pass me in a loose white frock and trowsers, *whom I would not have suspected for a King!* if he had not been pointed out to me.

Mr. Elliotte and the *Queen* met us; and after introducing her Majesty and himself, we were then conducted to her house.

She behaved with much indifference,— told me, in broken English, the King would come presently,— he was gone to *pegininee* woman house to dress himself.

After setting nigh half an hour, Naimbana made his appearance, and received us with seeming good will: he was dressed in a purple embroidered coat, white sattin waistcoat and breeches, *thread stockings*, and his left side emblazoned with a flaming star; his legs to be sure were *harliquined*, by a number of holes in the stockings, through which his black skin appeared.

Compliments ended, Mr. Falconbridge acquainted him with his errand, by a repetition of what he wrote the day before: and complained much of King Jemmy's injustice, in driving the settlers away, and burning their town.

The The King answered through Elliotte, (for he speaks but little English) that Jemmy was partly right—the people had brought it on themselves; they had taken part with some Americans, with whom Jemmy had a dispute, and through that means drew the ill will of this man upon them, who had behaved, considering their conduct, as well as they merited; for he gave them three days notice before he burned their town, that they might remove themselves and all their effects away; that he (Naimbana) could not prudently re-establish them, except by consent of all the Chiefs—for which purpose he must call a court or palaver; but it would be seven or eight days before they could be collected; however he would send a summons to the different parties directly, and give Falconbridge timely advice when they were to meet.

Falconbridge perceived clearly nothing was to be effected without a palaver, and unless the King's interest was secured his views would be frustrated, and his endeavours ineffectual; but how this was to be done, or what expedient to adopt, he was at a loss for.

He considered it impolitic to purchase his patronage by heavy presents, lest the other great men might expect the same; and he had it not in his power to purchase them all in the same way, as the scanty cargo of the Lapwing would not admit of it.

At length, trusting that the praise-worthy purposes he was aiming at insured him the assistance of the King of Kings, he resolved to try what good words would do.

Having prefaced his arguments with a small donation of rum, wine, cheese, and a gold laced hat, (which Naimbana seemed much pleased with) Falconbridge began, by explaining what advantages would accrue to his Majesty, and to all the inhabitants round about, by such an establishment as the St. George's Bay Company were desirous of making; the good they wished to do—*their disinterestedness in point of obtaining wealth*, and concluded by expostulating on the injustice and imposition of dispossessing the late settlers of the grounds and houses they occupied, which had been honestly and honorably purchased by Captain Thompson of the Navy, in the name of our gracious Sovereign, his Britannic Majesty.

That it was unusual for Englishmen to forego fulfilling any engagements they made; and they held in detestation every person so disposed.

He then entreated the King would use all his might to prevent any unfavourable prejudices which a refusal to reinstate the Settlers, or to confirm the bargain made with Captain Thompson, might operate against him in the minds of his good friends the King of England and the St. George's Bay Company.

The King said he liked the English in preference to all white men, tho' he considered every white man as a *rogue*, and consequently saw them with a jealous eye; yet, he believed the English were by far the honestest, and for that reason, notwithstanding he had received more favors from the French than the English, he liked the latter much best.

He was decidedly of opinion, that all contracts or agreements between man and man however disadvantageous to either party should be binding; but observed, he was *hastily drawn in* to dispose of land to Captain Thompson, *which in fact he had not a right to sell*, because says he, "this is a great country, and belongs to many people—where I live belongs to myself— and I can live where I like; nay, can appropriate any unhabited land within my dominions to what use I please; but it is necessary for me to obtain the consent of my people, or rather the head man of every town, before I sell any land to a white man, or allow strangers to come and live among us."

"*I should have done this you will say at first—Granted—but as I disoblged my subjects by suffering your people to take possession of the land without their approbation, from which cause I was not able to protect them, unless I hazarded civil commotions in my country; and as they have been turned away—it is best now— they should be replaced by the unanimous voice of all interested.*

"I am bound from what I have heretofore done, to give my utmost support; and if my people do not acquiesce, it shall not be my fault."

Here Falconbridge, interrupting the King, said—"The King of the English will not blame your people, but load yourself with the stigma; it is King *Naimbana* who is ostensible to King *George*—and I hope King, you will not fall out with your good friend."

This being explained by Mr. Secretary *Elliotte*, his Majesty was some moments silent—when clasping Falconbridge in his arms, told him—"I believe you and King *George* are my good friends—do not fear, have a good heart, I will do as much as I can for you."

They then shook hands heartily, and *Naimbana* retired, I suppose to his *Pegininee woman's house*, but presently returned dressed in a suit of black velvet, except the stockings, which were the same as before.

I often had an inclination to offer my services to close the holes: but was fearful lest my needle might blunder into his *Majesty's* leg, and start the blood, for drawing the blood of an African King, I am informed, whether occasioned by accident or otherwise, is punished with death: the dread of this only prevented me.

We were now invited to walk and see the town, while dinner was preparing.

It consists of about twenty houses irregularly placed, built of the same materials, but in a superior way to those of Adam's town; — the whole of them are either occupied by the King's wives and servants, or appropriated as warehouses.

I saw several of his wives, but his *Pegininee* woman is a most beautiful young girl of about fourteen.

None of them are titled with the appellation of *Queen*, but the oldest, who I was introduced to, and by whom the King has several children; one of the daughter's, named Clara, is wife to *Elliotte*, and a son named Bartholomew, is now in France for his education.

In different parts of the town I observed some rags stuck on poles, at the foot of each were placed—perhaps a rusty cutlass, some pieces of broken glass, and a pewter bason, containing a liquid of some sort; these are called *Gree Grees*, and considered as antidotes against the Devil's vengeance.

I was thoughtlessly offering to examine one of them, when Mr. *Elliotte* requested me to desist, or I should give offence, they being held in a very sacred point of view.

We were now led to the garden, which was only furnished with African plants, such as pines, melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, &c. &c.

The King cut two beautiful pines and presented to me: he then shewed us a large new house, at present building for him, which is after the same form, and of the same materials with the rest of his town, but much larger.

In our walk we saw many of the King's slaves employed in preparing the palm-nut, to make oil from them: It may not be amiss here to give you some description of the tree which produce these nuts.

It is remarkable strait and of a gigantic height; the trunk is quite naked, having neither limb or bark, for

the only branches grow immediately from the top, and incline their points somewhat towards the ground.

This is a valuable tree, the nut not only produces a quantity of oil, but is esteemed excellent food by the natives, who also extract a liquor from the tree, which they call palm wine.

This I am told is done by means of an incision in the upper part of the trunk, in which a pipe is entered to convey the liquor into bottles placed beneath.

I have tasted some of this wine, and do not think it unpleasant when fresh made; it has a sweetish taste, and much the look of whey, but foments in a few days, and grows sour—however I really think this liquor distilled would make a decent kind of spirit.

Having seen all the raree shows of Robana town, we returned to the Queens house to dinner, which was shortly after put on a table covered with a plain calico cloth, and consisted of boiled and broiled fowls, rice, and some greens, resembling our spinnage.

But I should tell you, before dinner Naimbana again changed his dress for a scarlet robe embroidered with gold.

Naimbana, Elliotte, Falconbridge, and myself, only set down; the Queen stood behind the King eating an onion I gave her, a bite of which she now and then indulged her *Royal Consort* with: silver forks were placed on the King's plate, and mine, but no where else.

The King is rather above common height, but meagre withal; the features of his face resemble a European more than any black I have seen; his teeth are mostly decayed, and his hair, or rather wool, bespeaks old age, which I judge to be about eighty; he was seldom without a smile on his countenance, but I think his smiles were suspicious.

He gave great attention while Falconbridge was speaking, for though he does not speak our language, he understands a good deal of it; his answers were slow, and on the whole tolerably reasonable.

The Queen is of a middle stature, plump and jolly; her temper seems placid and accommodating; her teeth are bad, but I dare say she has otherwise been a good looking woman in her youthful days.

I suppose her now to be about forty-five or six, at which age women are considered old here.

She sat on the King's right hand, while he and Falconbridge were in conversation; and now and then would clap her hands, and cry out *Ya hoo*, which, signifies, that's well or proper.

She was dressed in the country manner, but in a dignified stile, having several yards of striped taffety wrapped round her waist, which served as a petticoat; another piece of the same was carelessly thrown over her shoulders in form of a scarf; her head was decorated with two silk handkerchiefs; her ears with rich gold ear-rings, and her neck with gaudy necklaces; but she had neither shoes nor stockings on.

Clara was dressed much after the same way, but her apparel was not quite of such good materials as the Queen's: Mr. Elliotte apologized after dinner, that for want of *sugar* they could not offer tea or coffee.

The tide serving, and approaching night obliged us to reembark and return to this place.

On the whole I was much pleased with the occurrences of the day; indeed, methinks, I hear you saying, "Why the week mind of this giddy girl will be quite intoxicated with the courtesy and attention paid her by such great folks;" but believe me, to whatever height of self-consequence I may have been lifted by aerial fancies, overpouring sleep prevailed, and clouding all my greatness— I awoke next morning without the slightest remains of fancied importance.

The news of our arrival having by this time circulated through different parts of the country, we found several, who either excited by curiosity or some other cause, had come here to pay their obeisance, or as the Africans term it, *make service* to us; but there was none of note or quality worth naming among those visitors, except an elderly man called *Pa*, or *Father Boson*, who is the head man of a considerable town about fifty miles up the river, and who, guided by the impulse of a good heart, invited the wretched exiles in the hour of distress to refuge at his place, which was excepted by the greater part, who have been fostered and pretested ever since by the almsdeeds of this good old man; he was habited in a white linen surplice, and a cap of the same, and made, I assure you a reverential appearance.

I am told this is the dress of a nation in the interior country, called Mundingoes; but Pa Boson is not a Mundingo himself.

He respectfully accosted me in broken English, and bending his knee, offered me his right hand supported under the elbow by his left.

I held out my hand which he slightly touched, and then repeated the same to Falconbridge: he was now invited to be seated under the awning we had erected over the Lapwing's deck—when he detailed a most pitiable account of sufferings and hardships which the unfortunate people had undergone; but he said there were many bad people among them, who had abused his kindness by ingratitude.

Falconbridge and myself endeavoured what we could to convince him we were highly pleased with his behaviour; but as words are not sufficient to convey thankful acknowledgments in this country, Falconbridge confirmed the assurances we made by a present of a quantity of rum, and some hardware, and a promise to represent his conduct to the St. George's Bay Company, in a proper light, which he was certain would induce them to make a more ample recompence at a future time.

Well pleased with his reception, and somewhat enebriated with the effects of repeated glasses of spirits he had taken, Pa Boson left us; but first promising faithfully he would befriend us all in his power at the Palaver.

He travelled with much seeming consequence: his canoe was longer than our cutter, and manned with fourteen people, viz. ten oarsmen, a cockswain, two poignard bearers, and another who beat time on a slat sounding drum to a song given out by the cockswain, and re-echoed by the oarsmen; the song I am told was expressive of praises to their Chief, and of their satisfaction for the treatment they had received from us.

The following day we visited a small island named Taffo, opposite to Bance island, at about one mile and a half distance.

This is a well wooded island and I should suppose if cultivated would be a fruitful one.<sup>3</sup>

It supplies Bance island with water, which is remarkable fine, and the present holders of the latter claim a right to this also, but upon what grounds I cannot say.

Approaching the shore I saw many monkees playing on the beach and catching small fish at the edge of the water, but they all ran away as we drew near; being informed there was no danger to be apprehended from wild beasts of prey, we penetrated some distance into the woods.

In our walk we saw many pine apples and lime trees, the spontaneous production of the country, and a variety of birds beautifully plumed, but none that sung.

We were also treated with the perfumes of fragrant aromatic plants, and indeed were vastly delighted and entertained, though I felt fatigued, with our perambulation.

The next day, we went up the river, about twelve miles, to see a secret or reserved factory belonging to Bance Island at a place called Marre Bump, but our curiosity had nearly led us into a serious scrape.

Falconbridge neglected to obtain permission, and consequently had no sanction, from the Proprietors.

After landing we walked, at least half a mile on a narrow path, through amazing thick woods before we reached the houses; as soon as the inhabitants perceived us, the women took to their heels and ran to the woods; the men flew to arms, and in a moment we were met by more than twenty huge fellows armed with guns, pistols and Cutlasses.

We were four in number, viz. Falconbridge, the master of the cutter, a Black man and myself; our Black spoke to them in their own language—they would not listen to him; but said, if we did not return immediately the way we came, they would put us all to death.

It is easier for you to imagine what horrors those threats occasioned, than for me to point them out.

Finding argument fruitless, we put to the right about, and hastened to our boat; they, following, flanked us on each side of the road, watchfully observing our motions till they saw us clear off, when, as a mark of exultation, they discharged their muskets over our heads, and made the woods ring with peals of triumphant clamor.

Recovering from my fright a little, I could not help, you may suppose, exulting (though in a different way) as well as the savages.

My heart overflowed with gratitude, to the Author of its animation, for our providential escape.

Returning down the river, we observed numbers of orange trees, a cluster of them, overloaded with fruit, invited us on shore, and after gathering what we chose, made the best of our way, and arrived here

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<sup>3</sup> A small part of this island is now planted with cotton, coffee, and sugar cane, for account of Messrs, Andersons.



before night.

Three days are now elapsed since our expedition to Marre Bump, during which time I have confined myself mostly on board, occupied in writing this letter.

It has been, really, a fatiguing job, being obliged to sit in bed with a book placed on my knee, which serves for a writing desk; but I was determined whatever the inconveniencies might be, not to let slip an opportunity, as I find they but seldom offer.

I lament the Palaver is not over, that I might give you my account of an African Court, but my next will remedy this loss.

Mr. Elliotte has informed us the Chiefs will be at Robana the day after to-morrow, when Falconbridge is desired to attend; I shall accompany him, and long to know the result.

Adieu, Heaven bless you, &c. &c.

### LETTER III.

Granville Town, Sierra Leone,  
May 13, 1791

My dear Friend,

Occasional visits to Bance Island, unattended by any important Occurrence worth troubling you with, and a continual concourse of strangers, making their African compliments, engrossed two days interval between the date of my last letter, and our second expedition to Robana; when we set out in a boat and four hands, taking with us plenty of spirits for the common people, and a little wine for the King and his associates.

When we came in sight of the Town, Multitudes of people thronged to the Beach.

Mr. Elliotte met us at the boat, and the croud formed an avenue, through which he conducted us to the Queen's house, amidst such thundering acclamations, that it was almost impossible to hear one or other speak.

The King and Queen met us at the door, and seemed to give us a hearty welcome.

We were then ushered in, and introduced in general terms to the company, consisting of the parties who were to compose the Court, (and a multiplicity of women,) their wives, daughters, and attendants.

Having seated ourselves, and wasted almost an hour in receiving the civilities of shaking hands with every individual in the room, the members of the Court then took their seats, round the large table we dined off, when first there; which was now covered with a green cloth.

The King sat at the head of the table in an old arm chair: on his right was his secretary, and on his left his Palavar man; or, as the office is termed in England, his Attorney general: the other Chiefs appeared to seat themselves by seniority; the oldest next the *Throne*, if I may so term the *old chair*.

The King wore his hat, which was the gold laced one Falconbridge gave him.

On the table was placed wine and rum, of which every one helped himself plentifully.

I was astonished to see, not only the men, but women drink rum in half pints at a time, as deliberately as I would water.

After amusing themselves some time in this way, Mr. Palaver Man got up, bending his right knee, presented his *Majesty* with some Cola<sup>4</sup> from the crown of his hat, then retired to the opposite end of the table, when he opened the business of the day, by a speech of at least an hour and a half long; it being in their own language, I, of course, did not understand a word, but during the time he spoke, there was the greatest silence and attention observed.

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<sup>4</sup> A fruit much esteemed in Africa, not unlike a horse chesnut, but somewhat larger. It is an excellent bitter.

The next spokesman, was King Jemmy, who previously went through the same ceremony his predecessor had done : whether this man's language was eloquent or not, I cannot be a judge, but his vociferation was enough to deafen one; though I had reason to think what he said gave great satisfaction to the by-standers, who frequently interrupted him by clapping of hands and shouts of, *Ya Hoo! Ya Hoo! Ya Hoo!* and other tokens of applause.

My heart quivered with fear lest they might be forming some treacherous contrivance: I could not conceal the uneasiness it felt: My countenance betrayed me, a shower of tears burst from my eyes, and I swooned into hystericks.

Recovering in a short time, I observed every one around, treating me with the utmost kindness, and endeavouring to convince me that neither insult or injury would be offered us: but my fears were not to be removed, or even checked hastily, for I had scarcely got the better of my fright at Marre Bump; however I struggled to awaken my resolution, and collected enough, after awhile, to affect composure; but believe me it was mere affectation: Night was drawing nigh, and I solicited Falconbridge to return as soon as possible: He argued, the Court had been impeded by the awkward situation my fears had thrown me into: but he would set out time enough to reach *Bance Island* before dark.

The Assembly now resumed their business.

One or two members offered Cola to the King, which he refused; a grey headed old man then made the offer, and it being accepted, he took the foot of the table, and a few words completing what he had to say: Mr. Elliotte intimated that King Naimbana intended to give his sentiments; upon which every member rose up, and the King continuing in his chair, covered, delivered his speech in a concise, clear, and respectable manner.

After this Mr. Elliotte acquainted Falconbridge the Court could not come to one mind that night, but it was generally understood, if he would give fifteen hundred Bars,<sup>5</sup> they would confirm King Naimbana's engagement with Captain Thompson, and re-establish his people.

Falconbridge, whom you know is naturally of an irritable disposition, quickened at Elliotte's information; but had prudence enough only to say, he should consider such a demand very extravagant, and his small cargo, which he was desired to appropriate another way, would not permit him to pay so much, if he had the inclination,

We then made our congees, and took leave of those African gentry; indeed it was high time, for the liquor they had drank began to operate powerfully: Mr. Elliotte and several others accompanied us to the boat: in our walk thither, he much admired a handsome fowling piece of Mr. Falconbridge's, which Falconbridge without hesitation requested he would accept, thinking such an immediate shew of generosity might have a favourable tendency.

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<sup>5</sup> A Bar is the nominal price of a certain quantity of goods, which the natives formerly considered of equal value with a bar of iron; but at present they do not appear to have any criterion: two pounds of tobacco is a bar, and two yards of fine India cotton, or a yard of rich silk is no more.

Both of us promised to be down again the following day, when it was expected the Palavar would be finished: but I must be honest and tell you, I was resolved not to visit Robana again, while this mock judicatory lasted.

About seven o'clock we reached the Cutter; I was almost famished with want of food, for I had not eat a morsel the whole day: there was not a thing on board, but salt beef, so hard, we were obliged to chop it with an axe, and some mouldy, rotten biscuits; however, so great was my hunger, that I could not help satisfying it with some of this beef and bread, uncouth as it was.

In the morning I feigned sickness, and beg'd to be excused from attending Falconbridge; he therefore set out, reluctantly leaving me behind: when he was gone, I went on shore, and spent the day in comfort and pleantry, under the hospitable roof of Bance Island house; where I related the adventures of the preceding day, which afforded much mirth and glee to the company.

I met one Rennieu (a Frenchman) there; he has a factory at a small Island, called Gambia, up another branch of this River, named Bunch River, whither he politely invited me, and made a tender of any thing in his power to serve us.

Before Falconbridge returned, which was not till between eight and nine o'clock at night, I had not only got on board, but in bed, and as he did not ask how I had spent the day, I did not inform him: he was vexed and out of humor, said he thought the wretches were only *bamboozling* him, he believed they would do nothing but drink the liquor, while he had a drop to carry them, for he was no forwarder than the day before.

In this manner he was obliged to repeat his visits for five successive days, before he got their final decision, which however, was at last tolerably favorable on our side.

They consented to re establish the people, and to grant to the St. George's Bay Company, all the land King Naimbana had formerly sold Captain Thompson; for a paltry consideration, of about thirty pounds; and for the good faith and true performance of the contract, the King said he would pledge his second son John Frederic, whom Falconbridge might take with him to England: In answer to this offer, Falconbridge told Naimbana, he would be very glad to take his son to England, where he was sure the Company would have him educated and treated kindly without considering him a hostage.

This pleased the old man vastly, and it was agreed, John Frederic shall accompany us, when we leave Africa.

The following, or sixth day, Falconbridge had engaged to carry down to Robana the stipulated goods for repurchasing the land, and by his importunities, I was prevailed on to accompany him. We arrived early in the morning, and having soon made a delivery of the goods, which was all the business for the day, I was juk about expressing a desire to see some salt works, I learned were upon the Island, when the King, as though he had anticipated my wishes, enquired if we liked to see them? if so, he would walk there with us: We accordingly went, passing in our way a hamlet or two, inhabited by the King's slaves.

These works lay near a mile from the town, and are a parcel of small holes, or basons formed in a low,

muddy place; they are supplied with sea water, which the burning sun quickly exhales, leaving the saline particles, and by frequent repetition, a quantity of salt is thus accumulated, which the King conveys into, and disposes of in the interior country, for slaves.

Making this salt is attended with a very trifling expence, for none but *old, refuse, female* slaves, are employed in the work, and the profit is considerable.

Early in the afternoon we returned, to Bance Island, taking Clara, the wife of Elliotte, with us: She remained with me several days, during which I had opportunities (for I made a point of it) to try her disposition; I found it impetuous, litigious, and implacable: I endeavoured to persuade her to dress in the European way, but to no purpose; she would tear the clothes off her back immediately after I put them on.

Finding no credit could be gained by trying to new fashion this *Ethiopian* Princess, I got rid of her as soon as possible.

Falconbridge now had effected the grand object; he was next to collect and settle the miserable refugees: no time was to be lost in accomplishing this; the month of February was nearly spent, only three months of dry weather remained for them to clear their land, build their houses, and prepare their ground for a crop to support them the ensuing year; he therefore dispatched a Greek, who came out in the Lapwing, with some of the blacks, up to Pa Boson's, to gather and bring down the people, while we went in the Cutter, taking a few who were at Bance Island, to locate an eligible place, for the settlement.

The spot they were driven from, was, to be preferred to any other part; but by treaty it was agreed they should not settle there: There were other situations nearly as good, and better considerably than the one fixed on; but immediate convenience was a powerful inducement.

Here was a small village, with seventeen pretty good huts, which the natives had evacuated from a persuasion they were infested by some evil spirits; but as they made no objection to our occupying them, we gladly took possession, considering it a fortunate circumstance to have such temporary shelter for the whole of our people.

'When those from Pa Boson's had joined us, Falconbridge called them all together, making forty-six, including men and women; and after representing the charitable intentions of his coming to Africa, and issuing to them such cloathing as were sent out in the Lapwing; he exhorted in the most pathetic language, that they might merit by their industry and good behaviour the notice now taken of them, endeavour to remove the unfavourable prejudices that had gone abroad, and thereby deserve further favours from their friends in England; who, besides the cloaths they had already received, had sent them tools of all kinds, for cultivating their land, also arms and ammunition to defend themselves, if necessary; that there articles, would be brought on shore when they got a storehouse built; where they would be lodged for their common good and occasional use; he then concluded this harangue by saying.—he named .the place GRANVILLE TOWN, after their friend and benefactor, Granville Sharp, Esq. at whose instance they were provided with the relief now afforded them.

I never did, and God grant I never may again, witness so much misery as I was forced to be a spectator of here: Among the outcasts were seven of our country women, decrepid with disease, and so disguised with filth and dirt, that I should never have supposed they were born white; add to this, almost naked

from head to foot; in short, their appearance was such as I think would extort compassion from the most callous heart; but I declare they seemed insensible to shame, or the wretchedness of their situation themselves; I begged they would get washed, and gave them what cloaths I could conveniently spare: Falconbridge had a hut appropriated as a hospital, where they were kept separate from the other settlers and by his attention and care, they recovered in a few weeks.

I always supposed these people had been transported as convicts, but some conversation I lately had with one of the women, has partly undeceived me: She said, the women were mostly of that description of persons who walk the streets of London, and support themselves by the earnings of prostitution; that men were employed to collect and conduct them to Wapping, where they were intoxicated with liquor, then inveigled on board of ship, and married to *Black men*, whom they had never seen before; that the morning after she was married, she really did not remember a syllable of what had happened over night, and when informed, was obliged to inquire *who was her husband?* After this, to the time of their sailing, they were amused and buoyed up by a prodigality of fair promises, and great expectations which awaited them in the country they were going to: "Thus," in her own words, "to the disgrace of my mother country, upwards of one hundred unfortunate women, were seduced from England to practice their iniquities more brutishly in this horrid country."

Good heaven! how the relation of this tale made me shudder;—I questioned its veracity, and enquired of the other women who exactly corroborated what I had heard,; nevertheless, I cannot altogether reconcile myself to believe it; for it is scarcely possible that the British Government, at this advanced and' enlightened, age, envied and admired as it is by the universe, could be capable of exercising or countenancing such a Gothic infringement on human Liberty.

Immediately after we had fixed on this Place for the settlement,. I singled out one of the best huts for my own residence; where I remained nigh a month, though I did not sleep on shore the whole time: About a fortnight I continued to go oh board the Cutter at night, when it was necessary to send her to Bance Island; I. then had a kind of bedstead, not unlike an hospital cradle, erected, in my hovel; but the. want a door was some inconvenience, and as no deal, or other boards could be procured for the purpose, it made I made a country mat supply the place—for I now find 'tis necessary to accommodate myself to whatever J meet with, there being but few conveniences or accommodating things in this part of Africa.

