

0036

25-20

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

THE
National and Private
ADVANTAGES
OF THE
AFRICAN TRADE
CONSIDERED:
BEING AN
ENQUIRY,
How far it concerns the
TRADING INTEREST of Great Britain,
Effectually to Support and Maintain
The **FORTS and SETTLEMENTS**
in **AFRICA;**
BELONGING TO THE
ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY
of **ENGLAND:**

Shewing also
What Support and Encouragement the Dutch and the French give to their respective African Companies; and that nothing less than 30,000 l. per Annum, granted by Parliament to the present Company, for a Term of Years certain can enable them to support a Competition with our Rivals in that Trade: with a Proposition to render the Interest of private Traders, and that of the Company mutually beneficial to each other.

With a new and correct MAP of the Coast of **AFRICA**, and all the *European Settlements.*

Humbly inscribed to the R^t. Hon^{ble}. HENRY PELHAM, Esq;
First Lord Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury, and
Chancellor of the Exchequer.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, at the *Crown*
in *Ludgate-Street.* MDCCXLVI. (Price 2s.)

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. V.

Of the Means by which the present Royal African Company has been reduced to the State they are at present in; and what Consideration They merit from the Public, page 83

C H A P. VI.

Of the Foundation of the Trade of the Royal African Company, and of the Value of their Forts and Settlements in Africa, p. 101

C H A P. VII.

That the Parliamentary Aid for the due Support of the Royal African Company cannot be less than 30,000 l. per Annum; and that to be secured to the Company by Act of Parliament, for the Term of Fourteen Years, out of the Sinking Fund, p. 122

T H E

E R R A T A.

Page 23, line 10. for *Ports*, read *Fortis*. p. 72. l. 4. for *Three per Cent.* read *Two*. p. 82. l. 12. for *what Treatment*, read *what future Treatment*.

(I)

T H E
A D V A N T A G E S
O F T H E
A F R I C A N T R A D E.

C H A P. I.

Of the National and private Advantages of the Trade to *Africa*.

TH E most approved Judges of the commerical Interests of these Kingdoms have ever been of Opinion, that our *West-India* and *African Trades* are the most nationally beneficial of any we carry on. It is also allowed on all Hands, that the Trade to *Africa* is the Branch which renders our *American Colonies* and *Plantations* so advantagious to *Great-Britain*; that Traffic only affording our *Planters* a constant Supply of *Negroe-Servants*
B for

(2)

African Trade alone supplies our Colonies with Negroes for Sugars, Tobacco, Rice, Cotton, &c.

for the Culture of their Lands in the Produce of *Sugars, Tobacco, Rice, Rum, Cotton, Fustick, Pimento*, and all other our Plantation-Produced: So that the extensive Employment of our Shipping in, to, and from *America*, the great Brood of Seamen consequent thereupon, and the daily Bread of the most considerable Part of our *British Manufacturers*, are owing primarily to the Labour of *Negroes*; who, as they were the first happy Instruments of raising our Plantations; so their Labour only can support and preserve them, and render them still more and more profitable to their Mother-Kingdom.

Africa supplies Spanish-West-Indies with Negroes.

The *Negroe-Trade* therefore, and the natural Consequences resulting from it, may be justly esteemed an inexhaustible Fund of Wealth and Naval Power to this Nation. And by the Overplus of *Negroes* above what have served our own Plantations, we have drawn likewise no inconsiderable Quantities of Treasure from the *Spaniards*, who are settled on the Continent of *America*; not only for *Negroes* furnished them from *Jamaica*, but by the late *Assiento Contract* with the Crown of *Spain*; which may probably again be revived, upon a Peace being concluded with that Kingdom.

What

(3)

What renders the *Negroe-Trade* still more estimable and important, is, that near Nine-tenths of those *Negroes* are paid for in *Africa* with *British Produce* and *Manufactures* only; and the Remainder with *East-India* Commodities. We ^{We send} send no Specie or Bullion to pay for the ^{no Specie or Bullion} Products of *Africa*, but, 'tis certain, we ^{to Africa,} bring from thence very large Quantities of ^{but bring} *Gold*; and not only that but *Wax* and ^{Gold from} *Ivory*; the one serves for a foreign Export without the least Detriment to our own Product; the other is manufactured at Home, and afterwards carried to foreign Markets, to no little Advantage both to the Nation and the Traders. From which *Facts*, the Trade to *Africa* may very truly be said to be, as it were, all Profit to the Nation; the *direct* Trade thither affords a considerable national Ballance in our Favour, and is apparently attended with such a Series of advantageous Consequences, that no other Branch whatever of our foreign Traffic admits of.

And it may be worth Consideration, that while our Plantations depend only on Planting by *Negroe-Servants*, they will neither depopulate our own Country, become independent of her Dominion, or any way interfere with the Interests of the

B 2

British

(4)

Negroes
will pre-
serve the
Depen-
dency of
our Colo-
nies in
Great-
Britain.

*British Manufacturer, Merchant, or Land-
ed Gentleman*: Whereas were we under
the Necessity of supplying our Colo-
nies with *White-Men* instead of *Blacks*,
they could not fail being in a Capacity
to interfere with the Manufactures of this
Nation, in Time to shake off their De-
pendency thereon, and prove as injurious
to the *Landed, and Trading-Interests* as
ever they have hitherto been beneficial.

Many are prepossessed against this Trade,
thinking it *a barbarous, inhuman, and un-
lawful Traffic for a Christian Country to
Trade in Blacks*; to which I would beg
leave to observe; that though the odious
Appellation of *Slaves* is annexed to this
Trade, it being called by some the *Slave-
Trade*, yet it does not appear from the best
Enquiry I have been able to make, that
the State of those People is changed for
the worse, by being Servants to our *Brit-
ish Planters* in *America*; they are cer-
tainly treated with great Lenity and Hu-
manity: And as the Improvement of the
Planter's Estates depends upon due Care
being taken of their Healths and Lives, I
cannot but think their Condition is much
bettered to what it was in their own Coun-
try.

Negro
Trade jus-
tifiable.

Besides, the *Negro-Princes* in *Africa*,
'tis well known, are in perpetual War
with

(5)

with each other; and since before they
had this Method of disposing of their Pri-
soners of War to Christian Merchants, they
were wont not only to be applied to in-
human Sacrifices, but to extream Torture
and Barbarity, their Transplantation must
certainly be a Melioration of their Condi-
tion; provided living in a civilized Chris-
tian Country, is better than living among
Savages: Nay, if Life be preferable to
Torment and cruel Death, their State can-
not, with any Colour of Reason, be pre-
sumed to be worsted.

But I never heard it said that the Lives
of *Negroes* in the Servitude of our Plan-
ters were less tolerable than those of *Col-
liers* and *Miners* in all *Christian* Countries.
However, while our Rivals in Trade re-
ceive great national Emolument by the
Labour of these People, this Objection
will be of little Weight with those who
have the Interest of their Country at Heart;
or indeed the Welfare of the *Negroes*.

But to resume the Subject. As the
present Prosperity and Splendor of the
British Colonies have been owing to Ne-
gro-Labour; so not only their future Ad-
vancement, but even their very Being de-
pends upon our pursuing the same Mea-
sures in this Respect as our Competitors
do.

That

(6)

That our Colonies are capable of very great Improvements, by the proper Application of the Labour of Blacks, has been urged by the most experienced Judges of Commerce. And if it be good Policy to purchase as little from, and sell as much to foreign Nations of our own Produce and Manufactures, 'tis certainly very unwise and impolitic in us not to encourage our Plantations to the extent they are capable of; in order to supply ourselves at least from thence with what we can't do without; and take from other Nations such Essentials only, as neither our own Country, or our Plantations will afford us.

Negroes only can improve as well as preserve *British* Plantations.

From these Considerations it has been wisely proposed to extend the Planting of *Coffee, Cocoa, Indigo, Cochneal, Logwood, Hemp, Flax, Naval Stores,* and making of *Potash,* and variety of other Products, which those Lands admit of. Whereby, instead of being under the disadvantageous Necessity of purchasing such valuable and useful Merchandize of other Nations, we might easily become capable, not only of supplying ourselves, but exporting to others considerable Quantities of our Plantation-*Produce.* This would turn the ballance of Trade in our Favour, with Countries where 'tis now against us; and enable our Colonies to encrease their demand for *British* Manu-

Effects of improving our Colonies.

(7)

Manufactures, in Proportion to our Demand for their Produce.

But all Improvements proposed to be made in our Plantations, have always presupposed the Well-Being and Prosperity of our *African-Trade*; to the End that they might not be destitute of a constant Supply of *Negroes* for those Purposes: Without which, instead of Improvement, nothing but Distress and Poverty could ensue in all the *British* Colonies, while *France,* by wiser Measures, would render their Colonies still more opulent, and consequently a more formidable Nursery of Naval Power.

Improvement in our Colonies always presupposed the well Being of the *African* Trade.

And however mean an Idea some may entertain of the Advantages arising from the *direct Trade to Africa,* it can proceed from nothing but want of being duly acquainted therewith. Was all the *Gold* that has, or easily might have been brought from thence, coined at the *Tower,* with some Impression to distinguish it from all other *Gold,* as was formerly done, we should soon be sensible, that we need be little beholding to any other Nation for that valuable Metal; for were we to extend our Commerce into *Africa,* to the Pitch it will admit of, we must certainly export thither, of the *British* Produce and Manufacture,

Benefits of the direct Trade to *Africa.*

nufacture, considerably more than we do to any one Country in the whole World.

The Continent of *Africa* is of great Magnitude, the Country extremely populous, and the Trade and Navigation now well known, easy, and not hazardous. As the Natives in general stand in great Need of *European* Commodities, so they have valuable Returns to make us; and such too, that do in no respect interfere either with the Produce and Manufactures of these Kingdoms, or her *American* Plantations; which ought never to be forgot, it being the State of no other Branch of Trade carried on by the whole *British* Empire.

To what a Degree this Country abounds in *Gold*, we have not only the Testimony of the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, and the *French*, who have Settlements on the Continent of *Africa* as well as we, but we have numberless living Witnesses now among our own Nation, and the Vouchers of the most authentic Historians; whose Accounts, one would imagine, should rouze and animate us to push this Traffic to the utmost Degree and Profit we are capable: For at present it is but in its Infancy, which is no less true than extraordinary, notwithstanding we have been in Possession of this Trade ever since the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*.

Returns from *Africa* not interfere with *British* or Plantation Produce.

The Riches of *Africa*.

Elizabeth. But the Reason hereof will appear through the Course of these Papers.

There are no Countries in the World, says the celebrated Historian, *Leo Africanus*, richer in *Gold and Silver*, than the Kingdoms in *Africa*; as those of *Mandingo*, *Ethiopia*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Butua*, *Quiticui*, *Monomotapa*, *Cafati*, and *Mebenemugi*. By the means of *Settlements* of strength, adds he, upon the Continent of *Africa*, *Europeans* may traffic with the bordering People of *Guinea*, and *Libia*; and get into their Hands the *Gold* of *Mandingo*, and its adjacent Territories; among which are those of the King of *Congo*, whose Kingdom is one of the most flourishing and plentiful Countries in *Ethiopia*.

From this Country we might also easily have Communication with that of *Prete-Janny*, which abounds with *Elephants*, and such Provisions and Necessaries as would give singular Ease and Conveniency to facilitate such Intercourses of Commerce. Upon the Confines of the Kingdom of *Congo* lies *Angola*, with the King of which *Paulo Dias*, a *Portuguese* Captain waged War; the principal Reason whereof, was, certain *Silver Mines* that the *Captain* discovered in the Mountains of *Cambabe*, no way inferior to those of *Potozi*, in the *Spanish West-Indies*.

C

The

(10)

The same Historian, speaking of the River *Gambia* *, observes, that by the Exchange of *European* Merchandize with the Natives, we may easily draw to us the Gold of all those Countries: And about ninety Leagues up this River, there is a Place called the *Island of Elephants*, in Regard to the prodigious Number of those Creatures; which also affords a very advantageous Branch of Traffic.

But it would be endless to transcribe all the Passages in this Historian, relating to the rich *Mines* both of *Gold* and *Silver*, wherewith the *Africans* abound; and how easy a Matter it is for *Europeans* to carry on a very extensive and very beneficial Commerce with those People.

Ghana, or *Guinea*, says another eminent Historian †, is the greatest City in all the Countries of *Negroland*, the most populous and the most abounding with Merchandize: And not only very wealthy Merchants travel thither from all the neighbouring Parts,

* *The Royal African Company of England* have *JAMES FORT* and *ISLAND*, in the River *Gambia*, on the North Coast; with various Factories, many Leagues up the River, formerly mounted 90, now 31 *Great Guns*, contains also *Small Arms* and *Stores*, several *Warehouses* for Merchandize, and a *Negroe-house* for 200 *Negres*, and Apartments for the *Governor*, *Factors*, *Writers*, *Officers*, *Artificers*, *Soldiers*, and *Castle-Slaves*.

† Vide *Geographia Nubienses &c. a Gabriele Stonita Syriacarum & Arabicarum Literarum Professore*, 1619. p. 10.

but

(11)

but also from the most remote Corners of the West. This Country borders upon the Land of *Vancara*, very famous for the Plenty and Excellency of its *Gold-Mines*.^{Gold} The *King* hath a grand Palace near the^{Mines of} Banks of the *Niger*; and a Mass of *Gold*^{Africa.} therein of Thirty Pounds Weight, as it was naturally produced in the Mines; but what is extraordinary, is, that this Mass of Gold is completely pure and malleable, without being at all Smelted by the ordinary Arts of Refining and Separation: It is also so extremely fine and soft, as naturally produced, to admit of being hammered out as a spacious Canopy for the Prince's Royal Throne: To so great Perfection hath Nature brought Gold Ore in many Parts of *Africa*.

A modern Historian *, whose Credit I never heard impeached, hath also confirmed the great Treasures in this Part of the World, and hath descended to a very minute Specification of great Variety of their rich *Mines*.

The greatest Part of the Lands, says our Author, where the *Mines* are, produces *Gold* in such Plenty, that it is quite unnecessary to dig for it; 'tis needful only to

* *Nouvelle Relation de L'Afrique occidentale, par le Pere Jean Baptiste Labat.*

C 2

rake

rake the Superficies of the Earth, and wash it in a Bowl, to come at the *Gold-Dust*, and very often Pieces of Gold of pretty good Weight *, &c. — The Earth, says he again, which produces it is not very hard, or difficult to dig ; it is generally of the clayey Kind, of various Colours, and mixed with some sandy Kind of Ore ; so that Ten Men in *Africa* may do more Work generally than Two Hundred can in the richest Mines of *Peru*.

The *Negroes*, proceeds he, are totally ignorant of the peculiar Nature of Lands that yield *Gold* ; they have no Art or Methods of judging which do, or do not afford that Metal : They have a general Idea, that there is Plenty of *Gold-Mines* almost every where, and the dryer the Earth is, and more unkindly in the Production of Vegetables, the more Reason they imagine there is to believe such Places yield *Gold* : Wherefore They scratch and dig almost every where indiscriminately ; and when by their rambling Searches they happen to discover Plenty in one Place, they continue to work there so long only as a Diminution of the first Plenty does not discontinue, and this without any Workman-like Skill in sinking any Depth, or discovering

Method of
Negroes
working
the Gold-
Mines.

* *Nouvelle Relation de L'Afrique occidentale, par le Pere Jean Baptiste Labat, Vol. IV. p. 39.*

the

the Course of the Vein : And so soon as the *Mine* remarkably diminishes from its first Plenty, they immediately forsake that Place, and go in Quest of a fresh one, without searching there any further *.

When they find the *Mine* rich, and that they can, without much Trouble, obtain a considerable Quantity of *Gold*, they sometimes vouchsafe to remain digging at the same Place, even six, or perhaps seven Feet deep ; but that Extent generally determines their Search ; not because the *Mine* ceases to be less plentiful (for they confess the deeper they sink, the greater Quantity of *Gold* they find) but because they have no Invention of Shafts, nor any other Knowledge in the Nature and Methods of Mineing, to prevent the Earth from falling in upon them †.

Ignorance
of Negroes
in Mine-
ing.

After this general Account of the Riches of *Africa*, our Author gives us a Detail of Variety of rich *Mines* ; the Truth of which appears, by his Representation, to be well attested. As 1. A *Gold* and *Silver Mine* at *Fourquarenne*. 2. Another at *Sambanoura*, where, he says, the *Negroes* find *Gold* only by meer washing of the Earth, without digging at all ; they only

* *Nouvelle Relation de L'Afrique occidentale, par le Pere Jean Baptiste Labat, Vol. IV. p. 40, 41.*

† *Labat, Vol. IV. p. 46, 47.*

rake

Gold Mines.

rake it together with their Hands from the Surface of the Earth. 3. A Mine at *Sagolla*, where also they find Gold upon the Surface of the Earth, by simple washing of it, without sinking at all. This Gold is extremely pure, and very easy of Fusibility. It may be presumed, he says, that those *metallic Earths* would afford considerably more Gold than what is found upon the bare Superficies. 4. *Guingua-Faranna* is a Place, quite sowed, as it were, with *Gold-Mines*; where, take the Earth almost indifferently, and wash it, you will find pure Gold, which melts with great Ease*.

Of Rivulets from the Mines.

