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AFRICAN EXPEDITION

CONSIDERED.

[Price Two Shillings.]

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I M P O R T A N C E

AFRICAN EXPEDITION
CONSIDERED:

WITH

COPIES of the MEMORIALS,

As drawn up Originally, and presented to the Ministry; to induce them to take Possession of the French Forts and Settlements in the River Senagal, as well as all other on the Coast of Africa.

The Whole as planned and defigned,

By MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT, Esq;
Author of the Universal Distinary of Trade and Commerce.

To which are added,

OBSERVATIONS,

Illustrating the faid MEMORIALS,

For the peculiar Benefit and Advantage of all BRITISH AFRICAN and WEST-INDIA MERCHANTS and BRITISH PLANTERS, as well as the Kingdom in general:

With Reasons for GREAT-BRITAIN'S keeping Possession of the French African Settlements, if possible.

Humbly addressed to the BRITISH MINISTRY.

LONDON:

Printed by C. SAY, in Newgate-Street; and fold by M. COOPER, in Pater-noster Row. 1758.

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THE

PREFACE.

B in the whole African trade, our merchants have it in their power, not only greatly to reduce the price of negroes, but of gold, and all other valuable commodities, which this commerce affords; provided the proper measures shall be taken for that purpose.

The French trade in the river Senagal, and at Arguin, and the Isle of Gorée, having been carried on by the French East India Company, with an exclusive privilege, the company have purchased negroes, and all other merchandize within their own limits at what price they pleased; Juffering no rivalship from the separate traders of their own, or foreign nations.

The English, on the contrary, having many years had an African Company, with a free and open trade; and the company bidding against the British separate traders, and those traders also against each other, as well as the French rivalling them all, by usurping on the British rights of trade, even to their very forts and castles; have rose the price of negroes and all valuable merchandize

C. XAIII

dize upon the English to a very great height: all which has proved of unspeakable detriment to the whole British African commerce.

The English being now possessed of the French Astrican settlements, they will naturally flock into the French part of this trade; and by bidding sanguinely against each other, will raise the price of commodities as high here as they are upon the Gold Coast; unless those traders should fall upon the requisite expedient to prevent it: which I take the liberty to hint for the peculiar advantage of our British traders, whose interest I have always endeavoured zealously to promote, consistent with that of the nation.

Having formerly had greater opportunities than most, of being well acquainted with the African trade, as carried on by all the European states, who have forts and settlements for that purpose; I did, during the last war, point out to the public, in various writings*, as well as to a certain great minister of state in private, the extraordinary encroachments which the French had made in Africa before that war. I had then also the homour to present to a certain great man many things

* See the importance of effectually supporting the Royal African Company of England, &c. in a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons, printed for E. Say; and sold by 7. Roberts in Warwick-lane, 1745.

See also another treatise, entitled, The national and private Advantages of the African Trade considered, &c. inferibed to the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, printed in the year 1746, for f. and P. Knapton.

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for the general benefit of this commerce; and to propose likewise the taking possession of the French African Forts and Settlements; but being informed the peace was too far advanced, it could not then be executed.

The strengthening the English in Africa, and improving the whole of this commerce at the expence of our great competitors therein, appearing to me an object of high concernment to these kingdoms; I again wrote largely upon this subject after the last war, in my Dictionary of Commerce, to induce our traders to turn their thoughts upon making far greater advantages by this trade than they have yet ever done.*

At the breaking out of the present war, I naturally recurred to the favourite subject, and endeavoured to obtain the best intelligence I could of the most recent encroachments the enemy had made upon our commerce in Africa, and what was the strength of their forts and settlements. In my enquiries, I met, among others, with a very intelligent gent gentleman, who had resided many years at our English settlements in Africa, but had never been at any of the French Forts. He, however, answered some of my questions satisfactorily, others he could not; but I obtained information of various, and then drew up a memorial, according to the intelligence that I judged might be depended on. And as the gentleman, who had resided in

* I can easily refer to many places in my Dictionary, and my other writings, where the African Expedition, is plainly enough pointed out.

Africa was experienced in the customs and dispositions of the negroe-chiefs, and zealous in the interest of England, I endeavoured to prevail with him to undertake a certain affair that would have forwarded this expedition, and tended far more to the commercial interest of this kingdom in Africa, than I chose to let him, or any one else know, 'till every thing was ripe for the purpose intended: but that gentleman's affairs calling him otherways, this part of the design was postponed; but I never lost sight of the expedition to Africa against the French settlements, and to that end took the following measures.

When I first resolved on this matter, I made no secret of it to some noble persons, whom I had frequently the honour to visit, and who had connections with some of the chiefs in the administration: and I shewed the Memorial above three years and an half ago to a certain noble Lord of the same family, who did me the honour to come frequently to my house to converse with me upon the subjects of commerce and the public revenue.

My reason for speaking freely of the African affair in this noble family, was in hopes, that some in the ministry would do me the honour to have called for it through their channel; as several other affairs of importance had been communicated to the ministry in the same way. But something falling out, with regard to my private affairs, and the ministry becoming daily more and more divided, when I judged it a proper time to carry the expension

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dition into execution; I determined that my intentions notwithstanding should not be stifled; and therefore put the affair above three years ago, into the hands of an honourable person, a member of the House of Commons, a perfect judge of the matter, and who had weight enough to make the proper use of it with the ministry for the public service; and who assured me that he would.

The execution, however, being postponed much longer than I apprehended a matter of such consequence would be; I resolved, after the miscarriage at Rochfort to draw up a second Memorial, entitling it a commercial expedition, &c. with additional motives to engage the attention of the missery. Accordingly I did, and presented the same last January to a noble personage of the first dissination; requesting his—to put the same, if he judged it deserving, into the hands of such of the ministry as he thought proper, lest it should again be too late in the year for execution.

My request having the honour to be readily complied with, and having then done all in my power, as a private person, to forward the expedition, I concerned myself no more about it, till I saw its success in the Gazette. Not knowing to which of the Memorials, or whether to the joint weight of both, the execution of the affair was owing; I wrote a congratulatory letter to the honourable person to whom I had presented the first Memorial out of my hands above three years ago, be being many miles distant from me; and be answered me with

a pul scorned (xxii) an bonourable acknowledgment of the fact; adding. that a certain great minister of state had wrote to him about the success, and was as sensible. as he is pleased to express it, of the importance of the affair as himself or I was -- with many obliging expressions, with regard to my zeal in the public service. Upon which, I judged it perfeetly consistent with the support of the Public CREDIT at this time, to set the importance of this expedition in its proper light, and therefore I determined so to do in a small treatise on the subject.

no 186 Tours of the Solar hippy time is never the time As I have wrote so copiously upon the African trade in my Dictionary of Commerce, it might naturally excite many people to engage therein; and if the Ministry countenanced any private views of trade, in order to render the African expedition the more successful, it shews the great wifdom of the administration in so doing.

Ministers of state being so liable to be imposed upon by partial representations, they cannot have too much information from every quarter upon the same subject, and that in all possible lights roberein they can obtain it: But the man disengaged entirely from any private views of trade, is less liable to misrepresent things to Ministers, than those who are not: And I am willing to bope that my Memorials demonstrate, I had nothing at heart but the public prosperity and honour; no private lucrative schemes of trade whatever, not that such in the present case, are incompatable with the public interest:

terest:—And if my national Memorials had a a tendency to forward any such private schemes of trade, I am heartily glad of it; such interefled persons ought to be thankful, not abusive to those who meant to encourage them. If they have reaped their African golden harvest; why should they envy Mr. Postlethwayt, receiving some advantage from the public purse for his public service?

Mr. Postlethwayt could have been, was he fo disposed, easily concerned with some of the most eminent merchants in this kingdom, in a very lucrative scheme of private trade to Africa, by virtue of his national Memorial, and can fill if be pleases; but he judged, that such a private interested scheme, might have been so looked upon in the eye of the Ministry, as to obstruct the public service he aimed at; and therefore he waved all views of this kind, that no objection might be made to the pure national service, by him intended; he expecting his recompence in another way.

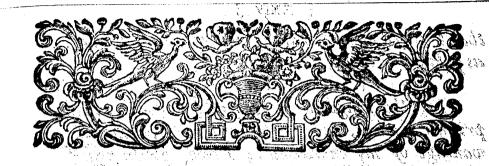
Able and upright Ministers are always ready and willing to receive intelligence of importance in every shape; and if several more, besides myfelf, have given any useful information upon this African concern, it is ridiculous in them to be jealous, and inviduous of each other; when it is presumed that wife statesmen know how to reward every one suitable to his merit. That I had no view to burt any one, is well enough known to the proper judges. And my Memorials tellify soft, one incompatible with the faithe in-

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the I aimed at encouraging private trade as much as possible.

That the kingdom in general, as well as all private traders, may reap the full benefit and advantage of my endeavours; I have given myself the further trouble to draw up this tract: Nor is this all that I desire the honour to lay before the administration, with relation to the African Trade, if this shall be satisfactorily received, as I have no doubt but it will.

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T

THE BRITISH MINISTRY!



deference and humility, to do myself the honour to submit the following short tract to your candid consideration. The de-

fign is to represent to the public the commercial benefits and advantages, that Great Britain may derive from the success of his Majesty's arms in Africa.

Though this enterprize hath not been attended with any great hazard or expence, and a therefore (ii)

therefore with no illustrious eclat to the British arms, by reason of the defenceless state of the enemy at the time of execution: yet, I humbly apprehend, that the success of this commercial expedition may prove a good step towards obliging the enemy to sue for peace.

The trade of Africa, as well to the French as the English, is the great foundation of their American commerce and navigation, as that alone supplies both nations with negroe-labourers to cultivate their West India colonies for sugars, indigo, cocoa, cotton, pimento, and all other the estimable productions of the sugar colonies: and the commerce and navigation of America being the life and spirit of the French European commerce; if England strikes at the root of the French African trade, she, of course, cuts off the very stamina of the enemies trade and navigation to Europe as well as America.

Before the present rupture between the two crowns; so great were the unjustifiable encroachments of our rivals upon the British rights of trade in Africa, as represented in the following

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following memorial, that, if a war had not fell out in North America, it would have been necessary for England to have some how checked the insults and growing progress of the French in Africa: but since the war has taken place, this may be done the more effectually; and, as experience has shewn, without great difficulty.

The English making a conquest of the French settlements in Africa, and rendering them as well as their own ancient ones, invincible, as they may do; they should seem to have it in their power, even to extirpate the enemy from the whole commerce of this part of the world. The consequence whereof would be, the preventing our competitors from being able to stock their sugar and tobacco colonies in America with negroes, as they have plentifully done: and all the trade and navigation that depend upon those plantations must inevitably suffer in proportion as that of their African shall; which must be to an extraordinary degree: since, in such case, it will be impossible for the Dutch to supply our rivals, as they have. done themselves; and with what negroes they follows: should

(iv)

should supply them, they must come considerably dearer than they did at first hand.

But if the fate of war should not oblige the court of England to give up the French settlements, the whole of the British African trade, might, it is humbly apprehended, be so regulated, as to put it out of the power of the Dutch to supply the French with any negroes. In which case, they could have no expectation of a supply at all; the Portuguese having frequently a call for more negroes than they can obtain to work their mines, and cultivate their plantations in Brasil.

Nor could the Spaniards then be furnished with negroes by the French, from St. Domingo, as they have been, to work their mines in Mexico and Peru: they must, on the contrary, be under the necessity of taking the whole of the English; and that too upon their own terms; which commerce of itself, regulated by a proper Assento, will prove a very lucrative branch of trade to this kingdom: but when it is considered what immense quantities of the French woollen, silken and gold and siver lace manusactures,

(v)

tures, have been conveyed into the Spanish West Indies, under cover of the negroe-trade, the prevention thereof will not only greatly benefit the whole fair British commerce from Old Spain to New, but proportionally advantage the royal revenue of Spain, and tend to cement a lasting friendship between the courts of London and Madrid upon principles reciprocally interesting.

Moreover, the success in Africa may greatly contribute to the ruin of the Afiatic commerce of France; seeing their trade of Africa is wholly carried on by means of their East India company, and is not less beneficial to them than their trade to Afia. For this company being upheld by every politic aid, have long figured it amongst the Africans; and, by virtue of their exclusive privilege, and other great immunities, they have obliged the Africans, within their own power, to take what they please to give them for their slaves, their gold, their gums, and their ivory, &c. while they inhance the price of their own commodities upon the natives as they think proper; they having had no competitors, within their pretended

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tended limits, either by their own separate traders, or by those of other nations; for although they have barefacedly intruded on our rights of trade, and raised the price of negroes, gold, and all other African commodities upon the English coast; yet they have not suffered British ships to approach their settlements. Whence it appears, that by destroying the French African trade, the English will free themselves from a most detrimental rival; and thereby have it in their power to lower the price of negroes, gold, and all other articles from 50 per cent. and upwards: which must prove of no less benefit to our British planters, than to all our African and West India merchants, and owners of shipping, as well as to all our manufacturers, artificers and others any way connected with, and interested in those important branches of our trade and navigation.

The direct trade from France to Africa, by the barter of French produce and manufactures for gold and other valuable productions, is very confiderable to the company, as they engross the whole of it. This commerce takes

off great quantities of their East India commodities at their own prices; and the company's gains, by the sale of negroes, to the French sugar Islands, and their tobacco colonies upon the Missisppi, as well as to the Spanish Indies from St. Domingo, must also be very large: the profits of this monopoly upon the whole French trade of Africa, together with the immunities they enjoy, have been moderately computed at above five hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum: others have reckoned them considerably more. It is, therefore, not to be admired, that the actions of the French East India company, have been declining ever fince we have become masters of their African settlements. This also may contribute soon to give a great blow to the public credit of France in general, if England maintains her new acquifitions, and makes that use of them, she should feem to have in her power.

But the gains of the French India company by their African trade, bear but a small proportion to the total profits arifing to our enemes, by means of their African commerce in general, when confidered in various lights and connections with a 4. 1113

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with their other branches. For to make a computation with any degree of accuracy, we must take into confideration the gains of their West India merchants, their planters, their manufactures, and all who are any way interested in the frade, the shipping, and navigation of the French Sugar Islands to and from Old France and America; as likewise from America to all the European markets, which the French have fupplied with fugars, indigo, &c. at the expence of the English.—And the account will fill be very deficient, if we do not add to it the profits made by the French sugar islands, in their traffic with the British northern colonies for rum and molasses to the detriment also of our own sugar plantations. Nor should it be forgot, that there is a very beneficial commercial intercourse between the French northern colonies and their sugar islands.

And, after all, the calculation will be incomplete, if we omit the advantages obtained by our enemies in their trade from St. Domingo to the Spanish West Indies in all the rich manufactures of France, independent of the negroes commerce

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commerce carried on by their company from Africa to St. Domingo only.

there, into compute exclusively the cargo of events

the whole accruing to the French from these various branches of trade and navigation, which depend on their sugar Islands; and these wholly on their African commerce; they cannot be presumed (exclusive of the gains of their East India company by the African trade) to amount to near so little as two millions sterling per annum. Many have reckoned them considerably more.

If all these beneficial connections of the French commerce and navigation be at once broke in upon, and may be effectually destroyed by depriving them of their African settlements; this expedition must be looked upon as a great commercial, though no great military eclat to the British nation: and as it will so greatly contribute to lop off the sinews of war from our enemies, it may so shorten it, as to save millions of treasure to England, as well as ten thousands of lives that cannot be spared.

The

The great nursery for seamen that those divers maritime branches of the French trade occasion, is a consideration not of less consternation to France than joy to Briton; as we may deprive the royal navy of our enemies of all support from thence derived.

