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Zachary Macaulay and  
the Development of the  
Sierra Leone Company,  
1793-4

Part 2: Journal,  
October-December 1793

Edited by Suzanne Schwarz

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#### THE SERIES "HISTORY AND CULTURE"

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#### THIS VOLUME

*is the second instalment of the Sierra Leone journals and diary of Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838), who arrived in Sierra Leone in December 1792 as one of two members of council appointed to assist the governor of the Sierra Leone Company's new colony for free blacks.*

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**Key words:** abolition, legitimate trade, slave resistance, slave trade

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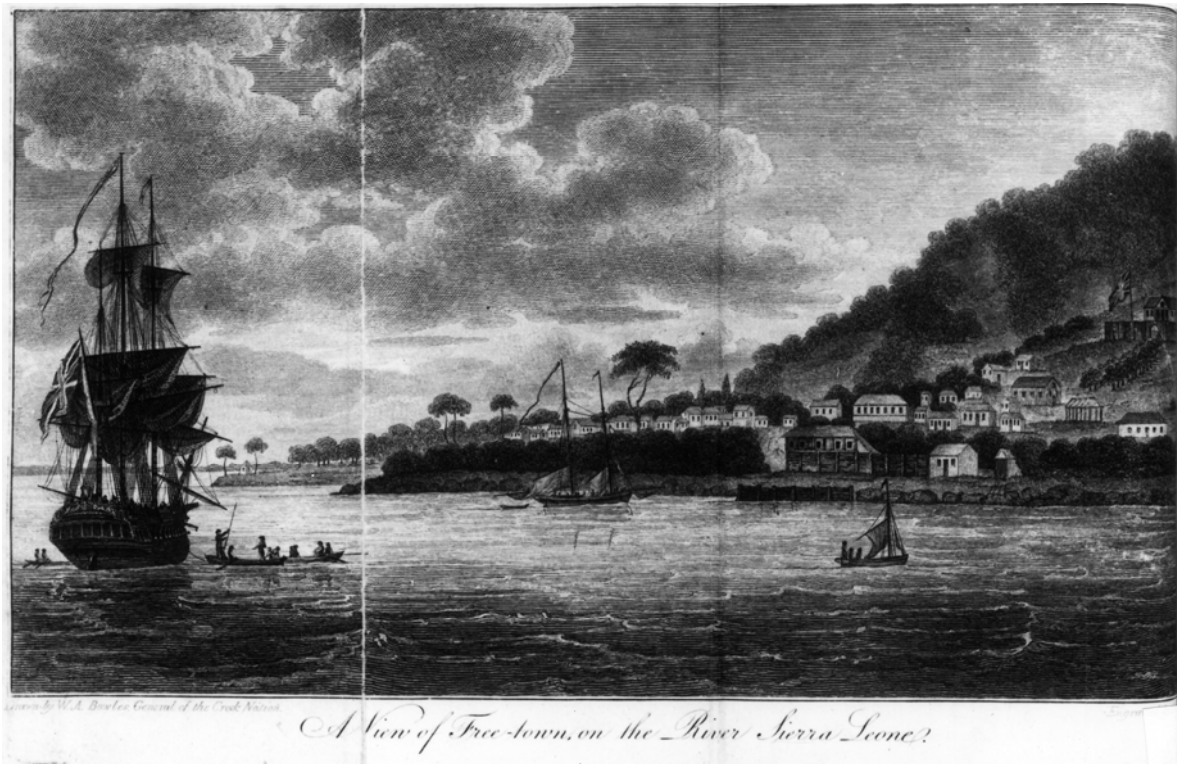
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# ZACHARY MACAULAY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, 1793-4

## PART II: JOURNAL, OCTOBER - DECEMBER 1793

*Edited by Suzanne Schwarz*



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CO	Colonial Office
f.	folio
H.L.	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
<i>J.A.H.</i>	<i>Journal of African History</i>
JRUL	John Rylands University Library, Manchester
N.S.	New Series
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew

# INTRODUCTION\*

In the early 1790s the directors of the Sierra Leone Company expressed confidence that the newly formed colony on the west coast of Africa would contribute to the destruction of the slave trade. They argued that ‘even considered in relation to the abolition of the slave trade, its operation, though slow, is unquestionably sure’. Although they recognised that their plan of encouraging ‘cultivation and commerce’ and developing legitimate trade ‘may not at once cut up by the roots this inhuman traffic, it tends to divert the stream that waters it, and destroy the principles from which it derives its nutriment’.<sup>1</sup> The evolution of the colony, perceived by its promoters as an international project in abolitionist morality, is significant as it coincided with growing parliamentary and popular debate in Britain on the future of Africa and the slave trade.<sup>2</sup> Events in Freetown were used by both sympathisers and anti-abolitionists to comment on African affairs and to substantiate partisan views of the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>3</sup>

Fundamental to Company policy was an economic criticism of the slave trade. Successive published reports castigated the wastefulness of the trade and emphasised the potential value of African resources to British economic growth. However, the colony at Sierra Leone was based on a more complex motivation as it drew on an interdependent mix of humanitarian, religious, moral and economic strands of thought.<sup>4</sup> This close interplay of factors is highlighted in A.F. Walls’ comment that ‘in the creation of the Sierra Leone colony the humanitarian and missionary concerns of Clapham Evangelicalism, together with their economic theory and commercial interests, met together’.<sup>5</sup> The directors emphasised the active Christian benevolence which underpinned policy, as investment in the Company was presented as a practical mechanism through which ‘those who feel for the wrongs of Africa’ could compensate her for ‘the injuries she has so long been sustaining at our hands’.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Postscript to the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court Held at London on Wednesday the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1791* (London, 1791), pp. 1-15.

<sup>2</sup> Michael J. Turner, ‘The Limits of Abolition: Government, Saints and the “African Question”, c. 1780-1820’, *English Historical Review*, 112, 448 (April 1997), pp. 319-26.

<sup>3</sup> Carl Wadstrom noted the hostility of West India interests to the Sierra Leone Company. C.B. Wadstrom, *An Essay on Colonization*, 2 parts (London 1794, reprinted Newton Abbot, 1968), Part I, pp. 5, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Eltis and Engerman argue that the tendency in abolitionist historiography to separate economic and humanitarian motivation ‘would have puzzled the abolitionists themselves’. Stanley L. Engerman and David Eltis, ‘Economic Aspects of the Abolition Debate’, in Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (eds.), *Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey* (Folkestone, 1980), p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> A.F. Walls, ‘A Christian Experiment: The Early Sierra Leone Colony’, *Studies in Church History*, 6 (1970), p. 108. See also A.F. Walls, ‘The Nova Scotian Settlers and their Religion’, *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 1 (1959), pp. 20-1.

<sup>6</sup> *Postscript to the Report 1791*, p. 14.

In practical terms, the breadth of their reforming vision for Africa meant that Company officials based in Freetown were charged with diverse responsibilities. The directors informed Company shareholders that:

a considerable detail of instructions will be given to the governor and council with a view of promoting order and economy and of giving the utmost encouragement that can be safely furnished by the Company both to cultivation and commerce; and every measure will be taken for laying a foundation of happiness to the natives, by the promotion of industry, the discouragement of polygamy, the setting up of schools, and the gradual introduction of religious and moral instruction among them...<sup>7</sup>

The ability of the Court of Directors to respond to developments on the west coast of Africa necessitated a regular flow of information between the colony and Sierra Leone House.<sup>8</sup> Zachary Macaulay's journals were written primarily to inform Henry Thornton, Chairman of the Court of Directors, of daily affairs in the colony. Expansive journals and letters survive for the periods which he spent in Sierra Leone between 1793 and 1799, and from 1796 these were supplemented by the lengthy epistolary accounts written for his fiancée Selina Mills.<sup>9</sup> This second instalment of Macaulay's Sierra Leone journals for 4 October to 12 December 1793 relates to a period when he served as second member of council to assist the governor, William Dawes.<sup>10</sup> Macaulay's record of events in the colony is significant, as it is the only journal compiled in Sierra Leone which is available for this period. Adam Afzelius, the Company botanist, did not commence his Sierra Leone journal until April 1795.

Macaulay was well placed to supply information to the Court of Directors on a range of economic, social and cultural issues on the west coast of Africa. By October 1793 he had gained nine months experience in the administration of the colony and, as a result of the diverse nature of his role, he had developed some familiarity with the people, trade, customs and culture of African societies proximate to the settlement. Information about the African interior obtained from visitors to Freetown was reported avidly in his journals. His frequent practice of travelling up and down the coast from Freetown in order to develop commercial relationships with African and Eurafrican traders offered the opportunity to gather evidence empirically and through hearsay accounts. The frequency

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<sup>7</sup> *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court* (London, 1791), pp. 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> The Company's office was located at Birchin Lane, Cornhill. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London, 1962), p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> Macaulay first arrived in the colony in December 1792 as one of two members of council to assist the governor, John Clarkson. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 66. During the period between 1793-9, he also undertook periods of service as acting governor and governor. For example, at the meeting of the Governor and Council on 1 April 1794 Macaulay is referred to as 'acting governor' as William Dawes had returned to England for a period of home leave. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p.140. Macaulay met his future wife at the home of Hannah More in 1796 during one of several periods of home leave. Viscountess Knutsford (ed.), *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay* (London, 1900), pp. 98, 102-115. He did not leave the colony finally until April 1799, although he had applied to the Court of Directors to return home as early as June 1797. He spent a year from April 1798 preparing his successor Thomas Ludlam for his new role. Fyfe, *History*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>10</sup> For the first instalment covering the period 16 June – 5 October 1793 see Suzanne Schwarz (ed.), *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company, 1793-4. 1. Journal, June – October 1793*, University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Leipzig, 2000).

with which Macaulay received and entertained visitors in Freetown, particularly those from neighbouring African groups, provided another important way in which he gleaned information about African affairs and slave trading practices.

Macaulay's journals illustrate the complex problems faced by Company employees in Africa. Management of this colonial enterprise necessitated interaction and negotiation with a number of competing and potentially hostile interest groups on the Upper Guinea coast including European slave traders, neighbouring African groups and the main body of settlers comprised of over 1100 self-liberated slaves. Judging by the entries in his journal, much of Macaulay's endeavour during this ten-week period was devoted to the pursuit of the Company ideals of commerce, civilisation and Christianity.<sup>11</sup> He placed emphasis on the establishment of trade in legitimate products and the formation of contacts with local African groups, which would extend gradually the scope for educational and missionary work.