What indicates the Riches of the Land here still more, is, that the very Rivulets of Water that arise from it, and run into the River *Falleme*, carry with them so much Gold, that the neighbouring *Negroes*, when the *Mines* are not washed by the Permission of their Prince, come to these Rivulets, and employ themselves with washing the Sand, and find there considerable Quantities of *Gold*. Nor is this Practice forbid them: And if the *Negroes* were not so indolent, they might greatly enrich themselves, even by this peddling Work †. 5. The Mountains about *Guingua-Faranna* are of a soft Earth, strewed

* *Labat*, p. 47.

† *Ditto*, p. 47, 48.

with

with Gold Sand, which yields well in fine Gold; as also there are *golden Marchasites*, which have proved of considerable Value*.

The *Mines* also at *Niasanbona* are very rich, and easy to be work'd; but this *Ore* should be pounded, and smelted. This requiring more Art in Refining than the *Negroes* are Masters of, it would be easy to get Possession thereof †. 6. The most considerable Mine that is at present open, and which the *Negroes* work with more Care, is that between the Village of *Tambaoura* and *Nettico* about thirty Leagues East of the River *Falleme*, in the Center of the Country of *Bambouco*. This is surprisngly rich, and produces a very fine *Gold*: and for fifteen or twenty Leagues round about here is so great Plenty of *Mines*, that they cannot be well represented on the Map, by Reason that so great a Quantity would create Confusion; it may be said, with great Truth, that the *Mines* in this Place are superior to all others in those Parts of *Africa* ‡.

Gold Mines.

The Want of almost all the Conveniences of Life here, have put the *Negroes* under the Necessity of working their *Mines*

* *Labat*, Vol. IV. p. 47.

† *Ditto*, p. 50.

‡ *Ditto*, p. 51.

with

Negroes stand in need of European Necessaries of Life.

with something of more Industry than is usual amongst them. They have sunk here even Ten Feet deep, which is very extraordinary with Them, and a Matter of great Difficulty to accomplish; they wanting both Materials and Experience for Matters of this Nature.

They find however at this Depth Gold in much greater Abundance than by merely searching the Superficies of the Earth, or by a little shallow digging, as they do in all other Places. It happens sometimes that the Veins they meet with are mix'd with a Kind of Sand, or some more congealed Earth; and long Experience hath taught them to pound and wash this Ore to separate the Gold from it; which then they find very plentiful, and very pure. But if they were well acquainted with the Arts of Smelting and Refining of Ore's, they would produce considerably more: but they have no Knowledge thereof; nor have they ever yet come to the main Vein of any of their Mines*.

Negroes Ignorance in Smelting and Refining Gold-Ores.

8. There are two Gold-Mines at Naye. That which is on the Brink of the River has been a long Time left off working, only because it is subject to be overflowed. But they have opened another a little Di-

Mines.

* Labat, Vol. IV. p 52.

stance

stance from this, upon the Right of the River, which is not liable to be overflowed; and therefore may be work'd at all Times*.

9. About twenty Leagues above Caincura, to the left of the River, there is a Gold-Mine in the Land of Tomane Niacalen, which is very rich, and of a very pure Metal. 'Tis very easy to work, and yet the Negroes have left it upon an idle Superstition that prevails among them †.

10. There are an infinite Number of other Places with evident Signatures of Mines of Gold. Among others, there are many about seventeen Leagues from the Mouth of the River Faleme in the Niger, which are no way inferior in Value to those before-mentioned in the Mountains of Nettico and Tamba-oura ‡.

There are also as large Quantities of Salt-Petre as can be desired; a valuable Commodity at all Times. And there will be a wide difference in Point of Expence in bringing it from Africa rather than the East-Indies ||.

It would be endless to produce Authorities of the immense Treasures wherewith Africa abounds. I cannot but think we

* Labat, Vol. IV. p. 54.
‡ Ditto, p. 55.

† Ditto, p. 54, 55.
|| Ditto, p. 58.

D

have

have a standing Testimony thereof in this Nation, without Need of having our Memories refresh'd at this Time of Day, upon the Occasion : I mean that of a certain Piece of *Gold Coin*, that has been long current in this Kingdom, called a *Guinea* ; a Denomination derived from the *Gold* brought from that Coast. That Traffic which once supply'd us with the Bulk of our *Gold* before the *Brazil Mines* were discover'd, would amply supply us at present ; and that to a far greater Profit, both to the Nation and Adventurers, than either the *Spanish West-India*, or the *Brazil-Trades* do in Times of Peace.

Origin of a Guinea from African Trade.

Besides ; these latter Branches of Trade are loaded with the heavy Imposition and Incumbrance of *Indultoes* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, both on the *Outset*, and on the *Returns* ; whereas the Trade to *Africa* is exempt from all such Kind of Clogs, and is free and open to every Subject of *Great Britain* : Nor is this Trade liable to those Hazards and Interruptions the other Branches are from the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, upon any Rupture or Misunderstanding with those Potentates ; and which too many of our Merchants have not long since fatally experienced.

African Trade preferable to the Spanish or Portugal.

As the Trading World is at present circumstanced, and Commerce liable to incessant

cessant Fluctuation and Interruption, to the great Injury of our *Merchants* and *Manufacturers*, as well as a Detriment to the *Public Revenue* ; and as we, at this Crisis, remarkably experience, that our Dependence must be upon our own naval and military Power, however readily and chearfully we have interested our selves in the Safety of other Nations, does it not behove this Kingdom vigorously to apply herself to become as independent, as it were, in Traffic, as She is by Nature in Situation ? Our *African* and *Plantation-Trades* may not improperly be called our own *Foreign-Trades* ; and no Measures, perhaps, that this Kingdom can pursue, will render us less dependent in Trade upon other Nations, both in Times of Peace and War, than extending to the utmost those our own most valuable and important Branches of Traffic.

Effects of extending our African and Plantation Trades.

D 2 CHAP.

C H A P. II.

A Short View of the *African* Trade; Shewing, That its future Security and Preservation, as well as its first Establishment, must depend upon the Forts, Castles, and Factories belonging to the *Royal African Company*.

Portuguese first discover'd the Coast of Africa.

THE *Portuguese* being once the most considerable Navigators in *Europe*, were the first Discoverers of the Coast of *Africa*; soon experiencing that no Commerce could be securely carry'd on with the Natives, but by the Means of Settlements of Strength being erected upon the Continent, to awe the Natives to Fidelity in their Traffic and Alliances with them, they accordingly built one *Fort* on the Island of *Arguin* on the North Coast; another called *St. George Del Mina* on the *Gold Coast*, as also a Third at *Luango St. Paul's*, on the Coast of *Angola*, to the Southward of the Equinoctial.

By the Strength and Authority of these *Settlements* they establish'd and claim'd not only

only a Right to all the Lands and Countries within the Limits of the before-mentioned Places, but seized and confiscated all Ships of other Nations, when they met with them trading on any Part of those Coasts.

Seized and confiscated Ships of all other Nations.

These *Settlements* of the *Portuguese* animated some Merchants of the City of *London* to attempt this Commerce; but the *English*, as yet, having no *Forts* there, such Voyages were undertaken at the Hazard of the Loss of Ships and Cargo by the *Portuguese*, without Hope of Redress.

First Attempts of London Merchants to trade to Africa.

But *England* engaging in a War with *Spain* and *Portugal*, and our Merchants envying the *Portuguese* the sole Enjoyment of the Trade to *Africa*, created a Company for the better discovering, and carrying on a Trade from the most northern Part of the River *Senegal*, to the most southward Part of the River *Gambia*; and for their Encouragement to bear them through in so hazardous and expensive an Enterprize, they were granted by Authority for a Term of Years the *sole Trade* in, to, and from those Countries and Rivers; with Prohibition to all other the Subjects of *England* from trafficking to any of the same Places, on Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo.

First Incorporation of English Merchants to trade to Africa.

(22)

In the Reigns of *James* and *Charles the First*, and during the Usurpation, a few Persons were encouraged by Authority likewise to trade to other Parts of *Africa*. But from the Experience of what their Predecessors had suffered, they judg'd it too hazardous to engage without *Forts* and *Settlements* of Strength being erected in *Africa*, to protect them as well from the Insults of the Natives as their Competitors.

Whereupon they wisely erected one Fort at a Place called *Cormantine*, on the *Gold-Coast*, another on the River *Gambia*, on the North Coast. These were the only Places of Strength the *English* possess'd at the Restoration.

The *States-General* of the *United Provinces* observing the Efforts made by the *English* to obtain a Share in the Trade to *Africa* with the *Portuguese*, made the like Attempt; and in 1621, establish'd a Company for that Purpose, called the *West-India Company*: And to the End that They might be upon a Footing with the other Powers, granted them all the Lands and Countries which they could possess themselves of in *Africa*, from the Tropick of *Cancer* to the *Cape of Good-Hope*; as also in *America*, from the most southern Part of *Newfoundland* to the *Streights of Magellan* and *La Maire* on the East Side; and likewise from those

Of the first Forts of the *English* in *Africa*.

Dutch establish the Trade to *Africa* by an exclusive Company.

(23)

those *Streights* to those of *Annian* on the West, together with the *sole Right* of Trading to all those Countries; with absolute Prohibition to all other their Subjects from trading thither, under the severest Penalties.

So successful were the *Dutch* in this Commerce, that in 1637, they possess'd themselves of the strong Fortress of *St. George del Mina* on the *Gold-Coast*; and soon after of all the other *Portuguese Ports* and *Settlements* on that Coast; which Places were afterwards added to them by the Treaty of 1641, between the *States-General* and the Crown of *Portugal*.

By Virtue of this Treaty the *Dutch West-India Company* claim'd the *sole Right* to all the Lands and Countries in *Africa*, from *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Lopez*, comprehending the *Gold Coast* and *Wbydab*.

And although the *English* had erected a Fort at *Cormantine*, and settled *Factories* at various other Places on the *Gold-Coast* before the *Dutch* had made those Conquests, and had a prior Right to a free Trade, at all Places on the same Coast, not in their Possession; notwithstanding this, the *Dutch West India Company* always kept Cruizers on the Coast to interrupt the Trade of the *English* with the Natives, and to seize their Ships and Cargoes, and carry them to *St. George Del Mina*; and this not only

Progress of the *Dutch* in *Africa*.

Insults of the *Dutch* on our *African* Company.

(24)

only near the *Dutch Company's Forts and Settlements*, but at all other Places several hundred Leagues distant from them.

To what a Degree the *Dutch* carry'd their Insults and Depredations at this Time upon our Merchants trading to *Africa*, it will be necessary to state the *Facts* as irrefutable Evidence; for the Experience of past Times best shew what kind of Treatment our Merchants must expect in future, provided our *Forts and Settlements* at present in *Africa*, should, by Neglect, fall into the Hands of any other Potentate.

The Account I shall give, is an Extract from a Discourse published by Sir *George Downing*, who was *Envoy Extraordinary* to the *States-General* upon this very Occasion: The List of Ships taken, Sir *George* says, underwent the strictest Examination of *Parliament*, and was made out upon so clear and undeniable Proofs, that it was impossible to add any thing, either to the Solemnity of the Debate, or to the Weight of Evidence*.

The Ship, *St. John Baptist*, *Emanuel Hart*, Commander, who had taken on board *Negroes* on the Coast of *Guinea*,

* *Vide* A Reply of Sir *George Downing*, Bart. Envoy Extraordinary from His Majesty of *Great-Britain*, to the Remarks of the Deputies of the *States-General*, upon his Memorial of *December 20*, 1664. O. S. Printed in 1665.

and

(25)

and bartered them for Sugars, and other Commodities, at *Bavia* in *Brazil*, was seized in his Return, in *June*, 1661, by a *Zealand Man of War*, called the *Golden Port of Middleburgh*, *Cornelius Trumcap*, Commander, belonging to the *Dutch African Company*.

The *Merchant's Delight*, belonging to *John Young*, and *Company of English Merchants*, *John Bonner*, Commander, having set sail from *Dover*, was seized near *Cape Corso*, in *Guinea*, about *August*, 1661, by a Ship called the *Amsterdam*, belonging to the *Dutch African Company*.

The *Paragon*, belonging to *Bernard Sparke*, *John Cooke*, and *Company of English Merchants*, *John Bariford*, Commander, laden at *Exeter*, and bound for *Guinea*, was seized, *October 15*, 1661, by two Ships belonging to the *Dutch African Company*; the one called the *Amsterdammer*, of *Amsterdam*, *Aaron Couzens*, Commander, the other called the *Arms of Amsterdam*, *Nicholas Yole*, Commander.

The *Daniel*, belonging to *John Knight*, *Thomas Knight*, *Henry Oakes*, and *Company of English Merchants*, commanded by the said *Henry Oakes*; set sail from *London* about *May*, 1661, from the Coast of *Guinea*; was seized by the Ship *Amsterdam*,

E

dam,

The Depredations of the Dutch on our African Traders.

(26)

dam, belonging to the *Dutch African Company*, *Aaron Couzens*, Commander.

The *Brotherhood*, of *London*, belonging to *Peter Caulier*, *Bartholomew Caulier*, *Abraham Caulier*, *John Beverley*, and *Company of English Merchants*, was seized on the Coast of *Guinea* in *February*, 1665, by a *Frigate*, called, *Gat*, — *Cox*, Commander, and one *Japoone*, Commander of a Ship called the *Kaler*; both commissioned by the *Dutch African Company*.

The *Rappa Hanoeck*, belonging to *John Jeffrys*, and *Company of English Merchants*, laden at *London*, bound for the Coast of *Guinea*, was seized near *Cape Lopez*, about the 11th of *September*, 1656, by two *Dutch African Company's Ships*; the one the *Mary*, of *Amsterdam*, the other the *Unicorn*, of *Middleburgh*, *John Serael*, of *Munekedam*, Commander.

The *Sarah*, belonging to *Anne Lewellin*, Administratrix of *Robert Lewellin Merchant*, *Humphry Beane* and *Company of English Merchants*, *Arthur Perkins*, Commander, was seized on the Coast of *Guinea*, *August*, 1656, near *Cape Lopez*, by two *Dutch Ships*, the *Mary of Amsterdam*, and the *Unicorn of Middleburgh*, commanded by the forementioned *Serael*, of *Munekedam*.

The

(27)

The *Fortune*, belonging to *Constane Silvester*, and *Company of English Merchants*, was seized about *August*, 1656, near *Cape Lopez*, on the Coast of *Guinea*, by the said *Mary of Amsterdam*, and the *Unicorn of Middleburgh*, *John Serael* of *Munekedam*, Commander.

The *Black-Boy of Dover*, belonging to *Arnold Breames*, and *Company of English Merchants*, *Ralph Wood*, Commander, was seized *April* 13, 1661, near to *Commenda Fort*, on the Coast of *Guinea*, by a *Dutch Ship*, called the *Grafenna*; which came from the *Dutch Castle of Del Mina*, and carry'd the said Ship into that Fort.

The *St. John*, *Cornelius Van Ringen*, Master, belonging to *Vincent de la Barre*, and *Company of English Merchants*, bought by their Order, at *Middleburgh*, *April*, 1658, and there laden to *Callibar* for *Negroes*, was taken near *Port Callibar*, by a Ship belonging to the *Dutch African Company*, and confiscated at *Callibar*, although the *Dutch Company* had granted Permission for the said Ship to go thither.

The *Ethiopian*, belonging to *John Allen* and *Matthew Babb*, *English Merchants*, *Peter Blake*, Commander, consigned to *Bobuee*, on the Coast of *Guinea*, for *Negroes*, was seized in *January*, 1661, by a Ship belonging to the *Dutch African Company*,

E 2

(28)

Company, called the *Post-Horse*, and carried her to the Castle of *Del Mina*.

The *Lyon Providence*, of *London*, belonging to *Sir William Thompson*, and *Company of English Merchants*, laden at *London*, for *Guinea*, was seized in *August*, 1656, near *Cape Lopez*, in *Guinea*, by two Ships belonging to the *Dutch African Company*; the one called the *Mary*, of *Amsterdam*, the other the *Unicorn*, of *Middleburgh*, *John Serael*, Commander.

The *Bazil Frigate*, of *London*, belonging to *John Busbell*, *Edward Busbell*, and *Company of English Merchants*, was seized between *Angola* and *Fernambuco*, in 1675, by a Ship from *Flushing*, called the *Sluce* — *Quaerts*, Commander.

The *Content*, of *London*, *William Jordan*, Commander, set sail from the *Downs* in *October*, 1661, to trade on the Coast of *Guinea*, was seized there, by a Ship belonging to the *Dutch African Company*, called the *Holy Barbara*, and carried to the *Island of Gene*.

The *Charles*, belonging to *James Barkin*, and *Company of English Merchants*, *John Blackler*, Commander, laden for the Coast of *Guinea*, was seized on the said Coast in *August*, 1661, by a Ship belonging to the *Dutch African Company*, call'd the *Amsterdammer*, of *Amsterdam*, *Aaron Couzens*, Com-

(29)

Commander, and carry'd to their Castle *Del Mina* in *Africa*.

The *Constant Mary*, belonging to *Francis Bellars*, *Thomas Fowke*, *Richard Glove*, and *Company of English Merchants*, *Daniel Lester*, Master, laden at *London*, bound for *Guinea*, was seized on the 8th of *May*, 1654, twenty Leagues from *Cape St. Vincent*, by a *Dutch Man of War*, called the *Holy Cicilia*, *Hause Alburge*, Commander, belonging to the *Dutch African Company*.

The *Leopard*, belonging to *Nicholas Bouchart*, of *London*, and *Company of English Merchants*, was seized near *Cape Blanco*, in *October*, 1656, by the *Chaloup*, a *Dutch Man of War*, belonging to the *Dutch African Company*, and carry'd to the Castle of *Arengeny* in *Africa*, at *Cape Blanco*.