The river abounds with fine fish, and we get abundance of them; which, with rice, wild deer, and some poultry, forms my common food since I came to Granville Town.

In something less than four weeks we got a large store house and several additional huts for the settlers built, and had the goods landed from the Lapwing—they consist chiefly of ironmongery, such as blacksmiths and plantation tools, a prodigious number of children's trifling *halfpenny knives*, and some few dozen scissars of the same *description*.

I am *charitable enough* to think the *benevolent gentleman*, who purchased those goods, had a double purpose in view, viz to serve his sister from whom he bought them,—and; the persons to whom they are sent; but certainly he was unacquainted, with the. quality of the latter articles or he must have known they were very improper gifts of charity.

A part of the store-house being partitioned off for us, we took up our abode there whenever it was ready for our reception—it is rather larger, and consequently more cool, which is the only preference I

can give it to the last habitation.

The men all do duty as militia, and we have a constant guard kept during the night; but the natives seem to dread this spot so much, that we see very few, and I really think we have less to fear from them than our own people, who are extremely turbulent, and so unruly at times, that with difficulty Falconbridge can assuage them, or preserve the least decorum.

He was desired by the Company to build a fort, and they sent out six pieces of cannon, which are now on board the *Lapwing*—but omitted to *send carriages*, and consequently the guns are useless; though if they were complete, Falconbridge thinks it would not be prudent to trust them with the present settlers, from a belief that they might apply them improperly.

He is also requested by his instructions to collect as many samples of country productions as he can, and he wished to employ some of the people in that way, but none would give their services for less than half a guinea per day, which price he has been forced to pay them; this is the greatest instance of ingratitude I ever met with.

We were alarmed a little while since by dreadful shouts, in the vicinity of our town, and supposed the natives meant to attack us; immediately Falconbridge armed his militia, and marched out towards where the noise was heard, they had not gone far when they met three or four *Panyarers*, or man thieves, just in the act of ironing a poor victim they had caught hunting, and the shouts we heard proved to be rejoicings of the banditti.

Falconbridge did not think it advisable to rescue the prisoner by force, or to interfere further than what words would do; and as some of the *Panyarers* spoke English, he remonstrated against the devilish deed they were committing, but to little effect.

They said somebody belonging to the prisoner's town had injured them, and it was the custom of their country to retaliate on any person living in the same place with an offender, if they could not get himself, which the present case was an example of.

They then carried him away, and in all probability this man will be deprived of his liberty while he lives, by the barbarous customs of his country, for the imaginary offences of another.

I omitted mentioning in my last letter, that the day after we arrived at Bance Island, Mr. William Falconbridge, in consequence of a trifling dispute with his brother, separated from us, and went into the service of Messrs. Anderson's, but his constitution was not adapted for this inhospitable climate.

He went down the coast to York Island, in the river Sherbro, about twenty leagues distance, where he was unavoidably exposed to the severity of the weather, from which he got a fever and although he immediately returned to Bance Island, and had every assistance administered; yet, I am sorry to say, the irresistible conqueror, Death, made all endeavours fruitless, and hurried him to eternity u. yesterday, after a short illness of four days.

The tornados, or thunder squalls, which set in at this season of the year, preceding the continued rains, have commenced some time, the vivid intense lightning from dismal black clouds, make them awfully beautiful; they are accompanied with violent winds and heavy rains, succeeded by an abominable stench from the earth, and disagreeable hissings and noises from: frogs, crickets, and many other

insects which the rains draw out.

Musquettos also are growing so troublesome, as to oblige us to keep continued smokes in and about the house.

I have not seen any serpents, but am told there are abundance, and some very venomous.

Here are a vast variety of beautiful lizards constantly about the door catching flies: and I have often seen the changeable camelion.

We have not yet been troubled by any of the ferocious wild beasts which inhabit the mountains of Sierra Leone; but I understand there are numbers, both tygers and lions, besides divers other kinds.

I have now in spirits an uncommon insect, which was caught here a day or two ago in the act of stinging a Lascar (one of the settlers); it is rather larger than a locust, covered with a tortoise coloured shell, has forceps like a lobster, and thin transparent wings like a fly; the bite has thrown the poor Lascar into a dreadful fever, which I fear will carry him off.

I have three monkies, one a very handsome Capuchin, with a sulphur coloured beard of great length.

Nature seems to have been astonishingly sportive in taste and prodigality here, both of vegetable and animal productions, for I cannot stir out without admiring the beauties or deformities of her creation.

Every thing I see is entirely new to me, and notwithstanding the eye quickly becomes familiarized, and even satiated with views which we are daily accustomed to; yet there is such a variety here as to afford a continual zest to the sight.

To be frank, if I had a little agreeable society, a few comforts, and could ensure the same good health I have hitherto enjoyed, I should not be against spending some years of my life in Africa; but wanting those sweeteners of life, I certainly wish to return to where they may be had.

When that will be, is not in my power at present to tell; but if I have a chance of writing to you again, I then may be able; in the interim accept an honest farewell from

Your affectionate, &c.



## LETTER IV.

Granville Town, June 8, 1791,

My dear Madam,

SINCE my last I have been to the French Factory, visited several neighbouring towns, and made myself a little intimate with the history, manners, customs, &c. of the inhabitants of this part of Africa, which, it seems, was first discovered by the Portuguese, who named it *Sierra de Leone*, or *Mountain of Lions*.

The tract of country now called Sierra Leone, is a Peninsula one half the year, and an island the other—that is, during the rains the Isthmus is overflowed.

The river, which was formerly called *Tagrin*, now takes its name from the country; at its entrance it is about ten miles from one Promontory to the other, but here, it is scarcely half that distance across, and a few miles higher up it becomes very narrow indeed.

It is not navigable for large vessels any higher than Bance Island, but small craft may go a great distance up.

Besides the islands I have mentioned, there are several others, uninhabited, between this and Bance Island.

Granville town is situated in a pretty deep bay, on the south-side of the river, about nine miles above Cape Sierra Leone,<sup>6</sup> fifteen below Bance Island, and six from Robana.

Half a mile below us is the town of one *Pa Duffee*; two miles lower down is *King Jemmy's*; and beyond him is *Queen Yamacubba's*, and two or three small places; a mile above us *Signior Domingo* lives, and a little higher one *Pa Will*.

I have been at all these places, and find a great similitude in the appearance of the people, their behaviour, mode of living, building, amusements, &c.

The men are tall and stout and was it not that their legs are generally small in proportion to their bodies, and somewhat crooked, I should call them well limbed.

The mode of treating infants till they are able to walk, accounts for their being bandy legged;

A few days after a woman is delivered, she takes her child on her back to wherever her vocation leads her, with both its legs buckled round her waist, and the calves pressed to her sides, by which means the tender bones are forced from their natural shape, and get a curve that never after grows out; and thus, the infant is exposed either to the scorching sun, or any change of weather that happens.

The women are not nigh so well shaped as the men, being employed in all hard labour, makes them robust and clumsy; they are very prolific, and keep their breasts always suspended, which, after bearing

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<sup>6</sup> The Cape lies in 8. 28. N. Lat.—12. 30. W. Lon.

a child or two, stretches out to an enormous length; disgusting to Europeans, though considered *beautiful* and ornamental here.

They are not only obliged to till the ground, and do all laborious work, but are kept at a great distance by the men, who seldom suffer a woman to sit down or eat with them.

The day I dined at King Naimbana's, he told me I was the first woman that ever eat at the same table with him.

Great respect and reverence is shewn to old age, by all ranks of people.

Polygamy likewise is considered honorable, and creates consequence.

When an African speaks of a great man, he or she will say, "Oh! he be fine man, rich too much, he got too much woman."

The higher class of people hereabouts, mostly speak broken English, which they have acquired from frequent intercourse with vessels that come to purchase slaves.

They seem desirous to give education to their children, or in their own way of expressing, it, "Read book, and learn to be *rogue* so well as white man;" for they say, if white men could not read, or wanted education, they would be no better rogues than *black gentlemen*.

I was treated with the utmost hospitality at every town I visited.

Their common food is rice, pepper pot, or palaver sauce, palm nuts, and palm oil; with the latter both sexes anoint their bodies and limbs daily, though it does not prevent them from smelling vastly strong.

Wherever I went, there was commonly a fowl boiled or broiled for me: I liked the pepper pot, it is a kind of soup made with a mixture of vegetables highly seasoned with salt and red pepper.

Their houses are much like those I have heretofore described, but very low, they are irregularly placed, and built either in a square or circular form; and as this part of the country is thinly inhabited, each town contains very few houses.

The inhabitants are chiefly Pagans, though they credit the existence of a God, but consider him so good that he cannot do them an injury; they therefore pay homage to the *Devil*, from a belief that he is the only Supernatural Being they have to fear; and I am informed they have consecrated places in different parts of the woods, where they make annual sacrifices to him.

Cleanliness is universally observed; their simple furniture, consisting generally of a few mats, wooden trenchers and spoons made by themselves, are always tidy, and their homely habitations constantly clean swept, and free from filth of any kind: nor do I think nature has been so unkind to endow those people with capacities less susceptible of improvement and cultivation than any other part of the human race.

I am led to form this conjecture, from the quickness with which even those who cannot understand English, comprehend my meaning by gestures or signs, and the aptness they have imitated many things

after me.

Their time is calculated by plantations, moons, and days; the reason of the first is, they clear a new field once a year, and if asked the age of a child, or any thing else, they will answer, so many plantations, in place of years: they register their moons by notches on a piece of wood, which is carefully hanged up in some particular part of the house.

Their chief amusement is dancing: in the evening, men and women assemble in the most open part of the town, where they form a circle, which one at a time enters, and shews his skill and agility, by a number of wild comical motions.

Their music is made by clapping of hands, and a harsh sounding drum or two, made out of hollowed wood covered with the skin of a goat.

Sometimes I have seen an instrument resembling our guitar, the country name of which is *bangeon*.

The company frequently applaud or upbraid the performer, with bursts of laughter, or some odd disagreeable noise; if it is moonshine, and they have spirits to drink, these dances probably continue until the moon goes down, or until day light.

The *Timmany* dialect is commonly spoke here, though the nation so called is some distance to the northward.

The natives account for this in the following way.

Many years ago the Burees, a tribe of people formerly living upon the banks of the river Sierra Leone, were conquered and drove away to other parts of the country by the Timmany's, who, having possessed themselves of the land, invited many strangers to come and live among them.

The Timmany's being again engaged in war, which the inhabitants of Sierra Leone did not chuse to join in, they therefore alienated the connection, and declared themselves a distinct nation, and have been considered as such ever since.

Every chief, or head man of a town is authorized from the King to settle local disputes,—but when disagreements of consequence arise between people of separate places, then a Palaver is summoned to the residence of the complainant, when the King attends or not as suits him; but if inconvenient to go in person, he sends his Palaver-man, who carries the King's sword, cane, or hat, as a signal of inauguration, to his office.

When all the parties are met, they enquire into the business of their meeting, and a majority of. voices determine who has *reason* of his or her side.

If the crime is fornication, the punishment is slavery, unless the offender can ransom him or herself, by paying another slave, or the value in goods.

It is customary when the *Judges* cannot procure sufficient proof, to oblige the party accused to take a poisonous draught, called Red Water—this potion is prepared by the *Judges* themselves, who make it strong or weak, as they are inclined by circumstances—if strong, and the stomach does not reject it

instantaneously, death soon ensues—but if weak, it seldom has any other effect than a common emetic.

At the last town I visited, the head man's favorite woman, had a beautiful *mulatto* child, and seeing me take much notice of it, he said. " God amity sen me dat peginine, true, suppose he no black like me, nutting for dat, my woman drinkee red water, and suppose peginine no for me, he dead."

I could not help smiling at the old fool's credulity, and thinking how happy many of my own countrywomen would be to rid themselves of a similar stigma, so easily.

Crimes of larger magnitude, such as *witchcraft*, murder, &c. are punished in the same way, i.e. the criminal is obliged to drink of this liquor, unless there be evidence sufficiently strong to acquit or condemn him: when that is the case, if convicted, he either suffers death, or is sold as a slave.

On the opposite shore lives a populous nation called the Bulloms, whose King I had occasion to mention in a former letter. I have been at only one of their settlements, a place directly over against us, belonging to a man named Dean.

The people appear more inclined to industry than the Sierra Leonians, which a stranger may readily discern, by a superior way their houses are furnished in.

I am told it is a fertile country, and the inhabitants make so much rice, that they are able to sell a quantity annually.

In the neighbourhood of Dean's Town, at a place called Tagrin Point, was formerly an English factory, belonging to one Marshall; but he unluckily got into a dispute with the natives, who drove him away, and pillaged his goods; they are a barbarous implacable set of people.

This is all the history I have learnt of the Bulloms, therefore shall return to my own side of the water.

We have had heavy tornadoes and falls of rain for several weeks, and I yet enjoy my health as well, if not better, than I did for several years past in Europe.

Deaths are not frequent among the natives; indeed I have not heard of one since we arrived.

Their national diseases are few; probably anointing themselves as they do with palm oil, makes them less liable to evil consequences from the unhealthy putrid vapour that almost constantly hovers about these mountains; the poisonous effects of which carries off numbers of foreigners.

About ten days ago the master of the cutter went to Bance Island, where he drank too freely, and returning a little indisposed, signified a wish of going to the French factory for medical assistance.

Falconbridge having had some difference with this man, therefore, lest he might wrong construe any offers to serve him, without hesitation complied with his desire, and he immediately set out in the cutter to Gambia, Falconbridge and myself accompanying him.

The distance being but six miles, and a fresh sea breeze, we soon ran up.

Mr. Rennieu not only received us with the politeness of a Frenchman, but with kindness and friendship.

When he saw the master of the Lapwing, he said to me, "Madam, Captain Kennedy (for that was his name) will never leave Africa, but in two or three days time he will come under my *big tree*."

I did not instantly comprehend him, which the Frenchman perceived, and explained himself by saying, "under the large tree I saw a little distance off, was the burying ground, and" added he, "there is something in the countenance of Kennedy denoting his dissolution to be near at hand; and I am persuaded the man cannot live more than two or three days."

I took care not to mention or hint to Kennedy what Mr. Rennieu said to me, lest the force of imagination might kill him—however, in spite of all our endeavours, the prophecy was fulfilled; a severe fever came on the same night, and the second day he was a corpse.

There was no accommodation for sleeping on shore at the Factory, which Mr. Rennieu could offer us—we were, consequently, obliged to sleep on board.

I could not think of allowing the poor sick man to be exposed to the inclemency of night air, and insisted on his taking a berth in the cabin—nor could I think of continuing in the cabin while he was ill, lest his disorder might be infectious; and the only alternative was to lay up on deck, or in the hold.

The former being, most preferable, our mattresses were spread at night under the awning, where we lay; but I took the precaution to wrap myself up in a flannel gown, and cover'd my head with a cap of the same—was it not for that, in all probability, I must have added to the number under Mr. Rennieu's big tree.

For two nights we lay on deck, and each of them, we were unlucky enough to have violent tornadoes; during the storm I threw two large blankets over me, and though the rain penetrated through both, yet my flannel gown and cap intercepted it and prevented me from getting wet, except my feet, which I bathed in spirits when the tornado was over, and thus, I believe, escaped any bad consequences; but being under the necessity of staying another night at Gambia, I did not chuse to experience the good effects of my blankets a third time, and accepted an invitation which the Captain of an American had made us—to take a bed on board his ship.

Immediately after the corpse was removed, we had the Lapwing scoured, washed with vinegar, and smoked with tobacco and brimstone, to free her from every suspicion of dangerous infection.

I must avail myself of the present moment to give you some description of Gambia Island.

It is small and low, not two miles in circumference, situated in the midst of swamps and marshes, from whence a continued stench comes sufficient to choke a carrion crow—'tis wonderful how many human beings could pitch on such a place to live in.

The Europeans there have all complexions as if they were fed on madder and saffron.

Their manner of living is slovenly and hoggish, though they seem to have plenty of fresh stock, and provisions of almost every kind—they are very inactive and indolent, which I am not astonished at, for such must ensue from the lassitude produced by the unhealthiness of the place

The buildings are of mean and disrespectable appearance, being a pile of grass and sticks clumsily put together.

They have a factory ship, and few goods are kept on shore, from a fear of being surprised and robbed by the natives.

Formerly the Island was protected by a company of French soldiers, but the vast and rapid mortality, deterred their government from sending fresh supplies.

Rennieu, however, preserves a kind of consequence, and keeps his neighbours in awe by a number of strange legerdemain tricks he has learnt, some of which he shews whenever he has visitors.

After seeing Gambia, I consider Granville Town a delightful spot, where we have none of those swampy low grounds; but a reviving sea breeze that cheers us every day, which is almost spent before it reaches them; I suppose this must be owing to the heavy dense atmosphere that opposes its progress, for distance cannot be the cause.

Since the rains commenced, the nights grew alternately cooler, indeed I find a blanket very comfortable; even during the dry weather (when I had room to breathe), I found night many degrees colder than day; but it is now, at times, so cold, that I am glad to find a fire.

This sudden transition from heat to cold, and from cold to heat, I am rather disposed:: to think, accounts for the turpitude of the climate, at all events it certainly is one of the most considerable causes.

From a fear my inadequateness to give historical delineations, will expose me to your criticism, I have to beg you will look over any rhapsodies with lenity; *this* is all I can hope for, — *that* all I dread.

Falconbridge thinks of leaving Africa the middle of this month; the loss of Kennedy, want of provisions fit for taking to sea, and the late Mate (now Master of the cutter), and several of our people being sick, disconcerts us a good deal: but we are told the rains will be considerably worse, and every day will render it more dangerous and difficult to get off the coast: Falconbridge is determined to do his best, and get away as quick as possible.

Oh my friend! what happiness shall I feel on seeing Old England again; and if it pleases God for us to arrive safe, the difficulties, dangers, and inconveniences I have surmounted, and have yet to encounter, will only serve me to laugh at.

Your's, &c. &c.

## LETTER V.

London, Sept. 30, 1791.

My dear Friend,

I HAVE many apologies to make for not giving you earlier intelligence of our arrival; but my excuses are good ones, and no doubt will convince you my silence cannot be attributed to the slightest shadow of negligence or forgetfulness.

We arrived at Penzance, in Cornwall, the 2d instant, when (not being able to walk), I was carried in an arm chair by two men, to the house of *Mrs. Dennis* who friendly invited us to shelter under her hospitable roof, while we remained there.

The hurry and fatigue of moving, with the restraint one customarily feels, more or less of, upon going to a strange house, prevented me writing you the first day; but the day subsequent I wrote as follows:

My dearest Madam,

I AM returned to this blessed land; join with me in fervent prayer and thanksgiving to the Author of all good works, for his miraculous protection and goodness during a circuitous passage of nigh three months, replete with hardships unprecedented, I believe in any voyages heretofore related, the particulars of which I must take some other opportunity to furnish you with."

Here I made a full pause; and, after thinking and re-thinking for near half an hour, whether I should subscribe my name and send it to the post, a thought struck me,—"Why! I shall be in London in eight or ten days, when it will be in my power to send a narration of what has happened since I last wrote Mrs.——; and if I write now, I shall only excite curiosity, and keep her in unpleasant suspense for some time; so it is best to postpone writing till I can do it fully."

Now, in place of eight or ten days, it was almost three weeks before we reached this metropolis; and since I arrived, my time has been wholly occupied in receiving inquisitive visitors, and answering a few pertinent, and a number of ridiculous questions.

I could make many other reasonable pleas, in behalf of my silence, but trust what is already said will be amply satisfactory; shall therefore forbear making any further apologies, and proceed with an account of myself since I last wrote to you.

The 16th of June we went to Robana to take leave of the *Royal Family*, and to receive the young Prince John Frederic on board; all this we accomplished, and sailed the same day.

Naimbana seemed unconcerned at parting with his son, but the old Queen cried, and appeared much affected.

The Prince was decorated in an old blue cloak, bound with broad gold lace: which, with a black velvet coat, pair of white satin breeches, a couple of shirts, and two or three pair of trowsers, from a compleat

inventory of his stock of cloaths, when he left Africa.

The old man gave John all the cash he had, amounting to the *enormous sum* of eight Spanish dollars (about thirty-five shillings); and just when we were getting under way, saluted us with twelve guns, from some rusty pieces of cannon, laying on the beach without carriages.

The Lapwing was badly equip'd for sea; the crew and passengers amounted to nine: four of the former were confined with fevers, consequently there were only four, (and but one a sailor) to do the ship's duty.

Mr. Rennieu gave me a goat and half a dozen of fowls: King Naimbana put a couple of goats, and a dozen of fowls on board for his son.

Besides these, I purchased some poultry, and when we sailed, considered ourselves possessed of a pretty good stock, consisting of three goats, four dozen of fowls, a barrel of flour, half a barrel of pork, and a barrel of beef.

We had not been at sea a week, when all our live stock were washed or blown overboard, by repeated and impetuous tornadoes—so that we had not a thing left but the flower and salt provisions; however, we were in hopes of getting in a few days to Saint Jago, one of the Cape De Verd Islands, where the loss of our stock might be replaced.

In this we were disappointed, for instead of a few days, a continued interruption of calms and boisterous weather, made it six weeks before we reached that Island; during the whole of which time I was confined to my cabin, and mostly to my bed, for it rained incessantly.

After being about three weeks at sea, our sick got clear of their fevers, but were so emaciated as to be unfit for any duty, *except eating*, and though there was no food fit for convalescent persons on board., yet the coarse victuals we had stood no chance with them, and made it necessary to put all hands to an allowance.

Upon enquiring into the state of our provisions, we found they had been lavishly dealt with; there was not more than one week's full allowance of meat, and scarcely four days of flour remaining.

These were alarming circumstances, for we had two thirds further to go, than we had then come, toward Saint Jago.

I did not selfishly care for the want of beef or pork, as I had not tasted either since we sailed from Sierra Leone; but I lamented it for others.

All hands were restricted to a quarter of a pound of beef or pork, and a small tea-cup full (rather better than a gill) of flour per day.

What would have been more dreadful we should have wanted water, was it not for the rains; the worms having imperceptibly penetrated our water casks, all the water leaked out, except a small cask, which would not allow us more than a pint each, for three weeks.

My tea-cup of flour, mixed with a little rain water and salt, boiled to a kind of pap, when the weather



would admit a fire, otherwise raw, was, believe me, all my nourishment for ten days, except once or twice, when some cruel unconscionable wretch robbed me of the homely morsel, I was forced to taste the beef.

The week before we arrived at St. Jago, our Carpenter, who had been ill, and was on the recovery, relapsed, and died in twenty-four hours; which circumstance terrified me exceedingly, least our afflictions were to be increased with some pestilential disease; however, no similar misfortunes attended us afterwards.

We arrived at Porta Praya in St Jago, I think, the 25th of July, when Falconbridge immediately went on shore to obtain sufferance to remain there a few days, while he re-victualled and watered.

An officer met him as he landed, and conducted him to the chief magistrate of the Port, who lives in a Fort on top of a hill which commands the harbour.

Falconbridge was well received, his request granted, and he and myself were invited to dine at the Fort next day— but he was informed, provisions were not to be had for any price—a sleet of European ships had just sailed from thence, and drained the country of almost every kind of eatable.

After being six weeks confined in the narrow bounds of the Lapwing's cabin, and most of the time in bed, fed us I was upon scanty wretched food, notwithstanding the benignity of heaven had preserved me from disease of any kind, you will not question my energy of mind and body being considerably enervated; indeed, so enfeebled did I feel myself, that it was with much difficulty I accompanied Falconbridge to dinner at the Consul's, for so the Chief Officer of Porto Praya is termed; but the distance I had to walk was short, and with the help of a Portuguese officer on one side, and my husband on the other, I accomplished it tolerable well.

The company consisted of the Portuguese and French Consuls, five Portuguese and two French gentlemen, two Portuguese ladies, Falconbridge, and myself.

None of the foreigners spoke English, so you will readily guess we but poorly amused or entertained each other; through the medium of a linguist who attended, any compliments, questions or answers, &c. &c. were conveyed to and fro.

Our dinner was very good, and I had prudence enough to be temperate, having often heard of fatal consequences from indulgences in similar cases.

During dinner we had excellent claret and madeira, but no wine was drank after; directly as the cloth was removed, tea was introduced in the most uncommon way I ever saw or heard of before; it was brought in china mugs, containing three pints each, and every person was presented with one of those huge goblets.

I had not tasted tea for several weeks, nevertheless, one third of this quantity was more than I chose to swallow—but with astonishment I beheld others make a rapid finish of their allowance.

Having thus inundated their stomachs, every one arose, and our host desired the linguist to acquaint me they were going to repose themselves for a while, and if I was inclined to follow their example, a sofa, or bed was at my service; being bed sickened, I declined the offer, and chose, in preference, to stretch

my feeble limbs with gentle walking in a pleasant portico, fronting the sea; for I had gathered strength enough in the few hours I was on shore, to walk alone.

The company having indulged about an hour in their habitual slothfulness, re-assembled; we were invited to take a bed on shore, but Falconbridge learnt, the generality of people were thievishly disposed, and for that reason did not chuse to sleep from the cutter; and you know it would have been very uncomfortable for me to remain without him, among a parcel of strangers, when we could not understand what one or other said; besides, I had other prudential objections for not remaining without Falconbridge, which the horror of our loathsome bark could not conquer. . . .