Towards the end of the ten-week period covered in this journal, Macaulay expressed his hope that the various misfortunes experienced by the settlement in November and December 1793 would not discourage people from supporting the enterprise.<sup>12</sup> He showed a keen awareness that maintaining support for the project in Britain was vital to its continuing success. Macaulay's reporting of African affairs was disseminated to a wider audience in Britain, as Thornton used the evidence and subjective commentary in the journals to compile the published Company reports. In the Company report of 1794 it was claimed that the 'truth and accuracy of the information they are about to lay before the Court have been in general established by the united testimony of some of the principal servants of the Company; and that all that part of it which will be given as quotation, was committed to writing by one of them always about the time and generally on the very day, often at the very hour, of its being received'.<sup>13</sup>

In the context of widespread European ignorance and misunderstanding of African life and society, this flow of intelligence may have been significant in contributing to a more accurate understanding of indigenous cultures.<sup>14</sup> Macaulay's reporting of events was both eclectic and meticulous, and extended to the minutiae of day to day life on the West African coast. Unlike many Europeans visiting Africa in the late eighteenth century, Macaulay did not confine himself to reports on commercial affairs on the coast. In contrast to much contemporary European comment, Macaulay did not dismiss Africans in generalised, abstract terms as uncivilised savages. However, the evidence does reveal Macaulay's 'cultural chauvinism', as some disapproval of African culture and religious practices emerges in different guises in his journals, and there was some reporting of the type of 'exotic' practices to which travellers in Africa frequently alluded in their

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<sup>11</sup> The link which the Sierra Leone Company developed between commerce and Christianity predates the enthusiastic support for these concepts in the rhetoric of early Victorian Britain. Brian Stanley, "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860', *The Historical Journal*, 26, 1 (1983), pp. 71-94.

<sup>12</sup> See below f. 48.

<sup>13</sup> *Substance of the Report Delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Proprietors on Thursday March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1794* (London, 1795), p. 72.

<sup>14</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa. British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (London, 1965), pp. v-vii, 10, 14-15, 18, 32, 119.



published reports.<sup>15</sup> However, the evidence he transmitted to the Court of Directors shows ‘an understanding of Africans as men like themselves with an integral culture that was more than mere savagery’.<sup>16</sup> As Macaulay’s reports provided detailed comments on the African men and women with whom he came into contact, the evidence went some way towards challenging the conventional stereotypes of savagery, noble or otherwise, which pervade many late eighteenth-century accounts of Africa.<sup>17</sup> However, Macaulay’s information was used selectively by Thornton and generalisations about Africans were introduced into the published Company literature. The directors concluded from the ‘testimonies afforded at Sierra Leone’, that Africans had been reduced to a ‘miserable state ... through their intercourse with Europeans’. However, they were optimistic that Christianity and civilisation could be spread among the Africans as they exhibited a ‘capacity and disposition to receive instruction...’.<sup>18</sup>

The objectivity of Macaulay’s evidence may also have been affected by his concern to collect information for the colony’s abolitionist promoters. Large sections of his journal are devoted to the oral testimony he had gathered concerning the main ways in which Africans were enslaved. He quizzed his informants about the role of kidnapping, warfare, crime and the legal process in the supply of Africans to the transatlantic slave trade. Such enquiries were often opportunistic. During a trading visit by Mr. Aspinall from Robot on the Great Scarcies River, Macaulay had obviously taken the opportunity to interrogate him about sources of slave supply. From the form of Aspinall’s reply, it appears that Macaulay had asked him about the significance of warfare in creating slave supplies. Macaulay recorded that ‘he allowed that wars for the purpose of making slaves were the only wars he had known, and that they prevailed much in the Scarcies where people were continually in a state of alarm’.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, on 18 November 1793, he referred to how ‘a French trader of the name of Mouton called here on some business and as he is well acquainted with the Sherbro as well as the Susoo and Mandingo Countries having resided in both some years, I took the opportunity of putting some questions to him’.<sup>20</sup> A visit to Freetown by Namina Modu, chief of Port Loko, on 28 November 1793 offered a further opportunity to gather evidence on slave trading practices. Macaulay regarded his testimony as reliable, describing him as ‘a man of consequence and at the same time a man of uncommon discernment and of a very liberal turn of mind...’. The substance of his evidence reported in Macaulay’s journal was that warfare was used as a pretext for meeting European demand for slaves in the transatlantic trade. He claimed that Europeans encouraged ‘the natives to make war on each other giving arms and ammunition to both parties’.<sup>21</sup> The accuracy of this evidence is difficult to substantiate, particularly as the nature of the oral interaction between Macaulay and his informants is not transparent. It is

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 23-4.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> Adam Afzelius, the Company botanist, commented on Archibald Dalzel’s *History of Dahomey* published in London in 1793. He finished reading the work on 12 January 1796 and observed that ‘it is a singular composition, a catchpenny work, composed and published seemingly for the sole purpose of justifying the Slave Trade – It contains very little else tha[n] the cruelties of the King of Dahomy’. Alexander Peter Kup (ed.), *Adam Afzelius Sierra Leone Journal 1795-1796*, Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia XXVII (Uppsala, 1967), p. 44.

<sup>18</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, pp. 54, 69-70.

<sup>19</sup> See below, f. 5.

<sup>20</sup> See below, f. 24.

<sup>21</sup> See below, ff. 36-9.

possible that Macaulay had posed leading questions about causes of warfare and European complicity, with the result that the evidence reflected contemporary abolitionist assumptions. This evidence was quoted extensively in the Company report of 1794 to illustrate 'the various evils interwoven in the trade' and 'that horrible desolation' created by the slave trade in Sierra Leone.<sup>22</sup>

Macaulay's enquiries on the causes and character of enslavement in Africa predate Thomas Fowell Buxton's investigations by over 40 years.<sup>23</sup> In common with Buxton, he showed an interest in the mechanisms by which individuals were enslaved and their pathways or stages of enslavement within Africa. Macaulay emphasised the human suffering caused by the traffic in slaves, and Africans' fear of enslavement and deportation.<sup>24</sup> Such information was used to counter the claims of the pro-slavery lobby in Britain that enslavement in the West Indies was beneficial for Africans as it removed them from barbarism and degradation. In an entry for 20 November 1793 Macaulay described the case of an African who was working in the Company's employ on board the *Providence*. He committed suicide as 'the idea of slavery had got possession of his brain and drove him almost to madness'. Macaulay commented that this incident 'will however furnish an additional instance of the light in which slavery is viewed by Africans'.<sup>25</sup> This incident, quoted extensively in the Company report of 1794, reflects the type of sympathy for individual suffering which was characteristic of the developing cult of humane sensibility in late eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>26</sup>

Macaulay considered that his supply of accurate information about slave trading practices could be influential in stemming the trade in Africans. On 24 November 1793 he reported a conversation with the captain of an American slave ship in which he threatened to inform the American authorities of his illegal activities. Moreover, he had taken 'considerable pains' to compile a list of American vessels which had visited the coast during the previous twelve months. He advised Henry Thornton that the evidence 'may lead to their detection' and 'you will be the best judge what further steps to take whether of putting the information into the hands of the Attorney General of the States General...'. In his diary for 25 November 1793 Macaulay enumerated several slave ships, including the *Union* in the command of Spence Hall which had been registered in Boston.<sup>27</sup> When the issue was discussed by the Governor and Council two months later on 22 January 1794 it was resolved that 'a copy of the information respecting American vessels trading in slaves which information had been sent to the Court of Directors by the *Lapwing* should be transmitted to the Secretary of Congress of the United States...'. A letter was

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<sup>22</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, pp. 72-91.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* (First edition, 1839, reprinted London, 1967), chapter 2.

<sup>24</sup> Buxton also referred to the 'almost countless cruelties and murders growing out of the slave trade', *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> See below, ff. 28-9.

<sup>26</sup> David Brion Davis, 'The Preservation of English Liberty, I', in Thomas Bender (ed.), *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Oxford, 1992), p. 85. Thomas L. Haskell, 'Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1', in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*, pp. 107-8.

<sup>27</sup> See below ff. 30-2. Diary, Monday 25 November 1793, f. 41.

composed to accompany this dispatch in order to explain the ‘views of the Governor and Council in so doing...’.<sup>28</sup>

Such attempts to drive out the slave trade by force of law were morally significant but, in practical terms, Company officials placed more importance on developing legitimate trade in African produce. On 27 March 1794 the Court of Directors reported that although the amount of African produce returned to Britain was small, considerable progress had been made during the previous year in ‘the openings in the way of trade...’. They expressed satisfaction that their vessels had been fully employed in trading expeditions and that a number of small factories in the neighbouring rivers had been established at a ‘trifling expense’.<sup>29</sup> They were impressed with the ‘considerable exertions’ made by the Governor and Council to respond to their orders to develop trade and commerce.<sup>30</sup> On 22 November 1793 Macaulay noted in his journal that ‘there are none of the trading vessels unemployed except the *James and William* now under repair’.<sup>31</sup> The importance which the Governor and Council placed on the development of legitimate trade is reflected in their discussions on 29 October 1793. They stressed that ‘measures should be taken without delay for prosecuting the Company’s commercial views...’ and for disposing of European trade goods sent out by the Court of Directors. They appointed Mr. Buckle as the new commercial agent and invited his views on suitable measures to improve trade. It was resolved that settlers and native traders should be encouraged ‘to take into their own hands the trade for rice, camwood and stock in this and the adjoining rivers’.<sup>32</sup> Macaulay’s proposal on 4 October 1793 to visit the Rio Pongo, a system of seven rivers approximately 140 miles north of Freetown, reflected his ambition to establish links with coastal and internal trading systems.<sup>33</sup>

As limited progress in cultivation had been made on settlers’ plots in 1793, a central priority of the trading voyages was to collect rice to supply the needs of the colony.<sup>34</sup> On 11 September 1793 Macaulay had expressed concern that their supply of food was dependent on ‘providence, on the direction and force of the winds, and the violence of the rains for our daily bread’. He calculated that three and a half tons of rice supplied from Bance Island should ‘with some care serve the colony for ten days’.<sup>35</sup> An agreement for rice with Aspinall, a slave trader from Robat on the Great Scarcies River, on 14 October 1793 was the logic for the voyage of the *Duke of Clarence* to the Scarcies on 22 October 1793. The vessel returned on 2 November 1793 with seven and a half tons of rice, sufficient to last the colony for approximately three weeks.<sup>36</sup> The voyage of the *Lapwing*

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 128-9.