King *Charles* the Second, being acquainted, that the Nation rung with the Outcries of our suffering Merchants, against the *Dutch African Company*, judg'd it full Time to think of effectual Measures to protect this Trade for the future, and to obtain Reparation for Depredations committed.

With Regard to Depredations, his Majesty caused an Account of them to be transmitted to *Sir George Downing*, then his

his *Envoy* at the *Hague*, with Orders to insist upon Satisfaction ; but none could be obtained : Whereupon, *April* 1, 1664, both Houses of Parliament came to a Resolution, *viz.* *That the Wrongs, Dishonours, and Indignities, done by the Subjects of the United Provinces, by invading his Rights in Africa, &c, and the Damages, Affronts and Injuries done by them to our Merchants, were the greatest Obstructions of our foreign Trade ; and that the same be humbly and speedily presented to his Majesty ; and that he be most humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual Course for Redress thereof, &c.*

Resolution of the House of Commons about the Depredations.

Pacifick Remonstrances ineffectual.

Upon this Resolution of Parliament, his Majesty renewed his Instances with the *States* for Satisfaction to our injured Merchants ; but their Remonstrances were treated with Contempt : The Losses of our Merchants were too considerable to be easily reimbursed ; and the Benefits of the *African Trade*, could they have monopolized the Whole to themselves, as they aimed at, were too important to be willingly parted with. Wherefore, instead of giving us Satisfaction for the Injuries sustained, they renewed their Depredations in *Africa*, with greater Violence than before, under the Conduct of their *Admiral De Ruyter* ; so that the Injuries of our Merchants,

chants, upon the whole, amounted to between 6 and 700,000 *l. Sterling*.

The *King* having tryed all other Methods in vain found himself at length under the necessity, upon first notice of *De Ruyter's* Hostilities in *Africa*, of complying with the Sense of his Parliament, and the general Voice of the People ; and accordingly on the 22d of *February*, 1664-5. He declared War in Form against the *States General of the United Provinces* : of such high Estimation and Concern to the Nation was the Trade to *Africa* then adjudged.

Declaration of War against *Holland* for Depredations committed on the *African Trade*.

Nothing is more evident than that the chief View of the *Dutch*, at this time, and for some years before, had been totally to exclude the *English* from the Trade to *Africa*, and to engross the same wholly into their own Hands. Rather than suffer this Nation to enjoy a Share of it peaceably with them, though they were their Predecessors therein, and had a prior Right thereto, they chose to bear all the Hazards and Inconveniencies of a War with *England*.

Dutch aimed at engrossing the Trade to *Africa*.

However, they were happily disappointed ; Our *African* Company maintained their Footing in *Africa*, by the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Breda*, 1667.

But

The Struggles of the African Company to support this Trade.

But the Stipulations in Favour of the *English Company*, were very insufficient to enable them to bear up against the long Series of Difficulties they had struggled with. They had been at an immense Expence in *Africa*, in supporting the *British Interest*; and during the War, as well as before, we have seen, they met with very heavy Losses by Captures.

To extricate themselves out of these Difficulties, they agreed, in consideration of a certain Sum of Money to be paid them by another *New Company*, then intended to be established, to surrender their *Charter* to the Crown, and transfer all their *Estate, Property, Interest, and Effects* in *Africa*, and elsewhere, to the *New Company*.

His Majesty approved hereof, judging it the best Expedient, as well for doing Justice to the old Company of *Royal Adventurers*, as for the better preserving and enlarging this Trade in general; and was pleased to accept the same, and by *Letters Patents* under the *Great Seal* of *England*, bearing Date, *September 1672*,

Of the Incorporation of the present Royal African Company.

to establish and incorporate the present *Royal African Company of England*; and grant them all and singular the *Lands, Countries, Havens, Roads, Rivers, and other Places in Africa, from the Port of Sally,*

Sally, in South-Barbary, to the Cape of Good-Hope; for and during the Term of ONE THOUSAND YEARS, &c.

At this Time the *Dutch African Company* were possessed of the strong Forts of *St. George del Mina*; and of the *English Fort* at *Cormantine*, called *Fort Amsterdam*: They had also another, called *Fort St. Anthony*, at *Axim*, another called *Fort St. Sebastian*, on the River *Chamab*, a 5th called *Fort Nassau*, at *Mouree*, about two Leagues to Leeward of *Cape Coast Castle*, a 6th called *Creveceur*, at *Acra*, and a 7th called *Fort Conraadsburg*, at *St. Jago*, within Cannon Shot of *St. George del Mina*; all on the *Gold Coast*, and lying very commodious to succour each other in Case of Need.

The *Danes* also at this Time were in Possession of one small but impregnable Fort, (since called *Fort Royal*) on the Top of a Hill, within Gunshot of *Cape Coast*; and of another at *Acra*, to the Eastward of the *Dutch Fort* at the same Place.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, late *King of Prussia*, had one good Fort at *Cape-Three-Points*, and two smaller ones at some little distance to the Eastward of the same. And the *New English Company* possessed one small Fort at *Cabo Cor-*

So, the only Fort on all this Coast, which the Dutch had not dispossessed the former Company of, during the late War.

Our Royal African Company, at this Time, apply'd themselves with all possible Vigour to increase the British Interest in Africa, and establish the same on a Footing superior to that of any other Nation. Accordingly they enlarged CAPE COAST CASTLE, and made it ten times larger, stronger, and more commodious than before: They built also a new Fort at ACRA, another at DIXCOVE, a 3d at WINNEBAH, a 4th at SUCCUNDEE, a 5th at COMMENDA, and rebuilt a 6th at ANNAMBOE; all on the GOLD COAST, and three of them within Musker-Shot of Dutch Forts. They also purchased Fredericksburg, now FORT-ROYAL, of the Danes, for the greater Security of CAPE COAST CASTLE: They built another Fort from the Ground at WHYDAH, to secure the Negroe Trade at that Place also. In this manner did the present African Company spare no Expence to preserve this Trade to these Kingdoms, against the Insults, Depredations and Barbarities of Enemies and Rivals, as we have before seen.

So exasperated were the Dutch to find the English African Company take such vigorous

The Spirit of the African Company to cope with the Dutch in the African Trade.

vigorous Measures for the Security of their Trade, that they threw every obstacle in their way; the Dutch Company gave them all possible Opposition on the GOLD COAST, which oft broke out into open Hostilities; and our English Company were put to an incredible Charge and Expence in purchasing the Consent and Assistance of the Native Princes and Great Men for making such Settlements; as well as for transporting, from time to time, the necessary Supplies of Soldiers, Artificers, Provisions, and all other Requisites and Materials from England to complete their Forts and Settlements; all which were rendered still more difficult, chargeable and hazardous by the long war, which ensued with France. Yet, under all these Hardships, Difficulties and Discouragements, the Company never ceased their Endeavours for the Service of their Country, 'till they put the Interest of this Nation, on this part of the Coast of Africa, on an equal Foot with that of the Dutch, and much superiour to that of any other Nation whatsoever.

Repeated Insults and Hostilities of the Dutch to our African Company, on the Gold Coast.

From undoubted Experience therefore it appears beyond contradiction, that the first Establishment, and the constant Security and Preservation of the Trade to Africa, and consequently the supplying the

Security of the Trade owing to Forts and Settlements

(36)

British Plantations with *Negroes* from thence, has been solely owing to the *Forts and Settlements* of our *African* Company ; without which the *Dutch* would most certainly have long since engrossed the principal Part, if not the Whole of this valuable Trade to themselves.

Nor have the Struggles of this Company with the *French*, to save *Great Britain* a Share in the *African* Trade, been less than with the *Dutch*. For on the North Coast, where it was natural to think the Company should have met with less Opposition, and more Success, yet it fell out otherwise. The *Dutch West India Company* were in possession of the *Forts of Arguin* and *Goree*, the *French Senegal Company*, which was established Anno 1673, were in possession of a small Fort on an Island within the Bar in the River *Senegal* ; and our *English African Company* had one small Fort in the River *Gambia*, and another Settlement in the River *Sierraleon*. In this Situation Affairs continued till about the Year 1677 ; and the Companies of each Nation traded freely to all Places on the open Coast, not in the actual possession of any of the others, from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Mount*.

The Progress of the French in this Trade.

In

(37)

In the Year 1677, and 1678, the *French* took the *Dutch Forts* on the Islands of *Arguin*, and *Goree*, which were soon after yielded to *France* by the Treaty of *Nimiguen* : And in the Year 1685, the *French King*, judging the Grant to the *Senegal Company*, which extended from *Cape Blanco* ^{Of two} to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, too large, re- ^{French} ^{African} ^{Compa-} ^{nies.} strained that Company to that Part of the Coast which extends from *Cape Blanco* to the River *Sierraleon*, and erected another Company, which was called the *Guinea Company* ; and granted them the sole Trade to and from that Part of the Coast which extends from the River *Sierraleon* to the *Cape of Good-Hope*. From this Time the *French Trade* to *Africa* was carried on by those two distinct Companies.

The last of these Companies made no great Progress in their Trade till about the Year 1702, that the *French King* gave them the Contract, which he had made with *Spain*, for introducing *Negroes* yearly into the *Spanish West-Indies*. But that Con- ^{French} ^{Contract} ^{with Spain} ^{to furnish} ^{Spanish-} ^{Indies with} tract being afterwards transferred to *Great-Britain*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, this Company was soon after abolished.

The *Senegal Company* were scarcely warm in their new Possessions, before they set up a Claim to all that Part of the Coast, which extends from *Cape Blanco* to the River ^{Negroes,} ^{the first} ^{Rise of the} ^{French} ^{African} ^{Trade.}

Gambia,

Gambia, comprehending above five hundred Miles in Length. In the Year 1681, they attempted to hinder the *Royal African Company's* Ships from trading along that Coast: But not being as yet in a Condition to contest that Point with them, they dropp'd their Pretensions against them for that Time. In the Years 1683, 1684, and 1685, they seized and confiscated several Ships belonging to the *Portuguese, Dutch, and Prussians*. And in the last of those Years, they renewed their Claim against the *English African Company*: From which Time they continued to give them frequent Interruptions in their Trade; 'till at last a War broke out between the two Nations.

Insults of the French to our African Company.

The Losses of the English African Company by the French.

The Losses and Injuries which the Company sustained, during the Course of this War, were greater than can be easily imagined. But one of the chiefest was the Loss of their *Fort* in the River *Gambia*, Anno 1695, which was taken and plundered by a Squadron of *French* Men of War, and all the Fortifications demolished and razed to the Ground. And, as a farther Addition to this Misfortune, when the Company came to take Possession thereof again, after the Peace, they found the *French* settled in the River, and claiming an

an equal Share in the Trade thereof with themselves.

However, the Company, by Means of a strong Fort on *James Island* in the River *Gambia*, and divers *Factories*, some hundred Miles up that River on each Side, have maintained the Right of *Great-Britain* to the Trade hereof, in Opposition to all the Attempts of the *French* to root us out.

How the Company have supported the Trade against the French.

So that it must appear unexceptionably evident, from this short History of our Trade to *Africa*, that it could never have been preserved to these Kingdoms without *Forts and Castles* being kept up and maintained in *Africa*, as all other Nations do, who enjoy any Share in this valuable Commerce. But this will appear still more fully in the next Chapter.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

The Forts and Settlements in *Africa*, and those under the Government of a *Trading Company*, are absolutely necessary to preserve our Trade to *Africa*; with an Answer to all Objections.

AS the Impracticability of supporting the Trade to *Africa* without *Forts and Settlements* hath fully appeared from incontestible *Facts* and *Experience*; so, it is presumed, the same will still farther appear from the plainest Reason, by considering the Nature and peculiar Circumstances of this Commerce.

Private English Merchants trade to Africa by Virtue of the Company's Forts and Settlements.

The *Negroe-Princes* and *Chiefs* in *Africa* are generally at War with each other on the Continent; and the Prisoners of War, instead of being slain, or applied to inhuman Sacrifices, are carefully preserved, and sold to those *Europeans* only, who have an establish'd Interest and Power among the Natives, by the Means of *Forts and Settlements*; or to such who are admitted to traffick with the Natives, by Virtue, and under the Sanction and Protection

rection of such *European Settlements*; which is the Case of all the *British* Merchants who trade to *Africa* at present, at full Liberty, under the Authority, and Protection of our *Royal African Company's* Rights and Privileges, Interest and Power among the Natives; but this is the Case of no other private Merchants in *Europe*; for all foreign *Trading African Corporations* enjoy the *sole Privilege* of this Commerce to themselves.

By Reason of these perpetual Hostilities ^{Wars among the} among the *Negroe-Princes*, 'tis their constant Maxim to cultivate Alliances, and cement Friendships with the Possessors of such *European Forts and Settlements* among them as are best able to assist and protect them in Time of Need, both from their *native* Enemies, and those *Europeans*, who are in Alliance with them: The Natives, on their Part, stipulating and agreeing with the *Governors, Factors, and Agents* of such *Settlements*, to bring down and encourage a constant Intercourse and Currency of Trade from the *Inland* Countries, to such *Friends and Allies*, in Opposition to all other *European Settlements*, their Competitors.

This being the plain State of the Case, nothing can be more evident, than if our Rivals in this Trade have an establish'd

G

Footing

(42)

All Na-
tions
trading
to Africa
have Forts
and
Castles.

Footing and Interest among the Natives ; and *Great-Britain* has no such Advantage in Point of Situation, that we cannot cultivate the like Friendships and Alliances with the Natives for mutual Defence and Security of our Trade, as our Rivals may : And consequently our Rivals, by their Weight of Power, Influence and Authority over the Natives, would bring them under such Terms of Agreement, such Awe and Subjection, that no Power, who had not the same Advantages, could pretend to have the least Share in this Commerce, but by Permission from such *Settlements*. Such was the Fact, when the *Portuguese* were the only Possessors of *Forts and Settlements* ; who never suffer'd any Nation to trade there but at the Hazard of Ship and Cargo. And were the Possessions of our present *African Company* given up, what *Englishman* would be so rash as to venture his Fortune in so precarious a Trade ? Who would take upon himself to secure *British Merchants* from the like Insults, Depredations, and Barbarities of the *Dutch*, our Rivals, if we had no *Settlements*, as they heretofore committed, when even we had some ?

But if the *Dutch* should chance to be more gracious to us in future than heretofore, what Treatment could we reasonably expect from our good Friends the *French* ?

No

(43)

No Man of the plainest Understanding can be so weak as to imagine, that if they had once got the *whole Power* into their Hands, they would not be so wise as to keep the *whole Trade* to themselves ; since the constant Prosperity of the *French Colonies*, would depend thereupon, and the total Ruin and Destruction of the *British Colonies* must ensue. Can they have greater Motives to attempt a Monopoly of this whole Trade, or we have greater to prevent it ?

The Loss
of our
Forts and
Settle-
ments,
the Loss
of the
whole
Trade.

But should the *French* have any *Surplus* of *Negroes* beyond what would supply their own *Colonies* (which can scarce be supposed, since they have found their Account so much already in raising of new ones) would they not rather dispose of them to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, whose *Colonies* do not interfere with the Interest of their's, than sell them, or any of them, to the *British Colonies*, which do ?

Conse-
quences of
the *French*
Power in
Africa.

Besides ; as the Profits of the *Spanish West-India* and *Brazil-Trades* would be far more considerable to them than selling of their Surplus *Negroes* to the *British Colonies* could be, there is not the least Shadow of Reason to believe, that a *British Merchant* or *Planter*, would be suffer'd to purchase a single *Negroe* for the *British Plantations*, while they could dispose of them to much

G 2

better

(44)

better Advantage, and without Detriment to their own Colonies.

For two hundred and fifty Years past, it has been the constant Policy of all such *European Nations* which have been so fortunate as to make any new Discoveries for foreign Trade, and to gain any establish'd Power and Authority in remote and barbarous Countries, to build and maintain *Forts and Castles*; and by Virtue of such Possessions, to claim a Right to whole Kingdoms, and to Tracts of Land of a vast Extent, and to EXCLUDE all other Nations from trading in, to, or from them.

Foreign Trade in all Barbarous Countries first settled by Forts and Castles, and continued by the same Means.

By such Measures, did not the *Portuguese* long enjoy the whole Trade to *Africa*, and to the *East-Indies*? Did not the *Spaniards* also for many Years claim and engross almost the whole Continent of *America* to themselves, and most of the *Islands* adjacent thereunto? By the like Policy too, have not the *Hollanders* render'd themselves Masters of all those *Islands* in the *East*, which produce *Cinnamon*, *Cloves*, *Nutmegs*, and *Mace*, &c. and from them supply the whole World with those Commodities, by such Quantities, and at such Prices as they think fit? And have we not seen, that these same People, for some Time before and after the Year 1660, attempted to gain the whole and entire Possession of the most valuable

(45)

valuable Parts of the Coast of *Africa*, and to Exclude this Nation from any Part, Share, or Interest therein; and thereby brought upon themselves a War with this Kingdom in 1664?

Before the *Royal African Company* had built a sufficient Number of *Forts and Castles* on the *Gold Coast*, the *Dutch* interrupted our Trade, and seized and confiscated our Ships on the said Coast, and within its Dependencies; which, as they pretend, extends from *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Lopez*, and contains a Tract of Land of above 1200 Miles. Since the *African Company* have built and maintained a sufficient Number of *Forts and Castles* on the *Gold Coast*, the said Company, and all other *British* Ships and Vessels, have traded freely to that Coast, and to all Places dependent thereon, without Insults and Depredations from the *Dutch*, or any other Nation. But must we not be infatuated, to imagine, that if we part with our Power there, we can be secure in our Trade?