After this, we remained four days in Porto Praya Road, during which, I went on shore frequently.

The town is situated on the same height with the fort.

They have a Romish chapel, (for the inhabitants are all Roman Catholics) market place and jail, built of stone, and covered with slate in the European way—the other buildings are mostly of wood and thatch, after the African manner.

The French Consul has his house within the fort, which is a decent good looking building, as is the Portuguese Consul's; but this is of stone, and that of wood.

The people of most countries have their peculiar modes of habiting themselves, but surely the custom of Porto Praya is more odious than any other;—in meeting a hundred men, two are not to be seen dressed alike—perhaps one will have a coat thrown over his shoulders without occupying the sleeves; another a woman's petticoat drawn round his neck, with his arms through the pocket holes, and so on, except the higher ranks.

The women dress rather more uniformly; they wear very short petticoats, and tight jackets, of a coarse linen, like Osnaburg, but no shifts; I mean the lower class, or natives, who are mostly black, or of mixed complexions; for the few European ladies there, are genteely habited with fine India muslins, and their hair neatly plaited, and put up in silk nets.

A narrow, handsome kind of cotton cloth is manufactured at St. Jago; I went to one of the manufactories, and purchased several pieces; they are in great estimation, and sell for a high price—I paid five and six dollars a piece, (about two yards and a half; for those I bought.—The loom they are wove in resembles our garter loom.

I understood the inhabitants raise their own cotton, and have several small sugar works, which makes a sufficiency of sugar for the consumption of those islands, but no quantity for exportation.

The Governor resides at a town named St. Jago, a considerable distance from Porto Praya, and on the opposite side of the island, which put it out of our power to visit it.

The Consul at Porto Praya is his Vicegerent, but has his authority from Portugal; there appeared to me a great want of government among the people, notwithstanding a strong military force is kept there.

We got a superabundance of fine fish while we remained at St. Jago, which was a fortunate circumstance—for our intelligence respecting the scarcity of provisions was perfectly true.

With our utmost endeavours we could not procure but two goats and two dozen of fowls to take with us to sea; and those I was obliged to purchase with some of my wearing apparel, which was preferred to money; or, I should say, they were not to be had for money.

Bread and salt provisions were not to be had in the smallest quantity, for any price; however, we purchased a number of cocoa nuts, which they have in plenty, as a substitute for bread.

With these trifling and ordinary sea-stores we departed from Porto Praya, the 30th of July, trusting by oeconomic management, to make them serve till we reached some other port.

I recovered my strength and spirits considerably during the short time we were at that place, as did all our sick; indeed it was necessary and lucky, for it enabled us to contend against misfortune, and conquer the hardships, and inconveniencies, which afterwards attended us.

We had fine moderate weather the first twenty-four hours, and got the length of St. Vincent, one of the same islands, where, falling calm, we came to anchor.

Some of the people went on shore, thinking to kill a few birds; and supposing the island uninhabited, it being a small barren place, without a tree or shrub of any sort, a kind of fern excepted, so that no houses could be there, and escape our notice.

The boat's crew had scarcely landed, when we were greatly astonished and alarmed to behold from the cutter (for we lay no distance off the shore) five *naked human beings*, who had just started up from behind a hilloc, running towards them—however, our fears were quickly abated, by seeing the boat returning.

The master was one that went on shore, and he understood a little Portuguese, in which language these victims to barbarity addressed, and told him, they had, several months past, been banished from an adjacent island, called Mayo, and landed where they then were in the deplorable condition he beheld them.

The Lapwing was the first vessel that had anchored there since their exilement, and they begged and prayed we would take them off—they did not care where!

This we could not do with any kind of discreetness, from the danger of starving them and ourselves.

They consisted of three men and two women, and we mustered two petticoats and three pair of trowsers for them.

I was curious to know something more of the poor wretches, and went with Falconbridge and the Master on shore.

Before we landed, they had retired behind the hilloc, and we sent forward their cloathing, that they might be dressed by the time we came up.

We found them in the act of broiling fish over a fire made of dry fern, which was the only fuel they could possibly have.

Our Skipper asked, if they had any houses? but was answered in the negative; and pointing to the heaven and the earth, signifying *this* was their bed, and *that* their covering; he then enquired, how they subsisted? and for what they were banished?

To the first they replied,—When put on the Island, fishing lines, hooks, and implements for striking fire, were given them, through which means they supported themselves; there was plenty of fish, and a good spring of water; but said they, "we have not tasted bread since we left Mayo."

To the second, no further answer could be obtained, than their having offended the Governor of Mayo, who was a *Black* man.

They were miserably emaciated, and a hapless melancholy overhang'd their countenances.—When we first came up, joyful smiles beamed through the cloud, which soon darkened when they learnt there was no prospect of being relieved.

They followed us to the boat, and I really believe, if they had been armed, would have taken her from us: as it was, our men were obliged to use violence, and turn them out, for all hands had jumped in, and attempted to get off.

We offered to take any one of them, but not one would consent to separate or share any good fortune the whole could not partake of.

When we got clear from the shore, they pursued us up to their necks in water, crying and howling so hideously, that I would have given the world! (were it at my disposal) if it was either in our power to bring them away, or that I had not seen them.

Here we remained all night, and till three o'clock the day following, when a light savourable breeze enabled us to sail; before our departure, we sent the convicts an iron pot, for cooking, and a few fishing utensils, which was all we could possibly spare them.

To the northward of St. Vincent's, about eight or nine miles, is St. Anthony, another of the Cape de Verd Islands, which we had to pass close by.

The wind was very weak, but every one imagined there was enough of it to take us clear off that Island before morning; whether that was not the case, or whether things were badly managed, I shall not decidedly say, though I have a decided opinion on the subject; for towards four o'clock in the morning, being uncommonly restless, I thought, as the vessel appeared very quiet, and the moon shone beautifully bright, I would get up and set upon deck for a while.

Perhaps merciful Providence directed this,—for the like I never did before or since; and had I not, in all probability we must have been driven against the rude rocks of St. Anthony, and God only knows what would have been the consequence, as I was the only person awake.

The first thing I saw, upon lifting my head out of the cabin, was those lofty perpendicular rocks pending almost directly over us, and not a man upon deck but King Naimbana's son, and him fast asleep.

"Good God!" cried I, "Falconbridge, we are on shore!"

He instantly sprung up, and called all hands, who got the boat out, and with the utmost exertion towed us off a small distance.

When day light came on, our danger appeared more forcibly, for, notwithstanding the oars had been diligently employed an hour and an half, we were not two hundred yards from the Island.

Some said it was a current; others, it was the land which influenced or attracted us: but what the real reasons were I know not; this only I can tell you,—after trying every possible means to no purpose, till four o'clock in the afternoon, when the men complaining their strength was exhausted, and they could do no more, it was agreed to abandon the Lapwing, and look out for a place where we might land before night, and thereby secure safety for our lives, if the vessel could not be preserved.

Accordingly every one was desired to get into the boat, but we found me was too small to carry us all at once; and two of the sailors consented to stay till she could make a second trip.

Falconbridge and myself got in, taking with us a few shiftings of cloaths and our bedding; we then rowed to the land, and after pulling to and fro for near two hours, could not discover a single spot where there was a possibility of landing; during which time, we observed the Cutter drifting fast toward the shore, and expected every moment to see her strike,

Despondency was visibly pictured in every face!—"What shall we do, or what is best to be done?" was the universal cry.

Conscious of a woman's insignificance in such matters, I was silent till then; when finding a general vacancy of opinion among the men, I ventured to say—"Let us return to the Lapwing, and put our trust in him who is all sufficient, and whose dispensations are always unquestionably just."

To this forlorn proposition every one assented; but said it was only deferring the evil moment a few hours, for we should certainly have to trust to our boat very shortly again, unless a breeze came off the land.

After getting on board it was settled— one person should watch while the rest refreshed themselves with sleep, that they might be somewhat able to encounter the looked-for fatigues of the night.

For my part, I did not in the least incline to sleep, but with watchful eyes and aching heart, awaited the expected moment when eight of us were to commit ourselves, in a small open boat, to the mercy of the ungovernable ocean.

Many reflections pressed upon me, but one more powerful than any—"that our dilemma was probably a mark of divine vengeance, for not relieving the distressed people at St. Vincent's."

I often asked the watch, if we neared the rocks; sometimes he answered in the affirmative, and sometimes doubtfully— but said we seemed to drift coast ways withall; and he believed there was a strong current setting to the southward.

About twelve o'clock Falconbridge came on deck, when I mentioned this information to him: he then

took notice himself, and found it really so.

All hands were immediately turned out, and the boat again manned to tow our bark with the current, for though it had not been observed, we were doubtless working against it all the preceding day.

This proved a propitious speculation; in about four hours we could see the south-west end of the Island, and at the same time had got near a mile off the land.

What a change of countenance was now on board: I felt my bosom fill with gratitude at hearing the glad tidings!

General tokens of joy and congratulations passed from one ship-mate to another; and when daylight appeared, instead of gloom and sorrow, every cheek blush'd cheerfulness.

We then found ourselves clear of the Island, and having a fine moderate breeze, bid adieu to the African coast; nevertheless our troubles did not end here.

After running to the Westward eight and forty hours, a tremendous storm came on, and continued to increase in violence for five days.

This had scarcely abated, when it was succeeded by another, nearly as bad— which however ran us as far as Fayal, one of the Azores, or Western Islands, where we arrived the 18th of August.

I do not mean to take up your time with a description of those storms, or a detail of our sufferings, since we left St. Anthony, till our arrival at Fayal, though I must not pass over them wholly unnoticed.

Every horror the most fertile ideas can picture a sea storm with, aggravated the former; and, consequently augmenting the miseries of the latter, rendered them almost unbearable and past representation.

God knows they would have been bad enough without; for the day we reached Fayal, about two pounds of salt beef and half a dozen cocoa nuts, were all the provisions we had left.

We remained there a week, and were hospitably entertained by Mr. Graham, the English Consul, who had the goodness to insist on our taking a bed at his house, directly as our arrival was announced to him.

Being much bruised and indisposed by our boisterous rough passage, and eating food I had not been accustomed to, prevented me from walking abroad for two or three days; while thus confined, I was highly delighted and amused with admiring Mr. Graham's beautiful garden adjoining his house, where are almost all the fruits of the torrid, frigid, and temperate zones, in the greatest perfection; peaches, apples, pears, oranges, pine apples, limes, lemons, citron, grapes, &c. &c. the finest I ever, saw.

Mrs. Graham treated me with motherly kindness; by her attention, and the wholesomeness of the climate, I gained so much fresh strength and spirits, that before I came away, I was able frequently to walk about the town, and once took an excursion into the country, with her and a party of her friends, to the seat of a Mr. Perkins, an English gentleman.

We all rode on asses, for carriages (if they have any) could not pass the way we went.

I was pleased with the reception this gentleman gave us, as well as his polite and generous behaviour.

In our way thither we passed a number of vineyards; and, as far as I could judge, the country seemed fruitful.

Besides this excursion, Mr. and Mrs. Perkins persuaded me to take one with them, to the Island of Pico, about eight miles from Fayal, where they have a valuable vineyard; and where they assured me, I should see the most wonderful natural curiosity, in the Azore Islands; viz. two springs of water within eighteen feet of each other—one nearly as cold as ice, the other boiling with heat.

When we arrived there, several washerwomen were employed in their vocation; they told me the water was soft, and well adapted for washing; that they made it of what temperature they pleased, by mixing, a proportion of each, and declared they had frequently boiled fish in the hot well: I had a mind to try the heat by putting my finger in, but found the steam powerful enough to convince me I should be *scalded*.

There are public Baths at those Wells, well attended by the inhabitants of Fayal and the adjacent Islands; they lay somewhat to the eastward, at the foot of the mountain, which gives its name to this Island.

This is the highest mountain I ever saw, very thickly wooded towards its base, but picturesque, with many gentlemen's seats, and on the whole vastly gratifying to the eye.

It produces a particular and favorite, kind of wood, called *Teixa*, or *Teixo*, which, from its valuable qualities, no one is allowed to sell for private use, it being reserved by the Queen of Portugal, after the custom of her predecessors, solely for the service of the Portuguese government.

I was but a few hours at Pico, and this, was all the information I collected.

There are two nunneries, and a magnificent Romish, church at Fayal, which I visited.

The former were crowded with nuns, and many of them beautiful women.

I saw two who spoke English, with whom I conversed for some time, and purchased several artificial flowers, and a few sweetmeats from them.

One of them had all the traces of beauty yet unblemished, but to a certainty somewhat tinged by ruinous time; for by her own account she must be far advanced in years.

Upon asking her opinion of a monastic life, she said, "Madam, I have been within the walls of this convent forty-three years, and had I to travel over my life anew, I would prefer the same path to all others."

But a charming buxom young girl thought otherwise.—She said, "Can you suppose an animated creature, like me, full of youthful fire, was designed by nature to spend her days within these dismal walls? No! nor can I figure to myself, that any one (in spite of what many may tell you,) can find

pleasure in burying herself alive, and thwarting the purposes of her creation, for such is certainly the case with all nuns," and continued she: "My parents placed me here at a time when I was not enable of judging for myself; nor do I scruple to say that my ideas and fancies are fluttering among the amusements and gaities of the world, and had I my will, my person would be there also."

I attended the church at mass time; after service was ended, I observed several men bringing in a large sail of a ship, which had a curious appearance to a stranger, as I was; but a gentleman present said, "Those people have been in the same storm with yourselves, and they are giving that sail to the church as a thanks offering for their deliverance;" he then shewed me part of the boat which Captain Inglefield had been saved in, and which was kept here as a record of divine favour to that gentleman.

This circumstance refreshed my memory with the notorious sufferings and wonderful escape of Captain Inglefield and his boat's crew; and after mentally weighing our misfortunes with his, I summ'd them both up as follows..

"Captain Inglefield experienced all the miseries of hunger, fatigue, and oppression of spirits, which sixteen days in an open boat, exposed to the furious untameable wind and sea, without provision, in momentary expectation of being hurried to eternity, could inflict, besides the additional horrors produced by ruminating on the hapless condition of such numbers of his sellow creatures, in the same situation with himself."

"We have been fifty-eight days in a deck'd boat, not twice the size of Captain Inglefield's—continued rains almost all the while—three weeks a quarter of a pound of beef, and about half the quantity of flour our allowance—eighteen days more baffled by calms and contrary winds, or beat about by merciless storms, fed upon mean disagreeable food, and scarcely enough of that to keep soul and body together; and, what was worse than all, the apprehension of being left morseless of any kind of nourishment; which certainly must have been the case, had we not arrived at Fayal when we did."

Having done this, I compared them with one-another—and though it is unfair to give my decision, we being too often apt to magnify our own misfortunes, and always supposing them greater than those of others; yet I shall hazard making you acquainted with the conclusion I drew, which, however, was very laconic.

I said to myself, "Captain Inglesield's sufferings are matchless, and were it not for the duration, and repetition of mine, they could have but little semblance to one-another."

The small pox was committing prodigious ravages among all ranks of people, when we left Fayal; and, I suppose, continues still so to do.

A child of the French Consul's lay dangerously ill with that disease, and he requested Falconbridge would visit it; he did so, and found the infant confined in a small close room, where every means were taken to shut out the least breath of air.

Falconbridge directly recommended the child to be brought into a large open hall, which was done against the absurd remonstrances of the Portuguese Physician, who pronounced immediate death to it; however, before our departure we had the pleasure of seeing this innocent babe (who would in all probability, have otherwise fallen a victim to those ridiculous notions of treating the small pox) quite out of danger; and I trust the precedent will be generally attended to, and may prove equally



efficacious.

Many of our countrymen reside there, who are Roman Catholics, and married to Portuguese ladies, with few exceptions.

I saw two or three English women— perhaps all on the island; they seem to have preserved their native manners and customs in high perfection, which the Portuguese ladies emulously try to copy, more especially in the article of dress, than any thing else; but in this they are much hinder'd by the jealousy and narrow ideas of their husbands, who never suffer their wives to go abroad, or appear in company with other men, whether single or married, without a deep black or white sattin veil that hides not only the face but the body.

In a conversation with one of those ladies, she said to me "the women of your country must surely be very happy: they have so much more liberty than we have, or I believe, than the women of any other country, I wish I was an English woman!" I thanked her in behalf of my country women, for her good opinion, but assured her they had their share of thorns and thistles, as well as those of other countries.

How deeply do I regret our short stay at Saint Jago and Fayal, disables me from giving you a more historical and intelligent account of those islands; but I was long enough at each place to form this summary opinion: The latter is, without exception the most desirable spot I ever saw; and the former, as far opposite as it is possible for you to conceive.

Having repaired such damage as our vessel had received coming from St. Anthony, and supplied ourselves with abundance of stores to bring us to this country, we set sail from Fayal the 25th of last month, and arrived at the time and place before mentioned.

Our passage was short and unattended with such boisterous weather as we had experienced, yet it was so stormy that I was obliged to keep my bed the whole time: which circumstance and a cold I caught, threw me into an indisposition that I have not yet recovered from.

The day after landing at Penzance, Falconbridge wrote to Mr. Granville Sharp, and by return of Post received his answer,, a copy of which I herewith inclose.

"Leadenhall-street, 7<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1791.

"Dear Sir,

"THE agreeable account of the safe arrival of the Lapwing at Penzance, which I received this morning, gives me very particular satisfaction.

"I have communicated your letter to Henry Thornton, Esq. Chairman of the Court of Directors of the *Sierra Leone Company* (for under this title the late St. George's Bay Company is now established, by an act of the last Session of Parliament) and to some of the Directors, and they desire you to come by land as expeditiously as you can, bringing with you in a postchaise, Mrs. Falconbridge and the Black Prince, and also any such specimens of the country as will not be liable to injury by land carriage.

I inclose (from the Directors) a note from Mr. Thornton's house, for thirty pounds, for which you may easily procure cash for your journey, and is more should be wanting for use of the people of the

Lapwing, I have no doubt but Mrs. Dennis (to whose care I send this Letter) will have the goodness to advance it, as she will be reimbursed by return of the Post, when I receive advice of your draft.

"The Lapwing may be left to the care of any proper person whom you may think capable of taking due care of her, until the Directors give farther orders respecting her.

"I remain with great esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate Friend,

"And humble Servant,

"Granville Sharp."

Mr. Alexander Falconbridge.

In the interim Falconbridge went to Falmouth to procure money for our journey to London.

There he met the Rev. Thomas Clarkson, that unwearied stickler for human liberty, with whom, (or at whose instimulation) the abolition of the Slave Trade originated, and at whose instance Falconbridge quitted his comfortable situation at Ludway, to enlist in the present (though I fear chimerical) cause of freedom and humanity.

Mr. Clarkson is also a Director of the Sierra Leone Company, under which title, you find by Mr. Sharp's letter, the late St. George's Bay Company is now called.

He informed Falconbridge that his brother, Lieutenant Clarkson of the navy, was gone to Nova Scotia, authorised by government to collect several hundred free Blacks and take them to Sierra Leone, where they are (under the care and patronage of the Directors of our new Company) to form a Colony.

It was surely a premature, hair-brained, and ill digested scheme, to think of sending such a number of people all at once, to a rude, barbarous and unhealthy country, before they were certain of possessing an acre of land; and I very much fear will terminate in disappointment, if not disgrace to the authors; though at the same time, I am persuaded the motives sprung from minds unsullied with evil meaning.

We set out from Penzance the 12th, taking with us the Black Prince, and the following day arrived at Plymouth, where by appointment we met Mr. Clarkson; after staying there four days, we went on towards London, stopped at Exeter three days, and arrived here on the 24th.

As soon as our arrival was known, Mr. Thornton (the Chairman), Mr. Sharp, and several others of the Directors came to see us, and after many compliments expressive with condolence for our misfortunes, and congratulations for our deliverance and safe arrival, a number of enquiries, &c. &c. Mr. Thornton requested Falconbridge and the Prince would dine with him, at the same time gave the latter to understand he was to consider his (Mr. Thornton's) house as his home.

I could not help secretly smiling to see the servile courtesy which those gentlemen paid this young

man, merely from his being the son of a nominal King.

It has slip'd my notice till now to describe him to you:—His person is rather below the ordinary, inclining to grossness, his skin nearly jet black, eyes keenly intelligent, nose flat, teeth unconnected, and filed sharp after the custom of his country, his legs a little bandied, and his deportment easy, manly, and confident withal. In his disposition he is surly, but has cunning enough to smother it where he thinks his interest is concerned; he is pettish and implacable, but I think grateful and attached to those he considers his friends; nature has been bountiful in giving him sound intellects, very capable of improvement, and he also possesses a great thirst for knowledge.

While with me, although it was seldom in my power, now and then I amused myself with teaching him the alphabet, which he quickly learned, and before we parted, could read any common print surprisingly well.

He is not wanting in discernment, and has already discovered the weak side of his patrons, which he strives to turn to good account, and I dare say, by his natural subtilty, will in time advantage himself considerably by it.<sup>7</sup>

The Directors seem much pleased with Falconbridge's exertions, have appointed him Commercial Agent to the Company, and he is shortly to return to Sierra Leone. They are very pressing for me to accompany him, but my late misfortunes are yet too fresh in remembrance to consent hastily. Indeed, you may suppose, I cannot but painfully remember them while the bruises and chafes produced by the voyage on different parts of my body, continue unsealed. However, it is probable, whether with or against my will, I must tacitly assent to hazard a repetition of what I have already undergone.

When matters are wholly fixed you will hear from me, and perhaps I may shortly have the happiness of assuring you in person how I am,

Your's &c.

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<sup>7</sup> This young man returned to Sierra Leone in July 1798, and died the day after his arrival.

## LETTER VI.

London, Nov. 27, 17911

My dear Madam,

The Directors have acted so honorable and handsome it was not possible for me to hold out in refusing to return to Sierra Leone, besides increasing Falconbridge's salary near three times what it was, they have voted us a sum of money as an equivalent for the extraordinary services they consider he has rendered them, and as a compensation for our private losses of cloaths, &c.

But surely mortal never was more harrassed than I have been by their importunities.

They used every flattering and enticing argument, the ingenious brain of man is capable of, to no purpose; — however, though all their rhetoric could not persuade me to revisit Africa, their *noble, generous* actions have effected it.

Mr. Thornton is a good creature, one of the worthiest men I ever met, he has assured me, should any accident happen Falconbridge, I shall be well provided for by the Company; He has also as well as many others of the Directors, made me a profusion of friendly promises and professions so extravagant that if they came from any other set of men I should look upon them, either as chicanery, or without meaning.

The Court has granted 50l. to be laid out in presents for King Naimbana and his old Queen, and have particularly desired, I shall purchase those for the latter, and present them as from myself, by way of enhancing my consequence.

They have likewise grafted another sum for me to lay out in such private stores as I may chuse to take with me for our use after we get to Afrca; besides ordering a very handsome supply for the voyage.

A few days ago, I only hinted an inclination to visit my friends at Bristol, before we left England, and Mr. Thornton said I mould have a Chaise when I liked, and the ex pence should be defrayed by the Company. Do you not think these are pretty marks of attention?

We have thoughts of setting out for Bristol in the course of next week, where I figure to myself much of that undescriptionable pleasure, which lively affectionate minds involuntarily feel upon meeting the bosom friends and sportive companions of their youthful days, grown to maturity with hearts and countenances neither altered by absence, or rusted by corroding time.

But I lament to say this happiness will be of short duration, being obliged quickly to proceed to Falmouth, where we are to embark on board the Company's ship Amy, for Sierra Leone.

Adieu,

LETTER VII.

Free Town, Sierra Leone  
10<sup>th</sup> April, 1792

My dear Madam,

HERE I am, once more exposed to the influence of a Torrid Sun, near three thousand miles apart from my dearest friends, experiencing, not only, the inevitable hardships of Colonization, but wallowing in a multiplicity of trouble and confusion, very unnecessarily attached to the instant Colony.

We sailed from Falmouth the 19th of December, and arrived at this place the 16th of February, when we found the Harpy, Wilson, a Company ship, that left England some time after us; but our voyage was prolonged, in consequence of being obliged to stop at Teneriff for a few pipes of Wine.

Immediately, on entering the river we were visited by Captain Wilson, and after the customary civilities, he told us, several Colonial Officers, a few soldiers, and some independant Settlers came passengers with him, who were greatly rejoiced at seeing the Amy; for being all strangers, they were at a loss, what to do, and wholly relied on Falconbridge to make good their landing.

In the course of conversation many sentences escaped Captain Wilson, importing a very unfavourable account of his passengers, but imagining they proceeded from some misunderstanding between them and him, neither Falconbridge nor myself allowed what he said, to bias or prejudice us in any shape.

Captain Wilson having directed the most eligible spot for us to bring up, waited until our anchor was gone, and then returned to his ship: Falconbridge accompanied him to make his obeisance to the Ladies and Gentlemen on board.

In a short time he was confirmed, our surmise, with regard to disagreements subsisting between the parties, was well grounded, for they were constantly snarling at each other; but it required very little penetration to arrive at the true source of their animosities, and before I proceed further I must acquaint you, the Directors have appointed eight persons to represent them, and conduct the management of their Colony, under the *dignified appellation of Superintendent and Council*.