<sup>29</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> See below f. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 96-7.

<sup>33</sup> See below f. 1. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, pp. xiii-xiv. Bruce L. Mouser, ‘Trade, Coasters and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808’, *J.A.H.*, 14, 1 (1973), pp. 45, 55. Bruce L. Mouser (ed.), *Guinea Journals: Journeys into Guinea-Conakry during the Sierra Leone Phase, 1800-1821* (Washington, 1979), pp. 8-12.

<sup>34</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 159.

<sup>36</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 94.

to Sherbro on 21 November 1793 resulted in the return of five tons of rice to the colony on 6 December 1793.<sup>37</sup> Mr. Vyles, the newly appointed captain, had been instructed by the Governor and Council to sail the vessel 'to the Sherbro to collect rice from the factories'.<sup>38</sup> Macaulay had established these Company factories under the protection of William Ado, an elderly chief at Jenkins Town on Sherbro Island, following a visit to the area in July 1793. Macaulay had noted in August 1793 that the factories at York Island in the Sherbro River had collected 'considerable' quantities of rice, camwood and stock.<sup>39</sup> A meeting between Macaulay and Namina Modu, chief of Port Loko, on 27 November 1793 included discussion of the possibility of forming 'an establishment in his town for the purpose of purchasing rice, camwood, stock &c.'. <sup>40</sup> Macaulay speculated in his journal for 20 November 1793 whether rice might have applications other than as a staple foodstuff for the colony. He questioned 'the practicability of extracting spirits from rice' which could produce cash crops, reduce the sale of West Indian produce and thereby contribute to the colony's aim of developing legitimate trade using African produce.<sup>41</sup>

A number of the long-distance voyages to Gambia River and the Gold Coast were concerned with the purchase of African commodities for items of trade. On 1 November 1793 Macaulay recorded the return of the *Ocean* from Bissau, approximately 400 miles north of Freetown, with a cargo of ivory, wax, cattle, hogs and St. Tago cloths.<sup>42</sup> The ship, which had sailed from Freetown on 12 August 1793, had an outward cargo of rum, tobacco and cloth that had been ordered by two Portuguese merchants at Bissau. Macaulay expressed some doubt whether Bissau might provide a suitable location for future trade as a 'heavy tax' on all non-Portuguese traders was viewed as 'an obstacle to our trading at Bissau'.<sup>43</sup> The voyage of the *Speculator* in November 1793 extended the trading reach of the Company still further as the captain, Edmund Buckle, was instructed to trade for ivory as far as Cape Three Points on the coast of modern-day Ghana, approximately 850 miles distant from Freetown.<sup>44</sup> The goods collected from these ventures were stored on the ship *York*, anchored in the estuary of the Sierra Leone River, awaiting dispatch to Britain.

Macaulay issued very specific instructions to captains of Company vessels concerning the direction and nature of their trading activities. In preparing these sailing orders, he had to take cognisance of regional African preferences for goods.<sup>45</sup> The *Naimbanna* returned

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<sup>37</sup> See below ff. 29, 47.

<sup>38</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 109.

<sup>39</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 33, 63-70, 135-6.

<sup>40</sup> See below ff. 36-7.

<sup>41</sup> See below f. 26.

<sup>42</sup> See below f. 10.

<sup>43</sup> See below, f. 11.

<sup>44</sup> See below f. 17.

<sup>45</sup> Marion Johnson noted, for example, that fashions in cloth varied on different parts of the west African coast and that changes over time occurred in demand. As a result it 'was all too easy to arrive with a cargo of unsaleable goods'. Marion Johnson, 'The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Economy of West Africa', in Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair (eds.), *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition*, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Occasional Series, vol. 2 (1976), p. 16. Eltis notes the selectivity of Senegambian demand for European imports, comprised mainly of beads, coral and iron bars. David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 167-8.

from a trading expedition of almost three months duration on 12 November 1793 and ‘brought back the greatest part of his goods’. Macaulay noted that the items in demand in the Gambia River were ‘chiefly tobacco, iron bars, a few guns and gunpowder...’.<sup>46</sup> The captain had been instructed to purchase wax, hides, cattle and ivory but found that, although there were no other vessels in the river, he did not have a ‘proper assortment of goods’. When he informed the Governor and Council that ‘a very large purchase of wax might be made in that river’ they resolved that King should ‘furnish a list of the goods which may be wanted for the purchase of 15 tons of wax...’.<sup>47</sup> The ship sailed for Gambia River on 22 November 1793 and returned with just three and a half tons of wax on 25 January 1794. This may reflect another problem which Macaulay and Company captains faced in preparing cargoes for trade. The trading system was market oriented as the exchange value of goods, calculated in bars, fluctuated according to supply and demand.<sup>48</sup>

Sierra Leone Company traders were also placed at a competitive disadvantage in those areas where it was usual for European slave traders to advance goods on credit to African traders. In 1791 the Company report described that in Sierra Leone:

It is customary to give the factors and agents, who either travel into the country themselves, or deal with other factors still further up the river, a quantity of European goods on credit (a great part of them gunpowder and spirits) and if the man in possession of the goods wastes or consumes them, so as not to fulfil his obligation of bringing the stipulated slave or slaves in return, he is taken for a slave himself: or if he does not return in a certain time, any one of his family is taken.<sup>49</sup>

In October 1793 the Governor and Council resolved that all loans of goods to African traders were to be discontinued ‘as the practise of lending has been found universally productive of palavas’. This decision was taken as ‘no expediency remains for recovering the Companys money except seizing the persons of the debtors an expedient it was better to avoid’.<sup>50</sup> Clearly, the principles of the Company prevented them from participating in the practice of selling individuals as slaves should African traders fail to fulfil their trading agreement.

Macaulay’s journals illustrate how the success of Company trading ventures on the African coast was affected by a range of factors similar, in many respects, to the problems faced by slave traders.<sup>51</sup> In the case of the *Domingo* trading in the Gambia River in September 1793, the poor health of crew members adversely affected the outcome of the voyage.<sup>52</sup> Macaulay reported cases of illness on the *Ocean* and the *Sierra Leone Packet* on 1 November 1793. Thomas Winterbottom was given permission to attend to the sick of

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<sup>46</sup> See below f. 18.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO, CO 270/2, pp. 107-8.

<sup>48</sup> Christopher Fyfe (ed.), *Anna Maria Falconbridge: Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793 and the Journal of Isaac DuBois with Alexander Falconbridge An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (Liverpool, 2000), p. 35, note 32.

<sup>49</sup> *Substance of the Report 1791*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>50</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 95.

<sup>51</sup> Mouser identifies the various problems faced by slave traders in the Rio Pongo. Mouser, ‘Trade, Coasters and Conflict’, pp. 50, 53-4.

<sup>52</sup> See below f. 1.

the *Sierra Leone Packet*, as his younger brother Matthew, was among the ‘dangerously ill’ on the ship. The causes and symptoms of their illness are not described in Macaulay’s journal. One of the dangers faced by Company traders was exposure to yellow fever which had spread rapidly along the coast in 1793.<sup>53</sup> The disease, which originated on Bulama Island, was transmitted along coastal trading routes and was carried to the West Indies in February 1793 by settlers *en-route* to England.<sup>54</sup> Macaulay attributed the death of Lowe, captain of the *Ocean*, to his ‘unthinking’ behaviour of bathing in cold water to calm excessive perspiration.<sup>55</sup> It is possible, however, that the ship’s trading route to Bissau had exposed the captain to yellow fever.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Governor and Council tried to send captains to areas of the coast where they had specialist knowledge, although this did not necessarily guarantee success as the case of the *Naimbanna* indicates. The Court of Directors considered that war had ‘damped the hopes of the rising colony...’ to some extent as the interruption to trade and shipping limited their expansionist aims.<sup>56</sup> The Company report of 1794 also blamed the ‘prevalence of the slave trade’ for impeding its commercial objectives and they predicted that following its abolition a ‘considerable commerce in African produce may be expected to commence...’.<sup>57</sup> The Company’s aim of developing ‘legitimate trade’ with Africa had been based initially on the expectation that the British slave trade would be abolished in 1792. The postponement of this measure meant that the Company, denied a monopoly control of trade in Sierra Leone, had to prosecute its views of trade in competition with European and American slave traders on the coast. Macaulay complained bitterly on 19 October 1793 that slave traders had stamped SLC on imported guns to give the impression that the Sierra Leone Company had supplied them. He argued that the reputation for quality associated with Company products meant that slave traders achieved a ‘rapid sale and a double price in the Rio Nunez’. He feared that the practice would soon be extended to cloth and urged that the offenders should be indicted for forgery.<sup>58</sup>

Macaulay’s ambivalent relationship with European slave merchants and local slave traders on the coast was shaped by pragmatic considerations. Despite his abolitionist principles, he maintained a broadly civil working relationship with agents based at Bance Island as he was aware that in the context of hostilities with France he might need to call on their assistance.<sup>59</sup> Macaulay also had frequent contact with the captains of slave trading vessels, as an estimated 83 slave ships visited Sierra Leone in the five-year period between 1791 and 1795. It is estimated that, in total, these vessels embarked 19,079 slaves and that 17,411 were disembarked in the Americas. This does not take full account of

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<sup>53</sup> Bruce Mouser notes that the disease was ‘endemic to coastal communities’ by the middle of 1793.

<sup>54</sup> P.E.H. Hair, ‘Beaver on Bulama’, *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, 58 (1960), pp. 375, 377, 381. P.E.H. Hair, ‘“Sierra Leone and Bulama”, 1792-4: Further Notes’, *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 6 (1964), pp. 26-31.

<sup>55</sup> See below ff. 11-12.

<sup>56</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 44, 99.