Before the *French* got Possession of the *Forts* in the River *Senegal*, and on the *Islands* of *Arguin* and *Goree*, on the North Coast, the *English* traded freely and openly to all Places on that Coast, without Molestation: Since the *French* have been in Possession of these *Forts*, they have, many Years,

Years, taken upon themselves, in Times of Peace, to EXCLUDE the *British Nation* from those Parts, and, before the present War, did actually take and confiscate all such *British Ships* and *Vessels* as ventur'd to trade thither.

In those Places where our *African Company* have Forts, as in the River *Gambia*, &c. the *British* private Merchants trade freely with the Natives under their Sanction. In those Places where other Nations have *Forts and Castles*, and the Royal *African Company* have none, there all *British* private Traders, are either absolutely denied the Liberty of Trading, or their Ships are actually taken and confiscated. What greater conviction therefore can any reasonable Man require of the absolute and indispensable Necessity of *Great Britain's* maintaining *Forts and Settlements*, in *Africa*, while our Rivals in that Trade do the same? When they give up their *Forts and Settlements*, then indeed we might venture to follow their Example perhaps, because we should be upon a footing with them. But whoever advises *His Majesty* to such Measures before, will he not be judged, by all honest Men, a Traytor to his Country's Interest?

Was

Was it at all needful to urge the Reasonableness of this Matter further, it might be asked; whether *Forts and Castles* are not maintained in all our *Colonies* in *America*, as well those on the Continent as the *Island* ones? With what View is this done but to protect the latter from foreign Enemies, and the former from both foreign and Inland Native Ones?

Of Forts and Castles in our American Colonies.

If then, such Places of Strength are judg'd absolutely necessary for the Protection of our Colonies, where they are peopled chiefly with *White-Men*, our native Subjects, and they also obliged to be formed into *well-disciplined Militia*, for their Safeguard, does it not follow still far more strongly, that there is a much greater Necessity for the *Fortifications* in *Africa*, where we have no *British* Inhabitants, either for our Protection against the Insults of native Barbarians, or against our *European* Rivals in this Trade?

I am not insensible that it has been pretended by some, that *Men of War* alone, properly stationed, and duely and regularly relieved by others, would be sufficient to protect the Trade of all his Majesty's Subjects on the Coast of *Africa*. To which I answer: First, If neither the *English*, nor *Dutch*, nor *French*, nor any other *European* Nation, had any

Stationed Men of War insufficient for the Security of the African Trade.

Forts

(48)

Forts and Settlements in Africa, I admit that Men of War might in the main be sufficient to protect the Trade on that Coast. Secondly, I do likewise admit that even now that the *English, Dutch, and French* have Forts and Settlements in *Africa*, that Men of War are necessary, for scouring the Seas, annoying the Enemy, protecting our Ships, and upon some Occasions assisting the Forts with supernumerary Supplies of Men, and other Helps which they may sometimes want. But, Thirdly, No Man, I am persuaded, that understands the Nature and present Circumstances of this Trade, will say that Men of War, *alone*, would be sufficient to protect our Trade there. We have a Proof in Point to the contrary thereof, on that Part of the North Coast extending about four or five hundred Miles from *Cape Blanco* to the North of the River *Gambia*, on which the *French* have Forts only at *two* Places, (and we *none*) and yet, by Virtue of them alone, and in consequence of the Influence which they give them over the Natives, we have entirely lost the Trade of all that Coast; and until such Time as I can see the same recovered again, and a free and open Trade with the Natives re-established, and carried on under the Protection of Men
of

(49)

of War only, I shall conclude the same Fate would attend our Trade on every other Part of the Coast of *Africa*, were we to abandon any of our Forts and Settlements, while other Nations are labouring not only to keep up, but to encrease the Number of theirs.

But such who imagine there is any weight in the Sufficiency of Stationed Ships alone for the Protection of this Trade, must either want Knowledge and Experience in the Nature and Circumstances thereof, or intend to impose on others. For of what Inland Service, on an Emergency, could Ships be to the Natives to protect them by Land from their *Negroe*, or *European* Enemies? How could Ships of War cultivate Trading Alliances with the Natives, as the Governors, Factors and Agents of this Trading Company do, by travelling for that Purpose Inland, daily conversing with the *Negro-Kings* and *Great Men*, and doing them constant Offices of Friendship and Benevolence?

One would think the Measures constantly pursued by our Northern Colonies, on the Continent of *America*, should at once shew the Insufficiency of Stationed Men of War, to answer the Purposes of an *Inland-Commerce*, and of Security

H

rity

(50)

rity from the Insults and Oppressions of the native Enemies, and foreign Rivals: for there, where we have above an hundred Thousand *British* Subjects resident, Stationed Ships of War alone, though ten Times the Number usually kept would little avail to support our Footing, and our Commerce to those Parts, without maintaining constant Friendships and Alliances with the *Indian Nations* in North *America*. Do not the *French* vigilantly pursue these Measures as a *Barrier* against the *English*, and the Natives, who are not attached to their Interests? Were they to pursue such Measures, and we to despise and neglect the like, and depend on Stationed Men of War only, must we not be infatuated to expect the Interest of *Great Britain* can be maintained to as good Purpose as the *French* do theirs?

This Case is directly parallel; for if the *Dutch* and the *French* do not trust the Protection of their Share in the Trade to *Africa*, to Stationed Ships of War only, and we should be so weak as to do it, with what reason could we hope to support an Equality of Power, and Ballance of Interest with our Rivals in *Africa*, and among the Natives?

But if after all, any One should be still weak enough to imagine that Stationed Ships

(51)

Ships alone would answer the great End of securing our Commerce, why is the Nation at the great yearly Expence of maintaining *Gibraltar* and *Port Mabon* for the Protection of our *Mediterranean* Trade, which bears no Comparison with the national and private Advantages derived from our *African* and Plantation Trades; which are mutually and inseparably dependent on each other?

For, what Commodities do those Fortresses produce? What Trade do they carry on? Why do we not constantly send Stationed Ships for that End, and save the Expence of a *Military Government* there?

'Tis very true that constant Experience hath shewn us, that *Ships of War* are occasionally absolutely necessary to protect every Branch of our Foreign Trade, as well as our Fortifications abroad for that Purpose: But if any one will say, that because Ships of War are necessary to secure us from Insults at Sea, that all Fortifications are useless and unnecessary for securing us at Land; I answer, down with all Fortresses in our Colonies and Plantations; evacuate *Gibraltar* and *Port Mabon*, &c. &c. &c. This cannot be said by any without Laughter and Contempt. What is it Men mean then, when they talk of

H 2

Ships

(52)

Ships of War alone protecting the *African* Trade? If they mean, that in Times of War, *Depredations* or *Piracies*, Ships of War ought to be sent to the Coast of *Africa* to protect that Trade, as well as any other, who differs in Sentiments from these Gentlemen? I never heard of any one that does. The *African* Company have always made timely Application for Men of War to be properly stationed in all Times of Danger: But if it be said and meant, that any Number of Ships of War, at never so great an Expence, lying at all Times upon the Coast, can cultivate, and preserve that Trade, with the Natives on Shore, without *British* Forts and Settlements, where other Nations have the like, the only Answer to such is *Risum teneatis?*

It has been further said by some; that though Forts and Settlements may be necessary for the support of the Trade to *Africa*; yet they ought to be put solely under a *Military Establishment*; that being more naturally adapted for the Purpose than a *Trading Company*.

Let *Gentlemen* who make this Objection to the Management of a Trading Company inform themselves of the *East India Company*, how effectually a *meer Military Government* would support their

(53)

Trade with the Natives in *India*.—Long Experience, in *India*, hath proved, that a considerable *Military Government*, dependent thereupon, may be conducted by a Trading Company, for the Purposes and Benefits of Trade; but what Instance have we of a Trading Company being conducted by a *Military Government*, independent thereon? They are quite incompatible, unless united under one and the same Head: and since the End in *Africa* is merely the Advantages of Trade with the Natives, and not a large Colony of christian Inhabitants, Trade certainly should be at the Head, and have the sole Government and Direction of a *Trading Military Force*, if I may be allow'd such an Expression.

Can it be supposed that the *Merchants* of *England*, who merit the utmost Regard from the Nation and the Government, would submit to have the *African Trade* under the Controul, Direction and Management of a meer Military rather than a Trading Power, with a military subservient thereunto? Merchants are best acquainted how to treat Merchants in their trafficable Concerns; And though no one can entertain an higher Regard for *Gentlemen* of the Army than myself, yet I am perswaded they would

No mere
Military
Establish-
ment in *A-*
frica will
secure this
Trade.

(54)

would never desire to interfere with the Commercial Province. Yet so greatly might a meer military Establishment in *Africa* be abused, that our Trade with the Natives would be as soon destroyed under such a *Constitution*, as if the Forts and Settlements were demolished. So sensible are the *French* and *Dutch* of this, that they entrust the Protection of Trading *Fort*s, *Settlement*s, and *Factor*ies, to the sole Management of their *Trading Companies*, allow them suitable Encouragements for a proper Military Force in their own Way, and they are left to adapt it to the peculiar Circumstances of the Trade; but they never suffer an independent Military Power to interfere therein.

And as our Rivals in this very Trade act upon these Principles, should we not be very weak and impolitick to introduce any Innovation in this respect; an Innovation founded only on the Conjectures of those who are unacquainted with the Nature and Circumstances of this Trade, in Opposition to the Experience of Time immemorial? While we are upon the same Footing, in the *African* Trade, with our Competitors, we need be under no Apprehension of Danger from them, or the

(55)

the Natives; but if we change our ancient practicable System, and establish a new-fangled imaginary one in its room, who can answer for the Event? Are *Soldiers* Judges of *Trading Alliances* with the Natives? Would not they, for their private Interest endeavour to interfere with the Trade of our Merchants here; and at length, perhaps, make a *Military Monopoly* of what little of that Trade we should have left, under their Management only?

But would there not be a wide difference in point of Expence to the Nation? The Company have always made their *Governors* *Factors* and *Agents*, The cheapest and safest way to secure this Trade to the Nation act as *Military Officers* occasionally as well as Merchants; and the *French* and *Dutch* do the same; their Common *Servants* act also as *Soldiers* and *Sailors* too in their trading Sloops, to check the Insults of the Natives, when Occasion requires. — But were these Forts and Settlements under the Direction of an established Military Government, the Expence to the Nation is allowed by the best Judges of Affairs of this Nature, to be above three Times more than if the Company have the Protection of them, and we

we run the Risk of loosing the whole Trade too.

Gentlemen are too apt to run into a very great Mistake upon this Occasion. They judge of the *African Forts and Settlements* as they do of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*; but the case is widely different: for what *Inland Trade* do we draw from those Places? None at all, as we do by Virtue of the *African Settlements*. Wherefore a meer Military Establishment may answer the Purposes of *one*, but a Trading Constitution, with a Military Power dependent thereon, can only answer the End of the *other*.

No Inland Trade from Gibraltar or Port Mabon as in Africa.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Parliamentary Allowance that may be necessary to the *African Company* for the effectual Support and Maintenance of the Forts and Settlements in *Africa*.

TO determine this Point in the plainest and most satisfactory Manner, it will be requisite, in order to enable us to form a right Judgment hereof, to consider of the Strength of the other Powers upon the Coast of *Africa*, who are interested in this Trade; which can be no otherwise done than by giving a Detail of their respective Forts and Settlements.

The Number and Situation of the several Forts and Settlements belonging to the *French, Dutch, and Portuguese, &c.* are as follows; viz.

1. The Northermost Settlement is that at ARGUIN, on the *Gum-Coast*, in the Latitude of 20 Degrees North, formerly belonging to the King of *Prussia*, for which in the late Queen's Time, on Occasion of

Of the Forts and Settlements in Africa of other Nations.

(58)

an Overture made by the said King to dispose of That and another small Fort at *Cape Three-Points*, which is afterwards mentioned, to this Nation, He demanded for Them 200,000 Crowns; but they have since been purchased of him by the *Dutch*, for 30,000 *l. Sterling*. And afterwards taken by the *French*, in 1721, and now in their Possession.

2. The *River Senegal*, in the Latitude of 16 Degrees, North, where the *French* have several very considerable *Forts*, *Settlements*, and *Plantations*, for a great many Miles up the River.

3. The *Island Goree*, a little Southward of *Cape de Verde*, where the *French* are likewise settled, and have a very strong Castle.

4. *CUTCHEO* and *BISSEO*, two *Portuguese* Settlements, lying in 12 Degrees, North Latitude.

5. *ANCOBRA*, the first *European* Factory on the *Gold-Coast*, belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*.

6. *AXIM*, about one League to the Eastward of *Ancobra*, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*.

7. *FREDERICKSBURG*, at *Cape Three-Points*, about five Leagues to the Eastward of *Axim*, a Fort formerly belonging to the King of *Prussia*; lately sold by him; together

(59)

gether with that at *Arguin*, before-mentioned, to the *Dutch*, for 30,000 *l.* afterwards taken and demolished by the Natives; and lately recovered out of their Hands, at the Expence of a long and chargeable War; and now resettled by the *Dutch West-India Company*.

8. *BUTTEROE*, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about eleven Leagues Eastward of *Cape Three-Points*.

9. *TACQUERADO*, a Factory-House, belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about three Leagues Eastward of *Butteroe*.

10. *SUCCUNDEE*, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about three Leagues Eastward of *Tacquerado*.

11. *SHUMAH*, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about four Leagues to the Eastward of *Succundee*.

12. *COMMENDA*, a Fort belonging to the said Company, about five Leagues Eastward of *Shumah*, and within Gun-shot of an *English Fort*.

13. *ST. GEORGE DEL MINA*, the principal Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, on the *Gold-Coast*, about four Leagues Eastward of *Commenda*.

14. *ST. JAGO*, a Fort on the Top of a Hill, within Gun-shot of *St. George Del Mina*, belonging to the same Company.

I 2

15. Mou-

(60)

15. MOUREA, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about four Leagues to the Eastward of *St. George Del Mina*.

16. CORMANTINE, a Fort built by the *English*, and in the War in 1665, taken by the *Dutch*, and now belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about five Leagues to the Eastward of *Mourea*.

17. APONG, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about ten Leagues to the Eastward of *Cormantine*.

18. BARRACOE, a Fort belonging to the *Dutch West-India Company*, about eleven Leagues to the Eastward of *Apong*.

19. ACRA, a Fort belonging to the King of *Denmark*, about two Miles to the Eastward of the *Dutch-Fort*.

20. ST. LOANGO ST. PAUL'S, in the Latitude of 10 Degrees, South, where the *Portuguese* have several Forts and Settlements, and a large City; and thereby carry on a very great and advantagious *Inland Trade* for some hundreds of Miles.

By this Account of the Forts and Settlements of other Nations, we cannot doubt a Moment of the high Value they set upon the Trade to *Africa*, and with what Care, Industry and Expence they have laboured to gain and secure to themselves a Share therein. And, that we may be well apprized

(61)

prized of the Part which the *Royal African Company of England* have taken in this general Struggle, for the Security and Preservation of this Trade to these Kingdoms, it will be necessary now to give the Reader a particular Account of our own Company's Forts and Settlements on the Coast of *Africa*; which they have erected and maintain'd, to ballance that great Weight of Power of other Nations; which are as follows, *viz.*

I. CAPE-COAST-CASTLE, about three Leagues to the Eastward of the *Dutch Castle of St. George Del Mina*; for which the present Company paid their Predecessors 34,000*l.* situated about the Middle of the *Gold-Coast*. The Fortifications consist of Outworks, Platforms, and Bastions, and have been enlarged with new Buildings, and made regular, as well as ten times larger and stronger, by the present Company, with *Stone, Brick, Tiles, Lime, and Terras*; and is a Security for all Ships in the Road; was many Years doing; having Apartments for the Company's *Director-General, Chief Merchants, Chaplain, Factors, Writers, Surgeons, Artificers, and Soldiers; Magazines, Ware-houses, Store-houses, Granaries, Guard-Rooms, two large Tanks or Cisterns, built with Brick and Terras, sent from England, and holding about 200 Tons, Repositories to lodge one thousand*

The Forts
and Castles
belonging
to the
Royal
African
Company
of Eng-
land.

(62)

thousand Negroes, and *Vaults* for *Rum*, *Work-houses* for *Smiths*, *Armourers*, *Coopers*, and *Carpenters*; fifty-seven *Great-Guns*, *Small-Arms*, *Blunderbuffes*, *Buccaneer-Guns*, *Pistols*, *Cartouch-Boxes*, *Swords* and *Cutlasses*, *Ammunition* for *Great-Guns* and *Small-Arms*, *Stores* and *Tools* for *Brickmakers*, *Bricklayers*, *Smiths*, *Carpenters*, *Coopers*, *Surgeons*, *Armourers*, *Gunners*, and *Gardiners*, *small Vessels*, *Pinnaces*, *Canoes*, and *Men* answerable, attending on the *Castle* and *Garrison*, and fetching *Stores* to and from the *Out-Forts*.

This Castle is situated in *Fetu*, the Residence of the Company's Director-General, who manages their Trade and Alliances with the several Kingdoms on the *Gold-Coast*, and opens a Trade to *Fetu*, *Saboe*, *Cabestera*, *Arcaina*, *Caffera*, *Dankera*, and *Ashantee*; and is a *Repository* of *Merchandise* for supply of all the *Factories*; with *Ponds* and *Canals* of *Fresh Water*, and *Gardens* of a large Extent, producing all *Necessaries* for the Castle and Shipping, as *Plantaines*, *Bonanoes*, *Pine-Apples*, *Pottatoes*, *Yams*, *Corn*, *Colworts*, *Peas*, *Beans*, *Cabbages*, and all other *European Refreshments*.