It is a pity when making those appointments, they had not probed for characters of worth and respectability, as success in any enterprise greatly hinges on skilful, prudent conduct; qualities more especially requisite in an undertaking like this, laboring under a load of enemies, who will, no doubt, take advantage to blow the smallest spark of mal-conduct into a flame of error.

Perhaps the Directors imagine they were particularly circumspect in their choice of representatives, if so, they are grossly deceived, for never were characters worse adapted to manage any purpose of magnitude than some whom they have nominated.

Are men of little worth and much insignificance fit to be guardians and stewards of the immense property required, for erecting the fabric of a new Colony? Are Men, whose heads are too shallow to support a little vicissitude and unexpected *imaginary* aggrandizement, whose weak minds delude them with wrong notions of their nominal rank, and whose whole time is occupied with contemplating their fancied consequence, in place of attending to the real and interesting designs of their mission,

calculated for the executors of a theory, which can only be put in practice by wise and judicious methods?

Certainly not; yet of this description are the greater part who guide and direct our Colony; a majority of whom came passengers in the Harpy, and who, intoxicated with false ideas of their authority, wished to assume the prerogative of controlling Captain Wilson in managing and governing his ship; but the latter treated their arrogance with contempt, and consequently grew the dissensions alluded to, which have since been the cause of many disagreeable unpleasant occurrences.

Falconbridge soon returned with Captain and Mrs. Wilson, whom we had invited to dine with us; four Honorable Members of the Council, dressed *cap a pie* in a uniform given them by the Directors to distinguish their rank, came with them; to make their bows to your humble servant, as the wife of their *superior*, Falconbridge being the eldest member of the *supreme* body.

A message was then sent to King Jemmy (opposite to whose town the Amy lay) to announce our arrival to him and King Naimbana (who was there at the time,) requesting they would come on board..

Naimbana, accompanied by Mr. Elliotte and a number of attendants, soon complied with our request, but Jemmy would not be prevailed upon.

The old King was overjoyed at seeing me; being seated, Falconbridge shewed him the portrait of his son,\* a present from the Directors.

The picture is an admirable likeness, and the poor Father burst into tears when he saw it.

He stayed with us five days; and, notwithstanding every courteous art was used to persuade King Jemmy to honor us with a visit, we could not effect it. He once consented on condition I remained in his town a hostage till he returned; this I agreed to, and went on shore for the intention; but his people dissuaded him just as he was going off.

\* The first of his family transferd on canvas,

You may remember I mentioned in a former letter, the ground where the *first Settlers* were driven from by King Jemmy, being the most desirable situation here-about for a settlement, but by the Palaver it was objected to; however, with coaxing, and the irresistibility of presents, King Naimbana was prevailed upon to remove whatever objections there were, and on the 28th of February put us in quiet possession of the very spot; which is named *Free Town*, from the principles that gave rise to the establishment.\*

\*It is situated on a rising ground fronting the sea; six miles above Cape Sierra Leone, and eighteen from Bance Island; Separated. from King Jemmy's town by a rivulet and thick woods near half a mile through: before the town, is pretty good anchorage for shipping, but the landing places are generally bad in consequence of the shore being bound with iron rocks, and an ugly surge most commonly breaking on them.

The second day after our arrival there was a grand Council held on board, the Amy, when their Secretary delivered Mr. Falconbridge new instructions from the Directors, directly counter to those he received in London; subjecting him, in his commercial capacity, to the control of the Superintendent

and Council, and acquainting him, Lieutenant Clarkson was appointed Superintendent.

This has disconcerted Falconbridge vastly, and inclines him to construe their conduct to us in England, as juggle and chichane, for the mere purpose of enticing him here, knowing he was the fittest, nay only person, to secure a footing for the Nova Scotia Emigrants; but I cannot think so harshly.

After been here a fortnight, Mr. Clarkson arrived with the Blacks from America, a part of whom came some days before him.

When he left Nova Scotia they amounted to between eleven and twelve hundred, but during the voyage a malignant fever infested the Ships, and carried off great numbers.

Mr. Clarkson caught the fever and miraculously escaped death, which would have been an irreparable loss to the Colony, being the only man calculated to govern the people who came with him, for by his winning manners, and mild benign treatment, he has so gained her affections and attachment, that he can, by lifting up his finger (as he expresses it) do what he pleases with them.

They are in general, a religious temperate, good set of people; at present they are employed in building huts for their temporary residence, till the lands promised them can be surveyed, when that will be God only knows; the surveyor being a *Counsellor* and *Captain* of our *veteran host*, is of too much consequence to attend to the servile duty of surveying, notwithstanding he is paid for it.

Few of the Settlers have yet got huts erected, they are mostly encamped under tents, made with sails from the different ships, and are very badly off for fresh provisions; indeed such is the case with us all, and what's worse, we have but half allowance of very indifferent salt provision, and bad worm eaten bread.\*

\*The James, of Bristol, being unfit to proceed her voyage, was condemned and sold at Bance Island about this time; from her a quantity of beans and other provisions were purchased which was a fortunate circumstance for the Colony, then in a starving state.

Painfully do I say, nothing promises well.—Mr Clarkson, as Superintendent, is so tied up, that he cannot do any thing without the approbation of his Council, and those opinionated upstarts thwart him in all his attempts.

He is an amiable man, void of pomp or ostentation, which his senatorial associates disapprove of exceedingly, from the ridiculous idea that their *dignity* is lessened by his frankness.

How truly contemptible it is to see men stickle in this way after foolish unbecoming consequence blind to the interest of their employers, whereby, they must, without question, rise or fall.

Their absurd behaviour+ make them the laughing stocks of the neighbouring Factories and such masters of slave ships as have witnessed their conduct, who must certainly be highly gratified with the anarchy and chagrin that prevails through the Colony.

+Few days escaped without a quarrel, which sometimes came the length of blows: Members of Council were daily ordering goods from the ships, not wanted, and inevitably to be destroyed, merely for the purpose of shewing their authority.

The Blacks are displeas'd that they have not their promised lands; and so little do they relish the obnoxious arrogance of their rulers, that I really believe, was it not for the influence of Mr. Clarkson, they would be apt to drive some of them into the sea.

The independant European Settlers are vastly disappointed, and heartily wish themselves back in their own country.

This is not to be wondered at, when in addition to the calamity of being in a new Colony, over-run with confusion, jealousy, and discordant sentiments, they are exposed to the oppression of wanting almost every necessary of life, having no shops; where they might purchase, or any other medium of procuring them.

I have only one piece of pleasing intelligence to give you: — The Colony just now is tolerable healthy; a very few deaths have occurred among the blacks since their arrival, and but two among the Whites, the latter were Doctor B— , (our physician,) and the Harpy's gunner.

The gunner's death was occasioned by that of the former, who brought on his dissolution by inebriety and imprudence; being a member of the Magisterial body, he was buried with all the pomp and ceremony circumstances would admit of.

While the corpse moved on in solemn pace, attended by Members of Council, and others in procession, minute guns were fired from the Harpy; in executing this, the gunner lost his arm, of which he died very shortly.

I yet live on ship board, for though the Directors had the goodness to send out a canvas house purposely for me, I have not the satisfaction of occupying it, our *men of might* having thought proper to appropriate it another way.

Mr. Gilbert, our clergyman, returns to England in the vessel I write by, a fast sailing schooner, Mr. Clarkson has purchased for the painful, but indispensable intention of sending the Directors information of our distracted, deplorable situation; at the same time exhorting them in their *wisdom* to make some immediate, efficacious change in our government, without which their Colony will, irrecoverably be stifled in its infancy.

Mr. Gilbert is a man of mild agreeable manners, truly religious, without the hypocritical shew of it; he is universally liked in the Colony, and I am sure his absence will be greatly regretted; but Mr. Clarkson's indisposition, rendering him unable to write so fully as he wishes, or necessity demands, has prevailed on him (Mr. Gilbert) to return to England, and represent to the Directors, by word of mouth, whatever he may neglect to do in writing.

A party of us will accompany him to the Banana Islands, about ten leagues from hence, where he is in hopes of procuring fresh stock, and other necessary sea stores, which are not to be had here for love or money.



I do not think it will be in my power to write you from the Banana's; shall, therefore, close this letter with sincere hopes my next may give you a more favourable account of things.

Farewel, &c, &c.

## LETTER VIII.

Free Town, July 1, 1792.

My dear Friend,

W E accompanied Mr. Gilbert to the Island Banana's, where he succeeded in getting some fresh stock, and after staying there two days, departed for your quarter of the globe, and I hope is safe arrived in London long ere now.

The Banana's derives its name from the fruit, so called, which grows there spontaneously, and in great abundance, as do most tropical fruits

It is a small Island, but a wonderfully productive healthful spot, throngly inhabited by clean, tidy, sociable, and obliging people.

'They have a town much larger and more regularly built than any other native town I have yet seen; the inhabitants are mostly vassals to one Mr. Cleavland, a Black man, who claims the sovereignty of the Island from hereditary right.

The houses are chiefly constructed in a circular form, but of the same kind of stuff with those I formerly noticed.

In the center of the town is a Palaver, or Court House; here we observed a bed neatly made up, a wash hand bason, clean napkin, and every apparatus of a bed chamber.

This had a very curious appearance; but we were told, the late Mr. Cleveland used to indulge himself with the luxury of sleeping in this airy place, and the inhabitants superstitiously thinking (though he has been dead more than a year,) he yet invisibly continues the practice, they would not, upon any account, forego the daily ceremony of making up his bed, placing fresh water, &c. as was the custom in his life time.

The idolatry shewn the memory of this man, I make no doubt is greatly encouraged by his son, as it secures consequence and popularity to him.

He was from home, I therefore did not see him, but understand he is clever, and (being educated in England) rather polished in his manners.

We sailed from the Banana's in company with Mr Gilbert, consequently my time was so short, that I am not able to give you but a very superficial account of that island; but shall refer you to Lieutenant Mathews's Voyage to Sierra Leone, where you will find it amply described. While there, we dined on board an American ship, commanded by an Irishman, who has since then been here entertaining himself at the expence of our *Senators*.

He invited them all to dine with him, which being accepted (by every one but Mr. Clarkson and Falconbridgc,) they were treated with true Hibernian hospitality, and made beastly drunk.

Our illegitimate son of Mars was of the number, who the master of the ship cull'd out for his butt; he not only played upon him during dinner, but afterwards finding him lull'd into the arms of Morpheus, in consequence of too much wine, had the ship's cook, a slave, dressed in the noble Captain's dashing coat, hat, sword, &c. and stationed immediately before him with a *mopstick* on his shoulder, when the master, himself, fired two pistols, very heavily charged, within an inch of his ear, and having thus roused him from his lethargy, the sable cook was desired to shew with what expertness he could perform the Manual Exercise, which he went through, our *Hero* giving the word of command, to the ridicule of himself, and great amusement of his colleagues and the ship's crew.

Since this, I have taught a large overgrown female Monkey of mine to go thro' several manœuvres of the same, and have made her exhibit when the Captain came to see me, who not seeing the diversion I was making of him, would sometimes take the pains of instructing her himself; but, poor fellow! he has been sadly galled lately, by the arrival of a gentleman from England, who supersedes him in his military capacity.

When I last wrote to you, I was in hopes my next would atone by a more favourable and pleasing account, for the hapless description I then gave of our new Colony, but alas! alas! in place of growing better, we seem daily advancing towards destruction, which certainly awaits us at no great distance, unless some speedy change takes place.

There is about twelve hundred souls, including all ranks of people, in the Colony, seven hundred, or upwards, of whom, are at this moment suffering under the affliction of burning fevers, I suppose two hundred scarce able to crawl about, and am certain not more, if so many, able to nurse the sick or attend to domestic and Colonial concerns; five, six, and seven are dying daily,\* and buried with as little ceremony as so many dogs or cats.

\*About three-fourths of all the Europeans who went out in 1791, died in the course of the first nine or ten months.

It is quite customary of a morning to ask "how many died last night?" Death is viewed with the same indifference as if people were only taking a short journey, to return in a few days; those who are well, hourly expect to be laid up, and the sick look momentarily for the surly Tyrant to finish their afflictions, nay seem not to care for life!

After reading this, methinks I hear you invectively exclaim against the country, and charging those ravages to its unhealthiness; but suspend your judgment for a moment, and give me time to paint the true state of things, when I am of opinion you will think otherwise, or at least allow the climate has not a fair tryal.

This is the depth of the rainy season, our inhabitants were not covered in before it commenced, and the huts they have been able to make, are neither wind or water tight; few of them have bedsteads, but are obliged to lie on the wet ground; without medical assistance, wanting almost every comfort of life, and exposed to nauseous putrid stench, produced by stinking provision, scattered about the town.

Would you, under such circumstances, expect to keep your health, or even live a month in the healthiest part of the world? I fancy not; then pray do not attribute our mortality altogether, to baseness of climate;

I cannot imagine what kind of stuff I am made of, for though daily in the midst of so much sickness and so many deaths I feel myself much better than when in England.

I am surprised our boasted Philanthropists, the Directors of the Company should have subjected themselves to the censure they must meet, for sporting with the lives of such numbers of their fellow creatures, I mean by sending so many here at once, before houses, materials for building, or other conveniences were prepared to receive them, and for not hurrying a supply after they had been guilty of this oversight.

But I really believe their error has proceeded from want of information, and listening with too much credulity to a pack of designing, puritanical parasites, whom they employ to transact business; I cannot help thinking so, nay, am convinced of it, from the cargoes they have sent out, composed of goods, no better adapted for an infant Colony than a cargo of slaves would be for the London market.

Two vessels arrived from England last month, viz the Sierra Leone Packet belonging to the Company; and the Trusty of Bristol, a large ship they chartered from that port; several passengers came in each of them, in the former were a Member of Council, a worthy discreet man; a Botanist, who, I cannot say any thing of, having seen but little of him; a sugar planter, who is since gone to the West Indies in disgust, and the Gentleman who has superseded our *gallant* Captain, and who, I understand is also a cotton planter, but it is not likely he will have much to do in either of those departments for some time; his fellow soldiers being mostly dead, and agriculture not thought on.

In the latter came the Store-keeper, with his wife, mother-in law, and a large family of children; a mineralist, and several clerks and tradesmen, in all twenty-three.\*

\* Six returned to England, one left the Colony and went into the employ of Bance Island, and the remainder died in the course of three or four mouths.

Those vessels brought so little provisions, (with which they should have been wholly loaded) that we have not a sufficiency in the Colony to serve us three weeks. The goods brought out in the Trusty and quantities by other ships, amounting to several thousand pounds value, at this moment line the shore, exposed to the destructive weather and *mercy* of our neighbours, who cannot, I am sure, withstand such temptation. Those remaining on ship board, I have heard Falconbridge say, are perishing by heat of the hold, and damage received at sea. Notwithstanding the Company's property is thus suffering, and our people dying from absolute want of nourishment, Mr. Falconbridge has been refused the Sierra Leone Packet to go in quest of cattle, and otherwise prosecute the duties of his office as Commercial Agent. She is the only vessel fit for the business ; but it is thought necessary to send her to England; yet, if things were ordered judiciously, she might have made one serviceable trip in the mean while, and answered three desirable, purposes by it: relieve the Colony, bartered away goods that are spoiling, and please the Directors by an early remittance of African productions; in place of this she has only been used as a *Pleasure Boat*, to give a week's airing at sea, to Gentlemen in perfect health.

Mr. Falconbridge has had no other opportunity but this to do any thing in the commercial way; the Directors no doubt, will be displeas'd, but they should not blame him; he is placed altogether under the control of the Superintendant and Council, who throw cold water on every proposal of the kind he makes. His time is at present employed in attending the sick, particularly those of scrophulous habits, while our military gentleman, who has acquired by experience some medical knowledge, attends those afflicted with fevers, &c. This is the only physical help at present in the Colony, for though we have

two surgeons they are both so ill, as to disable them from helping either themselves, or others; one of them returns to England in the Packet, as does our *mortified* soldier.

I am, &c.

## LETTER IX.

Sierra Leone, Aug. 25, 1792.

My dear Friend,

You must not promise yourself. either instruction or entertainment from this letter, for my strength of body and mind are so debilitated by a severe fit of illness, that with much ado I could summon resolution enough to take up my pen, or prevail on myself to write you a syllable by this opportunity, but having made a beginning (which is equal to half the task,<sup>7</sup> I shall now endeavour to spin out what I can.

I was confined three weeks with a violent fever, stoneblind four days, and expecting every moment to be my last; indeed I most miraculously escaped the jaws of death: fortunately, just as I was taken sick, a Physician arrived, to whose attention and skill I consider myself principally indebted for my recovery; I am yet a poor object, and being under the necessity of having my head shaved, tends to increase my ghastly figure. You will readily guess it was very humbling and provoking for me to loose my fine head of hair, which I always took so much pride in, but I cannot help it, and thank God my life is preserved.

A few weeks since arrived the Calypso, from Bulam, with a number of disappointed adventurers who went to that Island; they came here in expectation of finding accommodation for a part of them during the rainy season, who meant afterwards to return to Bulam: but they entertained wrong notions of our Colony, when they supposed we had it in our power to accommodate them, for most of our own gentlemen are obliged to sleep on ship board, for want of houses or lodgings on shore.

The adventurers seem vexed at being thus defeated in their expectations, and intend to return to England in the Calypso, when she sails, which will be shortly.

Perhaps you have not heard of the Bulam expedition before, and I can give you but a very imperfect account of it, however, I will laconically tell you what I know.

A Mr. Dalrymple was engaged by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to come out as Governor of this Colony; but they disagreed from some trifling circumstance, and Mr. Dalrymple feeling himself offended, set on foot towards the latter end of last year, a subscription for forming a settlement on the Island I am speaking of, in opposition to the Sierra Leone Company; A number of speculators soon associated, subscribed to Mr. Dalrymple's plan, and I fancy, prematurely set about the completion of its objects, before they had well digested the theory, or accumulated a sufficient fund to ensure success; be that as it may, they purchased a small sloop, chartered the Calypso and another ship, engaged numbers of needy persons, who with many of the subscribers, personally embarked in the enterprize, and placing themselves under the direction of Mr. Dalrymple, and a few others, sailed from England in April last, and arrived at Bulam in June.

I understand they were all novices in the arts and modes requisite for attaining their wished for possession, which was unfortunate, for their ignorance led them into an error, that proved fatal to several.

Although the island of Bulam was uninhabited, it was claimed by persons residing on the adjacent Islands, who by some means or other, learned the errand of the adventurers, and to prevent them from getting a footing without consent of the proprietors, secretly landed a party of men on the Island, where they, for several days watched the motions of Mr. Dalrymple's people; between thirty and forty of whom having disembarked and landed, (without any previous ceremony, according to the custom of the country,) the natives took the first opportunity to catch them off their guard, sell upon them, killed five men and one woman, wounded two men, carried off three or four woman and children, and obliged the remainder to return to their ship.

After this Mr. Dalrymple went to the neighbouring Island of Bissao. belonging to the Portuguese, where he, through the medium of a merchant of that country, became acquainted with the measures he should have adopted at first, and; having courted the friendship of the native chiefs, and made them sensible of his peaceable and honorable intentions, they restored the women and children uninjured and gave him possession of the Island, for some trifling acknowledgment I have not yet ascertained.

Mr. Dalrymple had accomplished this but a short time when he fell sick, and many of the emigrants foreseeing frightful hardships which they were unwilling to encounter during the present rains, he and they resolved to return to England, but first to come hither for the purpose I before mentioned.

The Island is not altogether abandoned, a Lieutenant Beaver of the Navy, with a few people, remain upon it.

Since their arrival here many of them have died, and the ship is just now very sickly. —So much for Bulam.

Now I must say something of ourselves, which I have the heartfelt satisfaction of telling you before hand will be more cheerful and satisfactory than any thing I have heretofore said.

By the last ship, Mr. Clarkson received instructions from the Directors, vesting him with more ample powers than he held before: this was much to be wished for, and its beneficial effects are already visible.

Directly after getting this enlargement of authority, Mr. Clarkson invited all the gentlemen and ladies in the Colony to dine at a mess-house, built for the gentlemen who came out in the Siena Leone Packet; every one who was well enough, gladly attended to celebrate a meeting which was intended to give birth to pleasantness, unanimity, and perpetual harmony; and to deface every thing to the contrary, that previously existed in the Colony: The day I am told (for being sick at the time, I could not be there) was spent, as it should be, with every demonstration of satisfaction, by all parties, and the house was named *Harmony Hall*, by which name it is now, and I suppose ever will be known, while a stick of it stands; This house, and the one I have, are all the buildings yet finished, (I mean for the Whites), but several others are about.

The Colony is growing healthier every day; most of the Blacks are able to turn out to work. The men are employed in the Company's service, and receive two shillings per day wages, out of which they pay four shillings per week for their provisions.

The women are occupied in attending their little gardens, and rearing poultry.

The natives daily grow more intimate with us, and are constantly bringing in fruits of different kinds, but seldom any live stock, unless now and then a few fowls, or perhaps a goat, which they barter away for cloath, soap, or spirits.

Every moon-light night we hear the drums of King Jemmy's town, which is scarcely half a mile from hence. This music of our neighbours, for a long time after we arrived, used frequently to alarm the Colony; but by custom it has become familiar. For several months *King Jemmy* could not be persuaded to come into Free Town; but at last being prevailed upon, and relishing his reception, he now repeats his visits so often, as to be very troublesome. Whenever he comes, a boy attends him with a pair of horseman's pistols, loaded, and I will not be surprised if he does mischief with them some day or other for he never returns home until he has drank a sufficient quantity of rum or brandy, to kindle his savage nature for any manner of wickedness;

The last ship brought out a large house of one hundred feet in length, which is to be erected in the vicinity of the town as an hospital; but the people being mostly on the recovery, I think it would be more advisable to erect it as a store-house, and thereby not only save the Company's valuable property, which is just now perishing for want of shelter; but would serve as a repository for vending many goods that are wasting on board of ships, which would greatly contribute to our comfort, and which we are deprived of from not having a proper place where they might be exposed to sale; and again, I do not think our Blacks will submit to be sent to an hospital, therefore, the intention will be frustrated, however, the house is so constructed, that it can be put up or taken down in a few hours, consequently may, at any time hereafter, be removed; and we understand several houses of the same kind are expected in two large ships, which are hourly looked for.

Since the rains, we have been sadly infested by a variety of insects, but more particularly cockroaches and ants; the latter come from their nests in such formidable force, as to strike terror wherever they go. You will think it strange, that such an insignificant insect as the ant is in England, should be able in another country, to storm the habitations of people, and drive out the inhabitants; but I pledge my veracity to you, I have known them in one night, force twelve or fourteen families from their houses, who were obliged to make use of fire and boiling water to destroy them, which are the only weapons we can attack them with, that will effectually check their progress.

Musquetos are not so troublesome here as I have felt ;hem elsewhere; but we have a perpetual croaking of frogs and buzzings of various vermin, very discordant and unpleasant to the ear of a person in perfect health, yet much more so to those who are sick.

There has been several large serpents killed in the Colony, but none of the overgrown size; Lieutenant Mathews and other authors mention, the largest I have heard of, measured, nine feet in length.— We have been twice visited by some ferocious wild beast, supposed to be a Tyger; the last time it was attacked by two mastiffs of ours, who were beat off and materially injured. One of my poor domestics, a very heavy Newfoundland dog, had his throat terribly lacerated: the other, I imagine, fought shy, as he came off with little damage..

There are many good hunters among our Settlers, through whom we sometimes get wild deer or pork; the latter is a coarse unpleasant food; I lately had a haunch, the hide of which was full an inch and an half thick; the former is meagre, dry meat, very unlike your English venison, but such as it is, we are glad when it comes in our way.



Some little time ago an accident happened, one of the most expert hunters we have, which has considerably lessened our supply of game; he was laying in ambush near where he new a deer frequented; another person, in pursuit of the same, passing hard by, and hearing the rustling of leaves, immediately fired into the thicket from whence the noise proceeded, and lodged the greater contents of his gun in the head and right shoulder of his unfortunate rival, but, not killing him, he brought him home, two miles through the wood, on his shoulder. Falconbridge extracted several of the shot, and thinks he may recover.

Our Botanist and Mineralist have, as yet, made little proficiency in those branches of natural philosophy; the confusion of the Colony has retarded them as well as others; they are both Swedes, and considered, very eminent in their professions. The Mineralist is about to make an excursion into the interior country, and is very sanguine in his expectations. He has but slightly explored the country hereabouts, and been as slightly rewarded; the only fruits of his researches are a few pieces of iron oar, richly impregnated with magnetism, with which the mountains abound.

The Botanist, is preparing a garden for experiments, and promises himself much amusement and satisfaction, when he can strictly attend to his business. His garden is now very forward, but it is attended with considerable expence; however, a mere nothing, when put into the great scale of Colonial charges, which, including shipping, Officers' salaries, wages of labourers, and provisions, does not amount to less than the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty pounds per day, without naming incidental charges, such as presents to natives, daily waste and destruction of property, &c. Those aggregated from the birth of the Company, to the present time, may at least be computed at 25,000l.

This is not a supposition of my own, for I have heard it from those who must certainly be informed on the business; but notwithstanding the Company's purse is so much weakened, by folly and want of circumspection, if the harmony and good understanding, at present existing in the Colony, continues, it is yet sufficiently strong, by being applied with method, and proper exertions, not only to retrieve their losses, and answer their original laudable and magnanimous purposes, but amply requite any pecuniary motives they may have.