<sup>58</sup> See below ff. 6-7

<sup>59</sup> Bruce L. Mouser (ed.), *Journal of James Watt: Expedition to Timbo Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison (1994), p. xiii.

those slave ships which may well have called at Freetown *en route* to other trading regions. On 24 November 1793 Macaulay commented that American slave traders were ‘the only people who venture to visit this coast’.<sup>60</sup> The information in the database indicates that of the 83 individual slave trading voyages to Sierra Leone from 1791 to 1795, only five had departed from the USA. A high proportion of the vessels trading for slaves in Sierra Leone had set sail from Liverpool, accounting for 25 of the 83 voyages (30%). Bristol ships were also important in the profile of slave trading accounting for 19 of the 83 voyages (22%). Voyages which embarked from London, including the *Sandown* in the command of Samuel Gamble, accounted for 14% of the total.<sup>61</sup> While trading for slaves at Bance Island on 5 January 1794, the log of this vessel referred to ‘found here the schr Eleanor & Eliza Captn Hallsa of New York, the Morning Star of Bristol[,] a French Prize Brig and several other craft’.<sup>62</sup> In many cases visiting slave vessels were used to Company advantage to carry dispatches to Britain or supply European trading items.

Macaulay’s plans for expansion of legitimate commerce relied on developing trading relationships with local Africans and Euraficans, most of whom also dealt in slaves. In order to develop the commercial and moral aims of the Company it was essential for Macaulay to maintain regular contact with local Africans. Trade provided a suitable vehicle for communication. On 17 October 1793 Macaulay explained his intention of encouraging ‘as much as possible the natives themselves to bring their stock &c. to market’. He claimed that this would ‘increase the intercourse of the natives with the people of this place, which is desirable on many accounts’.<sup>63</sup> Such communication was vital, as Macaulay’s record of day-to-day affairs in the colony indicates that European officials had to comply with local African practice and tradition on a range of issues. They could not act autonomously but had to take cognisance of legal custom and local hierarchies of power. One of the most vexatious issues as far as the Company was concerned was the need to negotiate rights to occupation of territory within the framework of the landlord and stranger relationship. As far as local African practice was concerned the Sierra Leone Company did not possess sovereignty over the land it occupied.<sup>64</sup> Where disputes occurred, it was necessary for Company officials to participate in lengthy palavers to settle issues.

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<sup>60</sup> See below f. 32.

<sup>61</sup> David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, 1999), *passim*.

<sup>62</sup> The *Morning Star*, a vessel of 74 tons with 4 guns, sailed from Bristol on 24 March 1792 in the command of William Fitzsimmons. The second captain of the vessel was William Stewart. In total, 56 slaves were purchased at Sierra Leone and Iles de Los, although the Du Bois database records that the vessel was abandoned and/or sold off in Africa and the original goal was thwarted. There is little information on the outcome of this slaving voyage of the schooner *Eleanor and Eliza*. The Du Bois database records that at least one slave was purchased in Africa. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity numbers 18153, 25555. An entry in the log of the *Sandown* may refer to the *Eleanor and Eliza*. On Monday 6 January 1794 the log recorded that ‘Mr. Tilley inform’d me that owing to takeing the American up which was to sail with 150 slaves on the 14 Inst[,] it did not lay in his power to let Mr Walker have any slaves’. I am grateful to Bruce Mouser for providing extracts from the log of the *Sandown*, which he is currently preparing for publication. The log is held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich [hereafter *Sandown* log].

<sup>63</sup> See below f. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Christopher Fyfe (ed.), *“Our Children Free and Happy”*: *Letters from Black Settlers in Africa in the 1790s* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 14-15.

Macaulay spent a large proportion of his time cajoling and persuading local African notables to recognise the aims of the settlement and promote its interests. With limited financial resources and fragile defence capabilities in Africa, the Sierra Leone Company could not impose European hegemony on a reluctant African population. While the European officials may have assumed that they possessed cultural superiority over indigenous peoples, the reality of power on the west African coast required co-operation and the development of partnership arrangements.<sup>65</sup> On those occasions where Company officials refused requests for alcohol by King Jamie, Prince George and Queen Yamacouba, they were still at pains to offer some other type of present to maintain their goodwill. Recent historiography has emphasised the importance of African agency in shaping the dimensions of the Atlantic slave trade. Trading practices adopted by Company employees indicate that notions of African passivity can be questioned on the basis of the more or less equal partnerships which developed between African merchants and European traders. In common with slave traders, Macaulay and the other Company officials had to recognise and work within local structures of power.<sup>66</sup>

Not surprisingly, Macaulay showed interest in the diverse ways in which African slaves tried to secure their own freedom through resistance on shore and at sea.<sup>67</sup> The colony at Sierra Leone was located on a section of the African coast that had a disproportionate share of slave rebellions. Evidence derived from *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A New Database on CD-ROM* suggests that whilst only 6% of slave voyages left Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast in the period 1595-1867, 19% of known slave revolts took place on ships leaving these trading areas.<sup>68</sup> Eltis argues that such slave insurrections, even where they were unsuccessful, had a wider significance as they forced up the price of slaves and reduced the total number purchased in the Americas. Eighteenth-century slave resistance, he suggests, reduced the number of slaves purchased by approximately half a million.<sup>69</sup>

News of a slave insurrection on board the *Pearl* in the command of Captain Howard reached Freetown on 26 November 1793. This brig, registered in New York, had obtained its principal supply of slaves at Cacandia, located in the Rio Nunez.<sup>70</sup> The vessel had 108 slaves on board when it departed on 12 November 1793 from its last slaving port.<sup>71</sup> The timing of the insurrection on the *Pearl* is broadly consistent with Eltis's observation that 'two-thirds of revolts occurred at the port of lading or within a week of setting sail...'.<sup>72</sup> The log of the brig *Sandown* recorded on Wednesday 1 January 1794 that 'At 7 AM went on Shore & staid to Breakfast and dine with the Agt. Mr. [H] Jackson. found lying here

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<sup>65</sup> Robin Law highlights the importance of recognising regional differences in the relative balance of European and African power. Robin Law, "Here is No Resisting the Country": The Realities of Power in Afro-European Relations on the West African "Slave Coast", *Itinerario*, 18, 2 (1994), pp. 50-64.

<sup>66</sup> Eltis, *African Slavery*, pp. 132-6, 145-9, 153-4.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 170-191. Evidence from the W.E.B. Du Bois database indicates that marked regional differences occurred in patterns of slave revolt and resistance. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>68</sup> Eltis, *African Slavery*, table 7.4, p. 181.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>70</sup> This location is also known as Kocundy or Kacundy.

<sup>71</sup> Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 25503.

<sup>72</sup> Eltis, *African Slavery*, p. 171.



the Brig Pearl of New York[,] late Captn Howard, the Slaves having rose upon them and taken the Vesel[,] Kill'd him & run the Brig upon Mattacong but where retaken by the Nancy of Liverpool, with the loss of one Kill'd and one Drown'd'.<sup>73</sup> This slave rebellion was described in the published Company report of 1794 to illustrate how the slave trade 'has not unfrequently issued in the sudden destruction of those immediately engaged in it'.<sup>74</sup>

The attempt by the slaves to seize control was unsuccessful in this instance. However, Macaulay was convinced that 'the intention of the slaves seems ... evidently to have been to get to this settlement'. He explained that 'when the vessel was taken possession of by them she was not above eight or nine leagues from this Cape'. Macaulay believed that the slaves were aware of the reputation of Freetown, and that they anticipated a safe reception in the colony. He considered this an appropriate location for the slaves to come ashore, as there was a greater chance of avoiding trepanning on shore by other Africans. He explained to Thornton that 'I should have been well pleased had they effected their purpose' as 'the greatness of the loss would necessarily have led to investigation'. This would have meant that the 'slaves in the meantime could be fairly claimed by no individual and the American Government would I think be the last to demand their restitution'.<sup>75</sup> In this instance, Macaulay's attitude to the runaway slaves was significantly different from August 1793 when he stated that the settlement had 'no more power to detain a slave than we had to detain a bale of goods, or to break an indenture binding an apprentice to his master'. He was aware that Company protection could be offered to slaves who had escaped from ships as it was unlikely that anyone would try to claim them as their property. In contrast, offering asylum to the slaves of local headmen and traders was likely to lead to disputes and claims for compensation.<sup>76</sup> The slaves who had sought asylum in Freetown in August 1793 were the property of Mr. Horrocks, a slave trader in the Iles de Los, who demanded compensation for his losses.

Towards the end of his journal, Macaulay made reference to a notable example of slave resistance on the west coast of Africa. In an entry for 12 December 1793 he reported that some 1200 slaves were 'very strongly entrenched' close to Bereira in the Northern Rivers. He likened the 'gallant struggle' of these runaway slaves against the African chiefs to 'the history of Europe at this moment'.<sup>77</sup> This slave insurrection was suppressed in 1795-6 by Alimamy Sitafa, ruler of Moria, and his allies.<sup>78</sup> Adam Afzelius and Thomas Winterbottom indicated that in 1795-6, a combination of Susu and Mandinka leaders laid siege to a town comprised largely of escaped slaves. According to Winterbottom, the slaves had escaped in 1785 or 1786 and had withdrawn to 'a place called Yangheekurree, in the Soosoo [Susu] territory'. By March 1796 Afzelius explained that a determined effort was made to subjugate the slaves, as it was feared that their example would encourage other slaves to rebel. Afzelius recorded that 'Mungo Simba headman of

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<sup>73</sup> Sandown log.

<sup>74</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 93.

<sup>75</sup> See below ff. 33-4.

<sup>76</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 105-11, 126-132.

<sup>77</sup> See below, ff. 49-50.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce L. Mouser, 'The 1805 Forékariah Conference: A Case of Political Intrigue, Economic Advantage, Network Building', *History in Africa*, 25 (1998), pp. 221-2.