II. PHIPP'S TOWER, built for the Defence of the *Negroe Town* of *Cape-Coast*, against any *Inland Enemy*.

III. FORT-

(63)

III. FORT-ROYAL, on the Top of a Hill; bought of the *Danes* by the present Company, for 4,597 *l.* and Assistant to the Defence and Security of *Cape-Coast*, and the Ships in the Road.

IV. QUEEN ANN'S POINT, built for the Security of *Cape-Coast-Castle*, and for purchasing *Corn*, *Negroes*, and *Gold*.

V. ANNAMABOE FORT, built by the present Company. The Fortification consists of *Flankers*, *Outworks*, *Lodging-Rooms*, and *Apartments* for the *Chief*, *Factors*, *Writers*, and *Soldiers*; *Magazines* and *Store-houses*, *ten Great Guns*, *Small-Arms*, *Blunderbuffes*, &c. *Ammunition* for *Great Guns* and *Small Arms*, *Canoes*, &c. attending the Building and Garrison; a large *Tank* or *Cistern*, made with *Brick* and *Tarras*, sent from *England*, with a *Negroe-House* for 150 *Negroes*. This Fort is situated in the *Fanteen's Country*, and opens a Trade to *Fanteen*, *Braman*, *Acrong*, *Akim*, *Cabestras*, and *Arcaia*, for *Gold*, *Corn*, *Palm-Oil*, and *Negroes* *.

VI. TANTUMQUERRY FORT, built by the present Company, with *Apartments* for the *Chief*, *Factors*, *Writers*, and *Soldiers*; a *Magazine*, and *Guard-Room*, a *Tank*, or

* This Fort was relinquish'd before 1730, but is necessary to be resettled again.

large

(64)

large Cistern made with Brick and Terras, sent from *England*; a *Negroe-House* for 50 *Negroes*, six Great Guns and Small-Cutlasses, and Ammunition for Great Guns and Small Arms. This Fort stands in the *Acrong* Country, and opens a Trade to *Fanteen*, *Akim*, and *Anguina* for *Gold*, *Negroes*, and *Corn*.

VII. WINNEBAH FORT, built by the present Company. The Fortifications, four Bastions, Outworks, Apartments for the Chief, Factors, Writers, and Soldiers; Magazines, and Guard-Rooms; a Tank, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from *England*, a *Negroe-House* for 100 *Negroes*, fifteen Great Guns, Small Arms, Cutlasses, and Ammunition for the Great Guns and Small Arms. This Fort stands in the Country of *Anguina*, and opens a Trade to *Akim* for *Gold* and *Negroes*, and has a River of Fresh Water, to supply the Ships, also Timber and Fish-Shells for repairing some Parts of the Forts, and a little to the Westward, is a Hill thought to have *Gold Mines*.

VIII. ACRA FORT, built by the present Company. The Castle is four-square, has a Tower, Bastions and Outworks, Apartments for the Chief, Factors, Writers, and Soldiers; Magazines, Guard-Rooms, and has a Tank, made with Brick and Tarras, sent

(65)

sent from *England*, a *Negroe-House* for 150 *Negroes*, 30 Great Guns, Small Arms, Blunderbusses, and Ammunition for Great-Guns and Small Arms, and Stores for Artificers. This Fort stands in the Kingdom of *Acra*, and opens a Trade to *Quambo*, *Akim*, and *Aquawoa*, for *Gold*, *Negroes*, *Elephant's-Teeth*, and *Salt*.

IX. WILLIAM'S FORT at *Whydah*, built by the present Company, and hath Flat-Forms, Parades, Out-works, a Moat round, and Apartments for the Chief, Factors, Writers, Surgeons, Artificers, and Soldiers; Magazines, Store-houses, a Guard-Room, a *Negroe-House*, 30 Great Guns, Small Arms and Ammunition for Great Guns and Small Arms, and Stores for Artificers, and is situated in the Kingdom of *Whydah*.

X. COMMENDA FORT, about five Leagues Eastward of the Dutch Fort *Shumab*, built by the present Company, at very great Expence, maugre all the Interest and Opposition of the *Dutch West-India Company*: The Fortification is four-square, with four Bastions and a Tower; containing Lodging and Apartments for the Chief, Factors, Writers, and Soldiers; Magazines, Store-houses, a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from *England*; and a *Negroe-House* for 150 *Negroes*; 26 Great Guns, with Small Arms, Stores

K

and

(66)

and Ammunition for Great Guns and Small Arms. This Fort stands in the Kingdom of *Aquafoe*, and opens a Trade to the Kingdom of *Cafferoes*, *Dankaries*, *Ashantees*, *Arcania*, *Acqua*, and *Abrambo*, for *Gold*, *Negroes*, *Teeth*, and *Palm-Oil*.

XI. SUCCUNDEE FORT, within Gun-shot of the *Dutch Fort Succundee*, built by the present Company, in the *Antee*-Country, near the *Adooms*; once taken and destroy'd by *Negroes*, hired by the *Dutch West-India Company*, and the building thereof afterwards interrupted by the same Interest. But since rebuilt, fortified, and made larger and stronger than it was at first; has 20 Great Guns, Small Arms, Stores, and also Lodging-Rooms and Apartments for the *Chief*, *Factors*, *Writers* and *Soldiers*; *Magazines* and *Store-houses*, with a *Tank* for Water, built with Brick and Tarras, sent from *England*, and a *Negroe-House* for 100 *Negroes*.

XII. DIXCOVE FORT, about eight Leagues Eastward of the *Dutch Fort*, at *Cape Three-Points*, built by the present Company, and is situated in the *Antee* Country; the Fortification being four-square, has four Bastions, with 19 Great Guns, Small Arms, and Stores; also Lodging-Rooms, and Apartments for the *Chief*, *Factors*, *Writers*, *Soldiers*, and *Artificers*;
Maga-

(67)

Magazines, and *Store-houses*; and opens a Trade to the several Kingdoms of *Axim*, *Awawee*, *Warsaw*, *Dawakray*, and *Ashantee*, *Inland-Countries*, for *Gold*, *Elephant's-Teeth*, *Negroes*, and *Corn*; and furnishes Timber, for the Repair of the other Forts, and Ships, and Water for Shipping and Limestones; is a commodious Place for careening small Vessels, has a *Tank*, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from *England*, for holding-Fresh Water, and a *Negroe-House* for 100 *Negroes*.

XIII. JAMES FORT and ISLAND, in the River *Gambia*, on the North Coast; the whole *Island* walled round, *Out-works*, *Great Guns*, *Small Arms*, and *Stores*, formerly mounted with 90, now with 31 *Great Guns*, with several *Ware-houses*, *Rooms* for the *Governor*, *Factors*, *Writers*, *Officers*, *Soldiers*, and *Castle-Slaves*; *Work-houses* for *Smiths*, and other *Artificers*; *Magazines* and *Store-houses*, and a *Negroe-House* for 200 *Negroes*.

For near 800 Miles up this River, the Company have also the following *Factories*; viz. *Geugia*, *Tancrowall*, *Joar*, *Yanamarew*, *Casau*, *Bruco*, *Cuttelar*, *Samy*, *Wally*, *Yamyamacunda*, *Faleodo*, *Baracunda*; which last is within about 200 Miles of the *Gold-Mines*.

K 2

XIV.

XIV. BENCE ISLAND*, and the *Island of Tassa* on the River *Sierraleone*: On the first was a Castle fortified, which in the late War was plundered by the *French*; but the Company have lately resettled the same; it has 50 Great Guns, Small Arms, Stores, and also Lodging-Rooms and Apartments for the *Chief, Factors, Writers, Soldiers, Artificers, and Castle-Slaves; Magazines and Store-houses, and a Negroe-House* for 100 *Negroes*.

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| SHERBRO, | } On <i>York-Island</i> on the North Coast. | } These are seven <i>Factory-Houses</i> for purchasing <i>Red-wood, Negroes, Gold, and Corn</i> , which the Company settle, or withdraw, as They see Occasion. |
| ANNISHAM, | | |
| AGGA, | } On the <i>Gold-Coast</i> . | |
| SHIDOE, and | | |
| ALLAMPO, | | |
| QUITTAH, | } Under the Direction of <i>Whydab</i> . | |
| JACQUIN, | | |

From this View of the State of the Forts and Settlements of other Nations, and that of our own Company, the short Question is, *What Parliamentary Allowance is absolutely necessary to enable the Royal African Company to support and maintain these Forts and Settlements, so as effectually to secure this valuable Trade to these Kingdoms, against our Competitors, and the Native Enemies they*

* The Company have had no Settlement there since 1728.

may

may raise against us, as, we see, they have heretofore done?

To give proper Light into this Matter, it will be necessary to enquire what publick Support the *Dutch* and the *French* give to their *African Companies*; and then we shall be at no Loss to determine this Point, without Difficulty, or Perplexity.

The *Dutch*, as appears by a *Memorial* given by their *African Company* to the *States General* in the Year 1714, allow them the following Encouragements to enable them to support and maintain their Forts and Settlements, in *Africa*.

1. From the several Provinces of *North-Holland, Zealand, and Groningen*, a *Subsidy* of —
2. A *Duty* of 3 per Cent. on all Goods and Merchandize exported to, or imported from any place between *Newfoundland* and *Cape Florida*; a *Duty* also of 2 per Cent. on all Goods and Merchandize exported to, or imported from any Place on the Continent of *America*, from *Cape Florida* to the *River Oronoco*, including *Curasso*; both which are

| | |
|------------|---|
| Florins | } What Encouragement the Dutch allow their African Company. |
| per Annum. | |
| 38,600 | |

Brought over — Florins per Ann. 38,600

are very moderately computed to amount at least to — — 100,000

3. A Duty of Five Florins per last on all Ships trading to Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, Porto Rico, and other Carribbee Islands; or to any place from the River Oronoco, to the Streights of Magellan and La Maire, and from thence to the Streights of Annian, computed at — — — 3,000

4. One third of the neat Income of the Colony of Surinam, computed at — — 10,000

5. The clear Profits of the Colony of Ifacape, computed at 20,000

6. All the Profits arising from Captures and Duties exacted from the Portuguese, for Leave to Trade on the Coast of Africa, estimated at — — — 100,000

271,600

The Total of which reduced to Sterling Money, at Eleven Florins for one Pound Sterling, amounts to — — — l. Sterl. 24,700

And

And what is still far superior to all these Encouragements to support the Power and Interest of the Dutch Company, in Africa, is the Sole Privilege of all this Trade to themselves; all the Profits upon Negroes, Gold, Ivory, Gums, &c. which gives that Company such a Weight of Power and Influence in Africa, that we find they have made the Portuguese Tributary to them, on those Parts of the Coast which were formerly possessed by the Portuguese themselves.

An Account of the Bounties, Exemptions, Privileges, and Encouragements given by the French to their African Company, taken from a Memorial of the Deputies of the Council of Trade in France to the Royal Council of Commerce there.

1. An Exemption from all local and provincial Inland Duties of any Kind, upon their Goods and Merchandize in France, as also from all Duties for Merchandize exported to Africa, wherewith to purchase Negroes, Gold, Ivory, &c. which, considering the Number of Ships they employ in this Trade, cannot be computed at near so small

What Encouragement the French give their African Company.

(72)

small a Sum as 150,000 l. Sterling per *Annum*; nor the whole Exemption at so small a Rate as 3 per Cent. thereon, ^{per Ann. Sterl.} 3000 l.

2. An *Exemption* from half the Customs on all *Sugars*, and other Merchandize imported from the *French Islands* and *Colonies* in *America*, being the Produce of the Sale of *Negroes* there; the Amount of which will appear by the following moderate Computation. *viz.*

Suppose 15000 *Negroes* only, (whereas good Judges reckon them not less than double that Number) are imported into the *French Sugar Islands* annually; and that 10000 of that Number should be sold for *Sugar* to be returned to *France* at the Rate of Forty Hundred Weight of *Sugar* only per Head.

The *Duty* on Importation of *Sugar* into *France* is 3 per Cent. on about Two-thirds of the Value; which is at the Rate of 2 per Cent. And there

(73)

Brought over ————— ^{per Ann. Sterl.} 3000 l.

there is also an *Inland Duty* of three Livres, or 2 s. 9 d. Sterling per Hundred Weight.

Suppose the Price of such *Sugars* is computed at no more than 25 s. per hundred; which, upon 10,000 *Negroes*, makes 400,000 Weight of *Sugar*; and this, at One per Cent. being One Half of the Duty upon Importation, amounts to ————— 5000 l.

400,000 Hundred Weight of *Sugar* at 1 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per Hundred, being Half of the above *Inland Duty* of Three Livres, or 2 s. 9 d. Sterling per Hundred Weight, is ————— 27,500 l.

32,500 l.

3. A *Bounty* of Ten Livres, or 9 s. 2 d. Sterling, to be paid out of the King's Revenue, for every *Negroe* carried to the *French Islands* and *Colonies* in *America*; which upon the said 15000 *Negroes* only, amounts to ————— 6875 l.

4. A *Bounty* of 9 s. 2 d. for every Ounce of Gold Dust that
L Carried over ————— 42,375 l.

(74)

Brought over, ——— *per Ann. Sterl.*
42,375^{l.}

shall be imported from *Africa*
into *France*.

Suppose only 5000 Ounces of
Gold imported from *Africa* into
France, which is quite trifling
and inconsiderable, when we
recollect how rich their Ships
in the *Guinea Trade* are in *Gold*,
as hath appeared by some late
Captures, is ——— ——— 2296^{l.}

The Total is per *Annum* in ———
Sterling Money — — — 44,671^{l.}

N.B. The *Exemption* of Duties on
what the other five thousand *Negroes* pro-
duce in *Coffee, Indigo, Cotton, Cocoa, &c.*
is left out in this Account, lest any Exag-
geration should appear; and in every
other Article, Things are extremely un-
derated, which every one at all acquaint-
ed with the Extent of the *French Trade*
to *Africa* and *America*, need not be ap-
prized of.

But what gives the *French*, as it does
the *Dutch*, still a greater Weight of In-
terest, Power and Authority in *Africa*
than the Advantage of all these Encour-
agements, is the Company's *Sole Privi-
lege*

(75)

lege of this Trade, exclusive of all the
other Subjects of *France*.

Now, since it is the constant Rule of
all wise Governments to support either
of Themselves, or by Alliances such a
Degree of Strength and Power as shall
prevent their Trade from being ruined,
or their State swallowed up by neigh-
bouring Potentates; and since under eve-
ry wise Administration of Government
in the *British Empire*, it has been the
constant Maxim to proportion the Strength
of our *Naval* and *Military Force* in ge-
neral, both at home and abroad to those
of our Rivals in Trade, for the Security
and Protection of our own Commerce
and Navigation; what Reason can be as-
signed, why any Exception should be
made in this particular Case of the *Afri-*

can-Trade? If the *States General of the* Our En-
United Provinces allow their *African* encourage-
Company above 25,000 *l. per annum*; the *Afri-* ments to
together with a Privilege of Trade, ex- the *Afri-*
clusive of all the other Subjects of *Hol-* can Com-
land, (which is more than equivalent be equal to
to double that Sum besides, from the our Rivals,
Weight of Power, Dominion, and Autho- our Inte-
rity it gives their Company with the Na- rest being
tives in *Africa*): As the *Dutch African* as much
Company have this publick Support for concerned
the *Afri-* in the Se-
can Trade, curity of
their

(76)

their Forts and Settlements, must not every Man of Sense be at a loss to conceive, why *Great Britain* should not be at an equal Expence to support the *British Forts and Settlements in Africa*? for is it possible for our *National Company* to maintain an equal Degree of Strength and Power for 10,000*l.* per *Annum*, without an exclusive Privilege of Trade, as the *Dutch* do for 25,000*l.* with an exclusive Privilege?

Nor will it be said, that the Interest of *Great Britain*, is not as essentially concerned to support the Trade to *Africa*, as that of the *Dutch* is to support theirs. For, has it not been made appear; and indeed is it not allowed by all who are Judges, that the fundamental Support of the *British Colonies and Plantations in America*, is owing to *Negroes*; wherewith they can be supplied no where else but from *Africa*?

Now, as the *Dutch Colonies in America* for Trade and Importance to the *States General*, bear no manner of Comparison to the *British*, for their Trade and Importance to these Kingdoms, does it not follow from the plain Rule of Proportion, that the Support of the *African Trade* concerns us so much more essentially than it can do the *Dutch*, as our Interest in *America*

(77)

merica is more considerably concerned there than theirs is? Was this Rule of Proportion then to take Place in our publick Measures, instead of our *African Company* having a national Support of 10,000*l.* per *Annum* only, without an Exclusive Privilege, and the *Dutch Company* a Support of 25,000*l.* per *Annum*, with an Exclusive Privilege, our Royal Company would have a Support in Proportion as the Superiority of our Weight of Interest in *America* exceeds that of *Holland*; and what that is, may be very easily determined from the Premises, but must be submitted to the great Wisdom of the Legislature.

Moreover, *Great Britain* has another Interest in preserving the *African Trade* besides that of her Plantations, which is not to be contemned, though there happens a Cessation thereof at present by the War: I mean an Interest in supplying the *Spanish West-Indies* with *Negroes*, by a fresh *Assiento*, upon a Pacification with that Crown. For the Advantages thereof have not only proved very beneficial to the Proprietors of the *South Sea Company*, and 'tis to be hoped will do so considerably more hereafter, but also to the Nation in general, by a very great Encrease in the Exports of our *British* Manu-

The *Dutch* have not such an Interest to preserve this Trade, yet allow above as much more for its Safety.