Mr. Falconbridge has obtained permission from Mr. Clarkson to commence his commercial career, and had selected goods for the purpose, but was checked by illness, and is dangerously ill at this moment. If he recovers, his first assay will be on the Gold Coast, where he anticipates success and often says he hopes to cheer the despondent Directors, by a valuable and unexpected cargo.

Mr. Clarkson thinks it too early to meddle with trade, from the idea that it will procrastinate the regularity and comfort of the Colony, which he is strenuously endeavouring to establish, but from my slender notion of things, I humbly beg leave to differ from him, and rather suppose it would greatly contribute to accelerate his wishes; at least it would not be the smallest hindrance, or by any means interfere with our police, which to be sure will not yet bear a scrupulous investigation; however it is mending, and I dare say, in time, our able, zealous pilot, will steer us clear of the labyrinth which he found us entangled in.

May it be so, is the earnest wish of,

Your's, &c. &c.

## LETTER X.

Free Town, Sierra Leone,  
28th Dec. 1792.

My dear Friend,

WITHIN ten or twelve days after the date of my last, arrived the two ships that were expected. One is the York, a large vessel of a thousand tons (belonging to the Company), that is intended to end her days here in the character of a storeship, for which purpose she is admirably adapted; the other is the Samuel and Jane, likewise a vessel of great burden, chartered to remain here six months if wanted. This vessel arrived some days before the York; in her came a Mr. Wallis, to supersede Falconbridge; the Directors having thought proper to annul his appointment as Commercial Agent.

That they had a right to do so, I will not question; but methinks it develops treachery; and I now suspect their whole conduct to us in England, was only a complication of hypocritical snares, to answer selfish purposes, which having attained, they cared not any longer to wear the mask.

In their dismissal they accuse Falconbridge of not extending their commercial views, and wanting commercial knowledge. The latter charge may be in some measure well founded, for Mr. Falconbridge was bred to physic, and men of perspicuity would have known how unfit such a person must be for a merchant, indeed he was aware of it himself, but it being a place of much expected profit, (a temptation not to be withstood), he was in hopes by application, soon to have improved the little knowledge he had, so as to benefit both his employers and himself; but in this they disappointed him, and were actually the cause of choking the attempts he might have made.

They should recollect the deep deception played upon him. He left England with independant and . unlimited powers, which were restrained immediately on our arrival here. Thus bridled; with the reins in possession of men, who considered commerce only as a secondary view of the Company, and who negatived every proposition of the kind Falconbridge made, till a very short time before his appointment was annulled.—What was he to do?

Two days before his dismissal came out, he crawled from his sick bed, and, at the moment it was delivered him, was in the act of arranging and preparing matters for the trading voyage I mentioned in my last. I am certain it proved a mortal stab to him; he was always addicted to drink more than he should; but after this by way of meliorating his harrowed feelings, he kept himself constantly intoxicated; a poor, forlorn remedy you will say; however, it answered his wish, which I am convinced was to operate as poison, and thereby finish his existence; he spun out his life in anguish and misery till the 19th instant, when without a groan he gasp'd his last!!!

I will not be guilty of such meanness as to tell a falsehood on this occasion, by saying I regret his death, no! I really do not, his life had become burthensome to himself and all around him, and his conduct to me, for more than two years past, was so unkind, (not to give a harsher term) as long since to wean every spark of affection or regard I ever had for him. This I am persuaded, was his greatest crime; he possessed many virtues, but an excellent dutiful son, and a truly honest man, were conspicuous traits in his character.

I shall now return to the arrival of the York; in this ship came out the Rev. Mr. Horne and a Mr. Dawes, who is a new appointed member of council. I must not proceed any further till I inform you, the Directors have wholly changed their original system of government, dismantled the old Council, and placed their political reins in the hands of Mr. Clarkson, who is to be assisted by two Counsellors, one of whom is the gentleman I just mentioned, the other is not yet appointed.

This new ministry is titled, "The Governor and Council," and are charged with the management of all civil, military, and commercial affairs, but have no authority whatever to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, which are left to the guidance of Mr. Horne or any other Minister for, the time being.

Time will shew whether, this alteration of politics proves propitious, as yet things have not fallen off, but rather mended. .

We are and have been frequently much pestered by renegade seamen, quitting ships employed in the Slave Trade, and refuging here, to the great detriment of their employers and inconveniences of the Colony. This circumstance considerably perplexes Mr. Clarkson, who, on the one hand is not only threatened with lawsuits by the masters and owners of ships, detained for want of their sailors, but is well convinced of the injury they sustain; on the other, his orders are to *protect every man*, which leaves him in an awkward situation, and at a loss what to do; however, by way of intimidation to practices of the kind, he had the following notification, (which has not availed any thing) sent to some of the neighbouring factories and stuck up in the Colony .:

Free Town, Sierra Leone,

Sept. 3d, 1792.

"This is to give Notice, that I will not on any account, permit Seamen, who may leave their respective Vessels, to take shelter in this Colony; and I shall give orders in future, that the Constables seize every man who cannot give a good account of himself, or whom they may suspect to have deserted from their employ. At the same time I shall be always ready to listen to the complaints of every injured man, and shall transmit their affidavits home to England, provided they make application in a proper manner.

(Signed)

JOHN CLARKSON."

It is much to be lamented, however desirable the abolition of the Slave Trade may be, while it is sanctioned by the English Government, property of individuals in that trade should be harrassed and annoyed by want of order and regularity in this Colony, or by the fanatical prejudices of any set of men. One ship in particular has suffered most essentially, viz. the Fisher, Clark, of Liverpool, whose men deserted from her in July last, and though she has had her cargo engaged ever since, she is not yet able to quit the coast for want of seamen; some of whom died, and others are now here, *employed in the Company's service*.

On the 26th, 27th, and 28th of September, there was an assembly of native Chieftains here, and a Palaver was held for the purpose of ascertaining the limits of the Company's territory. This was attended with considerable more expence than Falconbridge's palaver, and the consequence far less

productive. They finished by curtailing the bounds, from twenty miles square, (the quantity purchased by Captain Thompson, and afterwards confirmed to the St George's Bay Company) to about two miles and a quarter fronting the sea, and running in a direct line back, as far as the district of Sierra Leone may be, which is generally supposed not to exceed five or six miles, and three fourths of it a barren, rocky, mountainous country, where it will be impossible for men, who are to earn their bread by agriculture, even to support themselves; but admitting it was all good, there is not more than will enable the Company to comply with one fifth part of their engagements to the Blacks brought from America, which proportion is now surveying for them.

This circumstance, I am persuaded, will hereafter lead to much discontent and uneasiness among the settlers, and, if I do not soothsay wrongly, will shackle those gentlemen who have been the instruments of removing them, with such disgrace as they will not easily expunge.

When the Palaver was ended, and Naimbana (who presided at it on the part of the natives) was about to return to Robana, Mr. Clarkson, by way of amusing and complimenting the King, took him in a boat with six oarsmen and a cockswain, who rowed them through the fleet in the harbour, consisting of six or seven sail; each vessel, as they passed, saluted them with several guns, till they came to the Harpy, when they were not noticed by the smallest token of respect; on the contrary, Captain Wilson called to Mr. Clarkson and told him he had a few words to say to him; Mr. Clarkson replied, if they were not of much consequence he wished to be excused just then, but upon Wilson's assuring him they were of some importance, the Governor complied with his request and went on board: Captain Wilson then said, he was much offended that Mr. Clarkson should take a boat's crew from his ship, and a cockswain from another; till that moment Mr. Clarkson had not observed such to be the case, and assured Captain Wilson it was done inadvertently, without the slightest intention of giving offence. This acknowledgment was not enough for Captain Wilson, and his temper being irritated, he used some very indiscreet expressions to Mr. Clarkson, such as telling him: "Damn me, Sir, if ever you shall have another boat's crew from my ship, unless you have a cockswain also," &c. &c. The governor was hurt at such language and returned to his boat; King Naimbana enquired of him why that ship did not fire? he answered "Mrs. Wilson is sick, and the Captain does not like to disturb her with the noise."

The King then embarked on board the Lapwing Cutter, and went home: When he was gone, and the Colony clear of all the Chiefs, Mr. Clarkson sent a message to Captain Wilson, desiring him to make an apology for his unhandsome behaviour, or he (Mr. Clarkson) would be under the necessity of taking steps very repugnant to his inclination. Wilson positively refused, and continuing obstinate two days, (wholly engrossed with messages and answers, to and fro), Mr. Clarkson, although a man of humility and condescension, unwilling to brook so gross an insult, summoned every gentleman in the Colony to meet him on board the Amy; and when they were collected, wrote a letter, summoning Captain Wilson: which summons being disobeyed, he appealed to the assembly, who unanimously determined, the delinquent should be dismissed from command of the Harpy; in consequence whereof, his dismissal, signed by the Governor and Mr. Dawes, was sent immediately.

When the boat that carried it, came under the Harpy's stern, (being a little after eight at night,) she was hailed, and asked whither she was bound? "To the Harpy, with a letter for Captain Wilson," answered the bearer; "I am desired to inform you, no boat will be permitted to come along side at such an improper hour; and, if you proceed a boat's length further, Captain Wilson's orders are to fire on you" replied a voice from the Harpy: these threats not intimidating the boat's crew, two muskets were actually fired on them, but did no mischief; and reaching the ship before another fire, the undaunted messenger attempted to ascend the gangway, but was prevented by the ship's company, who cut away

the gangway ropes, and beat him off with cutlasses, sticks, &c.

Captain Wilson having learned the purport of this letter, from some person who afterwards went on board, declared he would not be removed from his ship with life, and he would blow out that man's brains, who dared attempt to enforce him! This boisterous disposition subsided by the following day, when his dismissal with minutes of every gentleman's opinion who had been at the meeting over night, were sent him. He then persisted that he would not *tamely* leave his ship, but if any person, authorised, forcibly attempted to take him out, he would make no unlawful resistance. Mr. Dawes volunteered this duty, went on board, and after, in vain, persuading Wilson not to put him to the unpleasant task of using violence, he took him by the collar, and gently led him over the ship's side. When descending into the boat, he called to his Officers and men, "Observe! I am forced out of my ship." He was then conducted to the York, where he was informed his residence would be until an opportunity offered to send him to England.

This fracas being thus quieted, perfect harmony otherwise subsisting among us, and Mr. Clarkson having some idea of returning to Europe, wished before hand, to furnish Mr. Dawes with a trial of his influence among the Blacks, and individual management of the Colony; and judging a trip to sea, for a few weeks, would be the best means of affording such an opportunity, he sailed in the *Amy* on the 2d of October, in company with a small brig of the Sierra Leone Company's, then bound home to England; but in which Mr. and Mrs. Wilson could not take their passage, the accommodations being previously disposed of.

When Mr. Clarkson sailed, he desired Captain Wilson might be informed, he was not to consider himself a prisoner, but at liberty to conduct himself as he pleased, and visit any where he liked, except the *Harpy*, which ship he was strictly prohibited from putting his foot on board.

In about three weeks Mr. Clarkson returned; a multiplicity of complaints were then poured into him by the Settlers, against Mr. Dawes, whose austere, reserved conduct (so reverse to the sweet manners of the others they could not possibly relish, and consequently all hopes or expectations of the latter gaining popularity, proved abortive. It may not be mal-apropos to mention here, that Mr. Dawes is a subaltern of Marines; that the prejudices of a rigid military education has been heightened by his having served, some time at Botany Bay, where, no doubt, it is necessary for gentlemen to observe an awful severity in their looks and actions; but such behaviour, however suitable for a Colony formed wholly of Convicts, and governed by the iron rod of despotism, should be scrupulously guarded against in one like this, whose *basis is Liberty and Equality*, and whose Police is dependant, in great measure, if not altogether, on the whimsical disposition of an ignorant populace, which can only be advantageously tempered by placidness and moderation.

The Directors having ordered home the *Harpy*, when she could be spared from the Colony, Mr. Clarkson, on his return, desired she might be expeditiously fitted for sea, and on the 28th of last month, being Sunday, and most of the Colony piously engaged, Captain Wilson, knowing she was nearly ready, availed himself of the chance, and through the means of her boat, that came under pretence of giving him an airing, replaced himself, by consent of his Officers and crew, in command of his ship, and immediately after divine service, Mr. Clarkson received the following letter from him.

November 18, 1792

Sir,

I apprehend it is needless to inform you I have taken possession of the Harpy, and man, in defiance of all opposition, to carry her to England.

As I should be very sorry to be exceeded in politeness on this occasion,\* I write this to ask your commands for London, intending to sail immediately; nevertheless, Sir, if within an hour I receive an answer, assuring me of your pacific intentions, signed by *yourself* and Mr. *Dawes*, I will wait your orders.

Take care, Sir, how you attempt any thing like force; if blood is shed, be it upon your head. Wishing you more prudence, and better advisers,

I remain, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

T. H. WILSON.

John Clarkson, Esq. &c. &c.

\* Mr. Clarkson had wrote a day or two before this to Mrs. Wilson, offering her a passage in the Harpy, and at the same time informing Captain Wilson, she was to sail in a few days, if he wished to write.

This was a step so unlooked for, that it puzzled the Governor and Council how to conduct themselves: after some deliberation, they determined not to answer Captain Wilson's letter, and the time he limited having elapsed, we saw the Harpy under the guns of the York, and under the guns of the Battery, get under way, and triumphantly sail off.

Various opinions prevailed respecting the propriety of Captain Wilson's repossessing himself of the Harpy: some said it was an act of piracy, and they were certain he would never take her to England; but others judged less harshly, with whom I join; and, from my knowledge of Captain Wilson, feel myself authorised to say, he possesses too great a share of pride, and too high a sense of honor, to shipwreck his character on the rock of infamy.—but at the same time will not aver him inerrable; on the contrary, think his behaviour to Mr. Clarkson monstrous disrespectful and inconsistent, which, without doubt, he was betrayed into by warmth of temper, and too lofty, but wrong notions of punctilio's.

I have been particularly obliged to Captain Wilson, therefore it would be truly ungenerous, nay, the blackest ingratitude in me, mischievously, to hint at any thing prejudicial to him, and must beg you not to suppose I have touched upon the subject by way of assailing his character; considering it a circumstance of importance, I could not pass it over in silence.\*

\* Should this Narrative meet the eye of Captain Wilton, I trust he will do me the justice to say, I have not wandered from the Broadway of truth.

On the 2d instant arrived the Felicity from England. I mention the arrival of this vessel, because she was expected to bring a number of useful stores for the Colony, in place of which her cargo consisted principally of *garden watering pots*.

In her way out she stopped at Gambia, and took in several head of cattle, whereby we are now and then indulged with roast beef; the first we have had since our arrival, for the inhabitants, hereabouts, are too indolent to attend to rearing domestic quadrupeds of any kind.—King Naimbana has two or three very fat beeves; and I think there may be as many more at Bance: Island; but, before the Felicity arrived, I can venture to say, those were all in this part of the country, unless I include a couple of milch cows, and a bull brought out from England by the York, which, from the inimical climate, died in a very short time. These brought from Gambia are thin, the flesh dark and coarse, and only the name of beef as a recommendation. Mutton and goat's flesh are the most preferable in their kinds; indeed, the former, though not overloaded with fat, I think nearly as sweet as our English mutton, but the little we get of them, come chiefly from the interior country.

About the latter end of October, the rains began to diminish; and for a month past have entirely ceased: they are succeeded by dense, disagreeable, and unwholesome fogs, which are supposed will continue near a month longer. These are termed smoaks, and considered more unhealthy than the worst rains, but we cannot say so from experience, for the Colony is healthier just now, than it has been since the beginning of May; yet a few deaths happen now and then: among those who lately died was Mr. Nordenschild, the Mineralist, who was taken ill on the expedition I noticed in my last, he was then about to make, and forced to return without acquiring any satisfaction for his journey, which was attended not only with innumerable disadvantages from the time of year, but with many other impediments he did not foresee or expect.

The loss of him is much to be regretted, for he was an enterprising clever man, and no doubt, had he lived, would have procured a vast deal of useful information.

The Governor and Council have at last thought it advisable to embark in Agriculture, and have purchased a small tract of land on the opposite (Bullom) shore.— This new undertaking is placed under the management of a man, who was some time an Overseer in Dominica, and who was a *Member of the First Council*: it is called *Clarkson's Plantation*, and from the richness and apparent fertility of the soil, much advantage may be looked for, provided no disagreement arises with the natives, and a sufficient number of steady labourers can be obtained; but being in its infancy, all we can do at present is to wish it success, which time must determine.

Three or four new houses are now erected, and most of the gentlemen are comfortably lodged; there is a retail shop opened in the Colony, from whence we are furnished with such goods as the Directors have sent out, most of which are not only badly adapted for a warm climate, but wretchedly bad in their kind.

We have little gold or silver among us; that want is substituted by paper notes, from five dollars down to six-pence, signed by the Governor or Mr. Dawes.— The credit of this medium is established by giving bills of exchange, to the holders, upon the Directors, at a trifle more than eleven per cent discount, which is only the difference between sterling and currency, a guinea being nominally twenty-three shillings and four-pence here; it is taken in payment for goods at the Company's store, and its reputation is now so good, that the neighbouring Factories and casual Traders receive it for what our Settlers purchase for them.

Mr. Clarkson is so convinced the Company have been sadly imposed upon, that a few weeks ago he wrote a circular letter to the gentlemen of the Colony, acquainting them with his intention of sailing for England very quickly,—requesting their opinion of the various goods that came under their notice,—

:their general ideas as to the wants of the Colony, and their advice how to prevent abuses being practised on the Company in future.

I saw part of a letter from one gentleman in answer, wherein he says,—“You have done me the honor of asking my advice how to prevent abuses being practised on the Company in future? In answer to this I shall only say, it would be the height of presumption in me to offer an opinion on the subject, being persuaded your own penetration and discernment is sufficient to discover a remedy, without the assistance of any one; and if the Directors will attend to your advice upon this, as well as every other circumstance respecting the Colony, I am sure they will find their advantage in it.”

Had my opinion been asked, I should have said, “let the Directors shake off a parcel of hypocritical puritans, they have about them, who, under the cloak of religion, are sucking out the very vitals of the Company; let them employ men conversant in trade, acquainted with the coast of Africa, and whose *religious tenets have never been noticed*; under this description they will find persons of sound morals, fit to be intrusted, but they will ever be subject to impositions, while they employ a pack of canting parasites, who have just cunning enough to deceive them.

We are in great tribulation about Mr. Clarkson's going away, for Mr. Dawes is almost universally disliked; and more than probable anarchy and discord will again return, in full force among us, when the management of things are left to him alone; however, it is wrong to anticipate misfortunes, and our Governor has made every arrangement in his power to prevent intruders of this kind.

The Surveyor has assured him, the Blacks shall have the proportion of land now surveying for them, in a fortnight at farthest. Every one has pledged himself to use his utmost efforts to preserve harmony and order during Mr. Clarkson's absence, which we expect will be five or six months; and to insure Mr. Dawes the good will of King Naimbana, he has been allowed to make the King a very considerable present *out of the Company's Property*.

Adieu,.

Yours, &c.



## JOURNAL.

Free Town, Sierra Leone,  
Jan. 1st, 1793

TWO days ago Mr. Clarkson sailed; his departure operated more powerfully and generally upon people's feelings, than all the deaths we have had in the Colony; several gentlemen accompanied him two or three leagues to sea, and returned the same night.

Jan. 2d. The Surveyor has stopped surveying the lots of land for the Settlers, although he assured Mr. Clarkson, they should have them in a fortnight. His attention is now taken up with fortification, which seems to be the hobby horse of Mr. Dawes, and a large Fort is planed out upon a hill, about half a mile from the water side.

King Jemmy came to see me this day; he asked what was the reason Mr. Clarkson did not call upon him before he sailed, and said he did not suppose Mr. Clarkson would have left the country without coming to see him; his cheek was furrowed with tears as he spoke; I did not imagine he had so much sensibility.

There was a very heavy tornado last night, an unusual thing at this time of the year; the roof of my house has become so dry, that the rain had free access through, and I got thoroughly wet.

5th. A remarkable fine ox, (sent as a present to the Colony, by King Naimbana) was killed this day, I never saw fatter meat in my life; our acting governor; (notwithstanding it was a present) had it sold at 4d per pound. I suppose he has done this to shew us he intends being an œconomist, and thereby reimburse the Company's heavy losses; but that will require more fat oxen than he will be able to procure in this part of Africa for some years. This is not the only instance of his œconomy, or I should say, parsimony, for a few days after Falconbridge died, he came and demanded of me his uniform coat, sword, gun, pistols, and a few other presents that the Directors had made him, which I gave up, they being of no use to me; he also engrosses all the *Yams*, *Pumpkins*, *Turtle*, and almost every kind of provisions in the neighbourhood, and has them retailed from the Company's store at an enormous advance, when turtle is killed he sends his own servant to take an account of the weight, lest the butcher should embezzle a few pounds; but I doubt after all, he will verify the trite proverb, "penny wise and pound foolish," for I have heard it remarked by a Gentleman of information, that the new Fort, if finished on the plan proposed, will cost 20,000l.

7th. This day another plantation was began at Savoy Point, about half a mile from hence, which is intended for the cultivation of cotton, whether it succeeds or not, clearing the wood about the town will certainly be conducive to health.

The manager of Clarkson's plantation complains that most of his gramattos or labourers have left him to attend the cry or funeral ceremony of one of their brethren, who lately died by the wound of a shark; it is uncertain how long the cry will last.

9th. Came down from Bance Island, the Duke of Buccleugh, bound for Jamaica, with upwards of three hundred slaves. Yesterday arrived two ships, one an American, the other a Frenchman; they have plenty

of provisions on board, which the Colony is greatly in want of. Mr. Dawes called on most of the gentlemen to request they would not purchase any, saying he intends buying what is wanted by wholesale, and will retail it to them at a *small advance*; such a proposal would have come better from a Jew pedlar, than from the Governor of Sierra Leone, or a Lieutenant of Marines.

11th. The Duke of Bucoleugh sailed yesterday, and the Frenchman this day. I understand Mr. Dawes has purchased some articles of provision from the Frenchman, who would have nothing but slaves in return, and for the sake of accommodation, Mr. Dawes gave him an order on Mr. Rennieu, who pays him in slaves. I think if this is not, it borders on an infringement of the Act of Parliament, for incorporating the Company, which says; "the Company shall not, through the medium of their servants, or otherwise, directly, or indirectly, traffic in slaves." It seems as if Providence frowns on this purchase, for an unusual high tide carried away part of the provisions after they were landed.

A small coasting cutter of the Company's called the Providence, arrived this day from the Turtle islands, about fifteen leagues to leeward; she brought eight goats, four sheep, and twenty-one turtle; sixteen of the latter died since twelve o'clock, which has disconcerted the Governor very much; but I am told he has made a calculation, and thinks, if he can sell the other five, at *four-pence per pound*, it will be yet a *saving voyage*.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock last night, the Colony was alarmed by the report of guns, beating of drums, and shrill shoutings of our neighbours at King Jemmy's town—Mr. Dawes assembled all the men, and had arms and ammunition given them, from a supposition that the natives meant to attack us—but it turned out to be a groundless alarm, and is suspected to have been a contrivance of some ill-disposed persons to get the Settlers armed.

King Jemmy and Signior Domingo being informed of this, came to-day to enquire why their *good faith* was mistrusted; they dined with Mr. Dawes, and after dinner King Jemmy paid me a visit; he seemed much offended, and said it was very foolish to suppose he would make war without a cause—if he had a Palaver with the Colony, he would first come and talk it over, and if it could not be settled in that way, and he was forced to make war, he would give us timely notice, that we might defend ourselves, but it was the custom of his country to compromise disputes amicably, and never to engage in war till there was no other alternative, or words to the same effect.—The former assertion, I believe, is not untrue, and his behaviour to the first Settlers is an example; in that dispute, he gave them three days notice of his intention to drive them off, and burn their town;—with regard to the latter, I have frequently heard wars were common among the natives for the purpose of obtaining slaves; such may have been the practice, but I have enquired of several Chiefs, who positively deny it; and I am certain, since my first acquaintance in this part of the world, none of those predatory wars have happened hereabouts, notwithstanding upwards of two thousand slaves have been shipped and sent to the West Indies, from this river, within these last twelve months.

15th. Arrived a Cutter belonging to Bance Island, from the Isles de Loss. A Mr. McAuley, Member of Council, and the Reverend Mr. Gilbert, came passengers in her. These gentlemen came from England to the River Gambia, in the Sierra Leone Packet, where they left her to take in cattle for the Colony. The Settlers are highly pleased at Mr. Gilbert's return; indeed every one must rejoice in the society of so amiable a man.

I have not heard any thing of Mr. McAuley, except his lately being an Overseer upon an estate in Jamaica. It is not to be questioned that the prejudices of such an education must impress him with

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

16th. I heard this morning there was another alarm last night, but as groundless as the last. Seven or eight canoes full of natives, passing the settlement on their way to King Jemmy's, hooping and hallooing as they went, stirred up unnecessary fears in the minds of the Settlers, who flocked to Mr. Dawes, requesting he would furnish them with ammunition, which (not thinking requisite) he refused, and they returned home greatly dissatisfied.

I learn those people are come down to make one of their periodical Sacrifices to the Devil—I should like to witness the ceremony, but strangers (particularly .whites) are not admissible; it will be performed between Free Town and King Jemmy's, on the side of a small brook, under a cluster of large trees.