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As the utility of any thing is most sensibly felt by its want; so we may best judge of the French loss in Africa, by conceiving other nations or ourselves to sustain the like, whose dependance is not less on this trade than that of France. The Brazil commerce of the kingdom of Portugal, is its principal support: and that depends upon their African settlements; which furnish them with negroes to work their gold and diamond mines, and their plantations in those colonies. If the Portuguese were dispossessed of their footing in Africa, and could have negroes no where else, their rich fleets from Rio de Jaineiro would cease, and Portugal soon be undone. The like event happening to the Dutch would not prove fuch a shock to their affairs, they having no colonies in America which thus depend upon their trade in Africa: (X1)

Africa: but if France was in the state of Eng. land, and had turned her out of Africa as she has done France; and this nation could have no negroes for the cultivation of her sugar and tobacco colonies, we should judge those branches of our commerce in a state of ruin, unless we could supply the place of blacks by whites; which, if practicable, it might be long and ruinous before the experiment could be made to answer, if ever it effectually should. France imagined thus successful, would soon fortify and become invincible in Africa; and would, doubtless, next think of cutting off all supply of negroes to England by the Dutch; which they might easily do: and to accomplish all this, the object would be irrefistibly inviting, when they were convinced, that this blow to the English commerce would enable them to take between two and three millions sterling at least per annum out of the British commercial coffers, and draw them into her own. As England has France at present no less in her power: as she may take between two and three millions yearly out of the French gain, and add to her own; the greatest share of the trade and navigation

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navigation of France, may be said to be in her power; whence it should seem, that nothing could manifest more the wisdom and policy of his Majesty's councils at this juncture, than striking directly at the great root of the principal part of all the mercantile commerce and navigation of our enemies: for if the war continues two or three years more, and France should not be able to regain her African settlements, nor hurt ours there, or in America: if the event of war should not oblige Great Britain to give up her conquests in Africa, but, on the contrary, she shall be capable of holding them, as a pledge for the future behaviour of France towards Great Britain in North America, and elsewhere; this new accession of commerce to England, will, in few years, repay her the whole expence of the present war; which our enemies have occasioned.—Thus may France be reduced to a low ebb, in consequence of an expedition executed without the expence either of blood, or of treasure; and this is more to the glory of England than if it had been otherwise, however mean and simple the enterprize to some may appear. Nor is it . see the voice of the see the uncommon (xiii)

uncommon to observe, that the divine providence makes use of the simplest means, as well as the meanest instruments to bring about great events. And indeed experience has shewn; and the greatest and wisest men will not disallow, but private persons of mean understandings have stumbled upon things that have established the notice of great sages and the ablest statesmen.

And here I would humbly pray leave, with the most perfect duty and submission, to crave your attention a moment longer; in relation to another affair of still far greater importance to the interest and glory of his Majesty and his kingdom: which is, the reducing the power of France in Europe as well as in America: for if we should prove unsuccessful nearer home, we shall be compelled, as we have too often been, to give up our distant acquisitions for the immediate fecurity of the mother-kingdoms. To prevent in time any necessity for this, will, doubtless, be as acceptable as it is important: and the humble propofer hopes for all grace, candour and indulgence from the guardians of the public fafety and the promoters

promoters of the prosperity and happiness of the nation; when he desires the honour to lay a matter of that high concernment before his Majesty's ministers of state.

neral, and even our ancient allies the Dutch in particular, are to the trade and navigation of our enemies: and fearing that the refentment justly shewn by the court of England on this occasion, may be attended with consequences detrimental and injurious both to Great Britain and Holland, whose interests ought to be united and inseparable against France, according to the sentiments of our wisest statemen: the writer hereof humbly apprehends, that he has happily fallen upon certain measures which promise fair in all human probability, to answer the following purposes, viz.

I. To deprive France of the benefits their trade receives by the neutrality of the Dutch, and fome others: and this without giving any umbrage to such neutral states, or occasioning any misunderstanding between them and Great Britain, by the measures proposed to be submitted to consideration.

II. To

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II. To reduce France and Spain, if the should ally with our enemies at this juncture, to sue for peace upon terms very beneficial and honourable to Great Britain and her allies; and this upon principles scarce liable to miscarry.

III. To accomplish the same without any greater expence to England for continental connections than her own equitable quota, as a maritime power; she being obliged to pay no subsidies to any state whatever upon the continent.

of Prussia, and his Majesty's German dominions, and prevent the former from being compelled to make any peace without the concurrence of Great Britain and her allies.

This is the substance of what I would most humbly defire permission to have the honour to lay before you: and it is not to be doubted, but your distinguished equity, wisdom, candour and benevolence, will induce you to judge favourably

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favourably of the good intentions of a private man; a loyal subject of his Majesty, whose zeal in the service of his country will not lead him to presume to lay any thing before the King's ministers that is frivolous, and beneath their attention.

However extraordinary this attempt may appear; yet, as it is founded on principles of policy similar to those, which have been adopted, by the greatest statesmen in all ages; nothing can prove it impossible but the full trial and experiment; and that made with all the address requisite on such an occasion. I have the honour to be

With the most perfect duty and submission,

Your most bumble,

Most obedient,

GRAY'S INN, Aug. 8, 1758. And most devoted servant,

Malachy Postlethwayt.



The following is a copy of the Original Memorial, as drawn up foon after the Breaking out of the war, and presented by Mr. Postlethwayt to induce the Ministry to undertake the Expedition against the French African settlements in the river Senagal, and others on that coast.

Upon the miscarriage of the Expedition to Rochfort, Mr. Postlethwayt presented the following memorial again in January last, with additional motives, not proper to be made public, to induce the Ministry to undertake the African expedition.

The MEMORIE.

**EFORE the French Sugar colonies

B flourished, England supplied France

with a great part of the sugars for
their home consumption,"

Since the French sugar colonies have flour rished, the French have not only supplied themselves, with sugars, but have greatly supplanted planted the English in most of the sugar trade

of Europe." The trade of the French sugar colonies depends on the following distinct Branches of trade. (1) Upon the trade from Old France to Africa, by means of the French East India Company. (2) Upon the trade from Africa to the French sugar islands, to supply them with negroes, &c. (3) Upon the West India trade to and from Old France. (4) Upon the trade to and from the French sugar islands and their continent colonies in North America. (5) Upon the trade of the French sugar islands with the English northern colonies. (6) Upon the trade of the French sugar islands to and from divers parts of Europe, which the French supply with fugars that the English did. (7) Upon the supply of the Spanish West Indies with African negroes, by the way of St. Domingo; whereby the French do, in effect, reap all the benefits of an Affiento contract with Spain; (the English being now deprived of it) and by virtue of fupplying the Spaniards with negroes do, at the fame time, fupply them clandestinely with immense quantity of French woollen, filken, and other commodities, to the unspeakable detriment of the fair British trade, by way of Old Spain to New Spain.

From the foregoing French branches of trade, arising solely from their African and West Indian trades, which depend on each other for their mutual support, the French have, since the Peace of Utrecht, increased their

(3)

meir commerce, their mercantile navigation, and their royal marine beyond the belief of most: and the produce and trade of their sugar islands daily increasing in divers other productions besides sugar (as indico, cocoa, cotton, &c.) must daily strengthen the maritime power of France, unless now, in time of war, England takes effectual means to stop their progress.

This increase of the commerce, navigation and maritime strength of France has been chiefly owing to their African trade, as carried on by their East India company; which is so regulated as to supply them with negroe slaves more plentifully and far cheaper than the English can do their sugar colonies; whereby the French increase in their West India Trade, while the

English daily decline in theirs.

Before the French got possession of the forts upon the Coast of Africa, in the river Senagal, and on the islands of Arguin and Gorée, the English traded freely and uninterruptedly to all places on the said coast. Since the French have possessed the said Forts, they have not only absolutely excluded the British nation from those parts, and taken and confiscated all British Ships as have ventured to trade there, but have traded as uninterruptedly, in time of peace, within the British rights and privileges, and under the nose of our forts, as under their own.

That part of the coast from whence the French have absolutely excluded the British nation from trading, is called the Gum-Coast,

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which extends from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, which is above 500 miles.

So beneficial is the gum trade in general, that we have a recent instance of two merchants of the city of London, (viz. Messrs. I—and F.) who gained above 10,000 l. by a loading of gum Senagal, which they obtained last year on this coast; the first cost of which cargo on the outset did not amount to 1000 l.

This gum senagal is of such important value to the French, that it appears from the registers of the council of state, there passed an arret of the French king's council of Nov. 2, in the year 1751, which prohibits all gum senagal being exported out of the kingdom for one year, under the penalty of confiscation, and a fine of 300 livres. The reason of such prohibition was, that this African gum is an exceeding useful material in divers capital French manufactures; such as their silks and other fabricks, which require a glossy lustre to recommend them to foreign nations; and this gum is no less useful in ours, and therefore the French have monopolized it. The other particular places on the African coast, where the French have many years, in time of peace, incroached on the British rights and privileges of commerce, are at Anamaboe, on the gold coast, and at Whydah, where the English long enjoyed the sole right of trade, by virtue of William's Fort.

In the river Sierraleone also, on the African coast, the French have, within these few years, pretended

(5)

pretended to a right of trade, where they have no Fort at all, and where the English have Bence Island. To such an unjustifiable degree have the French of late years, in time of peace, carried their encroachments in this river, that they have had the confidence to fire upon British ships that have the sole right of trade here; and have endeavoured to exclude the English no less from the trade of this river, than they have done from that of the whole Gum-coast: the reason of which is, that the trade of this river is very im-

proveable.

The French likewise have, in time of peace, attempted to fettle themselves in the river Sherbro' on the coast of Africa, where the English have the right of trade. The motive to which is, by reason that Slaves, Gold, Ivory, Bees-wax, and divers excellent Woods for Dyeing (especially that valuable wood called Cam-wood) are to be had cheaply and plentifully: another reason is, because here are a good river, a secure harbour for shipping, and a great plenty of good provisions. Nor should it be forgot, that the Cam-wood (which is extremely useful in the dyeing of our woollen and filken manufactures of various fashionable colours, which take with foreign nations) is to be had no where else in any quantities; which renders it no less valuable to the English than the Logwood is for dyeing of Blacks and Blues.

(6)

To secure this important river of Sherbro, the French also have attempted lately* to settle at the Bannana Islands, near the mouth of the river Sherbro'; which, as it is a very whole-some situation, is certainly well judged to answer their intention.

Nor have the projected encroachments of the French in Africa, in time of peace, ended here. They have attempted, before the war broke out, to settle themselves, even at the Cape de Verde Islands, though they belong to the Portuguese; but the Portuguese instantly sent a ship of some force to watch their motions: yet the French had art enough to pacify them. But,

This intended settlement of the French at the Cape de Verde Islands, at such a conjuncture, could be hardly done with a view to give umbrage to the Portuguese: Your Memorialist apprehends it has been done rather with a view to have it more in their power to annoy the English; because their men of war occasionally, and their East India ships constantly touch at the Cape de Verde Islands for water, &c.

By virtue of James Fort belonging to the English in the river Gambia, this nation long possessed the sole and uninterrupted right to the trade of this river: but so greatly have the French intruded on our trade here in time of peace, that, by means of their fort Albreda;

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erected towards the north fide of the Gambia, without molestation, they have shared a great part of the trade of this river with the English. And moreover, as a branch of the Senagal river, possessed by the French, comes into the river Gambia, the French, by means of this communication, and their Fort Joseph, in the said river Senagal, cut off the English trade from up the river Gambia, and thereby render the English settlement at James Fort proportionably useless.

By means of the African Trade, the French

have reaped the following advantages:

1. They have, by dint of Negro-labour, brought their Sugar Islands to fuch state, as not only to supply themselves with sugars, and other West India commodities, but to supplant the English from those trades at all the markets in Europe.

2. They have been enabled, by this trade, to fettle the Neutral Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago, by supplying them with a number of negroe slaves to cultivate West India productions, and sit them for the defence of those islands, by means of whites to controul them.

whites to controul them.

3. By virtue of this trade, they have greatly upheld the credit of their East India Company; which has the exclusive right in the French African, as well as their East India commerce.

4. By means of their African Trade, and the above observed encroachments, the French have

^{*} That was at the first breaking out of the present war, when this Memorial was drawn up.

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have raised the price of Negroes upon the English on many parts of the coast, from 6 l. and 7 l. & head to 20 l. and 30 l. & head: and although this rise in the price upon the English greatly affects the English trade, it does not affect the French, by reason of the extraordinary bounties, privileges and immunities, which the French government allows for the encouragement of their African commerce; besides the exclusive privilege to the company therein concerned: which considered, together with their encroachments, have enabled the French so greatly to supplant us in this branch of the trade, as well as that of the whole Sugar Trade of Europe.

5. By means of their African trade, and the close connection That has with their West India trade, they have in a great measure upheld the trade and public credit of their East

India company.

How dependent the French themselves have long judged their Sugar Colonies to be upon their African trade, appears by a Memorial presented by the deputies of The Council of Commerce in France to The Royal Council of State, so long ago as the year 1701; from which Era, and attention to the said memorial, we may date the prosperity of the French Sugar Islands, and other branches of their commerce dependent on their American colonies.

"Le commerce de Guinée, say the me-"morialists, est si relatif à celuy des Isles "Fran(9)

"Françoises de l'Amerique, que l'un ne sçau"roit subsister sans l'autre: par ces commerce
"nous avons retranché à nos concurrens les
"grands profits qu'ils faisoient sur nous, &
"nous pouvons les augmenter considerable"ments, puisque celle nation dans les isles,
"avec moins d'avantage que nous, dans un ter"rain moins estendu, & dans beaucoup moins
"de temps, a trouvé le moyen, d'occuper
"toutes les années plus de 500 vaisseaux,
"pendant que nous avons beaucoup de peine
"d'en occuper une centaine.

"Tout le monde connoit l'utilité de la marine, & que la tranquilité, & la gloire d'un estat en depend tres souvent: on sçait que le commerce ne peut subsiste que par elle: la fortune de negociants y est tôujours attachée, elle fait vivre un tres grand nombre de sujets, matelots, & artisans. Per"sonne n'ignore que la navigation de la France ne doive au commerce de ses isles tout son eclat, qu'elle ne peut se soutenir, & s'augmenter que

" parluy.

"Ce commerce est sans doute, de tous les commerce de long cours que les François font, le plus utile à l'etat; parceque qu'il se fait fans transport d'argent, sans secours des denrées, des manufactures etrangers, et que il n'y a que les sujets du roy et du royaume qui en prositent."

This was not only the judgment of the most experienced and impartial traders in France, but of the greatest statesmen in that c

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kingdom; and their steddy regard to these principles ever since, and their prosperous confequences, prove, beyond doubt, the wisdom and policy of their measures.

Your Memorialist humbly prays leave next to shew, the use that, he apprehends, may be made of the foregoing faithful representation, to the interest and honour of his *Britannic* Majesty, at the present conjuncture of public

affairs.

From the foregoing FACTS, it is apparent, that the French have not been less solicitous to increase their trade and dominion in Africa, than in America: and fince the whole dependance of France for the preservation and increase of her Sugar, and Continent Colonies in America, is upon her African Commerce; and fince it is no less manifest, that the whole fupport of the latter depends chiefly upon the French forts and settlements established on the coast of Africa; especially on that upon the Island of Gorée, and the other called Fort Louis, in the river Senagal before observed: it is most humbly submitted: Whether here does not present a favourable prospect of retrieving our losses in Europe, as well as America, by dispossessing the French of their African Settlements: and whether such a successful MARITIME EXPEDITION will not strike at the root of the commerce of the French Sugar Colonies in America, and thereby also more effectually at the root of their North Ame-RICAN COLONIES, than any other measures that (11)

can be taken by the court of Great Britain, and that at far less Expence to the nation, as well as being attended with less hazard than any other Expedition whatever? And whether our success in Africa may not have a happier tendency to ruin the French East India Company, and destroy its public credit, at less expence than any other measure? And fince so great a proportion of the European trade of France, as has been shewn, depends upon their African and American trades; it is in the power of England to injure the French in their whole trade and navigation, in any MARITIME Expedition so much as by this, if wifely and suc-

cessfully conducted?