Wongepong and King of the Sooses is Commander in chief of the combined armies, and Setafa headman of Kissey and King of the Mandingos is General of the attack...'.<sup>79</sup> Winterbottom recorded the eventual defeat of the slaves and how the attackers 'cut the throats of the wretched inhabitants who survived'.<sup>80</sup>

While Macaulay's main priorities were to consolidate civil government in the colony and to extend legitimate trade, he endeavoured to promote educational and missionary work among local African groups. He shared Thornton's view that the erosion of the slave trade was inextricably intertwined with the spread of Christianity in Africa.<sup>81</sup> It was envisaged that Freetown would become a base from which Christianity could be disseminated to African populations.<sup>82</sup> Macaulay realised that contacts through trade opened up opportunities for the Company to exert educational influence over local Africans. On 10 October 1793 he received a message from Mr. Walker, a slave trader in the Rio Nunez, requesting that the Company should supply him with a schoolmaster 'to whom he would willingly give £100 per annum'.<sup>83</sup> The appointment of Lazarus Jones, a settler, to 'teach the natives on the Bullam Shore' reflected the Company's desire to educate and civilise local Africans. His appointment in January 1794, which commanded a salary of £50 per annum, was probably to replace Boston King who returned to England with William Dawes for a period of education in March 1794.<sup>84</sup> Boston King, a Methodist preacher in Nova Scotia, explained in his memoirs that he had been attracted to the Sierra Leone settlement by the opportunity of 'contributing to the best of my poor ability, in spreading the knowledge of Christianity in that country'. His enthusiasm for proselytising Africans is reflected in the peripatetic preaching which he undertook on Sundays. According to the account in his memoirs, he found this limited role frustrating and proposed to Governor William Dawes that he establish a stationary mission at James Watt's plantation on the Bullom Shore. He recorded with satisfaction that the number of his 'scholars' soon increased from 4 to 20, and that 15 attended his teaching over a period of five months. His tuition, through an interpreter, included attention to the letters of the alphabet and knowledge of the Lord's Prayer.<sup>85</sup>

The Reverend Melville Horne, who arrived in the colony in September 1792, shared Macaulay's interest in the expansion of Christian missionary work among local Africans. Appointed as Anglican chaplain to the settlement, it was necessary for Horne to work

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<sup>79</sup> Kup, *Afzelius*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London 1803, reprinted London, 1969), p. 158.

<sup>81</sup> *Postscript to the Report 1791*, pp. 4-5. *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 69.

<sup>82</sup> Stiv Jakobsson, *Am I Not a Man and a Brother? British Missions and the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery in West Africa and the West Indies 1786-1838* (Uppsala, 1972), pp. 31, 37, 53, 62, 68-70.

<sup>83</sup> See below f. 3.

<sup>84</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 112. Boston King noted in his memoirs that Company officials in Freetown encouraged him to return to England for a period of schooling 'that I might be better qualified to teach the natives'. He arrived in England in May 1794, and was taken to Kingswood School in Bristol in August 1794. Dr. Coke, who made a significant contribution to the development of Methodist overseas missions, took him to Bristol. His period of education ended in September 1796, when he returned to Sierra Leone and 'resumed the employment of a school-master in that Colony'. Boston King, 'Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, a Black Preacher. Written by Himself During his Residence at Kingswood-School', *Methodist Magazine*, vol. xxi (June 1798), pp. 261-5.

<sup>85</sup> King, *Memoirs*, pp. 261-5.

closely with Macaulay to oversee the religious affairs of the Nova Scotian settlers and the European officials. Macaulay praised Horne's preaching ability and the usefulness of his sermons in promoting religious order in the colony. However, Horne's acceptance of the position of Company chaplain was motivated primarily by his commitment to a personal mission among Africans. Prior to his departure for Sierra Leone Horne had penned a series of letters to his former parishioners at Madeley in Shropshire explaining how he was compelled 'to forsake all I hold dear' in order that 'the wretched sons of bleeding Africa may be brought to flee for sanctuary under the wings of the God of Israel'. In impassioned tone he outlined how he had made vows 'unto Christ to preach him to the Heathens' and that 'a dispensation of the gospel to the Africans is committed to my care'. He envisaged a life in which the 'remainder of my days were devoted to the Heathen, either at Sierra Leone or elsewhere'.<sup>86</sup>

His reasons for leaving Sierra Leone in October 1793, a little over a year after his arrival, are not explained by Macaulay. The latter simply recorded on Tuesday 15 October 1793 that 'Wenham, Allen and Haswell going home. Horne and Dixon'.<sup>87</sup> Macaulay was aware that during his period in Freetown Horne had begun to write up his views on missions and that he intended going home 'to excite if possible the sleeping activity of his brethren in the ministry, by a spirited address to them and to Christians of every name'.<sup>88</sup> Horne had planned to leave the colony for some time but was anxious that he should 'escape from this dangerous service, with a tolerable reputation...'. In June 1793 he had confided to Mary Fletcher, widow of the Methodist preacher John Fletcher, his intention to quit the colony as soon as a replacement chaplain was available. He explained that he would stay until September 'when I shall have completed one unhappy year...'.<sup>89</sup>

On his return home, Horne published a pamphlet in 1794 explaining his continued commitment to the importance of Protestant missionary activity amongst heathens. His sense of guilt at leaving Sierra Leone was assuaged partly by the publication of a series of nine letters which urged other Protestants, 'learned or unlearned',<sup>90</sup> to commit themselves to the global task of saving 'the millions who groan under the iron rod of anti-Christ'. Although he viewed his own attempts to 'serve poor heathens' in Sierra Leone as 'fruitless', he was optimistic that his practical experience could provide a sound foundation on which to build missionary activity worldwide.<sup>91</sup> Referring to his experience in Sierra Leone, he reassured his readers that their lives and property would be safe. He countered popular images of African savagery by explaining that the 'natives are friendly and tractable'.<sup>92</sup> A rhetorical question posed towards the end of his pamphlet reflects his

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<sup>86</sup> Melville Horne, *Letters from the Rev. Melville Horne. Late Curate of Madeley, Salop, Now Missionary at Sierra Leone to His Friends at Madeley, Previous to His Departure from England* (Madeley, 1792), pp. 4-5, 28.

<sup>87</sup> Diary, Tuesday 15 October 1793, f. 25.

<sup>88</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 146.

<sup>89</sup> Melville Horne to Mary Fletcher. JRUL, MAM Fl 3/13/7. The letter is undated, although a postscript is dated 10 June. This notes that 'I have finally determined to come home in the next ship which will I hope be in September'. Horne left Sierra Leone in October 1793.

<sup>90</sup> Melville Horne, *Letters on Missions Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches* (Bristol, 1794), pp. 64-5.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. iii.

belief in monogenesis, a perspective which may not have been accepted by all his readers. He questioned ‘Are not Heathens men? Have they not souls to be saved?’<sup>93</sup>

In this pamphlet Horne elucidated his reasons for leaving Africa. He claimed that he was unable to prosecute successfully his plan of living and preaching amongst the ‘natives’. The daily demands and restraints of the Sierra Leone chaplaincy were such that they prevented him from developing an itinerant preaching role, and from uniting his missionary pursuits successfully with his role in Freetown.<sup>94</sup> He commented that the task of ‘preaching 4 or 5 times a week in the colony, was some labour’.<sup>95</sup> In his correspondence with Mary Fletcher, Horne outlined frankly some of the tensions created by his position as Company chaplain. He explained that the colony itself ‘was always a secondary consideration with me’ and ‘what with the religion and the politicks of the colony, I am ready to throw the business up in despair and to take a hasty leave of the place’. He found his work as Company chaplain frustrating, as it was difficult to exert his influence over the ‘7 black preachers, and 3 different religious bodies’, and he noted that the Europeans would not respond to his instructions. He was dismayed at the encroachment of political issues on religious life in the colony:

I live always in hot water, and there is always some tumoult or other on foot among the whites or blacks. Whether I will or not I must be a politician. The emergencies of things makes it my duty to be an instrument of civil government as well as a minister of Christ. The religious people have a dependance on me which they have in no one else, and to keep them from being led away by others I must always be on the look out. I am obliged to vindicate the Company and their governors, and there is scarce a measure taken which I am not obliged to explain and justify.

Horne felt constrained by the wider demands placed on him by Macaulay and other Company officials. Successful missionary activity, he argued, depended on individuals immersing themselves in the life and culture of their intended converts. He stated that they should not only supervise the development of a physical infrastructure of the Christian church amongst native populations, but that they should preach, study the language, ‘instruct their youth’, cultivate their lands and ‘acquaint themselves with the religion, government and manners of the natives’.<sup>96</sup>

Horne’s early experiment in evangelisation of Africans encountered a number of practical problems. He admitted in 1794 that the only significant work he had undertaken amongst local African groups was the delivery of ‘one single sermon by means of an interpreter’. His delivery of a sermon to Africans at Signor Domingo’s town in January 1793 was criticised by Anna Maria Falconbridge as ‘preposterous’ as she considered that the obstacles posed by language barriers would obstruct any meaningful progress. In typically acerbic style, she questioned:

Is it possible a sensible man, like Mr. Horne, can suppose it in his power to imprint notions of Christianity, or any sort of instruction, upon the minds of people, through the

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. v.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., pp. iv, vii.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-6.

bare medium of a language they do not understand? He might as well expect holding a candle to the eyes of a blind man, or exposing him to the sun, would reclaim his sight!

Although she considered that the ‘desire of spreading Christian knowledge through this ignorant land’ was ‘questionless most praise worthy’, the task would require both ‘patience and time to effect it’.<sup>97</sup> Horne also delivered a funeral oration at Robanna following the death of John Frederic Naimbana, the eldest son of King Naimbana, on 18 July 1793. Macaulay’s report acknowledged these language difficulties as he commented on the ‘soft infection’ of the ‘extempore prayer’ which melted the crowd ‘into tears’.<sup>98</sup> This limited work amongst local African groups fell far short of Horne’s early determination to spend several months at Robanna, King Naimbana’s town. However, the illness and subsequent death of the king frustrated his plans as his town ‘became the seat of bacchanal riot for two or three months, while the king’s cry, or funeral rites, were celebrated...’.<sup>99</sup> His initial optimism that he could preach to, and convert, local peoples was undermined by his realisation that he could accomplish little alone. After the Reverend Nathaniel Gilbert had returned to England in July 1793, Horne became aware that it was unlikely that other ministers of the Established church would travel out to assist him. Moreover, he recognised that his wife and young child could not participate in this life, as he was unwilling to ‘take a sickly, delicate woman and young children, and place them in an African wood, where I must leave them for one half of my time while I was engaged in rambling from village to village’.<sup>100</sup> The cumulative effect of these problems was that Horne began to doubt whether divine providence had ever intended him to preach in Sierra Leone. He also questioned whether he had the piety and strength of mind to sustain this type of ‘apostolick warfare’.<sup>101</sup>

Horne confided to Mary Fletcher that he was ‘totally disappointed’ in his initial hopes and that ‘I cannot play the missionary here’.<sup>102</sup> Nonetheless, on the basis of his experience in Sierra Leone Horne formed a clear idea of the general principles on which overseas missions should be organised and conducted. In his fourth letter he argued that ‘men and money are the nerves of war. A few scattered missionaries and paltry funds, are inadequate to such conquests’. He urged the need for adequate funding of missionary activity and that the ‘missionary spirit’ should be spread through the pulpit, and through the formation of discussion groups and regional associations.<sup>103</sup> By November 1795 Horne considered that his book had stimulated this new interest in African missions. He explained to Mary Fletcher that members of the newly formed London Missionary Society ‘tell me this Society would never have been formed but for my book...’. He observed how his book had been noticed in many periodical publications and that it had received mixed reviews. He noted that the unfavourable responses highlighted how a ‘grand fault found

<sup>97</sup> Fyfe, *Anna Maria Falconbridge*, p. 110.