Manufactures to *Spanish America*, by Means of that *Assiento*.

And altho' the *Portuguese* have *Forts and Settlements* in *Africa*, yet they are not able to supply their *Brazil Colonies* with *Negroes* sufficiently, but have applied to the *English* for that Purpose: all which Considerations still render the Trade to *Africa* of more Importance to this Nation; and therefore does it not merit Support in Proportion to all Advantages in Expectancy, as well as present?

With Regard to the national Support given by *France* to their *African Company*, we have seen, by the most moderate Computation, it amounts to no less than 44,671*l. Sterling per Annum*; together also with a Privilege of Trade exclusive of all the Subjects of *France*; which gives them, as it does the *Dutch*, no inconsiderable Influence and Authority among the Natives in *Africa*: and have not the *French* found their Account by these Measures, in raising of their *Sugar*, and other *Colonies* to the Pitch we now experience them to be, to the no small Injury of the *British* Plantations?

The Interest of *France* not more concerned in the *African Trade* than ours; yet allow their *African Company* above four times more than we do ours.

The Interest of *France* in their Plantations in *America*, being considerably more

more than that of the *States-General*; and consequently their Dependence upon the *African Trade*, more in Proportion, we find their national Support of this Trade is near double what it is in *Holland*. So that the *French* are wise enough to proportion the Expence to the Importance of the national Service. And since the *British Interest* in *America* may at present be said to be superior to that of *France*, certainly our Support of this Trade ought not to be at all inferior to theirs.

But, since extraordinary Success hath attended his Majesty's Arms in *America*, by doing such remarkable Injury to the *French Sugar Trade*, does it not behove us to follow our Blow against such a formidable Enemy, and totally ruin their *Sugar* and other *Colonies*; or at least to do them all the Detriment that is in our Power? But what Measures can *Great-Britain* take more effectually to this great and desirable End, than to cut off their Resource of *Negroes*, by whose Labour they have raised and still preserve their *American Colonies* in general? And will not enabling our *African Company* to exert themselves there, and retrieve that Trade the *French* have wrested from us, be the most natural way to answer that desirable End?

By

(80)

By Virtue of the superior *National Allowance* and *Privilege*, the *French* have many Years taken upon them to Trade as freely within the Limits of the *British* Company's Charter, as of their own; while our Company have for many Years labour'd under such Discouragements, that they have not been able to repel their insolent and shameful Encroachments: Nay, so great is the Weight of Power the *French* Company have obtained in *Africa* by their superior Encouragements, that they will not suffer a *British* Vessel to come in Time of Peace within many Leagues of their Settlements, without making Prize thereof. So that if we expect to carry on the Trade to *Africa* upon the Foot of a free and open Trade, to as great Advantage as *France* does, must not the *British* Company have an Equality of Support with the *French*; and some Equivalent for the Privilege they have parted with, and the *French* possess, to put it in their Power to support the *British* Rights, Privileges, and Interest, in such remote Parts, against all other Nations, in their fullest Extent?

Upon the Whole, therefore; what national Support is indispensably necessary for our *African* Company to enable them to maintain a Ballance of Interest in *Africa*, can no longer be a Doubt: The requisite

Facts

(81)

Facts and *Materials*, whereby to direct our Judgment herein, are plainly and honestly exhibited, according to the best Information I have been able to obtain. So far from exaggerating the Encouragements given by *France* and *Holland*, they will readily be allow'd to be considerably more, by every one who will give himself the Trouble to consider the Computations. Wherefore, I cannot but be of Opinion, that the *Estimate* deliver'd into the *Honourable House of Commons* by the *Royal African* Company for Support of their *Forts* and *Settlements*, is extremely modest; and, I am afraid, unless the Power of *France* is considerably reduced, that will not, even with the greatest Frugality and Oeconomy, be sufficient for the good Purposes intended.

But if it is the Interest and Desire of the *British* Nation so to reduce the Power of *France*, as to disable them from supplanting us in the Trade of *America*, or increasing their *Naval* Power upon the Ruin of ours, *Now is the Time*, or, perhaps, *Never*. Let the Hands of the *African* Company be so strengthen'd as to destroy the *French* Interest in *Africa*, and their *Sugar* and other *Colonies* will soon be undone; their *Naval* Strength be so reduced as never again to have it in their Power

M

to

(82)

to insult us with Invasions, and threaten us with the Subversion of our happy Constitution. Let no Man boast of his being a Friend to the Interest of the Trade and Navigation of *Great-Britain*, or to the Interest of the present happy Establishment in his Majesty's august House, who shall oppose a Measure, that appears, even to Demonstration, so just, so reasonable, and so national in itself, as the effectual Support of the *Royal African Company of England*. But what Treatment and Regard this Company deserves from the Nation, will still further appear, by taking a short Review of the Treatment they have received.

C H A P.

(83)

C H A P. V.

Of the Means by which the present *Royal African Company* has been reduced to the State they are at present in, and what Consideration They merit from the Publick.

MANY who are unacquainted with the Progress of this Company, are apt to entertain an Opinion, that their present Condition has been owing to some Mismanagement, and Male-administration in those who have had the Conduct of the Company's Affairs: And, indeed, I was once of the same Opinion myself. Nor is it at all unnatural to be led into this Way of judging; for this Trade being so apparently beneficial; and the Company having the Advantage of Forts and Settlements happily situated for the beneficial Cultivation of this Commerce, People are easily led to believe, that a Company thus circumstanced, as being, in the very Center, as it were, of all the Treasures in *Africa*, cannot be reduced to the State the present Company is, without some sinister, corrupt, or fraudulent

M 2

duleat

(84)

How Pre-
judices
have been
rais'd a-
gainst the
African
Company.

duleat Management, some-where or other. This having been too much the Case among great Societies and Corporations, these Suspitions are very naturally rais'd in the Minds of Men : And when such In- finuations are heighthen'd and exaggerated by those who have been call'd to Account by the Company for abusing the Trust re- posed in them ; and by others who have weakly imagined, that the Prosperity of this Company is incompatible with their private Interest, and therefore have en- deavour'd its Ruin : This being the Case, how should the Publick be otherwise than liable to be misled and imposed upon, with Regard to the Conduct of this Company's Affairs ? And therefore it has become ne- cessary to disabuse those who have been groundlessly prepossessed, either against the Merit or Managers of this Corporation, lest the Publick Interests, as well as those of the Company, should sustain an irrepara- ble Loss.

Expence
of the
Compa-
ny's Forts
and Set-
tlements.

And this I shall do from the plain State of the Facts, as they fall before me in the Order of Time ; for they will speak for themselves ; nor do they need any false Colouring, was I that way dispos'd.

From the Detail before given of the Number, Nature, Strength, and Situation, of the Company's Forts and Settlements
on

(85)

on the Coast of *Africa* ; every one will easily judge of the extraordinary Charge, which of Necessity must arise in the erect- ing and preserving such remote Buildings and Fortifications, by sending from hence *Bricks, Tiles, Tarras, Lead, Iron-Work, Boards, Timber* ; and all other *Stores, Tools* and *Materials* requisite for the same, and in contracting with, hiring and transporting *Soldiers, Carpenters, Smiths, Bricklayers, Masons, Armourers, Brick-makers, Coopers, Sawyers*, and Variety of other necessary Artificers ; and what still added more to this great Charge and Expence, was the *Paying* and *Maintaining* them in *Africa*, and from Time to Time supplying and recruiting the same, for many Years to- gether, as well by Reason of the Insults and Losses, during the War, first with *Hol- land*, and afterwards twice with *France*, before the Company could establish the Trade : As also the Hiring, and Wear and Tear of Shipping, and being under the Necessity of keeping Vessels of considera- ble Force in *Africa*, upon Demurrage, for the Assistance and Protection of such con- siderable Undertakings, in Opposition to all the Efforts of our Rivals, to prevent the Company's Success. To which may be added, the extraordinary Charge and Ex- pence in obtaining Grants and Agreements,

4

and

(86)

and making and supporting Alliances with the several *Kings, Queens, and Great Men* of the Country; as well in order to *make Settlements, and build Forts*, as to contribute to *defend* the Company against the finifter and undermining Designs of other *European* Competitors in that Country.

An Exclu-
sive Privi-
lege their
Induce-
ment.

And, what can we imagine could induce this Company to sink so immense an Expence in *Africa*? Certainly nothing less than the secure and inviolable Possession, as they imagin'd, of this Trade to themselves, exclusive of all other Subjects of *England*, for a Term of Years suitable to the Expence and Hazard of the Undertaking. For, are not the first Attempts to make foreign Settlements among barbarous and uncivilized Nations, always attended with very great Hazard and Expence? And is it not the Policy of all Trading Nations in *Europe*, to grant the first Adventurers such Privileges, Immunities and Encouragements as are suitable to the Risque and Contingency of their Engagements? Was not this the Rise of *Exclusive Grants and Privileges* to incorporated Trading Societies; who, with a *Joint-Stock*, were induced to engage in such foreign, commercial Enterprises, as no private Traders would ever attempt? Did not such-like Encouragements give Birth to our *East-India* and *South-*

(87)

South-Sea Trades? Have not encouraging Grants from the Crown also caused the Establishment of *Maryland, Pensilvania*, and all other our Colonies? By these Means likewise, has not all foreign Trade in barbarous and distant Countries been settled by all Nations who are considerable for their Commerce?

Well; the *African Company* undertook, and happily accomplish'd the Establishment of this Trade; and they did it from the same reasonable Views and Motives as other prudent Bodies of Traders have acted, in this, and all other Trading Countries. The present *Royal African Company*, we have seen, was incorporated by King *Charles II.* by *Letters Patents* under the *Great-Seal* of *England*, bearing Date the 27th Day of *September*, 1672; which granted them *all, and singular the Lands, Countries, Havens, Roads, Rivers, and other Places in Africa, from the Port of Sally, in South-Barbary, to the Cape of Good-Hope; for, and during the Term of One Thousand Years; with the sole, entire, and only Trade and Traffick in, to, and from the said Countries and Places; with Prohibition to all other his Subjects, to visit or frequent the same, without the Licence and Consent of the said Company: And also with such other Powers and Privileges, as were*

The Com-
pany's
Charter.

(88)

were then judg'd proper and necessary for enabling and encouraging them to undertake and accomplish so *hazardous and chargeable a Work*.

Upon this Foundation the present Company undertook the Establishment of the Trade, at an immense Expence, as we have already seen : And would not any one believe, that this was a very secure Foundation for the Company to build upon ?

But by Reason of the War, first with *Holland*, and afterwards twice with *France*, we may easily believe it took up many Years to establish this Trade, to build such a Number of *Forts and Settlements*, as described, and make proper Alliances with the native *Barbarians*, before the Company were in a Capacity to reap any great Advantages by the Trade.

However ; so early as in the Year 1697, which was but twenty-five Years after the above said *Grant* in 1672, private Traders began to have a Relish for the Sweets of this Commerce, and envying the Company the sole Possession of it, began, as is usual on these Occasions, to raise a Clamour against *Monopolies* in general, in Order to break into the Company's Privilege, and share with them in the Profits of a Trade they had never advanced one Shilling to raise : And the Outcry prevail'd to such a Degree,

Their Exclusive Privilege suspended, and Progress of the Company since.

(89)

Degree, that at length the Parliament took the Trade to *Africa* into their Consideration, and laid it at once open to all the Subjects of *England* for *thirteen Years*, and from thence to the End of the next Session of Parliament ; but in Regard that the *Royal African Company of England* had been at the great Expence of building and maintaining a considerable Number of *Forts, Castles, and Factories*, on the Coast of *Africa* ; and which the Parliament likewise judg'd necessary to be kept up and maintain'd in future, for the Preservation, and better carrying on this Trade, they were further pleas'd to impose a *Duty of Ten per Cent. ad Valorem*, on all Goods and Merchandize exported to *Africa*, during the said Term of *Thirteen Years, &c.* to be answer'd and paid to the Company for enabling them to keep and maintain their *Forts and Castles*.

This Act continued in Force from the 24th of *June*, 1698, to the 24th of *June*, 1712 ; in which Time the Charges which the Company were at in maintaining their *Forts and Castles* amounted, at a Medium, to 20,000 *l. per Annum* ; and in fourteen Years to 280,000 *l.* in the Whole.

The Duty which the separate Traders paid in the same Time, amounted, in the Whole, to 73,785 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* $\frac{2}{3}$,
N and

(90)

and no more. From whence it appears, that, even while that Act continued in Force, the Total of the *Ten per Cent Duty*, came much short of one third Part of the Charge and Expence which the Company were at in maintaining the Forts and Castles for the Publick Benefit.

From the Expiration of the said Act, in 1712, to the Year 1730, all other his Majesty's Subjects have traded as freely and openly to all Parts of *Africa*, as they did under the Authority of the said Act; and the Company have, at their own sole Cost and Charge, been under the Necessity of defraying the whole Expence of maintaining their Forts and Castles, or becoming *Accessaries to the entire Loss of the Trade to Africa, and consequently to the utter Ruin of all our Colonies and Plantations in America, by relinquishing and abandoning their Forts and Castles, to be seized and possessed by such Foreign Nations as have been long watching for an Opportunity to get them into their Hands.*

On the 26th of *March*, 1730, the House of Commons came to the following Resolutions; viz, " 1. That the Trade " to *Africa* ought always to remain free " and open to all His Majesty's Subjects." " 2. That the Trade and Navigation to " *Africa* ought never to be charged with " any

(91)

" any Duty for the Maintenance of the " *British Forts and Settlements* belonging " to the Company." " 3. That it was " necessary to keep up and maintain the " *British Forts and Settlements* on the Coast " of *Africa*." " 4. That an Allowance " ought to be made by Parliament to the " Company, to maintain and support the " said *Forts and Settlements*."

In Pursuance of these Resolutions, it was voted, in a Committee of Supply, That the Sum of 10,000 *l.* be granted to His Majesty, to be applied towards the Maintenance of the *British Forts and Settlements*, belonging to the *Royal African Company of England* on the Coast of *Africa*; which said Sum was paid to the Company accordingly: And, upon the Company's petitioning the Honourable House of Commons every Year since, excepting the Year 1744, they have been pleased to grant the like Sum; which, with several considerable additional Sums, has been, from Time to Time apply'd accordingly.

In the Year 1744, the Company petitioned the Parliament, setting forth the Necessity they were under of having a further additional Support for the Maintenance of their *Forts and Settlements*; and praying, provided the Parliament should not please to grant their humble Request, that they would be pleased to take the *Forts and Set-*

N 2

tlements

(92)

lements into their own Hands; and grant the Company a valuable Consideration for the same, &c.

Whereupon the Honourable House of Commons was pleas'd to appoint a Committee to enquire into the State of the Trade to *Africa*; and, if I am rightly inform'd, the said Committee, after the most strict and mature Enquiry into the State of the Company's Affairs, made a very particular Report, whereby it appear'd, that the said Company had expended on the Preservation of the Trade, upwards of 100,000 *l.* in fourteen Years, preceding *December 31, 1743*, above what they had received of the Parliament for that Service. Upon which, in a Committee of the whole House of Commons, the Parliament were pleas'd to grant the Company 20,000 *l.* for the Current Service. And for the last Year they were pleas'd to address his Majesty to allow them 10,000 *l.* only, the *Committee of Supply* having unaccountably been clos'd, before any Provision was made for them.

From this the *domestic* State and Progress of the *African Company*, joined in Consideration with their State and Progress in *Africa*, from the Treatment of the *French* and the *Dutch*, how was it possible for this Company to enjoy any tolerable Series of Prof-

(93)

Prosperity? On the contrary, have we not great Reason to be surpriz'd, that this Company should, at this time-of-day, have the Shadow of a *Being* at all? or that we have any Remains of the Trade to *Africa* left; and consequently, that our Colonies and Plantations have not been absolutely ruin'd and undone, and those of the *French* in a much greater State of Prosperity than they were before the present War?

This Company, we have seen, was establish'd by a *Royal Charter*, under the *Great-Seal of England*, for no less than *One Thousand Years*, with a Privilege of Trade, exclusive of all other the Subjects of *England*: And this Encouragement by Authority induc'd them to expend above a Million of Money in Fortifications. But how long did they enjoy the Benefits of this *Royal Charter*? Why, truly, *Twenty-five Years only*; and *Twenty* of these were spent chiefly in laying out their Money! Now, if there is no Validity in *Royal Charters* of this Kind; if the King had not, by Law, a Power to grant the Trade to some Persons, exclusive of others, was it not a very great Hardship upon this Company, that they were so early deprived of their Exclusive Privilege? It was not possible in so short a Compass of Years, for the Adventurers to reap any reasonable Compensation for the

A wonder
the Com-
pany ex-
ists at all.

the great Expence of their first Undertaking and Adventures; and therefore nothing can be more repugnant to the eternal Laws of Equity, Justice, and national Faith, than to suspend the Company's Privilege without making them a reasonable Compensation; since they had not time to obtain it by the Benefits of the Trade. It was certainly upon *the publick Faith*, at least tacitly given, that the Adventurers subscribed a large Part of their Substance to support this Trade, during three hazardous Wars for the Honour of *England*, for the Encrease of Navigation, and the

Have still a Right to a publick Compensation for Suspension of their Royal Charter.