Upon the success of this African Expedition, what would really prove the state of the French East India Company, and of their public credit in general, may be judged, from the state it was reduced to in the last war. For although, at the beginning of that war, the French India Company did not seem to be affected so much as might be expected, by what they suffered, their dividends being regularly paid, which upheld their credit so, that at Christmas 1744, their actions were at 2000; yet notwithstanding appearances, the war increafing the expence of France, on the one hand, and leffening her revenues on the other, the fecret at length came out: Monf. Orry, the comptroller-general of the finances, being obliged to acquaint the directors of the company, that the king's affairs were so circumstanced as not to permit him longer to supply

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the company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their own bottom, and carry on their trade for

the future as well as they could.

This reduced the Actions to 800, and brought on a suspension of the company's dividends, and thereby gave a severe stroke to the public credit of France: and although the injury the company received by Commodore Barnet in the East Indies, and the loss of their ships we took at Cape Breton, contributed to reduce the company: yet, if we had the like fuccess now, it would not contribute nearly fo much to the ruin of the French India Company, and their trade in general, as dispos-Sessing them of their Forts and Settlements in Africa; because this would so hurt their affairs in America, as well as Africa and Europe, whereon their commercial dependance lies, more than merely in Asia, as to oblige them to make a good peace, more than any other fingle measure that can, perhaps, be taken by the court of England. Besides, Africa being so much nearer home than Asia or North America, we might, in the last war, by possessing ourselves of the French African Settlements *, have done more than we did to

* Mr. Postlethwayt proposed to a certain honourable person the taking of the French African Settlements in the last war, and several other affairs relating to the British African commerce, which would have produced some millions to this nation before now.—But it being signified to him, that the peace was too sar advanced to think of any thing of that kind (and which proved to be true) he believes that was the only reason why such design was not then carried into execution.

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have ruined the trade of France in general, and that of their East India company in particular; at one half the expence we were at in the East Indies for the purpose of the latter: and by thus distressing the company, we might probably have prevented Madras from being taken. Moreover, the French East India ships outward bound, always touching at their African settlements; if they were stripped of them, they would be deprived of this advantageous conveniency; and their outset thereby rendered more expensive and precarious in time of war; and especially so, when England might by * * *

Your memorialist prays leave further to confider the probability of the success of the intended expedition, by giving the best account that he has been able to obtain of the situation of the French forts and settlements in Africa; and especially the two principal ones, viz. that on the island of Gorée, and the other of Fort Louis in the river Senagal; for, if these fall into the British Hands, that of Arguin and the other smaller dependent forts must fall of

course.

And first with respect to Fort Louis, in the river Senagal—Previous to which it may be necessary to give some account of the said river. According to Mons. Labat, who is reckoned to have given the most exact state thereof, the course of the Senagal is above 800 leagues from east to west from the lake Bûrnû, where he says, it rises to within two leagues and one half of the western ocean. But historians

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rians being divided about the extent of this river, your memorialist will not dwell on any thing but what immediately concerns the

fuccess of the enterprize.

The mouth of this river is about half a league broad, but is thut by a BANK OF LAND OR BAR, caused by the great quantities of fand brought by the current, and drove there by the sea. This bar is doubly dangerous, as it has little water on it; and every year shifts its place with the violent floods that come down the river at the time of its inundation. And, indeed, the entrance of this river would be impracticable, if the Arrength of the tide and force of the current did not open two paffages; the largest of which is commonly 150, or 200 fathom broad, and about two fathom water: so that it will admit only BARKS of 40 or 50 tons. The smaller passage is only for CANOES. These openings change their situations almost every year; so that the island of Senagal, or Fort Louis, is sometimes sour leagues from the bar, at other times but two. This inconvenience, which prevents ships of 400 or 500 tons butthen from entering the river and landing their goods (for which purpose the French India company keep suitable BARKS) is a good security to Fort Louis, and renders it impossible to enter the river without good pilots: whereby the French feem to enjoy their trade up this river unmolested, and without fear of a rival.

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Your memorialist desires leave to observe that the properest time for crossing the BAR is from January to August, the winds being then variable, and the tides running north. The best of these Months are April, May, June and July. The worst season is from September to the end of December, the east winds then bringing a great swell, and making trade impracticable.

After croffing the BAR, you find a broad river, from 18 to 25 feet deep, the water clear and smooth, and its current as agreeable as the entrance dangerous. Two leagues above the BAR lies a channel, which goes up to the village of Byurst. It incloses two small islands; the nearest the small river is called the Bokos. The isle of Blogha lies behind that of Bokos, nearer the main -Between the isle of Bokos, and the great isle of Biferta, is an oblong island of five or fix leagues in circumference, called the isle of John Barr. The west side of it lies on the main branch of the Senagal, and belongs to the negro-chiefs, viz. John Barr and Yansek, who have a village on it. The first of these is hereditary interpreter to the French company at Fort Louis. Opposite to the isle of Bokos is a little isle, about a quarter of a mile long, called by the French the Isle aux Anglois, or the English Isle, it being formerly possessed by the English as well as that of Fort Louis. -About three quarters of a league higher up the Senagal, lies the Isle of Senagal, or Fort Louis,

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Louis, the residence of the French director ge-

neral of the company.

The Isle of Senagal lies 16 degrees, 5 min. north latitude, in the middle of the river of the fame name; and two, three or four leagues from the mouth of the river, according to the variations of the BAR, as before observed. Some have reckoned it about a league in circumference.

According to the best information your memorialist has been able to obtain, there remain only four old towers of the ancient Fort Louis, each of them round, and about 20 feet diameter: they form an obtuse quadrangle; the two middle ones being four toises * and an half distance, and those at the head 11: —They are well built in the antique way, and covered each with a pyramidal roof of tiles. They have been fince joined with walls, and inclosed in a fortification of pallisadoes, terrassed with earth; beneath which lie the magazines, with some ill-constructed bastions: so that this fort, upon the whole, does not appear to be of any strength, unless by its natural situation.

The best information that your memorialist has been able to obtain is, that there are 40 guns mounted on several batteries, with a good magazine of small arms and ammunition: how many men they may have in garrison at present, your memorialist has not been able to learn sa-

tisfactorily.

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* A Toise is fix Feet, or one Fathom English.

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Ten or twelve leagues above Fort Louis lies a point of land, where the fertility of the foil has induced the negroes to build feven or eight villages; the chief of which is called Buklar. The further you go on from the fea, the country on the river seems more fruitful, and well improved. It abounds in maize, which is a

never failing commodity here.

The Isle of Biferte is about 20 leagues long, and 8 in the broadest part. The soil throughout is rich and fruitful; the inundations of the Senagal contributing greatly thereto. It not only abounds in maize of both kinds, but also in. rice, pulse, tobacco and indico. Wheat thrives well here after the fecond crop. Cotton trees likewise grow in plenty. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of great and small cattle, all excellent in their kind. Poultry are numerous as well as wild fowl; fuch as partridges, wood-pigeons, and pintados in droves. Besides forests, there are great woods of palmtrees; and the villages that lie thick on the river, shew the country is well peopled.

In proceeding up the river Senagal on the left hand, the first remarkable place is Serimpata, or Serimfalli; where the river, which has lain north and fouth, alters its course to east and west. Between this place and Buksar' is pasture ground, where the moors come in dry feasons to feed their camels and other cattle, for which they pay a tribute to the Brack. Some leagues above Serimpata, on the north fide of the river lies the desert; a place fa-

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mous for being the mart of the gum trade, so va-

luable as above fignified.

Two leagues higher lies Ingherbel, the residence of the great Brack, king of Hoval. On the fouth fide a river discharges itself into the Senagal, called the Portuguese river, about 17 leagues from the Mouth of the Senagal. This river is about five or fix leagues long; its banks planted with trees, and adorned with villages; and the soil is as fertile as the natives are lazy.

A little higher on the north side the Senagal receives the Marigot, or rivulet of Kayor, which issues from the lake of the same name. This lake lies about 50 leagues from Fort Louis, and is occasioned by the overflowings of the

river.

On the left fide of the river leading to it, and three leagues from the Senagal, is the village of Grain, governed by a negroe grandee, fubject to the great Brack. The country here is agreeable and well cultivated. Four leagues higher up on the right side lies the village of Queda, subject to the Seratic, king of the Fulis. There is no passing further than this village in the dry feafon, on account of the reeds that choak up that part of the river, which communicates with the lake.

Some leagues higher up the Senagal lies a fmall isle called Menage, which is fertile and agreeable. Five leagues higher, on the same fide, lies the village called the Cock, opposite to the east end of the ille of Morfil, or Ivory Island.

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Illand. This ifle is 40 leagues long, and from three to fix broad.

The country to the fouth of the river of Ivory is fruitful and well improved. It is full of Elephants, who feed in flocks of 40 or 50.—Ten leagues from the Isle of Ivory lies Terrier Ronge, noted for the gum trade carried on with the Moors to great advantage, as it is done at the desert before-mentioned.—Without your memorialist entering further into the situation and commerce of this river, and all its dependencies; he craves leave only further to observe, that here offers a very extraordinary and lucrative scene of commerce that may be taken out of the scale of France, and thrown into that of Great Britain, if the proposed expedition is

fuccefsfully executed.

The other principal French fettlement necesfary for your memorialist to take notice of, is, that of the Fort and Isle of Goree. This Isle is about two English miles in compass. It lies north west, and south south east, within cannon shot of the continent. It is almost inaccessible, being surrounded with rocks, or inclosed with a ridge of black and round pebbles and stones, except a small bay to the east north east, about 20 toises broad, and 60 deep, between two points; the one pretty high, called the Pointe du Cimitrere, and the other low, defended by a fandy point, on which the lea breaks fo violently, as to render it remarkable at a great distance. The anchorage is good round the Isle, especially in this little bay.

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The French in time of peace usually keep a Garrison here of 300 whites at least, with some free blacks.

Your memorialist apprehends it proper to observe, that this Isle was yielded to the Dutch by Biram, king of the Cape Verde Illes in the year 1617. They foon after built a fort on the north west side, on a rocky eminence, which they called Nassau on the hill. But this not being sufficient to defend the road, they built a second, called Fort Orange below it; which effectually commanded the landing place. They remained in this settlement till the year 1663, when Commodore Holmes, belonging to the English, took it from them: but the English had not then time to keep it; for the following year de Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, coming with a squadron, retook it; and obliged Marocromby, the governor, to furrender at discretion. The Dutch having repaired it, and augmented the fortifications, continued in possesfion till 1677; when Count d'Etrees, with a squadron of 11 French men of war, appeared before it October 30. The next Day he summoned Hopsac, the Dutch governor; and on his refusal, prepared to land under the cannon of his fleet; which the Dutch seeing, abandoned the lower fort, and retired to the higher; where foon after they hung out a white flag, and capitulated to surrender at discretion. ्रीकृतः । 🕊 क्षेत्रकृतिकृतिकृति । अस्तर्भवन्त्रकृतिकृति । अस्तर्भवन्त्रकृतिकृति ।

Miles Comment

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The French found the place in good condition, the lower fort being mounted with 42 pieces of cannon. The Count having no instructions to keep the place, demolished the higher fort, and difmantled the lower: after which he failed for the West Indies. But Mons. du Casse, who was then on the coast in a man of war of 40 guns, and 250 men, hearing of Count d'Estrees proceeding, arrived at Gorée, Nov. 15, 1677, and took possession of it for the French Senagal Company; concluding a treaty of alliance and commerce with the negroe kings of Rufisco, Joal, and Porto Dali, on the same footing with those of the Dutch, when they held Gorée. At his return to France, his conduct was approved by the court; and in 1678, he was fent back to Gorée with presents to the kings of the negroes to confirm them in the French interest.

By the peace at Nimeguen, concluded the same year, the French remained possessors of their conquests on the coast of Africa, and caused the lower fort of Gorée to be repaired on the old foundation; raising the curtains and demy-bastions 16 feet high, calling it fort Vermandois.

The Dutch in 1679 made some attempt to recover Gorée. They sent a ship of sorce, commanded by the Sieur Hubert, with orders to surprize Gorée, and all the French settlements on the coast: but Du Casse, with his squadron, was there before him. That commander finding his endeavours ineffectual to make the

Dutchman

Another Dutch ship that came with the same views, retired on the first warning. Soon after the Sieur Hopfac, formerly the Dutch governor of Gorée, appeared on the coast in a large vesfel, to instigate the negroes to rise against the French, which they did at Porta D'Ali, and Joal, plundering the French factories: but Du Casse returning seasonably from the river Gambia, preserved Gorée, and made such quick reprisals that he foon brought the negroe kings to sue for peace. In 1697, the Sieur Brue arriving at Gorée, found the two forts in a wretched condition, and repaired them in the best manner time would allow, mounting the higher fort of St. Michael with 24 cannon, and the lower of St. Francis with 28: and this fettlement has been made considerably stronger Mill, according to the intelligence that your memorialist has received.

And your memorialist desires leave to obferve, that according to the largeness of the fleet that shall be employed in this African expedition; they may, after their success in Africa, go from thence immediately to the West Indies, and secure first the Neutral Islands, and then the French sugar colonies, if the strength shall be sufficient for the purpose, and wisely conducted.

But how, and by what effectual means this proposed African and American expedition may

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be carried in execution, and that in all human probability, without a possibility of miscarriage, will appear, your memorialist humbly conceives, from some other affairs that have an affinity herewith; and which he will do himself the honour to submit to consideration.

In regard to the African expedition, the fuccess of its execution, your memorialist humbly apprehends will, in a great measure, depend upon the following particulars. (1) Upon the utmost secrecy in carrying the same into execution, lest the enemy should be too well prepared to receive us. (2) Upon their fleets being blocked up, while the African expedition is absolutely executed, and the river Senagal, the island of Gonée, and the fort at Arguin, which cannot hold out long, as your memorialist judges, are all well fecured. (3) Upon instantly making treaties of alliance and commerce with the negroes princes, after our fuccefs, whose kingdoms are the most adjacent; as those of Rufisco, Joal and Porto D'Ali, as have been seen to be the measures, which both the French and the Dutch have heretofore taken to secure those fettlements, and their trade. (4) Upon executing the expedition at the proper season of the Year; which for croffing the dangerous BAR beforementioned, your memorialist has been informed, is from the months of January to August, the winds being then variable, and the tides running north. The best of these months are said to be in April, May, June and

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July: and the worst season is from September to the end of December, the east wind then bringing a great swell, and making the navigation impracticable. (5) Upon having pilots, who are well experienced in the navigation of the river Senagal in particular, where the chief French Fort, that called Fort Louis is fituated; and where the director general of the French East India company resides.—The navigation of the Isle of Gorée must likewise be well known by those who shall have the pilotage of this expedition. In respect to which navigation, your memorialist craves leave to observe, that the British navigators in general, who are experienced only in the failing to and from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, can hardly be imagined to be well acquainted with that of the French settlements, where they are never suffered to go but by stealth: and, therefore, your memorialist humbly recommends it as necessary to the success of this enterprize, that pilots may be obtained, who are well experienced in the French settlement navigation: and that fuch are to be got, your memorialist apprehends practicable, by secret enquiries amongst those captains of merchantmen who trade for gum Senagal, as before observed.

Here is so much of the Memorials as is proper to be made public.

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OBSERVATIONS UPON THE FOREGOING ME-MORIAL, more fully illustrating the intentions of the Memorialist.