The weather is particularly fine at present—the fogs or smoaks are mostly dispelled, a salubrious sea breeze fans us daily, and agreeably tempers the burning sun.

17th. We are prodigiously distressed to understand King Naimbana is so dangerously ill, that his death is hourly looked for:—Mr. Dawes, Mr. Gilbert, the Physician, and some others, went up to visit him this morning; his death will certainly inconvenience the colony very much.

Last night arrived the Lapwing cutter from the river Carimanca, (twelve or thirteen leagues from hence) with a load of Camwood, ivory, and rice—the Company have a small factory there, under the direction of a free mulatto-man, but the trade is yet very trifling, not nearly equal to the charges attending it.

That river produces the largest and finest oysters I ever eat—not such as are in common hereabouts, generated on the mangrove tree, and rocks, but genuine bed oysters—I have been fortunate enough to get a supply of them several times.

The Settlers, having now a number of small boats, are able to furnish the Colony with abundance of capital fish, and they have such plenty of fowls, that the gentlemen get what they require; but propagation of the feathered species, is considerably protracted by the multitude of enemies they have here, viz. snakes, rats, wild cats, armadillas,\* ants, &c. The most formidable of all these are the ants—in the dead hour of night, they come in swarms, and attack the helpless chickens, while roosting under the mother's wing, who is scarcely able to defend herself.—I have had four or five killed in a night by them; and so prying and assiduous are they after their prey, that I have known them discover two doves, which were hanging in a cage up one pair of stairs, whom they not only killed, but carried off every morsel, except the feathers, before morning.

\* A kind of scaly lizzard.

19th. Mr. Dawes and two or three other gentlemen went to Bunch river this morning to visit Pa Bunkie, who some people imagine will succeed King Naimbana; they took a present, or as it is termed, Dash, for this Chieftain, by far richer than any yet made, King Naimbana, or any other Chief.

Returning in the evening, they stoped at Signior Domingo's, where they expected to have seen a late

favourite woman of King Jemmy's drink the red water, for suspicion of witchcraft, but their curiosity was disappointed by the ceremony being performed in an inland town; however, they were informed the woman had drank the water, and recovered, and in consequence, Jemmy, by the customs of his country, is obliged either to pay the woman's parents, a slave, or the value of one in goods.

At half past twelve o'clock, P. M. a spark from the Kitchen fire, kindled in the roof of my house, and before water could be procured, communicated itself in all directions: In a few moments the roof fell in, and in less than fifteen minutes, the whole building was consumed; but by the extraordinary exertions of some labourers who were working hard by, most of my cloaths and furniture were saved, so that my loss is trifling. I suppose (from a cursory view of what has escaped), not above 50l. As luck would have it, I moved my lodgings some days ago, and only stayed in the thatched house during the day, intending to leave it entirely, when another room was finished in the house where I now am, which will be the case shortly; indeed, it is already so forward, that I have asked a party of two and twenty to dine with me the day after tomorrow, on an *extraordinary occasion*, therefore I cannot complain of *wanting shelter*.

20th. I have been informed, that Pa Bunkie was advised by his Palaver-Man, not to accept the great *dash*, which Mr. Dawes carried him yesterday; and that this Palaver *Gentleman* made use of the following, or similar language, to dissuade him from taking it:

"Father—these people have been here twelve moons now, have they ever taken the slightest notice of you, by inviting you to their camp,\* or making you the smallest present heretofore?—No, Father! — And what makes them thus "suddenly over generous to you ?— Because they think your services will soon be requisite for them. Do not you know white men well enough, to be convinced they never give away their money without expecting it returned many fold ?— Cannot you see the drift of this profuse, unlooked for, and unasked for present? Let me warn you against taking it—for be assured, however disinterested and friendly they appear at this moment, they are aiming at some selfish purposes, and although they may not discover what their wishes are immediately — before twelve moons more you will know them."— Bunkie replied, " I know they want something, nevertheless I'll take the *dash*— it rests with me, whether to comply with any request they make or not. I shall not consider the present, by any means binding on me."

\* The name given Free Town by the Natives..

Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Horne went up this afternoon to Signior Domingo's, where Mr. Horne preached a sermon to a congregation of natives. How preposterous! Is it possible a sensible man, like Mr. Horne, can suppose it in his power to imprint notions of Christianity, or any sort of instruction, upon the minds of people, through the bare medium of a language they do not understand? He might as well expect holding a candle to the eyes of a blind man, or exposing him to the sun, would reclaim his sight! The desire of spreading Christian knowledge through this ignorant land, is questionless, most praise worthy, but it will require patience and time to effect it.

21st. Last night arrived the Nassau, (Morley) from Bristol, but last from the Isles de Loss: Captain Morley this day added to the number at our convivial gala: I was highly complimented for the elegance, variety, and richness of my dinner, which, without doubt was superb, considering where we are; we had three removes, from six and twenty to thirty dishes each; besides an admirable desert, consisting of a variety of European and tropical fruit, the whole of which was garnished with comfort and pleasantry.

24th. On Sunday last, notice was given that Mr. Horne, or Mr. Gilbert would perform divine service, in future, every morning and evening; and every one is desired to attend. I am of opinion the morning service is superfluous,—Why? For many reasons, and I will here enumerate three or four.

Among the Black Settlers are seven religious sects, and each sect has one or more preachers attached to it, who alternately preach throughout the whole night; indeed, I never met with, heard, or read of, any set of people observing the same appearance of godliness; for I do not remember, since they first landed here, my ever awaking (and I have awoke at every hour of the night), without hearing preachings from some quarter or other.

Now, those people being so religiously bent, I think it unnecessary, or, as I first said, superfluous, that they should be convened every morning; because the prime part of the day, for exercising their worldly vocations, is occupied thereby; the vicious and lazy (and some such will creep into every society), are furnished with the plea of being at church; an excuse, I am told, many already make, after skulking an hour or two beyond the customary and proper time, when they have not been within a church door; and it detains the mass of labourers an hour every day, which, lost time, costs the Company at the rate of 1300l. per annum.

Vice and laziness surely ought not to be protected by Religion any where; but they should be more especially discountenanced in a new Colony, where success greatly depends on industry.

This day I dined on board the Nassau, in company with Mr. Rennieu, and some gentlemen of the Colony.

Rennieu says, an old man named Congo Bolokelly, is on his way from the interior country to succeed King Naimbana; and such great pains has been taken to impress him with an unfavourable opinion of our Colony, that he is determined the Company shall re-purchase their land, or he will do every thing in his power to perplex and annoy us.

Mr. Dawes met with a circumstance very galling to him this forenoon. He had in contemplation to palisade a piece of ground, for an immediate asylum, in case the natives should take it in their heads to attack us.

The spot fixed upon, unfortunately took in part of a lot occupied by one of the Settlers, which, Mr. Dawes, conscious of his unpopularity, did not wish to encroach upon, without obtaining permission, although the Settlers only hold their present Town lots as a temporary accommodation, until their permanent ones are surveyed.

He called on the tenant and took him out to explain what he wanted; many people in the neighbourhood having previously heard of Mr. Dawes's intentions, assembled about him, who declared they would not suffer an inch more ground to be enclosed, upon any pretence whatever, before their town and country lots were given them, and most solemnly protested they would destroy every fence which might be erected till such time.

Mr. Dawes endeavoured to persuade them by argument, what he wanted to do, was for their protection; but they were deaf to every thing he said, and gave him language in return which he could not stomach: He told them if he had imagined they would have treated him with so much indignity, he should not

have come among them: and if they continued to behave in the same way, he would certainly leave them as early as he could. To this, with one voice, they exclaimed, "Go! go! go! we do not want you here, we cannot get a worse after you." He was so disgusted at this, that he turned his back and walked off. It was directly before my door, therefore I witnessed the whole, and could not help feeling for the *Governor*, who was seemed dreadfully mortified and out of temper.

Feb. 3. Nothing worth recording for these ten days past; yesterday the manager of Clarkson's plantation came over from Bullom; he has had a serious quarrel with the natives, but *reason* was determined on his side. His advances in cultivation, I understand are very slow; for he is not able to keep any number of labourers together, more than a month at a time; it is customary to pay them every moon, and when they get their wages, like our English tars, they quit work while they have money.

The Sierra Leone Packet arrived from Gambia this day, with thirty head of cattle; I have not learned what her European cargo consists of, but it is said to be very trifling.

7th. Since the departure of Mr. Clarkson a number of subtle ungentlemanlike attempts have been made, to singe his reputation, in the opinion of the people, and to warp away their affections from him: which as yet have proved unsuccessful; but I never heard of so unmanly, unprincipled, and diabolical an assault on any one's character, as was last night made on his. The Settlers were summoned to meet Mr. Dawes and the Surveyor in the evening; and being collected, they were informed their permanent *Town Lots* were surveyed and ready for them, and they must relinquish those they at present occupy, immediately; to this they replied, "when placed on the lots we at present occupy, we were informed, they were merely for our temporary accommodation, and we promised, when the plan of the town was fixed upon and surveyed we would remove, but we were assured no public or other buildings would be erected between our lots and the sea; now, in place of this, the sea shore is lined with buildings, therefore, your promise being broken, we consider ours cancelled, and will not remove unless the new lots are run from the water's edge, and we indiscriminately partake of them. Mr. Clarkson promised in Nova Scotia that no distinction should be made here between us and white men; we now claim this promise, we are free British subjects, and expect to be treated as such; we will not tamely submit to be trampled on any longer. Why are not our country allotments of land surveyed? Why are not all the Company's promises to us fulfilled? We have a high regard and respect for Mr. Clarkson, and firmly believe he would not have left us, without seeing every promise he made performed; if gentlemen here had not given him the strongest assurances they should be complied with immediately." In answer, they were told, "that it was not uncommon for Mr. Clarkson to make prodigal and extraordinary promises without thinking of them afterwards, that the great advantages he held out to them in Nova Scotia he was in no shape authorised by the Sierra Leone Company to make; they all came from himself merely to seduce them here; and he never had an idea of fulfilling of them, nay, he had it not in his power, and more than probable *was drunk* when he made them. Here they groaned and murmured, but said "they believed Mr. Clarkson to be a man of honor, and that he never made any promise to them but such as he was authorised by the Company to make." The altercation now ended; I have had it nearly in the same language from more than a dozen people who were at the meeting.

The blacks seem vastly alarmed and uneasy, nothing else is spoken of all this day, and I understand they have determined to send two deputies to the Court of Directors to know from them what footing they are on, and what were the promises Mr. Clarkson was authorised to make them; indeed, it is not to be wondered at, for no other conclusion can be formed from such base insinuations, but that a wish exists *somewhere* to do them justice.

12th. We had reason to think, for some days past, King Naimbana was dead, but had no certainty of it until this morning; nor do we exactly know, when he died, but it is supposed several days ago. The country custom is to keep a great man's death secret some time; his coffin (the first in all probability any of his family ever had) is making here, and will be sent up to Robana this evening.

14th. Yesterday being the anniversary of the Harpy's arrival, a few celebrated it by dining at a house of a late member of Council; who came out in her; I think it would have been more *a propos* to have fasted and mourned on the occasion. The day was cloudy, accompanied with a rumbling thunder and spitting rain,\* as if the heavens were groaning and weeping at the recollection. It was intended to have fired minute guns in compliment to the remains of Naimbana, which would have been very timely, but that ceremony was postponed until this day, when it was performed.

\* A circumstance rarely known at this season.

LETTER XI.

February 15th, 1793.

My dear Madam,

THE Good Intent, Captain Buckle, affords me an opportunity of sending you the foregoing Journal, which I fear you will think very insipid, but every day produces such a sameness that really there is not subject for high seasoning, even a common epistle, and you will allow journalizing still more difficult; however, to avoid tautological writing, as much as possible, I skiped over several days at a time, which of course you will have observed, but after all, it is so dry, that I am almost ashamed to send it you, and ant determined in future to have recourse to my old epistolary mode.

My dinner on the 21st of January will somewhat puzzle you at first, and least you may not at once hit upon what occasioned it, I must acquaint you I have changed the name of Falconbridge for one a little *shorter*, under which I beg to subscribe myself.

Yours sincerely, &c, &c



## LETTER XII.

Free Town, Sierra Leone,  
June 5, 1793.

My dear Madam,

I Finished my last by hinting that I had once more enlisted under the banners of Hymen, but made no apology for my hastiness; or, in other words, for deviating from the usual custom of twelve months *widowhood*. To be plain, I did not make any, because I thought it unnecessary. Narrow minds may censure me, and perhaps the powerful influence of habit, might operate against me in your opinion, before you reflected upon my situation, or well-digested the many circumstances which plead in my favour; but having done this, I am mistaken indeed,, if your heart is not too expanded to sully me with reproach afterwards. My own conscience acquits me from having acted wrong; next to that, I wish for the approbation of my friends, and after them, the charitable construction of the world. I know you wish me happy, and no woman can be more so than I am at present, with every expectation of a continuance.

I must now proceed to give you a summary view of occurrences since the fifteenth of February.

The first thing I shall mention is the universal discontent which has prevailed among the Settlers ever since the altercation they had with Mr. Dawes and the Surveyor on the 7th of February, and it must be confessed by every candid person, their murmurs are not excited without cause.

To give you an idea of what their complaints are, I shall state the outlines of a petition which they intend sending to the Court of Directors by two Deputies elected about the middle of March, who, for want of an opportunity, have not yet sailed, but are just on the eve of embarking in the Amy, for England. I have not only seen the petition, but have a copy of it verbatim.

It first of all states, "That the Petitioners are sensible of, and thankful for the good intended by sending them from Nova Scotia to this country, and in return assure the Directors, they are well inclined to assist the Company's views, all in their power..

"That they are grieved beyond expression to be forced to complain of hardships and oppressions loaded on them by the managers of the Colony, which they are persuaded the Directors are ignorant of.

"That the promises made by the Company's Agents, in Nova Scotia, were preferable to any ever held out to them before, and trusting the performance of them, with the Almighty's assistance, and their own industry, would better their condition, induced them to emigrate here. That none of those promises have been fulfilled, and it has been insinuated to them that Mr. Clarkson had not authority for making any, they therefore beg to be informed, whether such is the case or not, and that the Directors will point out on what footing they are considered.

"That health and life is valuable and uncertain; that notwithstanding they labor under the misfortune of wanting education, their feelings. are equally *acute* with those of *white men*, and they have as great an anxiety to lay a foundation for their children's freedom and happiness, as any human being can possess. That they believe the Directors wish to make them happy, and that they think their sufferings are principally due to the conduct of the Company's Agents here, which they suppose has been partially

represented to the Directors.

"That Mr. Clarkson had promised in Nova Scotia, among other things, they should be supplied with every necessary of life from the Company 's stores, at a moderate advance of ten per cent, on the prime cost and charges. That while Mr. Clarkson remained in the Colony they paid no more; but since then they have been charged upwards of 100 per cent. That they would not grumble even at that, if the worst of goods were not sold, and paltry advantages taken of them, particularly in the article of rum. That they had known by Mr. Dawes's order several puncheons filled up with thirty gallons of water each, and even, though thus reduced, sold to them at a more extravagant price than they had ever paid before.\*

\* This is perfectly true, but upon investigation, it appeared to proceed from *religious* motives; Mr. Dawes said, he ordered a little water to be put into each puncheon, from a fear the consumers would neglect to dilute the spirit sufficiently. Had such a trick been played at a *Slave Factory*, how would it be construed?

"That the only means they have of acquiring those goods, is by labouring in the Company's service, and even this they are deprived of, at the whim of Mr. Dawes, or any other Gentleman in office, which they consider a prodigious hardship, as it is the only resource whereby they can provide bread for their families; that out of mere pique several have been discharged from service, and not permitted, even with their little savings, to purchase provisions from the Company's store-house, the only one here.

"That Mr. Clarkson informed them before he sailed for England, the Company had been mistaken in the quantity of land they supposed themselves possessed of, and in consequence only one fifth part of what was originally promised them (the petitioners) could be at present performed; which quantity the Surveyor would deliver them in a fortnight at furthest, but they should have the remainder at a future time.

"That they should have been satisfied had they got one fifth part of their proportion (*in good land*) time enough to have prepared a crop for the ensuing year, but the rains are now commenced, and the Surveyor has not finished laying out the small allotments, which he might have done, had he not relinquished the work as soon as Mr. Clarkson sailed; and the greater part of those he has surveyed, are so mountainous, barren and rocky, that it will be impossible ever to obtain a living from them."

After mentioning many more trifling complaints, and dwelling greatly on the happiness and prosperity of their children, they conclude with words to this effect.

"We will wait patiently till we hear from you, because we are persuaded you will do us justice; and if your Honors will enquire into our sufferings, compassionate us, and grant us the privileges we feel entitled to from Mr. Clarkson's promises, we will continually offer up our prayers for you and endeavour to impress upon the minds of our children, the most lasting sense of gratitude, &c, &c.

"This petition is signed by thirty one of the most respectable Settlers in behalf of the whole; and they have raised a small subscription for supporting their representatives while in England: 'tis to be hoped the Directors will pay attention to them, and not suffer themselves to be biassed by the misrepresentations of one or two plausible individuals, who must of course say all they are able in vindication of their conduct, and who, we have reason to believe, from their hypocritical pretensions to religion, have acquired a great ascendancy over a few of the leading Directors;—but surely they will

not be so forgetful of their own characters and interests, as to allow that ascendancy to operate against honesty, truth and justice, and ruin the quiet and happiness of a thousand souls: —no, they must be strangely altered indeed, laying aside their partiality for Eiopians, if they do not possess too much probity to hesitate a moment when it comes before them.

Besides displeasing the blacks, and rendering them uneasy, Mr. Dawes is at constant variance with some one, or other of the officers, and since I wrote you last, few days have pass'd over without some fresh feud; one in particular is of so extraordinary a nature I must relate it, that you may have a peep into the disposition of our Governor.

Mr. S— a surgeon, who came out in the Sierra Leone Packet, was two months here, without a room to lodge in on shore, which was attended with great inconvenience to him, and interfered considerably with his duty; he, after some time, interceded with Mr. Dawes to let him have a small room fitted up in our house, which he soon got finished, and removed into the apartment being very comfortable and snug, Mr. Dawes took a fancy to it, and the day after Mr. S had taken possession, without any apology or preface, sent his servant to demand the key; Mr. S— was surprised at so uncouth and arbitrary a proceeding, and did not feel inclined to treat it with passive obedience, but gave a positive refusal; as such rudeness merited; in consequence, he was immediately dismissed from the service, and here follows an accurate copy of his dismissal.

Council, Free Town, 26th April, 1793

SIR,

I am desired to transmit the enclosed resolution of Council to you,

and am, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

(signed) J. Strand, Secretary.

Resolved, that Mr. S—, who came out to this Colony as Surgeon in the Hon. the Sierra Leone Company's service, has pointedly refused obedience to the commands of the Superintendent, he be dismissed from the service, and that from this day he is no longer considered as a servant of the said Company. . ' .

entered

(signed) James Strand, Secretary.

Did you ever hear of any thing more ridiculously despotic?—but mark, the sequel; the day following Mr. Dawes attended by the Secretary and his (Mr. Dawes's) servant, came to the Hummums, for by this name I must tell you our house is known, I was sitting in the piazza reading; they took no notice of me, but Mr. S— being present, the Governor addressed him, and demanded the key of his room, which of course was not complied with; he then desired his servant to break open the door, who immediately got to work, and would have done it, but was sllily checked by Mr. Dawes, who with as little ceremony or preface as he had offended, went up to Mr. S—, and said, "I am much concerned, Sir, for what has passed, if you feel offended, I beg your, pardon, I have been unwell, or would not have acted so rudely;

I wanted your room, because it was retired, that I might be a little quiet; pray, Sir, return my papers, and forget what has passed, you will greatly oblige and make me happy by doing so."

Mr. S— heard this penitential confession with amazement, and replied,— "Had you asked me in a gentlemanlike manner for my room at first, it would have been much at your service as it is now, I bear no malice—here are your papers."

I could fill up twenty pages was I to acquaint you with all the private quarrels of this sort: but as they can neither afford amusement or instruction, it is best to pass them over in silence.

On the 25th of April we heard of the French King being massacred, and that England had declared war against the blood thirsty banditti, who have usurped the reins of government in France. This account came by the Swift Privateer Cutter of Bristol, to the Isles de Loss, where she destroyed a French Factory, and made some valuable reprisals.

His Majesty's frigate Orpheus, Captain Newcomb, Sea flower Cutter, Lieutenant Webber, and the African Queen, a ship chartered by the Company, arrived here the beginning of last month. Captain Newcomb, in his way out, touched at Senegal and Goree, and captured six French ships, four of which arrived safe at this port, and have since been condemned and sold at Bance Island; the other two were lost on the shoals of Grandee.

The Orpheus came out to protect the British trade on this part of the coast of Africa, as did the Sea-flower, in some measure; but she is only to run down the Coast, and proceed to the West Indies. After remaining here a few days, they both went to leeward, unfortunately three or four days too late, or they would have intercepted a French Corsair that has scoured the coast from Cape Mount (about fifty leagues from hence) downwards, considerably annoyed our trade, and taken eight valuable ships clear away, it is supposed to Cayenn; she had captured many more, which have been retaken by the Sea-flower and Robust (a Privateer from Liverpool); these two vessels, we hear, have consorted and gone to Old Calabar, where they expect to fall in with and take a large French Guinea-man, that has twelve hundred slaves on board, and is just ready to sail. One of the ships they re-captured was sent in here. I have seen the master of her, who says he never saw such a savage looking set in his life, as were on board the Frenchman. They all had on horsemen's caps (having a tin plate in front, with the emblem of *Death's head and marrow bones*, and underneath inscribed, "Liberty, or Death)," a leather belt round their waist, with a brace of pistols, and a sabre; and they looked so dreadfully ferocious, that one would suppose them capable of eating every Englishman they met with, *without salt or gravy*. Unluckily the Orpheus sprung her foremast, which obliged her to give up pursuing those Republican ragamuffins, and returned here.

During her absence, one or the most atrocious infringements on the liberty of British subjects, and the most daring extension of arrogated power that has yet occurred among us, was practised, by our Colonial Tribunal, on the persons of three sailors belonging to the African Queen.

These thoughtless sons of Neptune came on shore to regale themselves with a walk while their master was away (I believe at Bance Island) and as they strolled through the town, wantonly killed a duck belonging to one of the Settlers; they were immediately apprehended, and taken before the Chief Magistrate, who committed them to prison, and the subsequent day they were tried, not by their Peers, but by *Judge McAuley*, and a *Jury of twelve blacks*, who, without any evidence or defence from the prisoners, found them guilty of stealing and killing the duck. The *self-created Judge* then sentenced one

of them to receive thirty-nine lashes by the common whipper, fined the other two in a sum of money each, and ordered them to be confined in irons, on board the York, till their fines were paid.

These sentences were accordingly put in execution; poor Jack was dreadfully mortified at being whipped by a black man; but his punishment being soon over, I considered it the lightest, for his fellow sufferers were kept ironed in the close hold of a ship, already infested with disease, upwards of three weeks, till the Orpheus returned; when the master of the African Queen presented a petition from them to Captain Newcomb, who did not hesitate to interpose his authority. He came on shore, waited on the Governors, and without waiting for compliments or paying any himself, he demanded of them, by what authority they tried White Men, the subjects of Great Britain, by a Jury of Blacks: it was so novel a circumstance, that it struck him with astonishment. "By act of Parliament," answered Mr. McAuley. "Shew me that Act of Parliament," replied Captain Newcomb; the Act for incorporating the Company being produced, Captain Newcomb read it over carefully, and finding there was no sanction given for holding any Courts of the kind, exclaimed, "Your Act of Parliament mentions nothing of the sort—your Court is a mere usurpation, and a mockery on all law and justice, I desire the prisoners may be released instantly." This, you imagine, was very unpalatable language to our *mighty men*; but they were forced to stomach it, and comply with the orders of their superior.

It is much to be wished; a ship of war was always stationed here; the very sight of her would restrain the exercise of similar abuses, or any extravagant stretches of undelegated power.

The first Sunday in every month is the day appointed for holding this *sham* Court, which, withal, serves very well for regulating any internal quarrels or misunderstandings among the Settlers, by whom it is credited; but extending its functions beyond them, is most iniquitous presumption.

Letters arrived by the African Queen from Mr. Clarkson, saying he was coming out immediately. The joy this news produced was of short continuance, and suddenly damped by dispatches from the Directors, mentioning Mr. Clarkson being dismissed, and succeeded by Mr. Dawes. This cannot in any way be rationally accounted for, but it is universally supposed the Directors have been betrayed into an act so prejudicial to their interests, and the welfare of their Colony, by listening to some malicious, and cowardly representations, sent home by certain persons here, who are fully capable of assassinating the most immaculate character, if thereby they can acquire latitude for their boundless ambition, or, for a moment, quench their unconscionable thirst for power.

No language can perfectly describe how much the generality of people are chagrined on this occasion; they have added to their petition the most earnest solicitation for Mr. Clarkson to be sent out again.

Numbers, hopeless of such an event, are about to quit the Colony, and ever since the news transpired, they have harrassed Mr. Dawes with insults, in hopes he may take it in his head to be disgusted and march off. They even went so far as to write a letter, reminding him of the recent melancholy fate of Louis XVI. and threatening something similar to him, if he did not instantly acquiesce with some demand they made relating to provisions, and which I learn he complied with, without hesitation. I should not be surprised, after obtaining one demand so easily, if they repeated their threats, until all the promises made them were fulfilled: but they say it was the want of provisions, that incited them to *frighten* the Governor, and they will now wait peaceably till their Deputies return from England, or till they know what the Directors mean to do for them.