Advance of Commerce. If it was for the general Interest of the Nation, that the Trade to *Africa* should be laid open before its first Settlers could gain a penny by it, did not, and does not to this present day, the good Faith and Honour of the Nation stand obliged to make the Company some just and reasonable Compensation? But as they have never yet had any, is not this Cause sufficient to account for their present Condition?

Of the Ten per cent. Duty on Exports allowed the Company.

The *Duty of Ten per Cent.* was not given the Company as a national Compensation for the Suspension of their *Royal Charter*; it was given them for the *future* Support and Maintenance of their *Forts and Castles*, for the publick Advantage;

tage; and have we not seen that this fell far short of answering the Purposes for which it was given; and yet those Deficiencies were never made good to the Company.

Besides, this *Duty* was collected by the Officers of the Crown; and however careful and vigilant they may be in the Collection of the Crown Revenue, they were far otherways with Regard to the Company's; the Frauds and Collusions between private Traders, and the Officers of the publick Revenue were of no little Injury to the Company in this Respect.

However, to make the Company Amends for their long Series of Calamities, what was their next publick Encouragement? Why truly at the Expiration of the Act, which granted the Company this *Duty of Ten per Cent.*, would not any one very naturally imagine that *Something* should have been given them at least by way of Equivalent in Lieu of this Duty! Can any *Englishman* scarce believe, or will Posterity credit it, that on the contrary, the *Company* were left quite destitute of all manner of publick Encouragement from the Year 1712. to 1730, being Eighteen Years? They were under the Necessity, during this whole Period of Time, of supporting their

The Company without any publick Support for fourteen Years.

(96)

their Fortifications in *Africa* at their own sole Expence, for the Benefit of all private Traders, or must have abandoned them to our Rivals on that Coast, thereby added to their Strength, and quite lost our own!

At length, quite wearied out with publick Neglect; and the Expence of their Forts devouring more than the Profits of their Trade; the Company thus abandoned and discouraged, ready to fall to pieces, and become quite annihilated; yet having steddily and honest Men to support them to the last Extremity, they came to a Resolution to make one Effort more, as they had made many to the Publick in Vain, before they would come to a Determination to relinquish the Trade to our Enemies.

Accordingly, upon their Petition in 1730. to the Honourable House of Commons, they obtained 10,000*l.* to enable them to support their *Fort*s and *Settlements*; which as observed upon petitioning the Parliament every Year since has been continued to them to the Year 1743. as before mentioned.

Thus the Company received a Kind of temporary Reprieve; for it has proved no better. For what avails 10,000*l.* *per Annum* to support Forts and *Settlements*; which since that, have cost them
near

(97)

near Seventeen thousand Pounds a Year, as hath appeared before a Committee of the House of Commons; and yet they have been maintained but in a very poor and mean Way, for how far will Forty or even Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year go in maintaining Fortifications in distant Countries that mount above Two hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon; and might do considerably more, were they supported as they ought to be?

Since then the Company have expended, in Support of their Forts and *Settlements* for the general Benefit of the Publick, from *December* the 31st, 1729. to *December* the 31st, 1743, above 100,000*l.* more than they have received of the Publick Money, what is the Company the better for 10,000*l.* *per Annum*? Has it had any other Effect than to encourage them to run more and more in Debt, to be ruined by Piece-Meal, and the whole Trade too by gradual and imperceptible Degrees? For as the Company has been in a lingering consumptive Condition; so has this Trade in general: which will appear from the following *Facts*.

1. Twenty Years ago, the *French* were not permitted nor did they pretend to stop and trade at all on any Part of the

○

Gold

The Expence of the Company more than they have received, since a Parliamentary Allowance.

(98)

Gold Coast where the Company's *Forts and Settlements* lye. But for many years past, they have traded very freely all along this Part of the Coast, and more particularly at *Anamboe*, within Sight of *Cape Coast Castle*; from whence they have carried off yearly more than 10,000 of the *choicest Negroes* to their *Sugar Colonies* in *America*; whereas all the *English* private Traders put together, have not, in any one of those Years, supplied our Plantations, from thence, with the tenth Part of that Number.

How the Trade in general has declined by Neglect of the Company.

2. I am well informed, that about twenty Years ago, the separate Traders of *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*, produced before the *Board of Trade*, Lists of the *Shipping* then employed by them in this Trade; from which it appeared, that each of those Places had then above *seventy Sail* employed therein, whereas now it is certainly known, and admitted on all Hands, that neither *Bristol*, nor *Liverpool* have at present above *thirty five Sail* in the Trade; and that the Trade of this great Metropolis of the Kingdom to that Coast is dwindled from *seventy* to less than *ten Sail*: and it is also as well known, that most of the Ships employed in this Trade are now beat out of the *Gold Coast* and *Whydah* Trade by the *French*, where the

I

best

(99)

best and most serviceable *Negroes* are only to be got; and are forced to seek for what Trade they can get in the *Pight*, *Calebar*, and other comparatively obscure *Holes* and *Corners*. These are *Facts* publickly and notoriously known to all the *Trading World*; and the Company have omitted no Opportunity to apprize the Publick of the same: But with what *Candour* and *Regard* such Advices have been received, is so well known, and so flagrant, that I shall rather chuse to be silent than to add any Thing to the *Blaze*.

And now I leave every candid and impartial *Englishman* to judge of the real Grievances, Hardships and Discouragements this valuable Company have undergone: Every Man of the plainest Understanding may now easily judge, whether the present State of this Company has been owing to the Misconduct of *Gentlemen* who have had the Direction of the Company's Affairs, or to Publick Neglect and Discouragement. Where, or upon whom, the Fault is to be laid, I leave to others to determine; But we have this Consolation; that still the Company *exists*: and the Time seems to be come, that a Concurrence of happy Circumstances, conspires to the Re-establish-

Present State of the Company owing to no misconduct in the Managers.

O 2

ment

(100)

ment of this Company; and of the Commerce in general. We have a *Ministry* now from whose Ability and Integrity, the Nation has great Expectation; and if our Trade to *Africa* and *America* is not to be put upon a prosperous Footing now, we can never hope for it hereafter. Now is the Time to strike the fatal Blow to the *French* Trade in *Africa* and *America*; now the Time to raise our Trade to *Africa* for *Negroes*. *Gold*, &c. and for ever to establish our *Sugar* and other *Colonies*, that *France* may never more have it in Her Power to raise their Naval Force upon the Ruin of these our most valuable Trades; thereby insult the *British* Coasts, and threaten us with Invasions to subvert the best constituted Government in the whole World.

By what Means this Trade and Company may be effectually restored to the Honour and Interest of the Nation, I shall beg leave to give my Opinion under the next Head, which is humbly submitted to the great Wisdom of that august Assembly, who I am perswaded are as willing as able to redress all our Grievances, when they are made truly sensible of Them.

C H A P.

(101)

C H A P. VI.

Of the Foundation of the Trade of the *Royal African Company*, and of the Value of their Forts and Settlements in *Africa*.

IT cannot be expected that any *Proposition* whatever to secure, revive and establish this Trade and Company, will meet with the Approbation and Encouragement of the Publick, unless it appears that this *Trading Corporation* have really and truly a good and solid Foundation, upon which *Adventurers* may, with Security, advance their Money, and that to a reasonable Advantage.

The first and principal Consideration therefore with *New Subscribers* will be the Relation which this Trade and Company stand in to the Publick Interests; because they will be capable thereby of judging of the Stability and Duration of the Trade and Company, and consequently of the natural Ebbs and Flows to which the Value of their Property may be presumed to be liable.

With

(102)

How the Nation is interested in duly supporting this Trade and Company.

With Respect to this Point, it may be necessary to observe, that the Nature and Constitution of this Company is quite *national*; the Trade being founded on the lasting Interest of the Nation, cannot be given up without the Ruin of the Nation.

How far this Trade and Company can be said to be *national*, may be considered under the following Heads; *viz.*

I.—Because the Trade to *Africa only*, furnishes the *British Colonies and Plantations in America* with *Negroes*, for the Production of *Sugar, Tobacco, Rice, Rum, Molasses, Indigo, Coffee, Cotton, Pimento, Fustian, Ginger*, and all other Kind of Plantation Commodities.

Therefore this Trade is *national*, as it tends to preserve the very *Being* as well as the *constant Prosperity* of the *British Plantations* in general.

II.—Because the Trade to *Africa only* can enable *Great Britain* to vie in Plantation Commerce with our Rivals therein, prevent their Superiority of Trade and Navigation in *America*, and consequently their becoming

(103)

coming superior in Wealth and Naval Power.

Therefore this Trade is *national* as it will prevent our Loss of the Empire and Dominion of the Seas.

III.—Because the Trade to *Africa only* can empower *Great Britain* to supply the *Spanish West-Indies* with *Negroes* to work their Mines in *America*; without which they can have very little Treasure from their *Spanish Colonies*.

Therefore the *Negro Trade* is *national*, with Regard to *Spain*, being likely to afford the Nation considerable Profit thereby in future, as it hath heretofore done.

IV.—Because, by Means of the *African Trade only*, we have it in our Power to supply the Necessities of the *Portuguese* for *Negroes* wherewith to work their *Brazil Mines* *.

There-

* Tho' the *Portuguese* have some Settlements in *Africa*, yet since the *Dutch* have so greatly got the upper hand of them, they have very little cultivated this Trade; and therefore stand in need of being supply'd with the most considerable Part of their *Negroes* for the *Brazils*; and we are the best able to supply them. And although our supplying both the *Spanish* and *Portuguese Colonies* in *America* with *Negroes* is justifiable, because they do not make use

(104)

Therefore the *Negroe-Trade* is *national* with Regard to *Portugal*.

V.—Because the *direct* Trade to *Africa* takes off very large Quantities of the *British Manufactures*, and does not put us under the Necessity of taking any *Manufactures* whatever from thence in Return; so that this Trade in no Respect interferes with the Industry of *British Artificers* and *Manufacturers* of any Kind, but always has, and always will afford *Great-Britain* a Ballance of Trade in *Gold*, in Proportion to the Degree and Extent, we shall be enabled to carry it on.

Therefore this *direct* Trade is more profitable to the *Nation* as well as *Adventurers*, than any other Branch belonging to the *British Empire*.

The INTEREST of the Nation in general being so nearly and essentially connected with the Trade to *Africa*; and this Trade being insupportable without *Forts and Settlements*, no Company in this, or

of their Labour to interfere with the Produce of the *British Plantations*; yet it is very unjustifiable, as being highly injurious to the Interest of our Colonies, to suffer the *French* to have a single *Negroe*, either by way of our *Plantations*, or from our *African Settlements*.

any

(105)

any other State, can have a better Foundation for lasting Prosperity than the *Royal African Company of England*, has. And certainly this ought, and will be the primary Consideration with *Adventurers*; for if this Trade exported our *Specie*, or *Bullion*, instead of bringing home the latter; or if it imported foreign Manufactures that drained the Nation of its *Cash*, and deprived our *British Artificers* and *Manufacturers* of their daily Bread; or if this Trade over-run the Kingdom with Baubles and Superfluities that depend on meer Caprice and Humour, temporary Mode and Fashion: If this Trade tended to impoverish instead of enriching and aggrandizing the Nation, it would be right to let it sink; it would deserve neither the least Encouragement from the *Publick*, or *Adventurers*: But as the contrary of all this is self-evident, this Company has the greatest Reason to expect Encouragement from *both*.

Since then the Trade of this Corpora-^{The Value} tion is apparently *national*, the Value of ^{of the} their Property in *Africa* ought to be con-^{Compa-} sider'd in a *national* Light; and if so, let ^{ny's Forts} us endeavour in some Degree to ascertain ^{and Set-} its Value. ^{tlements}

To this End, let us suppose for a Mo-^{in a na-} ment; and it is a Supposition pleasing ^{tional} enough ^{Light.}

P

(106)

enough in Idea, that all the *French Colonies and Plantations* in *America*, were soon to change Hands, and fall into those of any Protestant Potentate, either into those of the *Dane* or the *Swede*, &c. who would gladly accept the same under Guarantee of the *Maritime Powers*: Let us suppose either of these Powers in Treaty with *France* for the Sale of their *African Forts and Settlements*, in order to supply their new Possessions with *Negroes*, what may we reasonably presume *France* would urge upon such a Negotiation?

The Value
France sets
on their
African
Forts and
Settle-
ments.

Would they not set a Value upon those *Settlements* something proportionate to the Advantage they would be of to the proposing Purchaser? To this End, would not *France* urge the Benefits the *Negroe-Trade* had been of to them, not only in raising, but in constantly preserving their *Sugar Colonies*? Would they not make it appear, that a few Years ago, *France* was under the Necessity of taking *Sugars* from the *English*, but that so considerably had been their Increase of Commerce in this Article, by Means of their *African Trade*, that they now not only supply'd themselves with that Commodity, but had supplanted the *English* in all foreign Markets in the *Sugar and Indigo Trades*; and that they were in a fair Way to supply *Great-Britain* itself

(107)

itself with *Sugar*, as it did at present with *Indigo*? Could they not demonstrate, in Consequence hereof, how this Increase of the *Sugar Colonies* had increas'd their Navigation thither from less than 100 Sail of Shipping to above 800 Sail; whereby an Advantage accrued to *France* of little less than *Three Millions Sterling per Annum*, to the great Detriment of *Britain*, and the great Increase of their Wealth, and their naval and military Power?

Nor is this all that *France* might and would plead upon such an Occasion: They would also shew to what a Degree of Perfection, by the Labour of *Negroes*, they had brought their *Tobacco Colonies* on the *Mississippi*; and that upon the very Back of the *British Colonies* of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, and down the *River St. Lawrence* to *Cape Breton*, as likewise at *Hispaniola*. And would they not urge the Reasons of their Likelihood of being equally successful in these Plantations as in their *Sugar ones*? In a word, would not *France* make it appear, as they had long before prophecy'd*, *That the Navigation of that Kingdom would owe all*

* Vide the famous Memorial drawn up in 1701, called, *A Memorial from the Deputies of the French Commerce to the Royal Council of France.*

(108)

its Encrease and Splendor to the Commerce of its Islands in America, and that it could not have been kept up and enlarged otherwise than by the Means of their Trade to Africa; this Trade having such Relation to that of the French Islands in the West-Indies, that the one could not have subsisted without the other?

Nor can we suppose that *France* would forget to urge the Benefits they had received from the *Gold Trade to Africa*, the Vent of their Manufactures there, and the Advantages they had reaped, before the Peace of *Utrecht*, by supplying the *Spanish Indies* with *Negroes*. And could the other Party gainsay what was notorious to the whole World? On the contrary, would they not cheerfully give a Price for the *French African Settlements*, suitable to the national Benefits that would arise from their Purchase?

Notwithstanding the Value *France* might very justly set upon her *African Settlements*; yet in such a reduced State, as suppos'd, Advantage would certainly be taken of her Necessity. But in the present flourishing State of *France*, could we but know what a Value the *grand Monarque* would put upon those *Settlements*, it would not a little surprize us, that they should esteem *their's* at so high a Rate, and some

English-

(109)

Englishmen our's at so low a one, tho' at present we have not less depending upon them than *France* have upon *their's*. But was any thing of a moderate Computation made of the Worth of the *British Forts and Settlements*, belonging to the *Royal African Company*, to this Nation's in her present State and Condition, it would amount to so very large a Sum, consider'd in a national Light, that I rather chuse the Reader should judge for himself, than to give my own Sentiments on the Occasion.

Again; Let us suppose also, that the Court of *Spain*, upon a Peace with *Great-Britain*, should be disposed to treat with us for Sale of the *British Forts and Settlements*, belonging to our Company, in order to enable them to supply the *Spanish West-Indies* with *Blacks* for the working of their *Mines* in *Peru* and *Mexico*, what may we presume they would give the Company for them?

The King of *Spain* being a Party interested in the Profits of the late *Assiento*, cannot be totally unacquainted with the Advantages to be made by having it in his Power to supply his own Dominions with *Black Slaves*, without being under the Necessity, as this Crown always has been, of contracting for that purpose with other Nations. Were we to judge of this Mat-

ter

What Value African Forts and Settlements would be to Spain.

(110)

ter from the Face of the *Affiento* itself, the Profits arising to *Spain* could not be inconsiderable. The Importation of 4800 *Negroes per Annum*, as stipulated by that Contract, into the *Spanish Indies* directly from their own Settlements in *Africa*, would save this Kingdom above 150,000 *l. Sterling per Annum* in that Article: And as *Spain* would then supply their own Subjects at what Rate they pleased, this would be no little Addition to their Gain—— Did they import no more upon this Account than 2000 *Slaves* annually, and gain'd but 20 *l. Sterling per Head*, this would add 40,000 *l. Sterling per Annum* more to their Advantage.

But if to these we also add the *Saving* to the Crown of *Spain* of all *Duties* and *Indultoos* upon Merchandize imported into *New Spain*, by the *annual South-Sea Ship*; which by the *Affiento* were *Duty-free*, and likewise the *Duties* of all Merchandize imported into the *Spanish Indies* under the Cover of selling them *Slaves*, by private Traders, they will amount to a considerable Advantage more to that Crown. That a Computation upon this Head may appear extremely moderate, let the *annual Ship* be reckon'd at no greater Value than 500,000 *l. Sterling*; and that the whole *Duties* and *Indultoos* on the *Outset* and
Returns

(111)

Returns of such a Cargo, by way of *Old Spain* to *New*, and back again, were estimated at the Rate of 20 *l. per Cent.* and that only on the 500,000 *l.* this would make a further additional *Saving* to *Spain* of 100,000 *l. Sterling per Annum*, without reckoning any thing to the Account of private Trade.