<sup>98</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 78.

<sup>99</sup> Horne, *Letters on Missions*, p. vii.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. iv-vi. He made a similar point in his correspondence with Mary Fletcher in June 1793. JRUL, MAM F1 3/13/7.

<sup>101</sup> Horne, *Letters on Missions*, pp. vi, vii, 93.

<sup>102</sup> JRUL, MAM F1 3/13/7.

<sup>103</sup> Horne, *Letters on Missions*, pp. 7, 16-17, 39-40, 43.

with me is, that while I exhort others to act in missions, I relinquish the pursuits myself'.<sup>104</sup>

After Horne's departure, Macaulay supported a number of other missionary ventures from Freetown. He endeavoured to co-ordinate the efforts of new missionaries by deploying them in areas where he had developed personal contacts or legitimate trading contacts with local Africans, Euraficans and Europeans. Horne reported in November 1795 that Macaulay had shown him a plan to settle five or six Methodist families at Timbo. He noted that 'Thornton, Grant and their friends bear the expences of this mission, which is to be conducted according to their own plans...'.<sup>105</sup> The failure of this missionary scheme in 1796 can be explained partly in terms of the inadequate training and preparation of individuals. Macaulay considered that the six missionaries chosen by Dr. Coke, Superintendent of Methodist overseas missions, had formed unrealistic expectations of African life. Within twelve days of their arrival in Sierra Leone, the missionaries and their families had abandoned their plan of undertaking a mission to Timbo, capital of the Fula empire of the Futa Jalon. On 30 March 1796 Macaulay informed Henry Thornton that he was relieved that the Fula mission was abandoned as the missionaries were 'unstable subjects' who might have brought Christianity into disrepute within Africa. In Macaulay's view they exhibited 'a miserable deficiency in the necessary qualifications for missionaries, of patience under suffering, and perseverance in the face of danger...'.<sup>106</sup> Though earnest, these missionary ventures made little headway in converting local African populations during the early years of the settlement.

Religious issues played an important part in shaping the character of Macaulay's relationship with the Nova Scotian settlers, a group which constituted the most significant Christian presence in Africa in the early 1790s.<sup>107</sup> The Company report of 1794 praised the fact that 'their attention to the Sabbath is ... great' as 'they on that day abstain entirely from work, dress themselves in very good (and some of them very gay) attire, and repair together with their children to church...'.<sup>108</sup> Methodist, Baptist and Huntingdonian congregations were well established in Nova Scotia and their distinctive democratic and independent approaches to worship transferred with the settlers to their new home in Sierra Leone. The Christian life of their chapel communities contributed to the formation of a confident self-image and a common consciousness of black identity. As their religious life was shaped by black agency, this created expectations of freedom, independence and self-determination which informed their political outlook.<sup>109</sup> Their chapels, particularly the Methodist and Huntingdonian congregations, provided a focus for political resistance to Company government.<sup>110</sup> For example, one of the delegates chosen

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<sup>104</sup> JRUL, MAM F1 3/13/4.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Knutsford, *Life and Letters*, pp. 116-125.

<sup>107</sup> Christopher Fyfe, 'The West African Methodists in the Nineteenth Century', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 3, 1 (June 1961), pp. 22-3. Walls, 'A Christian Experiment', pp. 108-13.

<sup>108</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>109</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870* (London, 1976), pp. 64-80, 126, 218.

<sup>110</sup> David George encouraged members of the Baptist congregation in Freetown to support Company government on various occasions. Anthony Kirk-Greene, 'David George: The Nova Scotian Experience', *Sierra Leone*

to take the settlers' petition of grievances to London in October 1793 was Cato Perkins, a pastor of the Huntingdonian congregation.<sup>111</sup> Horne explained to Mary Fletcher in June 1793 that:

It has been my unhappiness to see the religious people, and particularly the Methodists and almost all the preachers joining the most violent spirits, and adopting measures, which if persued, must issue in the ruin of the colony.<sup>112</sup>

Macaulay was brought into conflict with the settlers as their distinctive experience of congregational independence in Nova Scotia contrasted with the Established forms of worship approved by the Company.<sup>113</sup> Tensions arose between the enthusiastic evangelical character of the Nova Scotians' religion and the more formal types of worship in the Company church. As Fyfe points out, a characteristic trait in all the Nova Scotian congregations was the emphasis placed on the 'direct justification by the Holy Spirit and the efficacy of Grace, rather than conformity to orthodox doctrine and conduct'.<sup>114</sup> The acceptance by some Nova Scotian settlers that the Holy Spirit spoke to them directly led to questioning of Company authority. Macaulay disapproved of this tendency towards antinomianism, and sermons provided an opportunity to condemn what he regarded as inappropriate forms of belief. On 15 September 1793 Horne preached with the intention of exposing 'the reigning folly of the Methodists of this place, the accounting dreams, visions and the most ridiculous bodily sensations as incontestable proofs of their acceptance with God and of their being filled with the Holy Ghost'.<sup>115</sup> Macaulay's frustration with enthusiastic displays of religious belief is revealed in his account of Elliott Griffiths' conversion on 13 October 1793. Macaulay, who doubted the sincerity of his professions, observed that it was possible that 'our mad Methodists may make a preacher of him without delay'.<sup>116</sup>

Company chaplains became embroiled in political disputes between the settlers and European officials. Despite Horne's close association with English Methodism prior to his departure for Sierra Leone, he was not well received by the Nova Scotian congregations. His official position as Company chaplain generated suspicion amongst the settler congregations, particularly as he used the pulpit to support aspects of Company policy. His sermon on visions on 13 September 1793 was described as 'so unpalatable to many of the Methodists...' that it led to a rift with Henry Beverhout, a Methodist preacher.<sup>117</sup> A dispute over theological interpretation was only narrowly avoided on the first occasion that Jones, the new chaplain, met church leaders on 30 October 1793. Jones's relationship with the influential Methodist leader, Moses Wilkinson, deteriorated to such an extent by

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*Studies*, N.S., 14 (December 1960), pp. 113, 116-9. Christopher Fyfe, 'The Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 5, 2 (1963), pp. 55-6. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, pp. 198-9.

<sup>111</sup> Christopher Fyfe, 'The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in Nineteenth Century Sierra Leone', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 4, 2 (December 1962), pp. 54-5.

<sup>112</sup> JRUL, MAM F1 3/13/7.

<sup>113</sup> Walker notes how resentment between black dissenting congregations and established religion had manifested itself in Nova Scotia in the 1780s. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, pp. 64, 66, 79.

<sup>114</sup> Fyfe, 'Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', p. 56. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, pp. 195-6.

<sup>115</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 163-8.

<sup>116</sup> See below, ff. 4-5.

<sup>117</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 166-8.

November 1794 that ‘the church has been entirely deserted for some time past by the whole body of Methodists following Moses Wilkinson on account they alledged of the ill conduct of Jones and Garvin who generally preached there...’<sup>118</sup>

Religion provided just one of the fault lines in the relationship between Macaulay and the Nova Scotian settlers. Macaulay’s journals provide only limited insight into the experience and aspirations of the Nova Scotian settlers in Sierra Leone. Reliance on Macaulay’s journals alone underestimates the formative impact which the Nova Scotian settlers exerted on the character of the settlement; an impact that was shaped by their experience as slaves in the Americas, their Christian commitment, their strong sense of community identity and their willingness to articulate their rights as freemen.<sup>119</sup> There is little objective comment in Macaulay’s journals on the settlers’ perspectives and priorities, particularly those relating to the type of freedom that they hoped to enjoy in Freetown. Official reporting of Nova Scotian affairs concentrated mainly on the roles they played in promoting or impeding Company aims in Africa. This emphasis is reflected in the Company report of 1794 which observed that ‘it should be noticed indeed, that among these emancipated slaves, there have not been wanting instances of a few, at least, who have afforded a most favourable specimen of the African character, on whose general dispositions Christianity appears to have had a most benign and happy influence, and who have shewn themselves on all occasions humble and contented, the friends of order, and the zealous promoters of peace’.<sup>120</sup>

In Macaulay’s record of events the settlers are frequently presented in adversarial relationships with Company officials. He described to Thornton many examples of settler resistance where individuals challenged or questioned the authority of Company officials. Various incidents between October and December 1793 highlight the breakdown of trust between the settlers and Company representatives. Even disputes, which were superficially petty in nature, serve to highlight the extent of misunderstanding and disillusionment which had crept into relationships between settlers and Company officials. Luke Jordan’s claim on 1 November 1793 that rats had devoured the document stipulating his Company’s entitlement to flour rations was, in Macaulay’s opinion, a device to claim a larger quantity. Macaulay noted his disappointment with Jordan ‘whom we had esteemed as a deserving character’.<sup>121</sup> He explained to Thornton that the incident was ‘evidence of the disposition of many of the settlers...’, including ‘those from whom we expected better things...’.<sup>122</sup>

The conflagration of the storeship *York* on 30 November 1793 provided a focal point for the expression of pent-up tensions between settlers and Company officials. The

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<sup>118</sup> Journal of Zachary Macaulay, 18 July – 26 November 1794.

<sup>119</sup> Walker, *Black Loyalists*, p. xiv.

<sup>120</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 67.