It will be a monstrous pity if this Colony does not succeed after the immense sum of money expended

on it: the original theory of its establishment (so generally known) was praise worthy and magnanimous, nor do I suppose such a scheme by any means impracticable; but injudicious management, want of method, anarchy, perpetual cabals, and cavils, will thwart the wisest and noblest intentions, which I predict will be the case here, unless some speedy salutary alterations are adopted; if the present system is continued, not only the Settlers, but the Natives will be provoked; all kinds of confidence will cease, the Company's funds will be fruitlessly exhausted, and more than probable, before ten years, we may hear that the Colony is dwindled into a common slave factory: some situations make it necessary for superiors to be feared, and all situations require they should be beloved; but if the present managers continued here, their lifetimes, they will never experience the pleasure of the latter, or the honor of the former; and retire when they like, I very much question whether they will leave one friendly thought towards them behind: — for this (though an idea, well meaning men would blush to foster) muss ensue, where the seeds of dissention and rancorous jealousy are sowed and encouraged by those whose province should be to suppress their growth.

The Amy it is said will sail in a week, she carries a small cargo of about 1500l. value, a laughable return for upwards of 100,000l. Being the first remittance, I dare say it will be well puffed off in your news-papers; to see one of those puffs would put me in mind of a persons, face distorted with a forced laugh, when the heart felt nought but emotions of agony: for here is a capital stock of more than 200,000l. half expended, and this first harvest, I suppose, will barely defray the disbursements of shipping, and carrying itself; what is more lamentable, such as it is cannot be often repeated, for the property is mostly sunk in such a way, that no probable or real advantages can ever revert from it, without the aid of an immense sum most judiciously applied.

The periodical rains are just commencing, and seem to set in very severe, but I am in hopes of escaping its inclemency, being about to turn my back on them, and bid adieu to this distracted land, so you may probably hear of our arrival in England very shortly after the receipt of this letter, although we are to take a round about voyage by way of Jamaica. Mr — had taken our passage in the Amy, but the Discontents about to leave the Colony, are so numerous, that she will be greatly crowded, and as the Nassau has excellent accommodations, sails well and immediately, he thinks we will be more comfortable in her, and less liable to fall in with French Pirates, than we should in the former, which is a dull sluggish vessel, though it is a prevailing opinion here, should she (the Amy) meet with a French man of war, she will be in no danger, as the National Convention have offered protection to all the Company's ships; how true this may be, I cannot say; but it is probable enough, as two of the Directors were some time since nominated Members of the Convention.

We are to sail in a day or two, and I am very much hurried in packing up, and preparing for our voyage, therefore must bid you farewell, &c, &c..

### LETTER XIII.

Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane,  
London, 11th October, 1793.

My dear Madam,

I hasten to acquaint you, that after a passage of nine weeks and four days, in the *Alexander* (Shaw) from Jamaica, we landed safe at Dover, the 9th instant. My heart jumped with joy, when I found myself once more treading the sod of Old England, which at one time during our voyage, I did not expect would ever be the case, for an ill-natured contagious fever, (when we had been but a few days at sea), discovered itself in the ship, and, before it could be checked, scourged almost every person on board; however, by the skill and vigilance of the ship's surgeon, only one death happened. We had been out about three weeks, when it attacked me, and was it not for the good nursing and attention I had from every one, particularly the Captain, Surgeon, and my own good man, in all human likelihood I should have fallen a victim to its barbarity; indeed, Captain Shaw's impartial kindness to his sick, was beyond every thing I ever witnessed before, and in my opinion, stamps him a man of genuine humanity.

Our ship was armed with two and twenty guns, and had between fifty and sixty men on board. We sailed from Kingston the 3d of August, and the following day fell in with thirteen sail of Spanish ships, under convoy of a frigate, who was so very negligent of her charge, as to permit us to intercept seven of them, which, had they been French, we must have taken in spite of all she could have done, being at that time so far to leeward, as to be scarcely discernible. A Liverpool ship, bound home, had joined them the preceding day, and now begged to be taken under our protection; this was granted, and she kept company with us until we got into the chops of the Channel.

The fever that infested us, broke out among her crew, and hurried a fourth of their number into the other world. Here Captain Shaw displayed his humanity again, in a high degree, by waiting several hours every day, and thus prolonging our voyage, to the prejudice of his own interest, merely for the purpose of rendering them what assistance he could; had he not, their situation would certainly have been extremely comfortless, as the calamity I have just mentioned was aggravated by the ship being so leaky, that the master and crew had it frequently in contemplation to abandon her.

We had little bad or boisterous weather during our voyage, and the time pleasantly vanished after health was restored in the ship; scarcely two days passed away without meeting one or more vessels; we always brought them too, and although none of them were of the sort wished for, they amused and furnished us with news of some kind. Clearing ship, when a strange sail was seen, as if we really expected a rencounter, and exercising our guns, once or twice a week, with all the manœuvres practised in an engagement, were sources of amusement altogether new to me. At first, when a broad side was fired it operated like an electrical shock, but habit soon made it familiar, and at last I was less sensible of vibration from it, than the awful tremendous thunder we oftentimes had off the coast of America, which was more severe by far, than any I ever heard on the coast of Africa. This being the substance of every thing worth notice on our way home, I shall therefore turn back to my quitting Sierra Leone, and say something of what occurred from that time till my departure from Jamaica.

We embarked and sailed on the ninth of June; nothing could have reconciled me to the idea of taking my passage in a slave ship, but Mr. — being with me, for I always entertained molt horrid notions of

being exposed to indelicacies, too offensive for the eye of an English woman, on board these ships; however, I never was more agreeably disappointed in my life. In the centre of the ship a barricado was run across, to prevent any communication between the men and women; the men and boys occupied the forward part, and the women and girls, the after, so I was only liable to see the latter, who were full as well habited as they would have been in Africa, and I had very comfortable apartments in the round house, where I could retire, when I chose to be alone.

Having heard such a vast deal of the ill treatment to slaves during the middle passage, I did not omit to make the nicest observations in my power, and was I to give upon oath what those observations were, I would declare I had not the slightest reason to suspect any inhumanity or malpractice was shewn towards them, through the whole voyage; on the contrary, I believe they experienced the utmost kindness and care, and after a few days, when they had recovered from sea sickness, I never saw more signs of content and satisfaction, among any set of people, in their or any other country. We had not our compliment of slaves by one-third, consequently there was an abundance of room for them. Regularly every day their rooms were washed out, sprinkled with vinegar, and well dried with chafing dishes of coal; during this operation the slaves were kept on deck, where they were allowed to stay the whole day (when the weather would permit) if they liked it; in the morning before they came up, and in the evening, after they retired to rest, our deck was always scrubbed and scoured so clean that you might eat off it.

Their provisions were excellent, consisting of boiled rice and English beans, sometimes separate, sometimes mixed, cleanly dressed, and relished with a piece of beef, salt fish, or palm oil, the latter seemed generally to have the preference; a superabundance of this was their constant breakfast and supper; between the two meals each slave had a large brown biscuit, and commonly a dram of rum. Great attention was paid the sick, of which, however, there were few, a mess of mutton, fowl, or some fresh meat, was daily prepared for them, and we arrived in Jamaica on the 13th of July, with the loss only of one boy who was ill before we left the coast, and the remainder of the cargo in much higher health than when they had embarked

Whether slaves are equally well treated in common, I cannot pretend to say, but when one recollects how much the masters are interested in their well doing, it is natural to suppose such is the case, for self-interest so unalterably governs the human heart, that it alone must temper the barbarity of any man, and prevent him from committing violence on, or misusing his own property, and every cargo of slaves is more or less that of the ship's master's.

A few days before our arrival at Kingston, Mr. W—lb—ce and Tom Paine were burnt in effigy. It would have hurt me had I seen the former coupled with such an incendiary, and thus exposed to public ignominy; for, in my conscience I believe he was impelled by too keen notions of humanity, and too zealous a desire of doing good, to take so active a part as he has done for the abolition.

For a length of time I viewed the Slave Trade with abhorrence—considering it a blemish on every civilized nation that countenanced or supported it, and that this, our happy enlightened country was more especially stigmatized for carrying it on, than any other; but I am not ashamed to confess, those sentiments were the effect of ignorance, and the prejudice of opinion, imbibed by associating with a circle of acquaintances, *bigoted for the abolition*, before I had acquired information enough to form any independent thoughts upon the subject, and so widely opposite are my ideas of the trade from what they were, that I now think it in no shape objectionable either to morality or religion, but on the contrary consistent with both, while neither are to be found in unhappy Africa; and while three-fourths



of that populous country come into the world, like hogs or sheep, subject, at any moment, to be rob'd of their lives by the other fourth, I say, while this is the case, I cannot think the Slave Trade inconsistent with any moral, or religious law,—in place of invading the happiness of Africa, tends to promote it, by pacifying the murdering, despotic Chieftains of that country, who only spare the lives of their vassals from a desire of acquiring the manufactures of this and other nations, and by saving millions from perdition, whose future existence is rendered comfortable, by the cherishing hands of Christian masters, who are not only restrained from exercising any improper or unjust cruelties over their slaves, by the fear of reciprocal injury, but by the laws of the land, and their religious tenets.

All the slaves I had an opportunity of seeing in Jamaica, seemed vastly well satisfied, heir conditions appeared to be far preferable to what I expected, and they discovered more cheerfulness than I ever observed the Black shew in Africa, unless roused by liquor.

The Kingston markets are as abundantly supplied with vegetables, both in variety, and quantity, as any I ever saw; and I was informed, wholly from the industry of slaves at their by-hours, for their own emolument; and I further heard, that notwithstanding many of them have in this way, amassed money enough to purchase several slaves, yet few instances occur where they shew even a desire of ransoming themselves. This is not a matter of much astonishment, when we reflect how little slaves in our Islands are embarrassed with worldly cares: that they are fed when hungry, cloathed when naked, and kindly nursed, with every medical care, when sick, solely at their master's expence, who only exact honesty, and a reasonable task of labour in return, after which, if attended to, they have nothing to fear, but, on the contrary, are certain of being rewarded and encouraged by extraordinary indulgencies; and when the thread of life is spun out, they leave this world with the pleasing thoughts that an interested, if not naturally humane and indulgent master or mistress will supply their place, and prevent their children from experiencing any want of a father or mother's fostering hand.

How very few of our labouring poor can boast, when their mortal bodies become tenants of the grave, that their children have such certain provision secured them, and probably thousands and thousands of themselves may go supperless to bed this very night, and rise tomorrow, not knowing where to get a breakfast, or without the means of acquiring a morsel of bread to allay the gnawings of hunger—whether then are their situations, or those of slaves, having Christian masters, most preferable? The question, in my opinion, requires but little consideration."

Pray do not misinterpret my arguments, and suppose me a friend to slavery, or wholly an enemy to abolishing the Slave Trade; least you should, I must explain myself,—by declaring from my heart I wish freedom to every creature formed by God, who knows its value,—which cannot be the case with those who have not tasted its sweets; therefore, most assuredly, I must think favourably of the Slave Trade, while those innate prejudices, ignorance, superstition, and savageness, overspread Africa; and while the Africans feel no conviction by continuing it, but remove those errors of nature, teach them the purposes for which they were created, the ignominy of trafficking in their own flesh, and learn them to hold the lives of their fellow mortals in higher estimation, or even let me see a foundation laid, whereupon hopes itself may be built of their becoming proselytes to the doctrine of Abolition; then, no person on earth will rejoice more earnestly to see that trade suppressed in every shape; nor do I apprehend it would be impracticable, or even difficult to effect it, for I still admit what I said upwards of two years ago, to be strictly just.—“That Nature has not endowed the Africans with capacities less susceptible of improvement and cultivation, than any other part of the human race,”—and I am sure they thirst for literature; therefore, if seminaries were established on different parts of the coast, and due attention paid to the morals and manners of the rising generation, I do not question but their

geniusses would ripen into ideas congenial with our own; and that posterity would behold them, emerged from that vortex of disgrace, in which they have been overwhelmed since time immemorial, establishing social, political, and commercial connections throughout the globe, and even see them *blazing* among the *literati* of their age.

I am heartily glad to get rid of this subject, and am surprised how I came to entangle myself in it: but trust no expressions have slipped from me which will reproach my humanity or sensibility, for the wrongs of mankind; if there have, impute them to mistaken notions of happiness and misery, for I am not conscious of meaning ill.

You will observe, I was in Jamaica from the 13th of July to the 3d of August, and perhaps may expect some opinion of the country, people's manners, &c. from me, but any remarks of mine cannot be otherwise than trifling and confined, as my stay was too short, and Kingston, with a little of its environs, were the only parts I had a chance of seeing.

Kingston stands on the brink of a bay which forms the harbour; its situation is varied, being partly low and partly high. I suppose it to be about a mile in length, and rather more than half in depth; a regular well built town, with streets intercepting each other at right angles; but I think many of them quite too narrow for that climate. I am told it is the largest, best built, most opulent, and populous town we have in the West-Indies. The merchants mostly have small country villas, within a couple of miles round, which are called Pens, whither they retire, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, when all business for the day is completed.

I found the heat much more oppressive than I ever felt it in Africa, where I was, including both voyages, upwards of two years, without perceiving my skin in any way discoloured by the weather, but before I had been in Kingston a week, I was tan'd almost as brown as a mulatto. This I charge in a great measure to living on the sea side, open to the violent breeze, which sometimes blew a very storm, and which, I am persuaded, is intensely acid, for I never could leave a key, knife, or any piece of steel exposed to it for half an hour, without getting rusted. The people dress mostly after the custom of this country, and their manners are much the same, except in hospitality, which surpasses all I ever met with.

I used commonly to ride out from five to seven o'clock in the morning, and then return to breakfast; in those rides I often observed the country tore up into deep furrows, which I conjectured were passages of rivulets dried up, but was informed they were occasioned by heavy inundations, during the rains; notwithstanding this, I found the roads remarkably good, particularly the road to Spanish Town, which is, without exception, the best I ever travelled upon; but understand, it was made at a prodigious expence, being a great part of the way through a morass, which laying to windward of Spanish Town, must contribute to make that place very unwholesome; This is the capital of Jamaica, about thirteen miles from Kingston, but in comparison with the latter, very insignificant; several public offices, the assembly of the island, and courts of justice are held there; it is also the residence of the Governor, whose house is most spacious and elegant;\* a marble statue of our late gallant Rodney is erected there, in memory of that ever famous action on the 12th of April, 1782; its ornamental effect is greatly lost by being placed in an obscure corner. I am much surprised it was not raised at Kingston, where certainly it would have appeared to more advantage and notoriety; but the House of Assembly determined that it should grace the former, being the metropolis.

\* It is said to have cost 30,000l Jamaica currency. 21,428l. 11s. 6d. sterling.

I have already told you what excellent vegetable markets there are at Kingston; its flesh markets likewise are very good, plenty of fat beef, but rather dark coloured and coarse grained, excellent mutton, pork, and poultry of all kinds; turtle in high perfection, and a variety of fine fish may be had every day.

Kingston swarmed with emigrants from St. Domingo, whose miseries and misfortunes did not fail to draw compassion and charity from its humane inhabitants, who subscribed most liberally to meliorate their sufferings, and I was credibly informed, that even the French prisoners have so handsome an allowance as three and sixpence currency each per day, from the island of Jamaica, for their maintenance. Are not these proofs of generosity? can a doubt exist that those people who not only assist the oppressed and injured, but provide so bountifully for their very enemies, are not alive to the nicest definition of humanity? only in minds warped by ignorance or prejudice, I presume, and the opinions of such are very immaterial.

A very galling and extraordinary misfortune befel me while at Kingston, which I cannot refrain mentioning to you. After we had been there about eight or ten days, a genteel dressed man took lodgings in the same house with us, and the following day we went to dine and stay the night at a gentleman's in the country, when this fellow availed himself of our absence, broke into my bed chamber, and rifled a small casket, containing nearly all the trinkets and valuables I had, to some considerable amount; be assured I felt prodigiously mortified at my loss, which was not a little aggravated by finding the knave had eloped, leaving behind him, a trunk *half full of stones*, in lieu of his spoils.

Tricks of this fort occur so rarely there, that it had made not a little noise, and the Town Vestry offering a handsome reward, for apprehending the thief, I had the satisfaction of hearing, just before we sailed, that he was taken, but this was all, for he had disposed of what he stole from me, at least none of the articles were found in his possession; however, it was supposed he would be convicted of other burglaries charged to him, and I cannot say, I should be hurt to hear, the world was rid of such a nuisance.

I believe I have now noticed every circumstance meriting attention, from the time of leaving Sierra Leone, until our arrival here, and having spun this letter out to a greater length than was either expected or intended, I must therefore hurry it to a conclusion, and shall only observe the Amy is arrived, with the two black Deputies from Sierra Leone, but I am not informed what kind of reception they have met with from the Directors, none of whom I have yet had the pleasure of seeing.

Mr. — has some business with them, which he is in hopes of accomplishing shortly, we then intend paying a visit to you and the rest of my friends in Bristol.

Adieu,

Believe me always  
Your's sincerely.

#### LETTER XIV.

*"Even the declarations made by themselves, seem wholly new and strange to them; they forget not only what they have seen, but what they have said."*

Wilberforce, on the Slave Trade.  
18th April, 1791.

London, 23d Dec. 1793.

My dear Madam,

I Concluded my last by telling you Mr. — had some business to settle with the Directors, part of which was on account of what they were, and yet are, indebted to me as the widow of Mr. Falconbridge, for money left in their hands, and for salary due to him when he died.

About a week after we came to town, I called at Mr. Henry Thornton's, but not finding him at home, left my address, with a message, that I wished to see him on business. Several days elapsed without a syllable from Mr. Thornton, and conjecturing the servant might have omitted delivering either my card or message, I called again, when his house-keeper assured me he had received both, but was then at his country seat at Clapham; I now left a note mentioning the circumstance of having waited on him twice, and begging to be acquainted when I could have the pleasure of seeing him; four or five days more passed away without any answer, which puzzled me very much to account for. Unwilling, however, to nurse any suspicion that either insult or injury could possibly be intended me, by a man who had spontaneously made such declarations of friendship as Mr. Thornton did to me, before I went last to Africa, and whose character is currently reported, to possess as little alloy as frail man can be charged with, I therefore determined to venture another letter before I formed any opinion; the consequence of this was an answer that staggered me a vast deal more than his silence; he informed me I would find him at his banking house, in Bartholomew lane, from ten to twelve the following day, if I *chose to call there*. I was vexed at receiving so affronting a note from Mr. Thornton, because it gave me room to question his veracity, and the Directors good intentions towards me; nevertheless, a consciousness of having done nothing to merit such rudeness, and my interest requiring me to see him, I curbed my nettled pride, collected as much composure as it was possible, and met the gentleman on his own ground. I believe he neither expected or wished for this meeting; when I entered his counting room, he blushed confusion, and with some difficulty he stammered out, "pray madam, what is your business with me?" "I have been induced to take much pains to see you Sir, to request you will get the Directors to settle Mr Falconbridge's accounts, and pay what is owing me," answered I, "why," said he, "Mr Falconbridge kept no books, and he appears to be considerably in debt to the Company." "Kept no books, Sir, how can that be, when I have a copy of them this moment in my hands, a duplicate of which, I know your Accountant at Sierra Leone in whose possession the original books are has sent the Directors" "I have never seen them; pray what is the amount of your demand?" replied Mr. Thornton. I then produced an abstract account stating the sum; "why" says he, its a large amount; I did know Mr. Falconbridge left any money in our hands, I thought he had received it; and his accounts for the Lapwing's first voyage were never settled." This language startled me a good deal, but I refreshed his memory regarding the money left with the Directors; and told him he also laboured under a mistake respecting the Lapwing's accounts, for he must recollect they were settled, and that he, fortunately, paid the ballance of 74l. 19s. 6d. to myself. Naked truths thus staring him in the face, made him at a loss what to lay; however after a little reflection, he told me, "whatever is due to you, madam must be paid; if you will walk into another room, and wait a few moments, I will fend for Mr. Williams, the

Secretary, who will see every thing set right."

I was then shewn into a large cold room, covered with painted floor cloth, where, after waiting some time half frozed, Mr. Williams came. His behaviour was gentlemanlike: when I had recapitulated nearly what I said to Mr. Thornton, he enquired if Mr. Falconbridge left a will in my favour? which having answered in the affirmative, he wished me joy, as it would prevent others from sharing of the little property he left—desired me to get the will proved, and when that was done there would be no impediment whatever in my way, and I should be paid immediately.

In a few days after, Mr. — saw Mr. Williams, who told him, he had better omit proving the will till the Court exactly ascertained what amount I had to receive, as it would save expence.

Perhaps Mr. Williams intended a kindness by this admonition, for he must have known then, what I am now sure of, that the Directors mean, if they possibly can, to withhold every sixpence from me; at least, there is great reason to suppose so from .their quibbling conduct.

After detaining us here all this time, and muffling Mr.— off from one Court to another, without assigning any honest, business like reason, for doing so; they now wind up their prevarications, by saying, they must wait for further information from Sierra Leone, which I look upon tantamount to a positive refusal; indeed, it would have been much handsomer had they candidly declared at once, that it was not their intention to pay me—for their evasive answers have increased the injury, by prolonging our stay here to the overthrow of some plans Mr.— had in contemplation.

What do you think of their charging me with the presents they particularly directed, I should purchase for, and make, Queen Naimbana; with the stores granted by the Court for me to take to Sierra Leone, my journey to Bristol and Falmouth, and every little donation they made, either to Mr. Falconbridge, or myself.

But besides these paltry, pitiful charges, they bring forward three others of much greater consequence, though founded on equally shameful and frivolous grounds, viz. the Lapwing's cargo, with all the expences of her first voyage, and for eight months before she left the river Thames; —the goods sent in the Duke of Buccleugh,. together with the freight and passage money paid Messrs. Anderson's, and the Amy's cargo when we last went to Africa.

They might, with as much propriety, have included the whole of the Company's funds that have been thrown away ;—yes, shamefully so,—no stt of raw boys just let loose from school, could have disposed of them more injudiciously. What had Mr. Falconbridge to do with the disbursement of the Lapwing? Her master was the ostensible person. The trifling goods sent out in her and the Duke of Buccleugh, were all appropriated conformable to the instructions Mr. Falconbridge received; they were not intended for trading with, but merely as gifts of charity, and bribes, to pacify the covetous natives; therefore, if Mr. Falconbridge had not accounted for them, it would be very easy to find out whether they had been disposed of that way: but I know every thing was settled previous to our second voyage, and it is only a poor, mean finesse in the Directors to say otherwise.

As to the Amy's cargo, true—it was consigned to Mr. Falconbridge; but that consignment was done away, when he received his fresh instructions, after we arrived at Sierra Leone; and before that vessel left Africa, the Master of her got a receipt for his whole cargo, from the Governor and Council, which receipt the Directors have at this moment.

I will not interrupt your time with this subject longer than to give you the sentiments of the late Governor of Sierra Leone, who says, in a letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, to Mr. —, " I am sorry the Directors should give you so much trouble, and particularly about the cargo of the Lapwing for her first voyage. They certainly are unacquainted with the circumstances, and the situation of Falconbridge on his first voyage, or they would never be so minute, particularly with his widow, who experienced such unheard of hardships.

"I hope I speak truth, when I pronounce their late Commercial Agent an honest man, but a very unfortunate one, not in the least calculated for the station he filled, which men of discernment might have discovered at first view. I assure you, had I been on board the Lapwing, on her first voyage, by myself, in Sierra Leone river, without a person in the neighbourhood likely to befriend me (which was the case with Falconbridge), knowing the country as I do, I should have thought myself extremely happy to have returned safe to my native country, without any cargo at all."

I shall now leave you to make what comments you please on the vexatious treatment I have received from those Gentlemen, and to turn in your mind what my prospects would have been had I come home implicitly confiding in the profusion of friendly promises they bestowed on me (unsought for) when last in England.

I certainly had a right to build some expectations from them; but in place of any, you find those *paragons of virtue and human excellence*, unwilling to do me common justice, refusing to pay me what is religiously my right—a little pittance, which God knows, I gave the highest price for!

However, if there is any comfort in having company in one's misfortunes, or ill usage, I have that satisfaction. —Their treatment to Mr. Clarkson (the late Governor), and others, has been highly discreditable, but their behaviour to the two Deputies from Sierra Leone, and consequently to all their constituents, is the most inconsistent part of their conduct, because any injury done them must annoy and jar the Company's interest.

These unfortunate oppressed people (the Deputies) have related to me most minutely every circumstance that has befallen them since their arrival in this country; and, as you seem interested in their behalf, and desire to know what success they have met with, I will repeat their narrative nearly in their own words.

"We landed *penniless* at Portsmouth," I think they said " the 16th of August, but we had a small bill on the Directors for the amount of what our fellow sufferers subscribed before we left Free Town. The Company's Agent at Portsmouth gave us two guineas to pay our way here, which were deducted from our bill when it was paid. As soon as we came to Town, we went to Mr. Thornton's house, and delivered our Petition to him, he read it over, and seemed at first to be very kind, and to compassionate us very much, but, in two or three days time, he told us the Directors had received letters from Africa, stating that our complaints were frivolous and ill grounded. After this we saw several of the Directors, who told us the same. We asked who the letters came from, but this they would not tell, however we are sure Dawes and McAuley are the authors, because they must write all the they can think of to excuse themselves. ' . .