WHOEVER takes a retrospect of the rife and progress of the African trade, as it has been carried on by the English fince its commencement, will find, from undoubted experience, that the first establishment, as well as the constant security and preservation thereof, have been folely owing to the forts and settlements erected by them in that part of the world*. Without which the whole trade would certainly have been wrested out of our hands; and we should have had no more share in it than those nations that have never had any fuch possessions there.

And even fince the English have had forts and settlements in Africa, great efforts have been made to extirpate them from this commerce. Although the English had established divers forts and factories on the gold coast before the year 1660; and before the Dutch had fcarce got any footing there, 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 cruisers on the coast to interrupt the trade of the English with the natives, and to seize their ships and cargoes, and carry them to their

> * See Postlethwayt's Universal Dictionary. **fettlement**

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settlement at St. George del Mina; and this they did not only near the Dutch company's forts and factories, but at all other places several hundred leagues distant from them.

To what a degree the Dutch carried their infults and depredations at this time upon our merchants trading to Africa, appears from the unquestionable testimony of Sir George Downing, Bart. who was envoy-extraordinary to the States-General upon this 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*.

King Charles the fecond, being acquainted that the nation rung with the outcries of our suffering merchants against the Dutch African company, judged 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, his envoy then at the Hague, with orders to insist upon satisfaction, but none could be obtained. Whereupon, April 1, 1664, both houses of parliament came

o 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 obstruction of our foreign trade; and that the same be bumbly and speedily presented to his Majesty; and that he be most bumbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for redress thereof, &c.

Upon this resolution of parliament, his Majesty renewed his instances with the States for fatisfaction to our injured merchants; but his remonstrances were treated with indifference and contempt: the losses of our merchants were too confiderable to be eafily reimbursed; and the benefits of the African trade, could they have monopolized the whole to themfelves, 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; fo that the injuries of our merchants, upon the whole, amounted to between 6 and 700,000 l. sterling.

The King having tried all other methods in vain, found himself, at length, under the necessity, upon the 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 Feb. 1664-5, he declared war in form against the States-General of the united provinces: of such high

^{*} 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.

high concern and importance to the nation was the trade to Africa, even then judged.

Nor have the struggles of the English with the French, to preserve a share in the African trade, been less than with the Dutch. The Dutch West India company were in possession of the forts of Arguin and Gorée; the French Senagal company, established anno 1673, were in possession of a small Fort on an island within the bar in the river Senagal (since enlarged and called Fort Louis) the English had one small fort in the river Gambia, and another in the river Sierraleone. 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 each other, from Cape Blanco to Cape Mount.

In the Year 1677, and 1678, the French took the Dutch forts on the islands of Arguin and Gorée, which were soon after yielded to France by the treaty of Nimeguen: and in the year 1685, the French king judging the grant to the Senagal company, which extended from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope, too large, restrained it only from Cape Blanco to the river Sierraleone, and erected another company, called the Guiney company; and granted them the sole trade to and from that part of the coast, which extends from the river Sierraleone to the Cape of Good Hope. From this time the French trade to Africa was carried on by those two dissince to manies.

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The Senagal company were scarce 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 Gambia, comprehending above 500 miles in length. Anno 1681, they attempted to hinder the English company's ships from trading along that coast: but not being in a condition then to contest that point with our late royal African company, they dropped their pretensions. In the year 1683, 1684, and 1685, they seized and confiscated several ships belonging to the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Prussians: and in the latter of those years renewed their claim against the English company: from which time they continued to give them frequent interruptions in their trade; till at last a war on this account broke out between the two nations.

The losses sustained by the English during the course of this war, were greater than can be easily imagined. One of the chief was that of their fort in the river Gambia, anno 1095, 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 missortune, when the English company came to take possession thereof again, after the peace, they found the French settled in the river, and claiming an equal share in the trade thereof with themselves.

However, the English, by means of their fort on James Island on the river Gambia and divers

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divers factories, some hundred miles up that river, have maintained the right of Great Britain to the trade hereof, in opposition to all the

attempts of the French to root us out.

For 250 years past it has been the constant policy of all such European nations as have made any new discoveries for foreign trade, and to gain any power in remote and barbarous countries, to build and maintain forts and castles; and by virtue thereof to claim a right to whole kingdoms, and to tracts of lands of a vast extent, and to exclude all other nations from trad-

ing in, to, and from them.

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By fuch measures the Portuguese long enjoyed 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 thereto? By the like policy, have not the Hollanders rendered 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 these commodities, by such quantities, and at such prices as they think fit? And have we not feen, 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 parts of the coasts of Africa, and to exclude England from any part share or interest therein; and thereby brought upon themselves a war with this kingdom in 1664? Before

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Before the French got possession of the fort in the river Senagal, and on the Islands of Arguin and Gorée, 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 taken upon themselves, in times of peace, to exclude the British nation from those parts, and have actually taken and consistent all such British ships and vessels as ventured to trade thither: and what other encroachments the French have of late years made upon the rights of trade of the English in Africa, are briefly set forth in the preceding memorial.

As we have now happily got poslession of those forts and settlements of the French, by virtue of which they have excluded us from our right of trade for many hundred miles; it is to be hoped that we shall not easily part with them, if ever we do. Nay, if we are really in earnest to reduce the power of France to such an ebb as to have no further occasion to make WRITTEN TREATIES again with that nation, now seems to be the happy point of time. For however indifferent our success in Africa may appear to some, from the unexpensiveness, the simplicity, the ease, and safety with which the expedition was executed; yet, we may presume to say, if this blow is wisely and vigoroufly followed, by another fuch given to the affairs of France in America; it will enable England so to reduce the power of her ene-

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mies, as to oblige them to comply with what terms she pleases. This will be obvious enough, if we consider what we at present have in our power; which, as represented in the memorial, will appear to be as follows, viz. (1) We may deprive the French of their whole direct trade from Old France to Africa, both backwards and forwards; which will be stripping them of the whole commerce of this part of the world, for gold, ivory, bees wax, valuable gums and drugs of the richest kind, as well as excellent dying woods; all which amount to a considerable sum annually. (2) We may hinder them from obtaining negroe-slaves in Africa as they have done, wherewith to supply their SUGAR and TOBACCO colonies in America; and hereby we have it in our power to reduce those French colonies to as low a condition as England shall think proper.—This will be at once undoing all that the French have done in America for half this century past; and may be made to prove proportionably prosperous to all the British plantations. For cutting off their supply of negroes, will lay the axe to the root of all their West India commerce. They will soon be incapable of supplying Europe, as they have done, with sugars, and other West India commodities: nor will they be able to supply themselves therewith; which will be reducing them to the state they were once in. This will clip the wings of their maritime power. (3) We may strip them of that intercourse of commerce between their northern colonies as well (33)

as the British and their Sugar Islands; which will prove no inconfiderable loss to the French and gain to the English. (4) We may hereby disable the French from keeping possession of the Neutral Islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and Tobago, when they have no blacks to plant them; and thereby put an end to those eternal disputes we have had about them. (5) By taking away their negroe trade, we shall prevent their supplying the Spaniards with those labourers from St. Domingo to the Spanish West Indies; whereby we shall put an effectual stop to their fending thither great quantities of their woollen and filken, and their gold and filver manufactures, under cover of supplying them with negroe-flaves to work their mines in Mexico and Peru: the consequence of which to Great Britain will be, that this nation may be enabled to recover their fair commerce from Old Spain to New, and his Catholic Majesty will fave those indultoes to his revenue, which the French illicit trade from St. Domingo has robbed it of. And with relation to the commerce of negroes, England, by the increase of her trade in Africa, will be enabled to furnish Spanish America with negroes cheaply and plentifully in virtue of a new Assento; which may be entered into with the court of Madrid for that purpose; confisting of such fair and honourable stipulations on both sides, as may tend to cement a permanent friendship between England and Spain, and disunite Spain from France, when it shall be no longer in the power

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power of the latter to supply the other with negroes. (6) Our African conquest may likewise so affect the French East India company as to hurt the public credit of France very fenfibly, and disable them from borrowing money upon the profits and funds of that monopoly, as they have frequently done: and this may discourage and intimidate numbers of British subjects from becoming proprietors in that stock, to the detriment of our own state and benefit of that of the enemy. (7) By keeping possession of the French African settlements, we are become absolute masters of the commerce of the whole gum-coast from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia; and may engross also the traffic of the whole river Senagal to ourfelves, and drive the French for ever out of the trade of the river Gambia, where they have fhamefully encroached upon us by their fort Albreda, as well as by that of fort Joseph and others in the river Senagal. (8) We shall prevent the encroachments of the French, in future, upon our trade at Anamaboe and Whydab, from whence they have supplied their Sugar Islands for years, with many thousands of the best negroes upon the whole coast; and also drive them out of the river Sierraleone, where they have usurped the right of trade, though they have no Fort at all to countenance them. (9) We may effectually hinder them from fettling, as they have attempted, in the river Sherbro, and put it out of their power. to have a fingle stick of that excellent dying (35)

wood, called the Camavood, and many other that this trade affords. (10) By depriying the French of all benefits and advantages of their whole African trade, both directly and confequentially, as the same is effentially connected with the whole of their American and European commerce; and making the best use of this acquisition for the emolument of our own trade in America; and all its dependent branches; Enggland has it really now in her power to destroy the most important commerce and navigation belonging to our enemies; and by this means to take at least to the amount of above two million and one balf sterling a year out of the profits of France, and draw them into her own coffers. For how can France support her Sugar colonies without Negroe-flaves? England may now starve them out of those colonies; and, in the opinion of the French themselves, absolutely ruin and destroy their whole American islands. For what do the French memorialists (their knowing and experienced deputies of trade) say to the Royal Council of Commerce of France, as quoted in the before presented memorial? They fay, what England should never forget; and what the writer of these papers has made the grand basis of his African memorial as laid before the British ministry.— THE COMMERCE OF GUINEY, fay they, HAS SUCH RELATION TO THAT OF THE French Islands in the West Indies, THAT THE ONE CANNOT SUBSIST WITHOUT THE OTHER. BY THOSE TRADES, WE HAVE DEPRIVED OUR COMPETITORS IN TRAFFIC OF

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* Before the French were able to supply themselves with sugar, we had a considerable share in their supply.

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"TIS BEYOND ALL DOUBT, THAT THIS COMMERCE IS MORE BENEFICIAL TO THE STATE, THAN ALL OTHERS (of long voyages) THAT ARE DRIVEN BY THE FRENCH; BECAUSE IT IS CARRIED ON WITHOUT EXPORTING ANY MONEY, AND WITHOUT THE HELP OF ANY FOREIGN GOODS AND MANUFACTURES; SO THAT NONE BUT THE SUBJECTS OF THE KING AND KINGDOM HAVE THE PROFIT OF IT, &c."

Here then is an open declaration, on the fide of the French themselves, that their West India commerce cannot subfist without their African.—We having now possessed ourselves of their African settlements, by virtue of which they have maintained that commerce: can this nation hesitate a moment what is to be done? LET HER FOR EVER KEEP POSSESSION OF THE FRENCH AFRICAN FORTS AND SET-TLEMENTS, as a fecurity for the good behahaviour of our enemies for the future; fince we can do that as eafily as we took them. Let us fortify these settlements, and render them as well as our own ancient ones in that part of the world invincible, without a moment's delay; so that it may not be in the power of the enemy, with the aid of any allies they may expect, to disposses the English of them.

The taking of Cape Breton will not be of near fo much consequence to our northern colonies,

[†] Their drawing profit from the English in their turn, may fignify their view to supply us with sugar in time, as well as to supplant us, as they have done at foreign markets; so that they have had in view the ruin of our sugar colonies.

[†] Here is an acknowlegment on the part of the French themselves, that our West India commerce in the year 1701 was five times more than that of France: but how that of France has encreased since, beyond ours, will appear presently.

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as our African conquest will to our Sugar Islands: and although no man can presume to foresee the events of war, yet they must prove very unsuccessful indeed, while we continue engaged only against France, if we should be obliged ever again to give up either of them: and keeping possession of these, and making proper use of them, we shall have it in our power to reduce their trade and navigation greatly; which will be a good step so to lower the crest of France, as to prevent her rifing easily again. Nor need we give up either of these for the restitution of Minorca, because the loss of that may probably be supplied in a great measure by other means far less expensive than the keeping that island; though that, perhaps, if we had it again, might be made to maintain itself. But to adhere to the present point.

The French American trade and navigation having, by means of their African, within little more than half a century proved of unspeakable benefit to them, it is no wonder that they will hazard a war to advance it.

Before the year 1720, there were no more than 30 fail of ships annually employed in the American trade to Bourdeaux; and before the present war broke out, there were 300 sail employed annually in that trade from that city only.

In the article of sugar alone, the French have, within the same time, increased from the

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the quantity of about * 30,000 English hogsheads per Annum, to 120,000 or thereabouts; whereof about two thirds are shipped to Holland, Hamburgh, Spain, and other foreign markets; and the English have increased from about 45,000 to no more than 70,000 hogsheads within that time, of which they now fend but little to foreign markets, although they had formerly the best share of that trade, and even supplied France with quantities. This increase of the quantity of the importation of fugar into Europe from America, by the French and English, has been owing to the increase of the Consumption of that commodity in Europe in general, and the declension of the Portuguese sugar trade.—And, moreover, the French have engroffed, by means of their West India colonies, the greatest share of indigo-trade from the English, and have also extremely increased in their fisheries, and beaver and other, furr trade in North America, fince their possesfion of Cape Breton: and it is from this last trade, and their fisheries, that they find a vent for most of their molasses and rum that: the English from North America do not take off their hands in time of peace.

What superiority they have gained over us in the furi trade of North America is manifest from the following computation. They import into France from Canada only, to the va-

^{*} A Hogshead of sugar, including freight, and other charges home, may be computed on an average, at 12 l. to 18 l. per hogshead, according to the plenty or scarcity.

lue of 135,000 l. * sterling per Annum, in beaver and other furs, including deer skins; and the English from all our northern colonies, not above 90,000 l. sterling. And the French are fo tender of this branch of trade, and fo fenfible of the advantages that arise from the manufactory of these American commodities, that no one can re-export beaver from France unmanufactured, under the severest penalties. When these goods are manufactured, they exceed the value upon importations, in some cases ten fold, and have enabled the French to supply most parts of Europe and Spanish America with hats. In the late war there was a ship taken, bound from France to the Spanish West Indies, in which was a quantity of white beaver, and other hats, which were fold in London, and were so much superior in quality to any thing of the like fort, that our manufacturers were furprized at it, as they were much beyond what they could have imagined.

The great advantages gained by the French from other parts of Europe, in return for their American products, is not easily conceived by those who have not descended minutely into these considerations, from the proper lights. It is from hence they chiefly maintain such powerful armies, and afford such plentiful subsidies

	In beaver	In deer skins	In furs	Total
*The French import from Canada.	² 75,000 l.	20,000	40,000	135,000
The English import from North America.	37,000	25,000	28,000	90,000
	112,000 /.	45,000	68,000	225,000
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and pensions to several powers in Europe, when subservient to their views and interests: it is from hence they build their ships of war, and nourish and maintain seamen to supply them.

It is computed that they have not drawn so little as from two to three millions sterling per Annum from foreign countries, in return for sugars, indigo, coffee, ginger, beaver manufactured, baccaloo, or salt fish, and other American products, and near one million more from Great Britain and Ireland only, in wool and cash, in return for their cambrics, tea, brandy and wine, and thereby combat us in trade with our own weapons.

From the connections that there are in trade between the French continent and island colonies in America; if we ruin and destroy the latter, the other will be very sensibly affected: so likewise, if we check the growth of their power in North America, this will proportionably injure their islands.