But if we consider, that when the *Genoese*, the *French*, and the *English*, have supplied *Spain* with *Negroes*, by an *Affiento*, the *Spanish Indies* were never so amply supplied as the *Spaniards* desired, or as they would supply themselves, was it in their Power. That they would do so is not to be doubted, because the more *Negroes* are imported into the *Spanish Indies*, the more are the *Mines* there wrought; and consequently the more *Treasure* would be carry'd from thence into *Old Spain*. To what a Pitch this might arise is not easy to say, but this we may say with Certainty, that in a Matter so easy and practicable, *Spain* would not be neglectful of her Interests.

Besides, was it in their Power to furnish themselves with *Negroes*, there is no saying what Lengths they might go in all manner of Plantation Produce. However, if we value all these accumulated Advantages at no larger an *Annuity* than 400,000 *l. Sterling*.

(112)

Sterling; and that at twenty Years Purchase, such *African Settlements* to *Spain* would be worth in Purchase-Money *Eight Millions, Sterling*.

Since then it appears beyond Contradiction, that *African Forts and Settlements* are really of such immense Estimation to *France*, and would likewise be so to *Spain*, or any Nation whose Plantations stood in need of *Negroes* for their Support and Preservation; And since also nothing can be more certain and indisputable, than that the Advantages arising to *Great Britain* from our *African Establishments*, are, or may, easily be rendered, no way inferior to those of *France*, can the *Property* of our *African Company* be looked upon in a mean and contemptible Light, and not worth supporting, or the Trade worth Encouragement? Will any body pretend to say, that a Company who enjoy such valuable Possessions is a *Bankrupt Company* as some have insinuated? It is true, they owe a large Sum of Money, which has been contracted by doing more for the Service of their Country than in Prudence they ought to have done; and they are not in a Condition at present to pay it: But they have *Forts and Settlements* which have cost them immense Sums of Money, and they have

The Value Great Britain ought to set on her African Forts and Settlements.

(113)

have an *undoubted Right and Property* in them, and by the Constitution of *England*, they cannot *legally* be taken from them without a *full and valuable Consideration*; and therefore since they are of such great Value to the Nation, and if the Publick should be desirous of taking them into their own Management, they cannot refuse to pay the Company to the *utmost Penny of what they are worth*; or, if they should be esteemed of no Value to this Nation, nor worth the Keeping, then, surely the Company cannot be denied the Liberty of selling them to any other Nation for what they can get for them: And in either Case the Company will have sufficient to pay their Creditors to the utmost Farthing, besides a very ample Estate left to themselves.

The Company no Bankrupt.

But the Company's whole Debts do not amount to above *One hundred thousand Pounds*, and that bears but a small Proportion to the Value of their Possessions; and therefore this Company have a very solid and substantial Foundation whereon to raise an advantageous Superstructure of Commerce; advantageous to the Nation in general, and considerably so likewise to the *Adventurers*. For these *Forts* mount for the Security of the Trade, in all above *Two* hundred

The Company's Foundation for a large Inland Traffick.

(114)

hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon, and may do considerably more; contain great Quantities of *Small Arms* of every Kind; have *Repositories* to lodge above Three thousand *Negroes*, large *Warehouses* and *Magazines* for *Merchandize*, and are better situated to carry on an extensive *Inland Trade* for *Negroes*, *Gold*, *Ivory*, *Wax*, &c. than all the Settlements in *Africa* of all other *European Nations* put together; and that into the Kingdoms of *Yabow*, *Adom*, *Kufero*, *Tufero*, *Warsaw*, *Abrambos*, *Dankera*, *Ashante*, *Fanteen*, *Castera*, *Arcania*, *Acoran*, *Akim*, *Quambo*, *Acra*, *Benin*, *Callebar*, *Fetue*, *Saboe*, *Cabesteras*, *Anguin*, *Dawkeras*, &c. &c. &c.

Besides, by Means of *James's Fort* and *Island* in the *River Gambia*, the Company might easily unite the *Inland Trade* of this *River* with that of the *Gold Coast* to no little Advantage. They have also various *Factories* for about Eight hundred Miles up the *River*, for the Purposes of a large Trade, when their *Trading Capital* will admit of it; as viz. the *Factories* of *Geugia*, *Tancrowall*, *Joar*, *Yanamarew*, *Casau*, *Bruco*, *Cuttelar*, *Samy*, *Wally*, *Yamyamacunda*, *Falleoda*, *Baracunda*; which last is within Two hundred Miles of the *Gold Mines*. So that

(115)

to carry on this Trade to its due Extent and Profit, and prevent the *French* from their Encroachment on the *Gold* and the *Gum Coasts*, nothing is required but that the Company's *Forts and Settlements* be effectually maintained and supported by Parliament for that Purpose; which being done, and that by Encouragement, adequate to what the *French* allow their *African Company*, we cannot fail of engrossing, as it were, the Bulk of the *Negro* Trade into our own Hands; and in such Case we may set what Bounds we please to the *French Plantations* in *America*. And what will not a little contribute to effectuate this, is the Allowance of a *Bounty* to all *separate Traders* of so much *per head*; upon all *Negroes* imported into the *British Colonies*, with strict Prohibition, by Law both to the Company and Private Traders, not to sell a single *Negro* to the *French* on the Pain of *Forfeiture* of Ship and Cargo, &c.

The Company's *Forts and Settlements* being duly supported in a defensible Condition, the Prosperity of the Company, of *separate African Traders*, and of our *British Planters* in *America*, will be all rendered mutually subservient to each other; and that at the Expence of neither, but only at the Expence and Detriment

Q2

triment

Advantages of restoring this Company to British Planters and separate Traders.

(116)

triment of our grand Rival and Enemy, the *French*: all Bickerings and Heart-burnings between *separate Traders, Planters,* and the *Company* will be at an End, and they unanimously conspire the Ruin of the *French Sugar* and other Colonies, and the constant Prosperity of our own.

By excluding the *French* from the *British* Coast in *Africa*.

That this will certainly be the Case, will appear from the following Considerations.

1. By strengthening the Hands of the *Company* they will be rendered capable of restraining the *French* within the Limits of their own Charter; whereby we shall retrieve the Trade of the *Gold Coast*, and drive them away from *Anamaboe*, from whence they have supplied their Colonies with *Ten thousand* of the choicest, most robust, and ablest *Negroes* on all the Coast, to *One thousand* that have been carried by all the separate *British* Traders to our own Plantations. We shall also be capable of rooting them out of the Trade at *Whydah*, which they have also usurped; and from whence likewise they have carried very considerable Numbers of *Negroes* no way inferior to those of *Anamaboe*; and regain the Trade of that part of the North Coast
extend-

(117)

extending about Four or Five hundred Miles from *Cape Blanco* to the North of the River *Gambia*; from which the *French* have within these nine Years absolutely excluded the *English*.

2. The Trade on the Coast of *Africa* being thus restored, under the Power, and Authority of the *Company*, separate *British* Traders would no longer be under the Necessity of skulking in such comparatively obscure Holes and Corners as the *Pight* and *Callibar* for their Lading, and contenting themselves with less serviceable *Negroes*, while our Rivals engross the Bulk of the *best*.

3. By thus excluding the *French* from Trading within the limits of our Royal *Company's* CHARTER, there will of course be a greater Plenty of the choicest *Negroes* left for *British* Traders; and the Number of Purchasers being lessened upon the Coast, the *Company* and separate Traders will purchase the *best* *Negroes* cheaper as the Demand is lessened; for as nothing has so much contributed to raise their Price to the great Height at present is, as the Encroachments of the *French*; so nothing can help more to its Abatement than extirpating them
from

(118)

from our parts of the Coast, and reducing them within their own Boundaries, should we not be able to go greater Lengths with them.

4. What will still further contribute, and that I am apt to think effectually, to reduce the exorbitant Price of the *Negroes*, is the Promotion of a lasting Harmony and good Understanding between the *Company* and *separate British Traders*; for, from the Exclusion of the *French*, the whole Trade will again revert into their Hands; and if, by the Consent and Choice of *separate Traders*, the *Company* became the sole Purchasers of *Negroes* upon the Coast, and the former purchased of them only, the Price would soon be reduced to as low a Degree as could be desired.

The Interest of the *Company* and *separate Traders* may be mutual.

5. By such an Agreement between the *Company* and private Traders, quick dispatch also would be given them; they would obtain their Complement of *Negroes* in a Fortnight or three Weeks, which they now do not in three or four Months; and consequently the great Charge of Demurrage, and Loss by Mortality of *Negroes* by too long Confinement

(119)

finement on Ship-board, would be prevented.

6. That the Price of *Negroes* has been so greatly raised, and still continues to be kept up from an Increase in the *Number* of Buyers, will be quite out of Dispute from the following *Fact*. Before the *African Trade* was laid open, or the *French* permitted to encroach upon the Trade at *Whydah*, the Price of *Negroes* there was not above *Fifty Shillings* and *Three Pounds per Head*, first Cost; but upon the Increase of separate Purchasers, and the Encroachments of the *French*, they soon advanced to *Twenty Pounds per Head*, first Cost.

But should not *separate Traders* find their Advantage, by thus carrying on the Trade, by Means of the *Company*, they will of Course naturally return to their old Method of Traffick, after having found the Experiment ineffectual.

However, That it might not prove so, I would humbly propose; that while such an Agreement subsisted between the *Company* and *separate Traders*, the *Company* should not carry a single *Negroe* to our *American Plantations*; in consideration,

(120)

tion, that all *separate* Traders purchased *Negroes* of the Company; for then the Company would by Consent, be constituted, as it were *Factors*, to separate Traders; and if they did not raise their Commission too high, the Trade would continue to be carried on through their hands; but if the Company grew exorbitant, separate Traders would become their own *Factors* again, and the Trade return to its old Course, which would be Check sufficient upon the Company: And all this may be easily concerted between the *Company*, and *separate Traders* without Application for *Parliamentary Restrictions* on either Side.

That the *British Planters* also will find their Account, by this happy Establishment of the Company is not less certain. For the *French* being totally excluded from the Purchase of the *best Negroes*, they will be left for the *British Plantations*; and from Reduction of their Price in general, by the Measures proposed, the *Planters* doubtless, will obtain them cheap in proportion. Thus will our *British Colonies* become cheaply and plentifully stocked with the *choicest Negroes*, the Culture of more Land naturally take Place, more Plantation Commodities be produced,

(121)

ced, and cheaper, by the Price of all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, for the Maintenance of both *Blacks* and *Whites*, abating in Proportion to the greater Plenty: And will not the Interest of Money fall, and the general Prosperity of all the *British Plantations*, naturally follow? These Measures depriving *France* of the Supply they at present have of the *choicest Negroes* from the *British Coast* of *Africa*, their *Sugar Colonies* will soon be reduced to the State of supplying themselves only with *Sugars*, while our *British Planters*, by this and other suitable Encouragements, happily retrieve the lost Trade of supplying foreign Markets with that Commodity; and prevent the future Advances of *France* in her Trade and Navigation in *America*.

R CHAP.

(122)

C H A P. VII.

That the Parliamentary Aid for the due Support of the *Royal African Company* cannot be less than 30,000*l. per Annum*; and that to be secured to the Company, by *Act of Parliament*, for the Term of Fourteen Years, out of the *Sinking Fund*.

I.—**B**ECAUSE the *French* allow their *African Company* above *Forty Thousand Pounds Sterling per Annum*, together with an *Exclusive Privilege* of Trade; and therefore it is impossible for the *British African Company* to support any thing of a Competition with the *French*, without 30,000*l. per Annum* at least; especially as they have no such *Exclusive Privilege* as the *French Company* have.

II.—Because the *States-General of the United Provinces* grant their *African Company* to the Amount of 25,000*l. Sterling per Annum*, together with an *Exclusive Privilege*

(123)

Privilege of that Trade also, tho' their Colonies in *America*, supported by *Negroes*, bear no Proportion to those of *Great-Britain*.

III.—Because the *French* have encroached upon, and usurped the best Part of the *British Trade in Africa*; to the great Prosperity of their Colonies and Injury of our's; and it can never be in the Power of our *African Company* to retrieve our lost Trade without supporting an equal Degree of Influence and Authority in *Africa*, that the *French* do.

IV.—Because this Company being so singularly circumstanced as to be the Guardians and Protectors of a *free and open Trade*, that no *Adventurers* will hazard their Money in the Trade of the Company, without the *Forts and Settlements* are duly provided for by Parliament for a *Term of Years certain*, lest their Money should be applied to support what the Publick ought to do.

V.—Because, unless the Company are enabled fairly to beat the *French* in Point of Traffic in *Africa*, they can never be restrained from encroaching on the *British Trade* there, within the Limits of the Company's Charter; and without the Forts

(124)

and Settlements are supported for a Term of Years certain, new *Subscribers* will not raise a *Trading Stock* to carry on the Trade with Vigor; and without that, our destroying the *French Trade* to *Africa* upon the *British Coast*, will little avail, unless the Company is enabled to embrace what they lose, or nothing will prevent the *Negroes* from Trading with the *French*: So that a *military Power* without a Trading one, cannot possibly answer the End intended.

VI.—Because our *African Company's Exclusive Privilege* having been suspended so soon as *twenty-five Years* after it was granted, it was not possible for them, in so short a Period of Time, to reap any reasonable Compensation for sinking above a *Million of Money* in *Africa*, in erecting of *Fortifications* for the first Establishment, and constant Security of the Trade; and, therefore in point of national Justice and Equity, the Company have a reasonable Claim upon the Publick for the certain Support of their Fortresses for such a reasonable Term of Years, as may enable them to carry on the Trade, so as to make themselves some Amends for the Suspension of their Privilege, without an Equivalent being granted them.

VII.—

(125)

VII.—Because from the Year 1712, to the Year 1730, the Company maintained their *Forts and Settlements* for the *publick Benefit*; and never received one Penny of the Publick Money during that Eighteen Years; tho' for that Purpose they expended above 280,000 *l.*; and which, together with the Loss of their Privilege, annihilated their Trading Stock, in the Publick Service.

VIII.—Because from the Year 1730, to 1743, they have expended above 100,000 *l.* more upon the Support of their *Fortifications* than they have received of the *Publick Money*; and for which the Company have been under the Necessity of contracting *Publick Debts*, rather than suffer their Forts and Settlements to fall into the Hands of our greatest Rival and Enemy, the *French*.

IX.—Because the Experience of *fifteen Years* has proved, that a *Parliamentary Aid* granted to the Company *from Year to Year*, will not encourage Adventurers to hazard their Money in the Company; especially as so poor and precarious an Aid on our Part, has encouraged the *French Trade* in *Africa*, ruin'd above half the
British

(126)

British Trade from *Bristol* and *Liverpole*, and not left *London* above one seventh Part of what it had.

X.—Because so soon as the Parliament shall be pleased to grant the Company an Aid of 30,000 *l. per Annum* for *fourteen Years certain*, such a *Constitutional Security* for the Support of the *Forts and Settlements* will immediately induce Adventurers to enable the Company to discharge their Debts, and to raise a Capital sufficient to carry on the Trade with such Vigor and Spirit as to revive the Commerce in general, and prevent the *French* from Trading any where within the Limits of the *British* Charter. And lastly ;

Because the *Sinking Fund* is now applied to the Current Service of the Year ; and it being necessary that the Company should have *constant* Support, it is humbly proposed, that a Part of that *Fund* cannot be applied for a *Term of Years* more to the general Interest of the Nation, than to the Support and Maintenance of the *British Settlements in Africa*. This *Fund* being constituted of the Surplusses of the *Aggregate Fund*, the *South-Sea Fund*, and the *General Fund* ; and these *Funds* arising originally from the Duties on *Trade*, it

is

(127)

is also humbly presumed, that the Support of Trade has the most natural Right to *that Fund* ; and especially a Branch that has been demonstrated to be the most *national* of any belonging to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*.

Should the *African Forts and Settlements* be thus provided for by a *Parliamentary Security*, no Apprehensions can be justly entertain'd, that any Part of the *Publick Money* will be applied to the Payment of any of the Company's Creditors, and not to the Maintenance of their Forts and Settlements in *Africa*. For the Company have consulted with several eminent *Merchants, Planters, and Money'd-Men*, about Ways and Means for discharging the Company's Debts, and reviving and improving the Trade in general, without applying any part of the *Publick Money* for such Service ; and therefore they agreed upon a Scheme or Plan the last Year, which was not kept secret, till the Parliament should be up, in order to enrich themselves, but was submitted in the most publick Manner to the Consideration of the Town ; which candid and upright Way of Proceeding, on the Part of the Company, cannot fail of giving ample Satisfaction to every Body, as to that Particular.

Yet

(128)

Yet this fair, honest, and disinterested Conduct, on the Part of the Company, gave Birth to some groundless *Fears and Jealousies*. Some affected to be under strong Apprehensions for want of being thoroughly acquainted with the Foundation of this Company, that it would open a Door for *Stock-Jobbing*, as if the raising a Trading-Stock of 2, or 300,000 *l.* by the Company, could affect a Credit of 50, or 60,000,000.

But it having been clearly demonstrated, that the Foundation of this Company is truly solid and substantial; as solid and substantial as that of any Trading Company in this, or any other Nation whatever, all Apprehensions of chimerical *Stock-Jobbing* from so small a Capital, which one Branch of the Trade will easily admit of, and pay a very handsome Profit, must be quite out of the Question; for the lasting Interest of these Kingdoms is essentially and inseparably connected with that of this *national* Company; as also the Interest, as we have seen, of all *separate British Traders*, and *British Planters*, will flourish in the same Degree as that of the Company does.

F I N I S.