"When we had been here about three , weeks, finding our money almost exhausted, we applied to two of the Directors, namely, Mr. Thornton and Mr. Parker, and requested them to supply us with a little."

The latter said, "Yes, I will I will let you have money, if you will mortgage, or sell the lands due you by the Company," but the former had more humanity, he recommended us to go and labour for our support. To this we replied, we were willing to work, if we knew where to get employment.— Mr. Thornton then said, 'You shall be at no loss for that, I will give you a line to a person who will employ you.'— "This we gladly accepted of, and accordingly got into service, where we wrought for near a month, without hearing the most distant hint of an answer to our Petition. We then began to grow very uneasy, and quite at a loss what to do, having no mend to advise us.

“The Directors never would give us Mr. Clarkson's address, though we asked for it frequently; however, in the midst of our distress, accidentally hearing he lived at Wisbeach, we wrote him without hesitation, enclosed a copy of our Petition, requested he would interpose his influence with the Directors, and in vindication of his character, endeavour to get justice done us. We told him, all we required was the fulfilment of his promises, which the Gentlemen at Sierra Leone had assured us he made without authority. When Mr. Clarkson received this letter, he wrote to Mr. Thornton, begging the Directors would appoint some early day to meet him and us together, that he might explain his promises, and thereby acquit himself from having acted dishonorably in any shape, to the people he carried from America to Sierra Leone.

“We suppose the Directors did not like to see Mr. Clarkson and us face to face, for Mr. Thornton never answered that letter, which obliged Mr. Clarkson to write another; this he sent unsealed under cover to us, that we might be convinced of his good intentions and integrity towards us.”

They shewed me a copy of the letter, which having read, I also transcribed, as I now do again word for word.

Wisbeach, Nov. 11, 1793.

My dear Sir,

"AS you have given me no answer to my letter, wherein I requested a day to be appointed for the Directors, myself, with Messrs. Anderson and Perkins, the Deputies appointed by the inhabitants of Free Town to meet, to explain the promises you authorised me to make them, I am induced to take this method to convince the people at large of your Colony, that I have done all in my power, since I have been in England, to forward the performance of the promises I made them, with as much zeal as I used when I was on the spot; and as I cannot bear to be suspected by them, or the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who were witnesses of my exertions in their behalf, I am induced to take this method of assuring them of the sincerity of my professions, as well that the promises I made them were from the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, and that they have as great a right to the performances of them as they have to dispose of their own property.

"I send this letter to you (unsealed) under cover to Messrs. Anderson and Perkins, for their perusal, that they may assure those they represent, I have done all in my power to perform my engagements with them, consistent with, honour and honesty.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your's sincerely,

(signed) JOHN CLARKSON.

To Henry Thornton, Esq.  
Chairman of the Court  
of Directors of the Sierra  
Leone Company, London."

"We attended," continued the spokesman, "the first Court after receiving this letter, and delivered it. The Directors did not seem well pleased, but they made no observations on it to us. Before we left the Court, we were informed one of the Company's ships was to sail for Sierra Leone immediately—that we were to return in her, and when *embarked*, we should have an answer to our petition,

"We thought it very, strange, they mould put off giving us an answer till we had embarked, and therefore objected, saying, we wished not only to have, but to consider, the answer before we left this country, and were proceeding to say much more, when the Court prevented us, by saying, "Whatever objections you have to make, or whatever you wish to tell us, you must do it in writing."—In consequence whereof, on the next Court day, we presented an Address as follows:

To the Honourable the Chairman and Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company,

Honourable Sirs,

"YOU have desired us to commit to writing what we wish to tell you.

"We did not think, Gentlemen, any thing more was necessary than the petition we brought, and delivered to you from the people we represent; but as you do not seem to treat that petition with the attention we expected, you oblige us to say something more on the subject, for we would be very remiss were we to leave this country, without doing all in our power to get some satisfaction, not for the trouble we have been at, but such as will be pleasing and comfortable to our countrymen, and at the same time serviceable to your interest.

"The Settlers at Free Town (those brought from America we mean), whose thoughts we now speak, always believed the promises made them by Mr. Clarkson, in Nova Scotia, were your promises. We are now convinced of the truth of this, by the letter from Mr. Clarkson, which we delivered you on Friday last.

"We certainly hope your Honors intend making good those promises, and we beg to know whether you do or not?—We beg to have Grants for the land we at present occupy, and a promise in writing for the remainder, or the value, to be given at a future time named in that instrument of writing.

"When we are able, we shall consider ourselves bound to contribute what we can, towards defraying the expences of the Colony; but this never can be the case until your promises are fulfilled to us; at present you are obliged to give us daily wages to do work, from which no advantage can ever be derived, either to the Company or the Settlers; and we have no choice, but to do this work, or starve; whereas if we had our lands, and that support from the Company, which was promised, there would be no necessity for employing us except at such work as was really wanting; and we might do as we please, either work on our own lands, or the Company's, whereby there would be a mutual advantage, and in a few years, with industry and good management on our parts, the produce of those lands would



yield a profitable trade to the Company, and we should have the pleasure of knowing we were providing comfort for our children as for us.

"We always supposed we were sent from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, by his Majesty, (God bless him) the King of this Country; who, no doubt, expected our situation would be made better, from the assurances he had received of what your Honors were to do for us. We wish the Governor of our Colony should be appointed by his Majesty, whose subjects we consider ourselves, and to whom we shall be happy at all times of shewing our loyalty and attachment.

"If we are not of importance enough to this Country, to deserve a Governor authorised by the King, we, with due respect to your Honors, think we have a right to a voice, in naming the man who shall govern us, but by this we do not mean to say, that we have a right to interfere with the person whom you may chuse to direct: or manage your property.

"We *will not* be governed by your present Agents in Africa, nor can we think of submitting our grievances to them, which we understand is the intention of your Honors, for it is inconsistent to suppose justice will be shewn us, by the men who have injured us, and we cannot help expressing our surprise that you should even hint such a thing.

"Our Countrymen have told you, in the petition we delivered to his Honor the Chairman, — they will wait patiently till we returned, that their religion made them bear the impositions of your Council, and prevented them from doing any thing that might be considered improper, till they heard from your Honors, being convinced they would then have justice shewn them; but we are sorry to say, we do not think you seem disposed to listen to our complaints, and if we are obliged to return to Sierra Leone, impressed with those sentiments, and without obtaining any satisfactory answer to the complaints and representations we have made, it is impossible for us to say what the consequences may be, but we will make bold and tell your Honors, on the swer we get, *depends the success of your Colony*.

"We wish to return to our families by the Amy, and therefore beg to have your answer time enough for us to consider on it, before we leave this Country.

"We hope your Honors will not think we have said any thing here but what is respectful and proper; we thought it our duty to tell you the truth; we want nothing but justice, which cannot surely be refused us. We have been so often deceived by white people, that we are jealous when they make any promises, and uneasily wait till we see what they will come to.

"We shall conclude gentlemen, by observing, since we arrived here, we have avoided giving you trouble as much as possible; we did not come upon a childish errand, but to represent the grievances and sufferings of a thousand souls,

"We expected to have had some more attention paid to our complaints, but the manner you have treated us, has been just the same as if we were *Slaves*, come to tell our masters, of the cruelties and severe behaviour of an *Overseer*.

"You will pardon us gentlemen, for speaking so plain; however, we do not think your conduct has proceeded from any inclination to wrong us, but from the influence and misrepresentations of evil minded men, whose baseness will some day or other be discovered to you, for the Great Disposer of events will not suffer them to be hidden long.

We are Gentlemen,

With all possible respects

Your faithful Servants,

(Signed)

Isaac Anderson.

Cato Perkins.

Representatives for the Inhabitants of Free Town.

"When they had read this over, they seemed very much out of humor, and we were desired to leave the Court room, but in a few minutes Mr. Thornton sent us this letter,"

"Messrs. Anderson and Perkins

"In consequence of an address sent by you to the Court of Directors this day, I desire to be informed in writing, what are those promises of Mr. Clarkson, which you say, were made to you, in Nova Scotia, and are still unfilled.

I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. Thornton."

'Sierra Leone House,  
19th Nov. 1793.

"Here is our answer to Mr. Thornton."

To Henry Thornton, Esq. Chairman, of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.

"Sir,

"AS you desire to be informed in writing, what were the promises made by Mr. Clarkson to us (the inhabitants of Free Town) in Nova Scotia, we have to acquaint you, they were to the following purpose;

"That his Majesty having heard of the abuses we met with in America, and having considered our loyalty and services, in the late war, wished to make some amends, and proposed, if we were inclined to go to Africa, we should be carried thither free of expence.

"That the part of Africa we were to be carried to, was called Sierra Leone, where a Company of the most respectable gentlemen, in England, intended to form a settlement for the purpose of abolishing the Slave Trade.

“That he (Mr. Clarkson) was authorised by the Directors of that Company, to say, each head of a family should have a grant of not less than twenty acres of land, for him or herself; ten acres for a wife, and five acres for each child.

“That those grants should be given directly on our arrival in Africa, free of any expence or charge whatever.

"That we should be provided with all tools wanted for cultivation, and likewise the comforts and necessaries of life, from the Company's stores, at a reasonable rate, such as about ten per cent advance, upon the prime cost and charges, and should not be distressed for the payment of such goods, until enabled by the produce of our lands; but when we became comfortably settled, we should be subject to such charges and obligations as would tend to the general good of the Colony.

"That we should be protected by the laws of Great Britain, and justice should be indiscriminately shewn Whites and Blacks.

“As far as we can recollect those are the heads of Mr. Clarkson's promises to us; almost the whole of which remain unfulfilled. There has been one fifth part of the lands distributed to most of the settlers, but they are in general, so mountainous, barren, and rocky, as to be of little or no use to them; nor was the surveying of that fifth part completed when we left Sierra Leone, at which time the rains had set in, therefore it was impossible to clear or make much progress this year, and you must be sensible, Sir, of the injury we sustain by losing two years in the improvement of those lands.

“We are charged extravagantly for all the goods we purchase from the stores, which we consider, not only a breach of promise, but an unjust and cruel way of imposing a tax on us. ..

"We certainly are not protected by the laws of Great Britain, having neither Courts of Justice, or officers appointed by authority of this government. But even the Police which we have formed among ourselves, has not distributed justice impartially to Blacks and Whites, due, as we suppose, to the influence of your Agents; and we think it an unsufferable cruelty, that at the caprice or whim of any Gentlemen in office, at Free Town, we, or any. of us, should be subject, not only to be turned away from the service, but prevented from purchasing the common necessaries from the Company's stores, for the support of our families, while it is not in our power to procure them by any other mode.

We are Sir,

Respectfully,

Your obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

Isaac Anderson.

Cato Perkins.

Representatives for the Inhabitants of Free Town.

London, 20th Nov. 1793.

"What was the consequence of this letter? said I— “Why the Directors were no better pleased with it than the first, they seemed quite in a quandary; were very anxious to know whether any person had

assisted us in collecting and reducing our thoughts to writing, interrogated us separately on the subject, and appeared greatly disappointed with our answers."

"Have you had any answer from them?" "No, Madam, and imagine they do not intend giving any; indeed we have heard that they mean to keep us from going to Sierra Leone again; if so, it no doubt is a stratagem, to dupe and lull our Countrymen, who have said they will wait peaceable, until we return; but such a poor little artifice is so very unbecoming the characters of gentlemen, that we can hardly believe it; however, if it is the case it cannot avail much, and will in the end, do them more injury than us; we have already wrote to our brethren, warning them of our suspicions, and guarding them against signing any paper or instrument of writing, as we have reason to think some thing of the sort will be asked of them, to contradict what we have done; it will be a great hardship on us to be kept here from our families, yet, if it ultimately tends to obtain justice for our constituents, or to secure freedom and happiness to them and their children, We shall think, it no sacrifice."

This is fully the substance of the information I have from time to time had, from the two Deputies.\*

\* Those two men returned to Sierra Leone, in February or March last, but two others have arrived on the same errand, and are just now (August, 1794) in London: I am told they have many new complaints, among which is one of a serious nature, viz. that an enormous annual tax of two bushels of neat rice, equal to 130lb. has been demanded per acre for their lands, notwithstanding those lands were promised them, *free of every expence, or charge whatever*. Now, rice is sold from the Company's store-house, at Sierra Leone, at the rate of sixteen and eight-pence per hundred pounds, consequently this tax would amount to 21s. 8d. per acre.

Is it not almost incomprehensible that Thirteen Men, whose reputations in private life (one or two excepted) have hitherto been esteemed so spotless, that the tarnishing blasts of fame, or the venom'd shafts of malevolence, have seldom ventured to attack them, should, as a corporation, act incompatible with common sense and common —— ?

The Directors conduct must really be a subject of consternation wherever it is known; and should they not, of their own accord, fulfill Mr. Clarkson's promises to their settlers, which they certainly seem inclinable to, I really think, in my humble opinion, this government ought to feel it a National concern, and enforce a performance.

His Majesty, no doubt, expected he was doing those poor people an actual service, by removing them to a country, which gave birth, not only to their fore-fathers, but many of themselves, and more especially so as they were to be taken under the wing and protection of such patrons of humanity, as the gentlemen conducting the affairs of the Sierra Leone Company *professed* themselves to be, otherwise, he never would have hazarded their happiness, by taking them from America, where they were mostly comfortably settled;—where they might have been useful and valuable subjects, and where they had been, long before their removal, really an acquisition, besides subjecting this Country to the expence of upwards of 20,000l. for their transportation.\*

\* Those are a part of the very people, whom America (it is said) is asking compensation for.

Do you not think that immaculate Member of the House of Commons, who is obstinately persisting to abolish the Slave Trade, would be better employed, and would discover more real humanity, if he exerted himself in getting justice done these poor blacks, whose happiness and comfort he has, in some

measure, though innocently, been the means of destroying?

Until all the promises made them are performed, or, at least, a sincere inclination shewn to perform them, no kind of confidence can exist between the Company and the Colonists; and, unless that is quickly secured, the Colony must fall to nought. It may not be amiss here to give you the sentiments of a Gentleman, zealous for its success, and intimately acquainted with the Directors, and with the progress of the Colony, from its birth.

He says, in a letter to a friend of his at Sierra Leone, "I am fearful your present Governors will forget the situation the Nova Scotians were in formerly; the number of times they have been deceived, and will not make allowances for the great change they have made; and I am more fearful of their not having patience or moderation enough to put up with their ignorance. It is an easy thing for the Governor and Council to leave them to themselves, if they are wickedly inclined; but I should consider such behaviour as the greatest species of wickedness on their parts, (the Governor and Council) and should think their education ill bestowed upon them, and their religion but skin deep. What! are they not sent out to instruct them, and to set a good example to the unenlightened Africans? Ought they not to make the same allowances for them as our school-masters did for us in our infancy? And ought they not to know, that ignorant people, situated as they are, with the bad example set before their eyes by those who were sent out to instruct them at the commencement of the Colony—are liable to be riotous and unruly—particularly when so many "have resided together, and but little employment to keep their minds amused? with the promises made them by the Company entirely neglected, and not the least appearance of a speedy completion, or even a *desire* to perform them. I say, had the Nova Scotians acted different from what they have done, under all these circumstances, it would have astonished me, and I should have requested those, who consider themselves more enlightened, and stood forward as their friends and protectors, to have taken a lesson from so singular an example.

“Should you quarrel with the Nova Scotians, who do you think I shall blame? Your Government and the Company ;—your *Government*, for want of patience, and for not shewing an inclination to perform promises, which will always set ignorant people at variance with their leaders, and particularly those who have been so often deceived before; and the *Company*, for not enforcing their orders relative to promises, and for their dilatory manner of sending out the means to perform them with dispatch.

“If you should have a war with the Natives, it will certainly be the fault of your Government; because, you have it in your power, by a particular conduct, to make your Colony unanimous,—and then you have nothing to fear.—You can always keep the natives quiet, if you have peace at home, which you may do, and at the same time gain their esteem and confidence; and if your Government should not, in every instance, do their utmost to preserve peace and harmony, and make every degree of allowance for the ignorance and bad example hitherto set to the poor natives, and, I may add, the Nova Scotians, they will, in my opinion, have a greater crime to answer for, than they may be aware of—for should your Colony, from bad management not succeed, after *all the advantages it has had*, the friends to the civilization of Africa, will have reason to repent of their having made an attempt to instruct that unenlightened part of society; it will depress the spirits of those whose hearts were warmly engaged in the cause, and deter them from making future attempts.

“These considerations have been so forcibly impressed on my mind, that I do not remember, since my arrival in England, of having ever written to, or conversed with the Directors, either as a body, or in private; but I have taken care to enforce, in as strong language as I could, the necessity of performing, as soon as possible, their promises to the Nova Scotians.

"I have been almost ready to expose people who are deserving of blame, but the situation of the Colony is such, that I am obliged to be silent, for it has many enemies in this Country, who would be rejoiced at having an opportunity to prejudice the minds of the Subscribers, against the measures adopted by the Directors."

I have given you those extracts, corroborant to many assertions I have made, that you may not impute any of them to a wrong cause; and I must give you another from the same letter, very interesting to the company's servants and officers employed in the Colony.

"I find there is a religious influence in the Colony, that will carry every thing their own way with a majority of the present Directors, and whatever they say, will be a law with them; and I really believe, that religion, which ought to have been the support and sheet anchor of the Colony, will be its ruin, from its being practised with too great enthusiasm and inconsistency; and I am fearsul, that those possessed of honest hearts and independent spirits, who will speak their sentiments as truth dictates, will always be neglected by the Government there, and the Directors at home; and will never be done that justice which their readiness and exertions on every occasion to promote the prosperity of the Colony, entitles them to."

Can the Company ever expect to prosper, or have officers of probity or worth, while such is the case? No,—Sycophantic Hypocrites are the only servants who will continue in their service, and those will always drain the purses of their employers, by any means, however scandalous or dishonorable, to fill their own.

ADIEU

To HENRY THORNTON, Esq.. M. P.  
and Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, &c. &c.

Bristol, Aprils 1794.

SIR,

Being earnestly solicited, by several friends, to publish the History of my *Two Voyages to Africa*, and having, with some reluctance, consented, I feel it incumbent on me to address this letter to you (which is hereafter intended for publication), by way of acquiring a tribute truth and candor demands, in support of what I have, necessarily, mentioned regarding the Directors behaviour to me.

It is needless, Sir, to take a more distant retrospect of the subject matter, than to the time of our arrival from Sierra Leone, in 1791.

Is you will turn over to that period, and search into your personal behaviour, as well as the Court of Directors, to Mr. Falconbridge, I am persuaded you will find it marked with repeated testimonies of approbation and applause, for the services you were pleased to say he had rendered the common interest and original views of the Company.

For what purpose did the Directors vote us a compensation for our losses? Or for what purpose did they remove Mr. Falconbridge, out of his particular province as a medical man, and make him their Commercial Agent?

Were these not tokens of satisfaction, and rewards for his extraordinary exertions to serve the Company; or were they mere tricks of chichane and deception, to inveigle him to return to Africa, and answer the desirable end of securing a footing for the Emigrants, then expected from America? Let your own heart, Sir, decide upon these questions.

I understand the Directors persist to say, Mr. Falconbridge had not settled the accounts of his first voyage before he left England the second time; and that they impeach his memory, by saying he has not accounted for the cargo of the *Amy*, consigned to him as Commercial Agent. Is it so, Sir? Are these the paltry subterfuges made use of for withholding the poor pittance I am entitled to?—If they are? I shall charitably suppose, for a moment, they proceed from error, and endeavour once more to set you right,— though, believe me, not with the smallest expectation of profiting thereby.

To the first I shall observe,—You must labor under the misfortune of a very careless memory, if you cannot recollect that all Mr. Falconbridge's accounts, anteceding the 25th of December, 1791\* were adjusted to that time, and that I received from *yourself* a balance of 74l. 19s. 6d. which appeared on the face of the account in his savor.

Can you deny the truth of this assertion, and say there was no such settlement? If you can, I will not attribute it to any harsher cause than bad memory, for I yet think it is impossible, Mr. Thornton would be so pitiful, *willingly*, to utter an untruth.

But if this pointed circumstance had not happened, and I was wholly ignorant of the affair, I should

suppose men of business (as some of the Directors must be) would never have suffered him, or any person else, to commence the transactions of a new concern 'till those of the old were clearly concluded, but more especially so in this instance, as the charities Mr. Falconbridge had the distribution of on his first voyage, were the property of the St. George's Bay Company, whose original funds and effects were taken in account by the Sierra Leone Company, upon their incorporation, and therefore it was certainly. necessary that the Directors should be made acquainted with the true state of their affairs.

To the second, I have to remind you, that Mr. Falconbridge never received the Cargo of the Amy, and consequently cannot account for what he was not in possession of; upon his arrival in Africa he got instructions from the Directors, placing him entirely under the control of the Superintendant and Council, and the property of the Company solely under their direction, consequently the first consignment and unlimited instructions given him became nugatory; furthermore, the master of the Amy got a receipt for his whole Cargo from the Governor and Council, previous to his leaving Sierra Leone, which is just now in possession of the Directors.

Mr. Falconbridge had no independent authority or management over the company's goods after he received those instructions, nor did he give any orders of himself, as other hair-brained members of council did, but got written instructions from the Superinendant and Council for every sixpence worth he had, either from ship board or else where, all of which is accounted for in his books, delivered Mr. Grey by the particular desire of Mr. Dawes.

I am inclined to believe the Directors are already acquainted with these circumstances, indeed it is almost impossible they can be ignorant of them.

But admitting they are, what excuse Can they have for swelling up an account against me with fictitious niggardly charges, such as charging me with disbursements for the Lapwing's first voyage, not only during her voyage, but for six or seven months before she left the river Thames. The freight and passage money of the Duke of Buccleugh paid Messrs. Anderson. The presents I was desired to purchase and make Queen Naimbana, for which I have your letter as authority. The stores I was allowed to take with me for our use at Sierra Leone. Our Journey to Bristol, Falmouth, &c &c.?

How can your *Honorable* Court, formed, as it is, of Members of Parliament, Bankers, and some of the first Merchants in the City of London, all professing the quintessence of philanthropy, thus depreciate its worth by being guilty of such gross meanness? I verily believe it would be impossible to cull from the Migratory Chapmen of *Rag Fair*, any number of men who would not blush to be detected in a similar transaction.

That the Directors had cause to be displeased with Mr. Falconbridge for not extending their commercial views, may be in some measure true; but tied up as he was, to obey the dictates of the Superintendant and Council, who would not listen to any arrangements of the kind, until comfort and regularity were established in the Colony—What was he to do? however if he was altogether in fault, was he not punished by annulling his appointment as Commercial Agent? could the Directors do more? If they had blindly (as they certainly did in many instances made improper appointments: What more could. they do than annul them when they discovered their mistake?

But I should suppose it did not require any great discernment, to know that a Surgeon, unacquainted with mercantile affairs, would make but as poor a figure in that line, as a Merchant,. who had not



studied physic or anatomy, would make in the practice of surgery.

Mr. Falconbridge's dismissal did not charge or accuse him with any crime but wanting knowledge of his business; and what information the Directors could get on that score must have been from a quarter as ignorant, if not more so than himself;—but surely, it was their province to have convinced themselves, when they made the appointment, whether he was equal to it or not.

Did not Mr. Falconbridge's dismissal stipulate, that his salary was to continue till the Governor and Council procured him a passage to England? Could there have been the smallest idea, at that time, of detaining either the money left in the hands of the Directors, or his wages? Surely not—Then why do the Directors (now he is no more) withhold payment from me?

For shame, Mr. Thornton, for shame!!! —How can you wink at my being so shabbily treated, after the unexampled sufferings I have undergone, and after the prodigality of fair promises I had from you, to induce me to return a second time to Africa. Did you not tell me, if any accident befell Falconbridge, I should be handsomely provided for by the Company? Surely, you cannot forget making such a promise;—which you not only forego fulfilling, but shamefully keep back (all I require of you) the trifling sum so justly due to me.

If the Directors were not fearful of subjecting their conduct (towards me) to the investigation of impartial men, they never would have refused submitting the affair to arbitration, as was offered; nor would they have threatened, or boasted, that they would ruin me, with an expensive law-suit, in Chancery, when I signified my intention of trying the cause at Common Law, if they meant to do the fair thing.

I cannot help forming those conjectures, for how are we to calculate the principles of men but by their actions? Though, believe me, Mr. Thornton, notwithstanding all I have said of the Court of Directors, I yet firmly believe, if, the decision was left wholly to yourself, I should have ample justice and I cannot avoid thinking, from the opinion I have heretofore formed of your benevolence of heart, that you are secretly ashamed of the Directors nefarious treatment to me.

I will not trespass on your time any longer, but shall quit the subject, with referring my cause to the loftiest of Tribunals, where reigns a Judge of mercy, vengeance, and justice, who, I am persuaded, will not let such turpitude go unpunished, and who has, probably, already began to shew his displeasure;

Pray, Sir, receive this letter with temper, and consider it comes from a Woman, aggravated by insults and injury.

I am, &c. &c.

ANNA MARIA—

Henry Thornton, Esq. M. P.  
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FINIS.