That the French sugar colonies in America have, from a small beginning, arrived to an extraordinary pitch of prosperity, since the reign of Queen Anne only, is too apparent to need animadversion. The island of Martinico is the chief of these French settlements: the number of people in this island, is computed to be at least 10,000 whites, and between 20 and 30,000 negroes; and they make more sugar here than we do in the island of Barbadoes. They also cultivate here indigo, cotton, and cacao to great advange, and draw no little prosit from

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the ginger, cassia and pimento, of which they export considerable quantities. They likewise manufacture rocou for the use of dyers, and send home variety of medicinal gums. The French sugar islands produce besides, several kinds of valuable woods used in the art of dying, inlaying, and cabinet work; such as rose wood, the Indian wood and iron wood, as well as brazelletto wood, fustic and ebony.—We may add to these commodities raw hides and tortoise shell.

Though these Isles produce so many estimable commodities; yet they stand in need of supplies of divers essential necessaries; such as horses and cattle of all kinds, corn, roots, and all forts of lumber, of which they receive some from Canada, and the rest from the British northern colonies, in exchange for sugar, tobacco, indigo, and other goods, fent to Canada, and for rum and molasses, &c. fent to our northern colonies.—The inhabitants of this Mand also stand in constant need of negroes, as the most effential of all; and with these they have been supplied by the French East India company from Africa. The negroes are fent to Martinico, and there purchased by the planters of the other islands, at a settled price, of so many hogsheads of sugar per head. But of all the sugar colonies that the French possess in America, there is none of more high concernment to them than that of St. Domingo.-And should the French once carry their point, as they certainly aim at, and become the sole masters

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masters of this island, we may reasonably believe, that, in few years, it would become the richest and most estimable country in that part of the world.—This Isle would afford them many advantages, of which they stand in need; for their other sugar islands are subject to many inconveniencies, especially the want of provisions; but these would all be amply remedied at St. Domingo; and it would afford them an opportunity of increasing their strength there to such a degree, as would put it out of the power of any of their neighbours to give them much disturbance. They would foon become formidable both to us, and to the Spaniards; which is an evil that we have now in our power effectually to guard against, if we are resolute never to give them sooting again in Africa.

It is not many years fince the principal inhabitants of Jamaica addressed his Majesty, to shew him the decay of their trade and their planting interest: whereby they represented, " that the low value of their produce might " be very justly attributed to the great im-" provement the French have made in their " fugar colonies.—That fugar and other com-" modities produced in the French colonies " were frequently imported into Ireland, with-" out introducing them into the ports of Great " Britain, and paying the duties, and conse-" quently those foreigners were supplied with " provisions at easier rates.—That the British northern colonies imported into Jamaica great G_{2}

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" great quantities of provisions, and other goods, for which they took no part of the " produce of that island in exchange, a small "quantity of molasses excepted, but were paid in bullion, which they carried to St. Do-" mingo, and there bought fugar, rum, and molasses for their own use: which trade was not " only unequal and injurious to the inhabitants " of Jamaica, but prejudicial even to the nor-"thern colonies, and highly fo to their mo-" ther country; draining Jamaica of so much " bullion in favour of France, which other-" wife might have centered in Great Britain."

Though one part of this complaint has been remedied, the other is still subsisting: the northern colonies still continue to supply the French with lumber, and take French rum and molasses, &c. which gives them an opportunity of underfelling us both at home and abroad.

The breed of feamen, with the general encrease and encouragement of the navigation of this kingdom, principally depend on our plantation trade and Newfoundland fishery; therefore their state and condition ever deserve the attention of our best patriots, for preventing the decay, loss and destruction of the maritime strength of Great Britain: but we may prefume that this is most effentially to be done by destroying the French settlements in Africa, in order to ruin their island colonies in America.

It was observed some years ago by a gentleman of Barbadoes, in a speech to the council and general affembly of that island, "that " their

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" their neighbour colonies (the French) so " long kept by foreign fears from improving, " were then encouraging trade, increasing their " people, inlarging their plantations, and cul-" tivating their lands: that their fertile soil " yielded them many crops from one planting, while the foil of the English plantations " required the utmost art, industry, and ma-

"nure, and that too annually."

It is not above 70 years ago that Martinico was the only settlement the French were possessed of in the West Indies: since which time they have fettled Guardaloupe, and increased their plantations in Hispaniola ten to one. About 40 years ago the observation was made, that as the French had, within four or five years beat us out of our indigo trade; so it could not be much longer time before our condition would be the same with our sugar trade; for that they would supplant us therein in all Europe. And the observation has been too early verified.

Earthquakes, inundations of the sea, insurrections of negroes, blasts in canes, and other concomitant circumstances, have proved very great and unspeakable impediments to the prosperity of our British sugar plantations; which require every possible encouragement in our power to give them.—But the greatest blow that has been given to them has been the furprising increase of the French sugar colonies; our Newfoundland fishery also has decayed by their encroachments; and our tobacco colonies, will

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also be out-rivalled by the French of Louisiania, if they are not effectually checked in America. These things must give every Briton a very melancholy prospect, since it is by our sugar and tobacco, and other colonies, we have such a ballance in trade on our fide with Hamburgh and other parts of the east land countries, as also a profitable trade with the United Provinces; and from our Newfoundland fishery, great sums have been annually brought into England from Spain, Portugal and Italy: besides, our northern colonies being dependent on our fugar settlements to take off their products; and having not wherewithal to answer the exports to them from Great Britain, are only valuable as they bear relation to fuch colonies as are furnished by them; which cease on the decay of the trade from whence it arises.

The French have taken every measure to improve their fisheries in general since the treaty of Utrecht. They have exceedingly increased that to Newfoundland, as well on the coast as on the great bank. Nor do they fish only on the great bank for such fish as are cured without drying, as the Dutch do in their white hering fishery in the open sea; but have had the address to obtain, that the island of Cape Breton should be yielded to them, to fortify and do what they please with; where they have been long struggling to establish another Dunkirk to the ruin of the British American commerce; and where they carry on their dry fishery as well as at Placentia.—But,

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as if this was not privilege enough for them, we have impolitically granted them the liberty to refort to the very island of Newfoundland itself, and erect stages, &c. to cure and dry their fish to the unspeakable detriment of our fishery there.

In the time of king Charles the first, the French paid us a tribute for the liberty of curing and drying fish at Newfoundland, and we could deprive them of it whenever we pleased. Of late years they have not only ceased to pay tribute, but, by their neighbourhood at Cape Breton, will oblige us to keep large garrisons as well at Nova Scotia as Newfoundland, if we will prevent our being surprized; where at Newfoundland they have the liberty of the fishing season equally with us, from Cape Bonavista northward to the northern point of the said island, &c. by which they are also become our rivals in a very fine salmon suffers there.

The French are now become some hour competitors in this trade, and are increased to such a degree, that they employ yearly above 500 sail of shipping to carry on their fisheries on the great bank of Newfoundland, and on the coast of that island; that is, in their wet and dry sish: hereby they have not only supplied themselves with the fish they formerly took from us, but furnish many parts of Spain and Italy therewith, to our prodigious loss.

The French are so sensible of the extraordinary advantage of this fishery, and so very intent upon pursuing it, that from their first attempts

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to make themselves considerable at sea they have had it perpetually in view.—They first obtained permission to fish at Newfoundland, upon paying a duty of five per Cent. -- Afterwards they got that acknowledgment relinquished: but at the treaty of Utrecht, they went far greater lengths; they thereby obtained the cession of Cape Breton, a maiden fishery, that had scarce been touched; whereas Newfoundland was greatly exhausted, and several islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence. Not content with these, they further obtained a liberty of curing and drying their fish, setting up stages, and resorting to our island of Newfoundland, during the fishing season, without restriction. while only

'Tis true they delivered us up Placentia; and some other places in Newfoundland; but they took care to have a much better place granted them in lieu thereof; and that with this extraordinary favour to THEM more than to us, that they have the liberty granted them to frequent our island of Newfoundland, and erect stages, &c. for curing and drying their sish; but we have not the privilege of doing the same on the island of Cape Breton, or any other of their islands, which is shamefully impolitic.

As America has been the great nursery for the commerce and maritime power of France; and as she has been discontented with that great share she has had therein; and aimed at ruining the British trade and navigation in this part of the world; it is to be hoped, that we shall

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not forget to deprive them of every privilege, which they have so greatly abused, when it seems to be now in our power so to do: and this is the motive for hinting this en passant.

Most other powers in Europe being turned to commerce; it is certainly the interest of Great Britain to preserve and advance as much as posfible every branch of trade and navigation, that the can call properly her own; every branch that is absolutely independent of those of all other nations: and fuch only are her African and her American trades; and these she cannot cultivate to too great a degree; provided they are so regulated by the wisdom of the legislature, as not to interfere with those of the mother kingdom: of which, we can be under no apprehension, with respect to the commerce of Africa; that part of the world affording neither products or manufactures to interfere with our own, but gives us the most estimable commodities in return, even for great quantities of our toys and baubles. And it will be our own fault, if we suffer our American fellow subjects to rival us in what Great Britain herself can amply supply.

It must be allowed, that experience has hitherto shewn, that those powers who most wisely cherish their plantation trade and navigation in America, in due subserviency to the prosperity of their respective mother countries, are likely to have the greatest share of mercantile shipping, to obtain the best nursery for a royal navy, and remain in the best condition

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to affert and maintain the dominion and sovereignty of the seas: and as the greatest part of the commerce of America does so essentially depend upon that of Africa; we cannot render the latter too broad bottomed and extensive; for it will repay us in an hundred sold

However strange it may be thought, yet it is nevertheless true, that our African commerce is still but in its state of infancy, although we have enjoyed a share therein, since the days of our Elizabeth. It would be easy to point out the causes hereof, would it confist with the limits to which I am at present restrained.

The close connection that subsists between our African and American trade, is sufficient to excite the consideration of the ablest men in the kingdom: but if this alone will not rouse and animate us to extend this traffic to the utmost; we shall show there are other inducements not less captivating.

That the subterranean treasures of Africa are as considerable as those of any other part of the whole world, is universally allowed. That copper ore has been discovered there is certain; and there is great reason to believe it must be exceeding great in quantity; so great that the natives have it by oral tradition, that the mountains, which we call Atlas, abound with that metal. Great quantities are daily raised in Fez, Tunis, and Ethiopia; and it is allowed

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to be the finest copper produced in the whole world.

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 long had settlements on the continent of Africa, as well as we, but we have numberless living witnesses now among our own nation, as well as the authority of the most authentic historians; whose accounts, one would imagine, should animate us to push this traffic to the utmost degree we are capable.

There is 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, Batua, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Mehenemugi. By the means of settlements of strength, adds he, upon the continent of Africa, Europeans may traffic with the bordering people of Guiney 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 territory is one of the most flourishing and plentiful 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 very lucrative intercourses of commerce. Upon the confines

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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 beneficial branch of commerce.

It would be endless to cite all the passages in this historian, relating to the rich mines both of gold and filver, wherewith the Africans abound; Ghana or Guiney, says another eminent historian +, is the greatest city in all the countries of Negroland, the most populous and

* James Fort and Island in the river Gambia on the north coast, belongs to the English. It formerly mounted 90 guns, with small arms and stores; and had several warehouses for merchandize, and a negroe-house for 200 negroes, and apartments for the governor, sactors, writers, officers, artificers, soldiers, and castle slaves. The late Royal African company had several other sactories for near 800 miles up this river, viz. Gengia, Tanerswall, Joar, Yanemarew, Casau, Bruco, Cuttelar, Sany, Wally, Yamyamacunda, Faleodo, Baracunda; which last is within 200 miles of the gold mines.

+ Vide Geographia Nubienses, &c. a Gabrielo Stonita Syriacarum & Arabicarum Literarum Prosessore, 1619, p. 10, ()53)

the most abounding with merchandize: and not only very wealthy merchants travel thither from all the neighbouring parts, 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. The king hath a grand palace near the banks of the Niger; and a mass of gold therein of thirty pounds weight, as it was naturally produced in the mines; but what feems 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 foft, as naturally produced, to admit of being hammered out as a spacious canopy for the princes'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; itis needful only to 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 *. The earth, says he

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

again,

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 of this kind 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 method of judging which do, or do not afford that metal: they have a general idea, there is plenty of goldmines almost every where, and the dryer the earth is, and the 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 indifcriminately; and when by their rambling fearches they happen to discover plenty in one place, they continue to work there to long only as a diminution of the first plenty does not discontinue. This they do without any art or workman-like skill in finking any depth, or attempting to discover the vein or its course: and so soon as the mine remarkably diminishes from its first plenty, they immediately for sake 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 confiderable quantity of gold, they fometimes vouchafafe to remain digging at the same place, even

* Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique occidentale, par le Pere Jean Baptiste Labat, Vol. IV. p. 40, 41. fix, (35)

fix, or perhaps feven feet deep; but that extent generally determines their fearch; not because the mine ceases to be less plentiful (for they confess the deeper they sink, the greater quantity of gold they sind) but because they have no invention of shafts, nor any other knowledge in the nature and methods of mining, to prevent the earth from falling in upon them *.

After this general account of the riches of Africa, our author gives a detail of variety of rich mines; the truth of which appears by his representation to be well attested. As r. A gold and filver mine at Fourquarenne. 2. Another at Sambanoura, where he fays, the negroes find gold only by mere washing of the earth, without digging at all: they only rake it together with their hands from the surface of the earth. 3. A mine at Sagolla, where alfo they find gold upon the furface of the earth, by simple washing of it, without sinking at all: This gold is extremely pure, and very easy of fufibility. It may be prefumed, he fays, that those metallic earths would afford considerably more gold than what is found upon the bare superficies. 4. Guinguia-Faranna is a place, quite fowed, as it were, with goldsmines; where, take the earth almost indifferently, and wash it only, you will find pure gold, which melts with great case + 1 and 1 and 1 and 1

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^{*} Labat, Vol. IV. p 46, 47.
† Labat, p. 47.

What indicates the riches of the land here fill more, is, that the very rivulets of water that arise from it, and run into the river Talleme, 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 fand, and find there considerable quantities of gold. Nor is this practice forbid them : and if the negroes were not fo indolent, they might greatly inrich themselves, even by this peddling work *. 5. The mountains about Guinguia-Faranna are of a soft earth, strewed with gold sand, which yields well in fine gold. There are also marchasites, which have proved of considerable value +.

The mines also at Niasanbona are very rich, and easy to be worked; 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 Tambacoura and Nettico about thirty leagues east of the river Faleme, in the center of the country of Bambouco. This is surprisingly rich, and produces a very fine gold: and for sisteen or twenty leagues round about, here is so great plenty of mines, that they cannot be well re-

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fented 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*.

The want of almost all the conveniencies of life here, have put the negroes under the necessity of working their mines 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 mining.

They find, however, at this depth, gold in much greater abundance than by mere fearching the superficies of the earth, or by a little shallow digging, as they do in all other places. It sometimes happens that the veins they meet with are mixed with a kind of sand, or some stoney earth, which they only pound and wash to separate the metal therefrom; in which case, they find considerable quantities pretty pure. But if these people were well instructed in the arts of smelting and refining of ores, they would certainly obtain far greater plenty: but, of these things they are totally ignorant; nor have they ever yet come to the main vein of any of their mines.

There are two gold-mines at Naye. That which is on the brink of the river has been a

^{*} Labat, p. 47, 48.

⁺ Idem, p. 47.

[‡] Idem, p. 50.

^{*} Labat, p. 51.

[†] Idem, p. 52.

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long time left off working in the negroe way; and for no other reason, but from its being liable to be overflowed; for they are as little acquainted with draining of mines, as they are with any other part of minerology. Instead of pursuing this mine, they have opened another a little distance from it, upon the right of the river; which is not liable to be overflowed; and therefore may be worked at all times *.

About twenty leagues above Cainoura, to the left of the river, there is a gold-mine in the country of Tomane Niacalen, which is very rich, and affords the metal very pure, in the unskilful manner the negroes procure it. This mine is mighty easy to be wrought, and yet the negroes have relinquished it upon an idle sup-

position that prevails among them +.