<sup>121</sup> Luke Jordan was a Methodist preacher and the captain of the company of Nova Scotians who had travelled to Sierra Leone on the ship the *Brothers*. He had presented a petition to John Clarkson on 18 November 1792 which asked the governor to clarify ‘wither we is to pay as much for the half rassion as for the full ... the people wating for an answer as soon as possible please your honnah sir’. He was subsequently involved in a number of disputes with Company officials relating to the occupation of waterfront land and the dismissal of two settlers mistreated by Alexander Grierson, a Liverpool slave captain. Fyfe, *History*, pp. 49, 64. Fyfe, “*Our Children*”, pp. 9, 13, 28, 42-3.

<sup>122</sup> See below, f. 12.



destruction of this vessel of 850 tons burthen, together with the African produce stored on it, was certainly a heavy financial loss for the Company to sustain.<sup>123</sup> Macaulay estimated that the fire, which had ‘originated in the chimney of the galley’, had destroyed ‘upwards of £4000 sterling worth of African produce...’. The ivory on board the ship had been ‘burned to a cinder’ and the loss of food provisions included ‘beef, pork and other articles...’. The Company report of 1794 calculated the total loss as £15,000; a ‘calamity’ as there was no insurance on the vessel. A further setback resulted from the burning of the accounts which Macaulay had been painstakingly compiling from the fragmentary records left by former commercial agents.<sup>124</sup> More seriously, the response to the fire exposed the sharp divisions which had developed in the relationship between Company officials and Nova Scotian settlers. Macaulay was dismayed that some settlers ‘were heard rejoicing in the calamity as a just judgement of Heaven on their oppressors’. He reported how some regarded the fire as retribution for the ‘sinister’ plans of Dawes and Macaulay unjustly withholding provisions from the settlers. It was suspected that ‘the *York* had been the repository in which Mr. Dawes’s gains and mine were stored...’. A lack of unity is also reflected in the distinctions which Macaulay drew between those ‘respectable settlers’ who promised to identify those ‘guilty of any improprieties’ and the untrustworthy who had appropriated goods from the wreck. Six days later Macaulay noted that a fire which destroyed seven of the settlers’ houses on 6 December 1793 mainly affected those who had ‘rejoiced in the *York*’s destruction’. He confessed that ‘I could not help feeling less grieved at its falling on those who had shewed such a total want of charity than if it had fallen on people of a different character’. He conveyed his sense of the symmetry of fate in his observation that ‘I overheard some people at the time reminding them of the expressions they had made use of a few days before when they averred the burning of the *York* to be a judgement of God’.<sup>125</sup>

The settlers were critical of the arbitrary and unfair nature of rule exercised by Dawes and Macaulay. The fact that tensions were long-standing in nature is reflected in the presentation of a petition to the Court of Directors in London in October 1793 by Isaac Anderson and Cato Perkins in which they claimed ‘to represent the grievances and sufferings of a thousand souls’.<sup>126</sup> The Nova Scotian settlers’ fraught relationship with the Company was shaped by their belief that white people had done little to assist their pursuit of freedom. The settlers, who had been agents of their own liberation, were suspicious of white motives. This is reflected in their observation that ‘we have been so often deceived by white people, that we are jealous when they make any promises, and uneasily wait till we see what they will come to’.<sup>127</sup> Their purpose in travelling to London was to open the eyes of the Company directors to their manifold grievances and sense of oppression. The petition asserted that the Company had failed to fulfil various promises made to them in good faith by their former governor, John Clarkson. Discontent with the ‘extortionate price’ of provisions, the poor quality of limited land allocations and the necessity of relying on the Company work schemes were grievances which would prevent their

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<sup>123</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 41.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> See below ff. 47-8.

<sup>126</sup> In a letter to John Clarkson dated 30 October 1793, Perkins and Anderson refer to the petition ‘which we brought from our Fellow Settlers at Free Town...’. Fyfe, “*Our Children*”, p. 40. Fyfe, *Anna Maria Falconbridge*, p. 148.

<sup>127</sup> Fyfe, *Anna Maria Falconbridge*, p. 148.

children from becoming 'free and happy'.<sup>128</sup> They resented particularly the way in which they were 'not treated as freemen' but 'as if we were all Slaves which we cannot bear...'.<sup>129</sup>

Two weeks after submitting the settlers' petition, Anderson and Perkins expressed anger at the unwillingness of the Court of Directors to respond to their requests for justice. In a letter to John Clarkson of 9 November 1793 they explained that 'the Company intend to send us out in the *Amy* and they will not give us any answer but send us back like Fools...'. Their frustration is reflected in their warning that 'if they serve us so ... the Company will lose their Colony...'.<sup>130</sup> Anna Maria Falconbridge considered that the conduct of the directors towards Anderson and Perkins 'must really be a subject of consternation'. She argued that until the promises made to them in Nova Scotia were fulfilled 'no kind of confidence can exist between the Company and the Colonists; and unless that is quickly secured, the Colony must fall to nought'.<sup>131</sup> In a further written statement of their grievances, compiled in response to a request from the Court of Directors, the extent of their distrust for the colony's government is reflected in their refusal to be 'governed by your present Agents in Africa'.<sup>132</sup>

The unwillingness of Company officials to heed the requests in the petition may have been linked partly to information received from Freetown that the complaints were 'frivolous and ill-grounded'. Anderson and Perkins suspected that Dawes and Macaulay had prejudiced their case by informing the Court of Directors that their declared grievances had little substance or support.<sup>133</sup> The Company report of 1794 in fact stated that their petition, 'couched in strong terms', was hasty, based on misinformation and not 'thoroughly approved by a great part of the Nova Scotians'.<sup>134</sup> However, the directors' imperviousness owes much more to their inability to comprehend the reasons for the settlers' disquiet. They viewed the demands as evidence of the settlers' ingratitude and their failure to recognise the benefits that the Company had conferred upon them. There was the expectation that the settlers should subordinate their aspirations to the long-term objectives of Company policy in Africa.<sup>135</sup> Judging by the published Company literature, European Company officials were confident that they offered a type of freedom to former slaves that was radical in conception and generous in spirit. The tensions derived largely from the differing expectations of the former slaves and Company officials. The directors assumed that the group of over 1100 settlers should be active, yet compliant instruments in their mission to civilise Africa and, far from repining about the practical difficulties they faced, should embrace the opportunity to improve the spiritual and economic development of Africa.

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<sup>128</sup> Fyfe, "Our Children", pp. 36-7.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-9. See also Fyfe, *Anna Maria Falconbridge*, pp. 148-151.

<sup>130</sup> Fyfe, "Our Children", p. 41.

<sup>131</sup> Fyfe, *Anna Maria Falconbridge*, p. 152.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>134</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, pp. 22-3.

<sup>135</sup> Walker, *Black Loyalists*, pp. 154-6.

Macaulay, in common with other Company officials, adopted an authoritarian and paternalistic attitude towards the Nova Scotian settlers. His assumption that they were malleable and receptive to paternal control failed to take account of their independence, diverse experience and distrust of authority. Published Company literature portrayed the Nova Scotian settlers in a childlike state as a result of their experience of enslavement, and stated that their ‘untutored minds’ needed to be educated through social discipline and rigorous schooling.<sup>136</sup> The Company report of 1794 praised those ‘noble’ characteristics in the Nova Scotians which conformed with Company aims, such as their respectable and sober deportment in church which formed a ‘very striking spectacle’. They concluded that ‘the Nova Scotians are evidently superior to the generality of people of the same order in this country, in respect to that particular class of morals that has been treated of; but this is certainly the most favourable way of viewing them’.<sup>137</sup> However, ‘symptoms of ambition’, disrespectful conduct towards their superiors and ‘absurd notions... concerning their rights as freemen’ were condemned as unreasonable and ungrateful forms of behaviour.<sup>138</sup> The directors explained in 1794 that the inappropriate forms of behaviour shown by the settlers could be traced to the ‘peculiar circumstances of their past lives’ in slavery and ‘not to any original fault in their moral character... nor to any natural inferiority in their understanding’.<sup>139</sup> This reflects an attitude contained in various writings from the 1770s that the slave was a ‘man of natural virtue and sensitivity who was at once oppressed by the worst vices of civilisation and yet capable of receiving its greatest benefits’.<sup>140</sup>

Macaulay’s frequent disagreements with the settlers during 1793 reflected these differing perspectives. This ‘self-liberated black community’ of Nova Scotians expected to enjoy a far greater measure of autonomy than European officials were prepared to countenance. From the European perspective the appointment of black settlers, both male and female, as jurors and their appointment as marshalls, hundredors and tythingmen to maintain law and order were viewed as privileges offering unique opportunities for their participation in the administrative structures of the new settlement. The Company report of 1794 emphasised how ‘the hundredors are consulted by the Governor and Council, on such occasions as concern the general interests of the Nova Scotians’.<sup>141</sup> From the settlers’ perspective the confinement of such roles to the minor offices of colonial government did not fully satisfy their demand for representation by ‘our own Culler’.<sup>142</sup> Some expression of racial tension in the settlement is reflected in the characterisation of William Dawes as a ‘white rascal’ by one of the Nova Scotian settlers in November 1793.<sup>143</sup> This tension may have derived partly from the fact that all the senior positions of government and administration in the colony were held by European officials. The organisation of the colony was predicated on the view that European moral superiority conferred a right to rule the former slaves. In some respects this racial balance of power made Freetown

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<sup>136</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, pp. 60-69.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>140</sup> David Brion Davis, ‘What the Abolitionists Were Up Against’, in Bender, *Antislavery Debate*, p. 24.

<sup>141</sup> *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 55.

<sup>142</sup> Fyfe, “*Our Children*”, pp. 25-6.