There are an infinite number of other places, abounding with evident fignatures of mines of gold. Among other mines, there are several 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 1.

There are also as large quantities of falt-petre to be met with as can be defired; a valuable commodity at all times, and to be had infinitely cheaper than from Asia ||.

* Labat, Vol. IV. p. 54.

But it would be endless to produce authorities of the immense treasures wherewith Africa abounds. We have a voucher thereof that will not eafily be forget, without having our memories refreshed at this time of day, upon fo interesting an occasion: I mean that of a certain piece of gold that has been long current in this kingdom, called a GUINEA; a denomination derived from the gold brought from the coast of Africa bearing that name. And that traffic, which once supplied Great Britain with the bulk of her gold before the Brazil mines were discovered, would amply supply us at present; and very likely to a far greater degree of profit, both to the nation and the adventurers, than the Spanish West Indies, or the Brazil commerce will admit of.

And were the proper means taken by the English with the negro princes, they might, by means of all their present possessions, render the gold mines, and other treasures of this country, accessible; which might make this nation less dependent upon any other for gold, and many inestimable commodities. How this may be accomplished, I may possible show

to certain people.

Nor is this trade liable to those hazards and interruptions, to which the other branches are from the crowns of Spain and Portugal, upon any rupture or mifunderstanding with those potentates: if we pursue the proper measures to cultivate an honourable commercial friendship

⁺ Idem, p. 54, 55.

[‡] Idem, p. 55. Idem, p. 58.

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with the princes and chief men in power in those countries.

Nothing seems wanting to render Africa equal by nature, if not in many respects superior, to any of the three other parts of the globe. For although the middle, lying between the tropics in the torrid zone, and under the line, is exceeding hot; yet, even in the hottest part it is inhabited; and the people, who dwell in these extreme hot climates, do abound in plenty, have cattle, corn, cooling fruits, shady rivers, &c. and live very comfortably and healthy; as in the island of St. Thomas, under the line, also on the Gold Coast, and in the kingdom of Bening and Angola, on the west shore; and in Ethiopia, Melinda, the coast of Zanguebar, and several of the more intemperate places on the eastern shore.

But, making allowance for some of the inland countries remote from the sea, which we are told are without water, and therefore desert; yet they are not equal to the uninhabited wastes, either of Europe, Asia, or America. Notwithstanding that, Africa, in one respect, has greater advantages than the other parts of the world; for it seels no cold, the most northern latitude being about 37, and the most southern about 35 degrees; so that the sar greater part enjoys the finest and most temperate climate.

The river Senagal is by most allowed to be a branch of the great river Niger, which rising in Æthiopia, and running from within a few leagues

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leagues of the river Nile, crosses the whole continent of Africa from east to west, performing a course not less than 3700 miles, perhaps the longest of any river in the world, except that of the Rio de la Plata, or the Amazons, in the southern parts of America. Our best geographers, inform us, that the Niger divides itself into three mighty channels; which all empty themselves into the ocean on this coast. These channels are distinguished by different names, none retaining the original name of the Niger from whence they are derived. The northernmost of the three is called the Senagal, the next the Rio Gambia, and the other Rio Grande, from its magnitude.

These divisions of the Niger are first made by nature, the lands falling away on the north of the grand current at Hulbert, where the depth of the channel will carry vessels of almost any burthen, if the rapidity of the current was not too violent. It seems to be for want of people well skilled in the navigation of great rivers, founding channels, laying buoys on the shoals and rocks, and having veffels fuitable, that the Niger is not rendered the most noble river in the world for navigation, as well for great as fmall veffels.—But all these helps being wanting, little, at present, is known of it, the country being not fully fearched into: and what is known of it, is learnt only from the ignorant people, who come down from thence with their goods to sell; of whom we only know in general that the inland country is very populous;

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populous; that they are of nations different in language, and customs; that some are more civilized than others, and better apparelled, and that the most barbarous go next to naked.

At the entrance of the Senagal branch of the Niger, are the Cape de Verde Islands, under the government of the Portuguese, who were the first navigators on this coast. One of these islands, called St. Jago, has as good a harbour for shipping as most in this part of the world. The chief merchandize here is salt; the quantity of which is so considerable, that abundance of ships are always here from the coasts of America, especially from the northern part, to load salt; which inriches the Cape de Verdes, and yields a large revenue to the king of Portugal. The New England and Newfoundland people have their salt here for curing the vast quantity of sish taken in these seas.

To the northward of the river Senagal, there is an extensive bay reaching from Cape Blanco to Cape Mirink, where the Portuguese formerly drove a large trade; which has been engrossed for many years by the French, in virtue of their fort Arguin on this part of the coast. There falls into this bay, St. John's river, which some have thought is a smaller branch of the Niger, as it is not far distant from that

of Senagal.

Between the river Senagal and Gambia, a very confiderable trade has been drove with the negroes by the French. The principal place

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place of trade here is Refrisco, which has a pretty good road for most part of the year.

The Gambia is about 100 miles to the south of the Senagal; the Rio Grande is about 170 miles from the Gambia. The English have, as observed, long possessed frames Fort in the river Gambia, and diverse other factories up this river, by means of which our commerce there

has hitherto been preserved.

From these mouths of the Niger southward, the country is extremely populous. Here the English have trade at Sierraleone and Sherbro. The commerce here is generally confidered under the denomination of the Grain Coast, the Tooth or Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coaft. The Grain Coaft begins at Sherbro, the Guiney grain being found here; and it extends to Cape Palmas. The Tooth coast begins at Cape Palmas, and ends at Cape Three Points. Here they get the greatest quantity of ivory, The Gold Coast begins at Cape Three Points, and reaches to Whydah and the shores of Popo and Fida. It is so called, because here they get the largest quantity of gold dust, which is brought down to the coast by the negroes.

But although the coast is thus distinguished, it is to be observed, that both gold and negro-slaves are had in all the several divisions, though not in so large quantities. They also get elephant's teeth upon the gold coast very plentifully. However, the coasts are distinguished by the particulars for which they are most emi-

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nent, and where these particular things are ob-

tained in the greatest quantity.

At Whydah, begins what we ordinarily call the Slave Coast; though, as before intimated, the Portuguese have a very great trade for slaves at the Cape, and the Rio Grande, and the English and Dutch also have the like on the Gold Coast.

The country called Guiney, as it ought properly to be understood, merits a much larger description than the limits to which this small tract is confined, will admit of. The English give all the country from their settlement at Sierraleone to that at Wbydah, the name of Guiney; but how improperly need not be said.

The Gold Coast only is the Guiney Proper, as the gold brought from thence is properly called Guinea gold. The country itself is fertile, pleasant and salubrious: the heats, indeed, are excessive, as it lies five degrees north latitude. Yet the country on the coast is far from being barren, as the heats are from being insupportable: and the European sactories enjoy much better health here than at some other settlements in a more northerly situation; such as at Gambia and Sierraleone. Those Europeans, who are prudent enough to keep themselves from the usual excesses of the country, preserve a good share of health while there, and return well and healthy.

Here are no very confiderable rivers, because the situation of the coast being altered, and the course of the river here, coming from (65%)

the neighbouring hills, and running north and fouth, there is no stream of longer course than about 200 miles. If the course was longer, the water would run the other way due north, and fall into the great river Niger, which runs from east to west, parallel with the Guiney Coast, and receives all the waters on both sides as it passes.

This seems to be the reason why the rivers on this side are small, and of a short course; the streams rapid in winter, in summer many of them dry: and this gives us a just idea of the trade in gold here, and particularly of its being sound more easily in this part than in any

other.

Notwithstanding, there are divers rivers upon this coast, though short in course; as that of Ancobra, which is very broad and shoal at the mouth, except after the freshes from the country have carried off the bar of sand, which blocks it up. After being entered, it has water enough for good sized vessels. The negroes have canoes on it, and come down in them with their gold and teeth to dispose off, from the inland parts.

There is another small river flows down through a part of the country, called Boutry; which also is the name of the river. This part of the country abounds in hills, enriched with beautiful and lofty trees. Its vallies are extensive, proper for the planting of all forts of fruits; and if they were as well cultivated as watered by nature, would supply a great part

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the coast, produces in abundance rice, millet, jambs, potatoes, and other fruits, all good in their kind: nor is the soil deficient in fruit trees. As for wine and oil, the palm-tree affords what excels in quantity as well as quality of both. This country would afford its cultivators as plentiful crops as they could defire; and is well supplied with various sorts of tame as well as wild beasts. The country, indeed, has been greatly neglected by the wars between the negroe princes; but it may again be easily restored to a state far superior to what it ever was, by proper European policy.

There is another river here called Rio de St. Juan, fit for small boats only to deliver ship's cargoes safe. It is useful to the Europeans to bring down from the inland parts timber, suel and fruits, rice and corn for their subsistence, which this country affords in great plenty.—On this part of the coast, we meet with no good harbours for ships of 100 tons to ride: so that all ships which use the trade here, are obliged to come to anchor in the open sea, and trade with

the negroes who come off to them.

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From this part of the country the coast slopes away to the northward, and north-east, making the gulph of Benin. In this gulph, the coast of Guiney, and the several European settlements may be said to terminate, as well as their chief trade, whether for gold, teeth or slaves; the sactory at Whydah being the farthest east, where any of the trading companies

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nies have footing, at least till we come farther south.

Here the Portuguese dominions on the African coast may be said to begin: for the river Benin, the city and coast of Angri, and the Rio Formosa, are all under the government of Portugal; and the commerce there is wholly their own.

As to the course of the rivers, and what countries they run through, no satisfactory discoveries have yet been made any more than of the inland countries; nor is the head of any one of the rivers in Africa perfectly known, except the Nile; and even the accounts of that are very contradictory: so little have the nicest observers been able to penetrate into the heart of this extensive continent.

On the fouthern parts of this capacious continent, we find no greater fatisfaction with refpect to the great rivers; which have been difcovered by their prodigious influx into the ocean; fuch as those of Benin, Formosa, the Rio d'Esclavos, Rio des Camerones, Rio d'Angre, de Gabon, Rio de Zair, or the Congo, &c. We have not been able to trace their head, nor the course they run; and are ignorant of the nations which inhabit their borders, and of the commerce or navigation carried on by them at any considerable distance from the coast.

Nor are we more knowing on the eastern side of Africa, where there are several noble large navigable rivers, whose currents are less rapid, and more adapted to navigation; as on the

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coast

It is, however, incredible to think what number of flaves are shipped off in this part of the country, comprehending the extent from the Gold Coast to Benin.

The town of *Great Benin*, up the river of the same name, which, though entirely inhabited by negroes, and having a king of their own, is eleven miles in circumference. The streets are spacious, kept very decent, and the government very orderly, and is said to have above an hundred thousand inhabitants.

Awerri, is in the kingdom of Benin; but not subject to the same king, being in the particular government of the Partuguese, who have a strong castle here, a church and a monastery; and the monks as well here as in all the negroe-kingdoms, under the Partuguese government in Africa, instruct the natives in the christian religion; which has greatly civilized them.

There is another town here called Arebo, which was formerly a place of great trade in flaves, as well for other nations as for the Portuguese; but, at present, the Portuguese have the chief, if not the only commerce here, as well as in almost all the more southern parts.

The coast and country of Angola and Congo begin at Cape Formosa; and from hence commences the great kingdom of Loango; which though generally accounted a part of the large kingdom of Congo, we shall speak of it separately.

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fately. The river Formosa is navigable by good ships above 80 miles; and the Portuguese have several settlements upon it above 100 miles from the sea. It has innumerable smaller rivers running into it, many of which are also navigable; and all the banks are thronged with negroe-towns, exceeding populous, and the country is very fruitful. Though the natives and the Portuguese, who live farther within the country live very well; yet others, who have not such inland settlements frequently find this part very unhealthy.

The English and Dutch sometimes put in at Cape Lopez, but they make no great advantage; there being no settled commerce, but where the Portuguese have fixed their colonies. Opposite to this coast lie the three chief islands of Angola, which are likewise in possession of the Portuguese. And here the Portuguese East Indiamen, which do not come by the way of Brasil, put in for refreshment, as the English do at St. Helena.

The river Congo or Zaira is the most considerable in this part. On it's banks the Portuguese have established their government; and here resides in a spacious palace, their viceroy with great magnificence, at St. Salvadore, or the city of Congo. The palace itself is said to contain three churches; and in the city they have twelve churches and seven chapels, besides the cathedral, which, it is said, it very capacious, plain without, but extravagantly rich and

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and splendid within. There are also several

monasteries of religious.

The Portuguese have the whole commerce of this country, and in some places of the absolute government of it likewise; but we have no such accounts of the inland parts as may be depended on.

From the country of Angola to the Cape of Good Hope, we find no great traffic; and what

there is belongs to the Portuguese.

The product of these countries that we are acquainted with on the coast, is almost of the fame kind, or with very little variation. Gold dust is met with more or less at all the settlements before described. - Slaves or negroes also, are, by the unhappy fate of the country, purchased almost every where upon the whole coast, where the Europeans generally trade.— Elephant's teeth likewise afford a very beneficial commerce, and is extended through the whole coast, even on that of Congo and Angola, where gold is not; and the Portuguese get large quantities at Quiloa and Mosambique. Givet cats is another article of this commerce; but this is divided chiefly between the Dutch and the Portuguese.—There are drugs of various kinds; such as tamerinds, cardamums, wax, rich gums of divers forts, as well as dying woods; fuch as red-wood, iron-wood, camwood, &c.

So highly beneficial has this commerce been formerly, that the returns in gold and flaves have been had for the meanest trifles imaginable;

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able; such as bits of iron, painted glass, ordinary knives, hatchets, glass beads, and the cheapest toys and trinkets. We have an account among the records of the old African company, that one of the first English ships, which traded to Africa in Queen Elizabeth's time, brought away 170 pounds weight of gold dust; the goods with which the same was purchased, not amounting, as valued in England, besides the charges on board, to £250 sterling: Whereas the gold brought in return at that time, amounted to above £14000, besides the ivory, and other things of value.

Formerly this trade was carried on upon the high seas; and we find, by several journals of voyages to the coast of Guinea, in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James, that the ships came to the Offing, and lay by for the negroes, who came to them in canoes, and brought their gold, and exchanged it with the captains and supercargoes for such trifles as they had to fell. These traders in general mad every advantageous voyages in those days: and yet they bought no flaves, the English then having no colonies to carry them to: Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the rest of the Leeward Islands, were not discovered; nor was Virginia: The Spaniards had, indeed, possession in New Spain; but they would not fuffer the English or others to come thither with their negroes. Wherefore, the English carried on only the direct commerce to and The the decident the meanest field and the states of the state of the

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from Africa, which greatly enriched them, independently of the connection with America.

At present this trade is carried on under a great increase of stock; daily improvements of many kinds are made in the commerce; where one ship went to the coast of Africa, before we possessed our colonies in America, we have now forty. The course of the trade also is greatly altered; for now few ships go to the coast to return directly to Great-Britain: They at present, take in slaves, then go away to the West-Indies, dispose of them there, and return freighted with sugars, tobacco, rice, and other of our valuable plantation commodities.

Nor are the negroes now on the coast of Africa those extreme ignorant savages, and unpolished people, they formerly were: On the contrary, besides being well informed in the value of European goods, they are grown subtle and knavish, by instructions from the Europeans themselves; for they will sometimes attempt to impose adulterated for pure gold; but having suffered in their traffic, by such like roguish arts, they seldom practice them at present.

Near the coast, gold is generally sound in hills, rivers, and the sea shore. The negroes have this metal wholly in their own power; the Europeans cannot come at a grain without them; and so great, as observed, is the ignorance of the negroes at present, with respect to the discovery, and the working of their mines, that the quantities hitherto brought down to

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the coast, have been extremely trisling and insignificant, in comparison to what may be done. In the year 1725, a computation was made of the quantity of gold brought from the coast of Africa, by the Europeans then trading thither; which amounted in the whole to

about £ 300,000 sterling.

The value of flaves is estimated by their number; which has been reckoned at above 100,000 every year, including the whole trade of all the other nations, except that of the Portuguese to Brasil; and 100,000 rated, by average, at £ 20 per head; which (as the price of negroes now goes) is too low, amount to two millions per Annum: And the Portuguese, if we may credit their own accounts, do not carry away for their own share, so little as 100,000 more: So that the returns of this part of the trade are prodigiously to the advantage of the European nations, fince the value exported from Europe to purchase all this production, as well gold as ivory, flaves and drugs. \mathfrak{S}_c . has been computed at less then £ 300,000 per annum first cost: Whereby for between 3 and f, 400,000 in goods exported, the Eu_r ropean trades are reckoned to return above two millions and an half sterling; and the Portuguese reap very great advantage also by this commerce. For all the coast of Africa, from Whydah exclusive, and the river Lagos in the gulph of Benin, is wholly possessed, as to the commerce, by the Portuguese; and a very large possession it is, extending above 1600 miles

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miles in length, and in some parts 250 miles up the country, according to the account of the Rortuguese themselves. Their trade in this country, is wholly for slaves to work the gold and diamond mines in Brasil; for gold here they have none, and little ivory.

In this part of the country, the Portuguese have the advantage of the trade beyond all the other European nations, with relation to the flave trade. For here they are not on the coast merely as a factory, as the other nations are, but they possess the country as a colony of their own, and command all the slaves that are to be had, by keeping the negroe kings and

chiefs under their dominion.

The principal places where the ships put in for trade, and take their slaves on board, are the Rio Formosa, where the Portuguese have not only a fort, but the fortified town of Arebo, and constantly a good garrison. They have also the Rio de Benin, running through the kingdom of that name: and here the Portuguese also have a fort, with a harbour for their shipping; and, by commanding the country, they command the whole trade. They have besides Rio del Rei, Rio de Camerones, and the old and new Calabari. They have likewise the islands called Princes Island, Fernando Po, and the two Corisco's, besides that of St. Thoma. In all of which islands the Portuguese have some considerable commerce. South of the Corifco, lies the river Gambo or Gambon; which is safe, spacious and navigable. (75)

This is much frequented by the Portugueles most of their ships come hither to repair and careen; here being very good places to lye on ground at low water, especially at the smaller of the two islands. The commerce here is considerable in wax, honey, elephant's teeth, and drugs. The Dutch also frequent this river to clean and repair their ships, especially the interlopers, who are not allowed to ride under the shelter of the forts and castles belonging to the Dutch African Company. But the Portuguese will not allow them to trade with the country up the river, for any thing but provisions. This country is thronged with infinite numbers of buffaloes, large wild boars and elephants.

The Dutch, however, as well as the Portuguese, trade considerably on this coast, though the former do it rather by stealth or force, than by permission; for the Portuguese do all they can to hinder them: Whence it is, that though the Zealand interlopers run away with a good share of this trade; yet they get no slaves here, the Portuguese by their inland settlements intercepting all before they come down

to the coast.

The Portuguese have, as it were, the sole trade of the countries of Congo, Mozamba, and Loango. They are possessed of the two capital cities of St. Salvadore, and St. Paul de Loanda; the latter on the coast, the other near 200 miles within the country; which they have so christianized in their way, that

the barbarous paganism is here pretty much eradicated. So considerable is the slaves trade here, that the natives are all in absolute subjection to the *Portuguese*; and it is frequent in the city of *St. Salvadore*, for one *Portuguese* to have 1000 or 1500 slaves; and as they are his property, so are the children born of them; who, as they grow up, are sold, as we do cattle to the market, to the sactors, who come over from the *Brasils* for that purpose.

In exchange for these they receive European goods, woollen, silk and linen; liquors
of all sorts, especially Portugal brandy and
spirits; also East-India goods, arms and ammunition for their hunting; for the country
here abounds, with elephants, lions, tigers,
leopards, wolves, and divers other wild beasts,
whose sine skins, frequently make part of the
cargo for the merchant to makes his returns in.

The English and Dutch have of late years got a little footing in the trade at Loango, upon the coast of Angola. They buy many slaves here, the Portuguese having no power equal to what they have in other parts of that coast. We vend here considerable quantities of buffs, Guinea stuffs, callicoes, with perpets and serges, with abundance of toys, beads, cowries, and the like: And it is reckoned that we buy slaves cheaper here than upon any part of the African coast; though not being esteemed so stout and robust, may not prove so in effect.

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Thus far the commerce of the Rortuguefe; and other European nations extends, and is carried on by the means of forts and fettlements on the coast: All the country south from Cape Negroe to the Cape of Good Hope, affords nothing material, in regard to trade; it being all wild, savage and mountainous, and the sea coast hardly inhabited; or if it is, the people rarely appear when ships come upon the coast. Here may, notwithstanding; be valuable productions, or the land may be capable of them,

We have here a fuccinct account of the general nature of the coast trade of Africa from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope: We shall next give a brief state of the inland commerce, as far as the same has hitherto been discovered for a few hundred miles within the country; and touch upon some methods, whereby the traffic of this part of the globe may be advanced, for the benefit of the subjects of Great-Britain in particular.

To the north of the gulph of St. Anne, the country is almost desolate and uninhabited; the natives being found of a very savage and treacherous nature, the Europeans have negalected to make any great enquiries about their country. But to the southward of this gulph, and over the river, we find a country populous. Though they live in huts and slow buildings, yet they are erected in a regular manner in rows, forming streets and squares. The temper, behaviour and customs of those

negroes

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negroes are widely different from their neighbours to the north; they are a plain, simple honest people, offer no injury to any one; they desire trade, giving what they have to spare with great freedom, and receiving what they want with satisfaction. The people here being of a sociable and commercial disposition, the Europeans might, perhaps, easily prevail on them to take an inland survey of the produce of their country, to mutual advantage. The French have for several years reaped the benefit of commerce with these people, by their

settlement at Arguin.

The river Senagal being, as observed, a large and confiderable river, and of great extent in its course, has supplied the French with their most important commerce. But if it is derived from the same source with the Nile, it will then cross almost the whole country of Africa, where it is widest, and will have a course of near 50 degrees from east to west, exclusive of its windings. Though its entrance is narrow and sometimes difficult, by reason of its bar and fandy shoals; yet 8 or 10 leagues. up, it is broad and deep, and fit to carry large vessels; and except about 5 or 6 leagues on each fide above the mouth, which is a fandy and barren ground, all the rest, as far as the. lake Maberia, the banks are covered with stately fruit trees and villages, and the country well watered, and very fertile for a great way; for like the Nile, it overflows the country for many leagues, and greatly inriches the land,

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and would do so still more, if the Europeans instructed the natives to make all the advantage they might easily do: but that is not the case, though the people on both sides the river chuse to live as near as they can to it, and feed great herds of cattle, and sow their large and small miller in great quantities, and with large increase.

The river Senagal, receiving many considerable rivers in its course, swells high enough to be able at all times to carry vessels of 40 or 50 tons and upwards. It also splitting itself into several branches, which re-unite again; it waters very large and fertile islands, well filled with towns, villages and inhabitants. It also sorms several noble streams from the great one; such as the Saguerai, which parts from the Senagal a little below Ouctesour, and after a south-west course of 50 or 60 leagues, joins itself to the Gios or Little Brae, which part from the great stream about nine leagues below that, and both these rejoin it a little below Guidon.

Between these are likewise formed some confiderable islands of great extent. The largest, for number of towns and trade is Begnio, of Befeche, situate between the great stream, and the branch of its name, called Corow river, about 35 leagues in length; in some parts 12 or 15 in breadth, and intersected with a great number of smaller streams and canals, which makes it resembling to a group of small isles, covered with palm and other fruit trees, and other verdure, as well as antowns d vil-

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lages. This island reaches almost to the mouth of the great river.

Above that is another called the island of Morphil, and is eighty leagues in length, and about eight or ten in breadth, and hath a number of large villages upon it well-peopled, and who carry on a considerable commerce in elephant's teeth. Adjacent to that is another, called Bilbas, about 30 leagues long, and five or fix broad. It is very populous, and the negroes drive a large commerce in ivory and gold dust. These islands of Morphil and Bilbas belong to the kingdom of Firatic, or Fullis, whose prince and inhabitants are very obliging to strangers. They abound with variety of curious vegetables, and breed large quantities of cattle of divers kinds, as well as other animals, and fowls in abundance. They have also plenty of cotton, which they manufacture as ason ig medit om e well as they can.

The Niger or Senagal," fays Mons. Labat, is one of the most considerable rivers in Africa: without speaking of what it is bewyond the lake of Bournou, which is in 42 degrees of longitude; from that lake to the sea is 800 leagues. The ancient geographers say that it is a branch of the Nile, and that these two rivers come from the same head. Pliny is of this opinion, and one of his reasons is, that the banks produce the same plants and animals. If this argument were allowed, we might by it prove, that the river Amazons and Janeiro, and all the

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" other rivers in America, came from the same "Nile, since they produce crocodiles as well

"The most that we could now learn is from the negroe-merchants of the kingdom of Mundingo: their accounts are not so exact as to be quite positive: and we cannot but suppose that in the accounts they give they will say nothing that can prejudice their commerce, or excite the Europeans to break in upon their trade. What is certain, and so certain that it admits of no doubt, is, that the kingdom of Gallam, above the fort of St. Joseph, abounds in MINES OF GOLD, as do the kingdoms of Gago and Tombulo, which lie above that upon the same river.

"We are assured, and it is credible enough;

"lie above that upon the same river,
"We are assured, and it is credible enough;
"that in the 20th degree of longitude the Ni"ger is much larger than it is below, and it
"there forms a very considerable lake; and
"leaving that lake, divides itself into two
"branches; the one running due west, is
"called the Senagal, the other running south
"west, is called the Gambia. The latter di"vides itself again, and the southern stream of
it is called St. Domingo; and that again pro"duces a fourth, called Rio Grande: these
"two last are divided again, and fall through
several channels into the sea, which form
"the islands of Bissaux, Binagots, Bonlam and
"Busty, and many others."

I have not leisure, at present, to describe the

I have not leisure, at present, to describe the whole commerce that this river will admit of.

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these thence, and that Daves of if it ower

I shall, therefore, only observe in general, that here certainly offers a favourable prospect of a very lucrative inland trade, if it is prosecuted with judgment and resolution; a commerce that has been very artfully concealed, though industriously cultivated by the French. Yet even the French themselves have acknowledged that their India company have not made less of the trade of this river than 300,000 l. sterling per annum: and if the English should not be obliged to give up this new conquest, they may probably extend its trade to a degree beyond what the French have really done.

The fiver Gambia (of which the English have had the chief possession by virtue of their forts and factories) has different kingdoms upon its banks; as the Mundingoes, the Jollifs, the Pholeys, the Floops, and a bastard Portuguese.

The most numerous are the Mundingoes, who are the greatest travellers, and most skilful traders, and their country is of the largest extent. It lies to the fouth of the Gambia; on the west it borders on the kingdom of Kaho; on the fouth it has Melli, and the mountains that divide it from Guiney; on the east it extends to the kingdom of Gago.

The Portuguese have various factories among the Mundingoes; and it is the general opinion, that among the negroes called Balantes, there are gold mines, which is the reason why they will not fuffer any person to come into their country; apprehending they may be driven To simbo it is sould a St. Mes. consumo. from

from thence, and made slaves of, if it were

On the north fide of the Gambia, and from inland is the nation of Jolloifs, whose country is vastly large, and extends even to the river Senagal. This affords divers valuable commodities, as well as flaves. These are a fierce savage people, and perpetually at war with their neighbours, and their chief traffic is in the sale of their captives for flaves. A mile of their captives for flaves.

The Pholeys are a people that live in clans, build towns, and are not subject to any kings of the country, though they dwell in their dominions; for if they are ill treated in one nation, they break up their towns and remove to another. They are the reverse of the Jolloifs. being of a very good and pacific disposition, and value themselves upon their principles of justice and sobriety, being strict Mahometans. As the princes in whose countries these people refide use little land themselves, they permit the Pholeys to cultivate it, who are great planters. They raise cotton, Indian corn, maize, rice; the larger and smaller Guiney corns. Being very industrious and frugal, and railing much more than they consume, they fell the surplus to their neighbouring nations, who think it a bleffing to have such well-disposed people near them. Their principle traffic confists in the vegetable produce of lands, and some gold, but they abominate the flave trade, neither making prisoners of others, or suffering themselves to be made such for that purpose. M 2

The English have divers factories up the river Gambia, besides their principal one at James Fort, as we have before noticed. But we know but little of this river above Barracunda. The tide flows up this river 20 leagues above Barracunda. Ships of 300 tons can come fifty leagues up it, and vessels of 150 tons can reach near Barracunda, which is 250 leagues from the sea.

The first country we meet with on the south of the Gambia is that of Cumbo, noted for plenty of fowl, goats and cattle. Here the English frequently purchase provisions for their settlement at James Fort and others. The river Vintain is navigable several leagues up this river, and its mouth about a mile over, and three leagues above James Fort. The town of Vintain affords plenty of provisions: it also produces large quantities of bees wax.

Without enumerating the various places of trade up this river, we need only observe for our purpose, that the chief trade is in gold, flaves, elephants teeth and bees-wax. The natives are very unwilling to discover much of the inland countries, from a jealousy that their gold mines should be once discovered by the Europeans, and wrested out of their hands.

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There is another branch of commerce here. which might prove of confiderable advantage to Great Britain, if it were properly pursued; and that is the gum-trade, of which commodities they might have large quantities brought to Fatatenda; from whence it might be carried by water to James Fort at small expence; but the gums here are faid to be of a different kind to that of the Gum Senagal.

> Upon all the chief rivers that have been before described, we find very little difference in the nature of the product and commerce; and therefore, the inland trade that we are at all acquainted with, is much of the same kind, and not necessary to be repeatedly mentioned.

We shall, therefore, only observe, that were this country planted by the Europeans in colonies and fettled habitations, towns and cities built, and people brought over to inhabit as in the American plantations, fomething like what the Portuguese have already done in Africa, the whole commerce of this part of the world: might in all probability, be confiderably more, extended among those people than it has everyet been: and thereby a more fatisfactory. knowledge of the country obtained; for by this means we may bring the natives to become for civilized as to clothe, and to live more and more according to the European mode; and thereby have a proportionate demand for our commodities of every kind: and this encrease of the consumption would excite the natives to be more active and industri(86)

ous in the fearch of all valuable products to bafter with us in return. The Dutch have fet us an engaging example of this kind in the Bast. Indies: by bringing the natives there to a likeing of the way of living of the civilized nations, they have surprisingly encreased the vent of numberless European commodities in Afia: which never found their way thither, till these propagators of trade and navigation fell into this policy: and to encourage others to follow the like, we have feen the example of the Portuguese, who have extensive colonies in Africa, and very great sway, influence and dominions over many of the countries adjacent to their settlements.

It will be objected very probably, to the planting of colonies by the Europeans in Africa, that there is no encouragement to plant and fettle here: that the climate is fo exceeding hot that it will not suffer any thing to grow; that the want of rain in summer, and an excess in winter, will destroy all the labour of the most industrious; that the soil is burnt up, and therefore it would be to no purpose to attempt planting, and much less the building of towns and cities, and carrying over inhabitants for that purpole selection selections are asset

Objections of this kind do not feem to be unanswerable. To fay the country is barren, and will not produce, is to contradict the testimony of undoubted authority, and give the lye to the affertions of numbers of men of veracity, who have lived on the spot, and who 21.0

or ababero sidenia (87) dorest odi ni avo all concur in the contrary representation. And indeed it is acknowledged on all hands, that many of those importations, which we have been habituated to, the merchants of Europe might supply themselves with from other countries in the like latitude, by causing them to be planted and cultivated in such places, where we have great reason to believe they

would grow, and that to advantage. Africa seems to be the country where many species of commodities might be brought to perfection; and turn to far greater private as well as national emolument than to have them from Afia. For here we are within fix weeks fail, in the very latitude of Borneo, of the Celebes, of Banda and Ternate, of Batavia and Bencoolen: and we can make no doubt but here might be produced nutmegs, cloves and pepper, as well as in any of those other places, the foil being as good, the heats as intense, the dews as strong: in a word, the earth, the air, the fun, all the same: why not then the productions? Why may not here be raised the coffee tree from mocha, the cinnamon tree from ceylon? And we have no reason to doubt but the tea and sage from China might be produced here.

But to this end we must pitch upon the proper situations, and such as are suitable to the thing designed: without which, no country may be said to be fruitful. We see many large places, even in England itself, and in the sou(68)

of Guinea, and in Benk, 88 phrticular, which thern parts of it too, near London, where the lands are redunted the richest and most fruitful; and yet, though there was ever so much husbandry and diligence used upon some of them, those lands would no way answer the industry and culture; as Bag shot-heath, for example, Windfor Forest, and several other open pieces of ground on that side of the country; and the like in many other parts.

On the other hand, if suitable measures were taken in Africa, and proper situations as well as foil pitched up for improvements, it has been experienced that pimento, cocoa, cotton and ginger would all not only grow, but come to perfection, and produce as profitably, and as much to the encouragement of the planter in the country upon the Coast of Guiney, as in America; and that not only about Sherbro, Sierraleone, and the coast of Arguin, from the latitude of 11 to 18, which may be called the same climate with Barbadoes and famaica, but upon the coast of Melegatte, the Grain or the Gold-Coast: and the experiment has been tried at Cape-Coast as well as at Cape Three Points.

The prudence to be used in this case is, to chuse a proper situation for such attempts; which may be confined under the following points. (1) That the foil be suitable, of which there is plenty over the whole country: viz. a loamy fat earth, or a red kind of bole, like the foil of fome lands in Brafil, which are known to be very fruitful inor a mild fandy clay, of which there is no want on the coast of:

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of Guinea, and in Benin in particular, which is the same with the Spice islands of Banda and Ternate. 2. That it lie upon or near some ons! river; so that, if possible, in case of drought it may be flowed by the help of art, by stopping and raising the waters in those rivers and drawing small streams from them to be water their plantations, as we see often done to advantage; and folnetimes with little labour and expence. (3) By so chusing the lands, but that in the winter or rainy seasons, the glut of water may run off by drains into lower sing grounds, or into rivers; and so likewife that when the rivers swell with those rains, the planted grounds may not be drown'd, fo as to be too long under water.

In this country, as in most others, it is certain, that lands may be for chosen as to fituation, that they may enjoy all these advance tages: And if fo, it is not to be doubted but we might here produce all the spices of Asianisi as well as their coffee, tea, and divers other of their costly productions: We might also have numerous other productions here, which we cannot so cheaply raise in our own colonies in America; as filk and wine, &c. But I would have nothing raised here that should by any means interfere with the interest of our present American colonies. And it is a great inducement to attempt these things within 20 or 30 day days fail of our own country. The versel as any

The country, though in the center of the torridazonessis infinitely more fruitful than steep our action there is nothern any valo

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any of the northern parts of Africa, the gold coast only excepted, which is contiguous to fome of it: The foll, notwithstanding the great heat, is rich, foft and moist; every where almost abounding with springs, as well as watered with innumerable rivers and streams: The plants it produces from the inffructions given the natives by the Portuguese, are improved, and abundance of those of Europe introduced among them; which other negroe countries are quite ignorant of. It has not been the least part of the policy of the Portuguese clergy, to teach the natives how to cultivate and improve the product of the earth, and supply them with delicious fruits and plants; fuch as they knew nothing of before, and extremely better their way of living; as particularly figs, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, and many other fruits, as well nourishing to nature, and pleasant to the palate.

Though we have no minute account of any inland communication of commerce in this quarter of the world; yet they tell us, from good authority, that there is a yearly or half yearly caravan, from the country properly called Guinea, and that there is a very great trade carried on between that part of Africa, and the Mauritanian countries, quite to the Mediterranean: that the commerce brings in return the growth of the Moorist Africa, and all the European manufactures and importations, which the Moors receive on the coast of Barbary, from England,

Holland, France, Portugal and Spain; as also East India goods, wrought glass, iron, brass,

pewter, &c.
This caravan, they inform us, consists of above 2000 camels; that they fet out from a considerable Negroe town, above 400 miles north from the Quaqua coast of Guinea, whether the negroes of many nations come as to a great mart or fair; and where they bring gold, ivory, drugs, wax, civet, and every valuable thing the land can produce, and exchange them for the European goods, which the caravan brings back. They carry generally 5 or 6000 flaves also. Among the rest of European goods, which they carry in this great caravan, they mention in particular, many hundred pieces of English broad cloth, generally dyed red, blue and yellow.

This caravan delivers its cargo at Fez, from whence the Jews, who are the chief merchants, disperse the goods to other places, and furnish the caravans with returns. If the rout they give us for the passing of this caravan is right, they never come within 5 or 600 miles of the sea coast, till they arrive near the city of Fez.

Another part of the inland commerce of Africa, is that of bringing gold and flaves to the coast of Guinea, which is done along way by land, and requires a much greater commerce, than we have yevany fatisfactory knowledge of. The farthest account we have of the negroes coming from within land to trade on the Guinea coast, is of their travelling about 400 N 2

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zi miles from the country called Affantia, which odis much the largest of That their King is the evimost powerful of any that is known to the European That he permits none of the na--xtives beyond him to pass through his country, but obliges them to traffic only with his subjects. This country extends itself on the back of the whole gold coast. The use of is fire arms is not known beyond the country of eld Affantia sunor have they other weapons than -illances, bows and arrows.

.nworthe king's fubjects pass through fix or seven lukingdoms to come to the sea side to trade, and slare often plundered by the people, through be whose country they travel; which has occae offined frequent quarrels and wars: and this shighliges the Affantians to travel in large bodies. The commodities they bring are gold dust, elephants teeth and slaves: The first of which -sthey trade for with other nations, and chiefly with two kingdoms called Akim and Acania, : bin which are found great quantities of gold.the Affantians tell us, they trade 4 or 500 nomailes farther within land, with a fort of yel-

low people, who have good houses with flat recropfs; but they will not fuffer any to come -minto them; but deal with them at a distance, aidand chiefly for falt, which those yellow people pay for in fine pieces of striped filk. These sumernay suppose are the Moors of the north part joiof African who are tawny, and which they wordl yellowicolouted, and all awars ravanithe

ed The produce in the other?

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Hold The Egyptians lieby what methodoloever it is salcairied on shave flome (commerce with a the accountry fouth upon the Nilets and receive seleveral articles from them, especially drugs and gold : But whether this commerce iextends for far as into the country of Ethiopiai is not certain. Sometics by Sames Said I after

From this sketch of the inland commerce. added to that described on the coast of Africa. we can make no doubt but the same is capable of very extraordinary improvement. The climate on the west coast is sufficiently known. The foil is good in most places, very fruitful, well watered, notwithstanding the heat of the climate.—Though the Europeans have reaped great, very great advantages by the coast trade: yet none, except the Portuguese, have made any use at all of the land; the fruitful foil lies waste, a very extended country, pleasant vallies, banks of fine rivers, spacious plains, capable of cultivation to unspeakable benefit; in all probability remain, fallow and unnoticed: Why do not the Europeans enclose such lands for cultivation, as by their nature and lituation appear proper for beneficial productions ?vol

Let the same climates be examined in other parts of the worlds and the foil of them compared with that in the same datitude on this coast; and if no visible difference is found in them, why should they not produce the same plants, fruits and drugs to Why Hould not whatever grows in the one deeplanted, grow

and produce in the other?

The

Late soid, there The coffee berry is naturally produced at Mocha, in the latitude of 13 to 14 degrees. This induced the Dutch to plant the coffee trade in the island of Java, near the city of Batavia, where it thrives as well as at Mocha. They have done the like at Surinam, on the north coast of south America.—The Portuguese have began the same on the coast of Brasil; and have began lately to raise rice by negroe labour.—The French also have planted coffee at their colony of Port Dauphin on the island of Madagascar.

If at Batavia and Surinam in latitude 5 to 6. deg.: if at Mocha, in latitude 14 deg.: if at Port Dauphin, in latitude 14 deg.; why will not coffee thrive at Cape Coast and at Acra, in latitude 5 to 6 deg.? And, why not upon all the grain coast, tooth coast, gold coast, and flave coast, where the English have a free posfession, strength for protection and soil for

production?

With respect to the planting of tea: We know that the tea is chiefly produced in the provinces of Xentung, Nankin and Canton, and in the islands of Japan, most of it between the latitudes of 30 and 24 deg. north of the line. With how much greater advantage of climate, may we presume the same plant might be produced at Sierraleone, and on the gold Coaft? made open plant above or the and T

We need say little of the benefits of raising fuch a profitable plant so near home and there is little difficulty, perhaps, in making (95)

the experiment.—We are told, that a large plant of ted has throve to admiration in the garden of Cape Coast Castle. and me salsold

But one would imagine, that the fuctative article of spices, that interferes with no other branches of our commerce, thould be temptation Sufficient to rouse our industry. The Clove is found in the island of Borneo at Gilolo, and feveral other islands, from the latitudes of 2 to 7 deg. which is exactly the climate of our gold coast.—The Cinnamon is found in Ceylon, in the latitudes of 6 to 7 deg. and falls in allo with our coast; and we can see no reason why the same climate on the shore of Africa, may. not, by the help of art, produce the fame fruit.—The Nutmeg, indeed, is found only at Banda, and some small islands almost under the line; and so it may be doubtful, whether this may thrive, except in the fame latitude, which is further fouth than any of our lettlements in Africa: But the trial might with production? ease be made of that too.

Numbers of Europeans being once settled on the sea coast, would soon spread the commerce into the inland nations, and employ and inrich the inhabitants, by instructing them, in the arts of living, as well as of trade and minerology; which leads to a view of one of the greatest scenes of commercial improvement: which is the smooth will be besuborg

That there needs little more than to in fruct the barbarous nations in all our colonies, factories, &c. in the arts of sliving Committee difficulty, perhaps in making 96

handsomely, clothing with decency, not going be but ally naked; dwelling in towns and offices, with occonomy and civil government, and not like favages.

Refore commerce took effect amongst mankind, the human species in general were little better than brutes of the first class: but trade and navigation exciting to the advancement of arts and sciences necessary thereto, These have naturally civilized men: and as they have encreased in civilized polity, commerce in general has in its turn proportionally augmented. This is fact indisputable. For what has been the consequence of civilizing the American savages, who inhabited the countries on the back of the Europeans, settled in North America? Has not the like consequence attended those on the French side at Quebec and Canada?

The natives of those parts, before the Europeans came among them, had, in the words of a late writer, neither houses, cattle, cloths, tools, weapons, ammunition, or household fluff: their cattle were the beasts of the forrest, their apparel, their skins, their weapons, bows, wooden swords, clubs, javelins and darts, pointed with teeth and bones of fish; their houses hovels and huts; their household stuff, earthen pans hardned in the sun; their beds, mats and skins laid on the ground; they could strike no fire, but by rubbing sticks together: they had neither edged or other tools, they having no iron, steel, brass or lead; neither grind stone or mill stones; their means their grind stone or mill stones; their means

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handsomely, clothing 78h decency, not going bent shirth and bins line; hug salt misbarishadisaw. with occonomy and civil retambles and others and civil retambles.

The same Indians, even those remaining wild and favage almost as before ever weing convinced by their conveniencies, and prompted by their necessities, ferve themselves of us with an infinite number of things, for the abundant's accommodation of life; and those that are mores civilized do the like to a far greater extent; and the more and more civilized they grow,13 the greater vent we shall have for our commoan dities: this has created a commerce recili procally beneficial. They fell us their deer it skins, bear-skins, fox and beaver, and otherst furs, which we call peltry, and is a very vasely luable branch of trade: with their peltry they purchase our woollen manufactures for their clothing, fuch as duffels, blankets, half-ticks, kersies, and such coarse goods; and also others? of leather, with which they drefs and keep o themselves warm in the coldest season w theyor also buy caps, stockings, hats, shoes, gloves, the for the same hard weather.

In order to provide for their fuel and food, of they buy of us for the latter, fire arms and amage munition, and for the other, hatchets, axes, it knives, bills, as also spades, shovels, pick-axes, and other tools fitted for their work, and for the building and furnishing houses to dwell in: they buy all kind of edged tools, as likewise nails, as spikes, hammers, saws, chisels, Sc. wrought iron of divers forts; as hooks, hinges, locks, do bolts, and numerous other things; for their

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houshold stuff, they sometimes buy chairs, stools, beds, bedsteads, and the like; also pots, casks, and other vessels of earth, pewter, brass, and wood; and in a word, every thing they want of plain things, which art or trade can supply them with.

These mutual dealings create a commerce; and as these demands increase, the trade and commerce of Europe must increase; for the increase of civilized people, occasions a proportionate increase of trassic, let the degree of

their demands be more or less.

It becomes, therefore, a fundamental principle in our commercial policy to increase the colonies of our own nation in all the remote parts where it is proper and practicable; and to civilize and instruct the natives of those countries, so as to bring them by the softest and gentlest methods to fall into the European customs and usages, and incorporate among our people as one nation.

We say nothing of christianizing the savages; it is remote from our present purpose; and perhaps, remote from our practice in most places; but we speak of an incorporation of customs and usages, as may in time bring them to live like christians, whether they may turn such or

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of Africa: let people calculate the improvements proposed in business, in planting, fishing, shipping, and all the necessary employ-

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ments that would attend a public improved colony; and let then any one judge, if the consequence would not augment the consumption of manufactures among a people where there was none before, and in a place where we had no commerce to carry on before.

The trade carried on by the Europeans to Africa is nothing in comparison to what it will admit of; and therefore it is not be admired that the people are still savage, and barbarous; for it is certain that commerce with other nations as well as within themselves, has a natural tendency to polish and humanize mankind in general; and, in consequence thereof, government has been established. Among those nations destitute of trade, we find the whole race of men but a small remove above the brute creation. If we contemplate the state of our own nation, before we had traffic with others, and compare ourselves then with what we are at present, there will appear to be almost as much difference as there is now between some of the barbarian countries and our own. It follows, therefore, that no confideration drawn from the barbarous state of the Africans should. discourage our efforts to cultivate and extend our commerce amongst them to the utmost.

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of Africa : Let polyie calculate the inverse over ancies $\mathbf{x}_{\mathbf{x}}$ and $\mathbf{x}_{\mathbf{y}}$ and $\mathbf{x}_{\mathbf{y}}$

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Park to the contract of the co A regional reduces the consequences of the contract of the contract of Jano de Carlos Carlos de C i<mark>lan sepas valv</mark>ari langa kepilan negiri berangah bebara . Delka **di unitu**ncia policificação da periode de la competição da comp Large level to a large section of the property of the large Participa<mark>l a rext</mark>e un la glacación a callagada bleva el bar ti The line of the confidence of the first of the state of t and the solution in appropriate the probabilities. plak peragai dan jilan kalipa kalengi dan j would be really for the state of the state o obstation, and the first of the second Taliga dika dikata kalenda kata kata kata dikata ka Santibud digili man suki milila di mbili da nito di takojin rodenika dipoka jih dana kuma, j