<sup>143</sup> See below f. 23.

unusual in the African context where ‘white slave traders still acknowledged the authority of black rulers’.<sup>144</sup> Far from being passive, the Nova Scotian settlers asserted their rights by presenting complaints and petitions to the Governor and Council. These petitions reflected their understanding of the ‘political concepts and vocabulary of contemporary Britain and America’.<sup>145</sup> Their protest strategies were largely peaceful in this early phase of Company administration in contrast to events seven years later, when some resorted to armed rebellion.<sup>146</sup>

Macaulay, therefore, faced a number of challenges and difficulties during his first year in Sierra Leone. As second member of council he had to co-operate with Governor Dawes to address problems caused by the state of warfare with France, particularly the interruptions to trade and food supplies. His negotiations with neighbouring African groups and slave traders were intended to extend legitimate trade, but also to maintain some stability in the external affairs of the colony. The location of the colony in a slave-trading region created various problems for Macaulay and for the settler population. The Nova Scotians were conscious of the fact that they could be re-sold into slavery by either Africans or visiting slave traders. In spite of these difficulties, some limited areas of progress can be discerned in the affairs of the colony. There was some expansion in the territory occupied by the colony and some development of the urban infrastructure at Freetown. Between October and November 1793, William Dawes completed successful negotiations for the colony to occupy an area of land on the Bullom Shore. As this area could accommodate twenty settler families, it was intended to relieve some of the pressure on the limited stock of cultivatable land around Freetown. The Governor and Council explained on 11 November 1793 that acquisition of this land was in response to ‘complaints having arisen on the part of the colonists respecting the badness and insufficiency of the lands already allotted...’. However, the terms and conditions for occupying this land caused further protest from the settlers in June 1794 as it was necessary ‘to relinquish the town and farm lots already allotted to them in Sierra Leone as every claim of land or for compensation instead thereof they may have had on the Sierra Leone Company’.<sup>147</sup>

In 1793 Company officials and settlers showed some tenacity in the face of mounting difficulties. Both groups maintained their belief in the potential of the settlement as a mechanism for achieving their disparate goals. Though the petition which Perkins and Anderson presented to the Court of Directors in October 1793 was openly critical of Company administration, it was motivated by a desire to exert a positive influence on the management of the colony. The Company’s continued commitment to their West African settlement in the 1790s is significant as it took place in the context of a retrenchment in abolitionist campaigning activity in Britain. Following the success of the petitioning campaign of 1792, in which an estimated 400,000 signatures were collected, the wars with France and the failure of the House of Lords to sanction gradual abolition removed the

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<sup>144</sup> Christopher Fyfe, ‘Freed Slave Colonies in West Africa’, *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 5, c. 1790-1870 (Cambridge, 1976), p. 177. Eltis, *African Slavery*, *passim*.

<sup>145</sup> Fyfe, “*Our Children*”, p. 7.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>147</sup> Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 94-5, 105-7, 109, 171.

issue from the political spotlight.<sup>148</sup> Moreover, wartime conditions had eroded the wider European enthusiasm for African colonisation characteristic of the 1780s.<sup>149</sup> Macaulay considered, however, that many of the setbacks experienced by the Company were part of God's providential plan. Following the fire on the *York* he concluded that 'it is enough for us to know that it comes from the disposer of events and that in his hands it will conduce to good'. He emphasised how 'I have said this much to shew you that however severely we have felt the calamity we are by no means discouraged by it'.<sup>150</sup> In his communication with Thornton on 6 December 1793 he referred to how they were engaged in 'prosecuting the present attempt of spreading Christ's Gospel...'. It is not surprising then, that the opening of the new church in Freetown on 25 December 1793 was reported in very positive terms by Zachary Macaulay. His enthusiasm reflected the wider aims of the Company as he commented in his diary that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God'.<sup>151</sup>

### Editorial Method

Macaulay's journals and diary are preserved in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This edition is a full transcript of Macaulay's Sierra Leone journal for October to December 1793 (HL, MY418/2). This item is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library. This edited transcript of Macaulay's journal was prepared using the same methodology described in the first volume in this series.<sup>152</sup> Deletions and alterations to the original text by Viscountess Knutsford, Macaulay's granddaughter, are less extensive than in the journal spanning June to October 1793 (HL MY418/1). Consequently, it has been possible to retrieve a far higher proportion of Macaulay's original text. Knutsford included just a small part of this journal in her early twentieth-century publication, and omitted the bulk of the material which is presented in this volume.<sup>153</sup> Most of the daily entries in Macaulay's journal were excluded from her publication, and others were reduced in extent. Judging from the content of the omissions, her motivation was to provide an overview of what she perceived to be key developments in the affairs of the colony. However, the material she omitted is valuable as it offers an insight into interaction with local traders and indigenous groups. Recent historical interest in African agency in the slave trade, for example, means that the entries which refer to contact with neighbouring groups are of particular interest.<sup>154</sup> Knutsford's selections reflect the preoccupations and priorities of her age as she placed emphasis on events which illustrated European influence on Africa.

As entries in Macaulay's diary cover the period from 1 August 1793 to 16 April 1794, they span the entire period of this journal. As a result it has been possible to cross-

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<sup>148</sup> Curtin, *Image of Africa*, pp. 123-4. G.M. Ditchfield, 'Repeal, Abolition and Reform: A Study in the Interaction of Reforming Movements in the Parliament of 1790-6', in Bolt & Drescher, *Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform*, p. 102.

<sup>149</sup> Curtin, *Image of Africa*, pp. 123-4.

<sup>150</sup> See below f. 48.

<sup>151</sup> Diary, Wednesday 25 December 1793, f. 54.

<sup>152</sup> Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, pp. xviii-xx.

<sup>153</sup> Knutsford, *Life and Letters*, pp. 52-7.

<sup>154</sup> Eltis, *African Slavery*, pp. 146-191. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 30-2, 34.

reference the entries for additional information or for areas of inconsistency.<sup>155</sup> Macaulay's diary will be published as the third instalment in this series.

### **Editorial Conventions**

Macaulay's spelling of personal names and toponyms is reproduced in this edition. Inconsistencies in the spelling of personal names and toponyms have been retained in the edited text. His frequent use of initial capital letters for common nouns has not been reproduced in this edition. The layout of this edited text follows the original paragraphing sequence in Macaulay's journal.

Italics are used to extend abbreviated words, where there is no doubt of their original meaning.

Ships' names are also italicised, although the context of such examples means they should be easily distinguishable from extended abbreviations.

Editorial insertions are enclosed in square brackets.

[...] illegible, one word.

[*illegible, two or three words*] This provides an estimate of the extent of the illegible text.

[?] doubtful reading of a word.

~~Word struck through~~ deleted but legible.

/50/ folio number

A composite index will be provided in the final edition in the series. The editor considers that a single index in the final section will facilitate ease of reference by the reader.

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<sup>155</sup> I am very grateful to Bruce L. Mouser for providing me with his transcript of the diary, together with his helpful annotations.

## COPY 1

**October 4, 1793** By the *Felicity* which sailed on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October I sent you a continuation of my journal to the 4<sup>th</sup> on which day the *Domingo* arrived.<sup>1</sup> Captain Woollis had left the *Naimbanna* in charge to his mate Mr. King and came down in the *Domingo* fearing from Wenham's low state that it would be unsafe to send her down without someone to navigate her. Such wax as was purchased was laid in at a reasonable rate, but Wenham was confined to his cabin almost all the time he was in the Gambia and of course unable to make purchases.<sup>2</sup>

The distance is too great to bring cattle from the Gambia. They are always much reduced ~~much reduced~~ before they reach Sierra Leone. I propose soon visiting the Rio Pongas to establish if possible a trade to that river for cattle and which is only 48 hours sail hence with the ordinary winds.<sup>3</sup>

**October 5** A slave captain who came here to dispose of a craft<sup>4</sup>, but which we refused to take, assured us that notwithstanding the high prices *received* for slaves in the West Indies during the years 1791 and 1792 that the slave trade had proved a losing trade from the multitude who were drawn[?] into it by the hope of profit and who raised the price on the coast more than proportionably, and that all the vessels which have /2/ arrived in the West Indies since May last must have sunk considerable sums of money as a sudden fall had taken place in the price of slaves in the West Indies at that time.<sup>5</sup>

**Sunday 6** Mr. Horne preached in the forenoon on the necessity of holiness to our seeing God, and in the afternoon on chusing the better part with Mary of caring for our souls.

**October 7** We are much pestered with visitors who make it a point to bring some present of rice or fowls or some such article with a view of having it returned in liquor, but

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<sup>1</sup> An edited edition of this journal is contained in Suzanne Schwarz (ed.), *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company 1. Journal, June – October 1793*, University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Leipzig, 2000), ff. 1-182.

<sup>2</sup> The *Domingo* had set sail for the River Gambia, approximately 400 miles north of Freetown, on 26 June 1793 with 'an assortment of goods adapted for the purchase of wax and ivory, as well as cattle...'. Macaulay recorded his hope that 'in four months I expect to see her return with a considerable quantity of these articles'. However, due to Wenham's ill health he purchased 'only 22 head of cattle, two tons of wax and 55lb. of ivory'. Ibid., ff. 32, 182.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Mouser notes that by the late eighteenth century, the Rio Pongo had developed as a 'good market for slaves and live cattle...'. He notes that this cluster of seven rivers, approximately 140 miles north of Freetown, was a popular area with slave captains as the resident traders warehoused goods which were in demand, thereby reducing the amount of time spent on the coast. Bruce L. Mouser, 'Trade, Coasters and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808', *J.A.H.*, 14, 1 (1973), pp. 46, 49-50.

<sup>4</sup> In his diary for 5 October 1793 Macaulay recorded that he refused the offer of schooner from Captain Smith. Diary, Saturday 5 October 1793, f. 23. Smith was captain of the *Peggy*, a Liverpool slave ship. See below f. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The published Company report of 1791 claimed that prices for slaves in the West Indies were high 'having risen to about £25 or £30 each...'. *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court* (London, 1791), p. 29. In his diary Macaulay noted that 'money lost by slave trade even now'. Diary, Saturday 5 October 1793, f. 23.

we have begun to pursue a plan which in all probability will put a stop to it.<sup>6</sup> We receive their present paying them somewhat less than its value, but absolutely refusing the demand for liquor.<sup>7</sup>

**October 8** Mr. Dawes taken ill with a fever. This account[...] the sickly season by the natives. Many of them are sickly and many of them have died.<sup>8</sup>

King Jamie and Prince George visited us. We have more reason every day to be satisfied with the conduct of these two gentlemen.<sup>9</sup> The former particularly shews himself exceedingly moderate and averse to cause trouble. He scarce ever makes any demand on us now, and seems disposed to [...] the incroaching disposition of others.

**October 9** I was taken ill last night by a fever and ague which weakened me much.

**10** Mr. Dawes's fever and mine had abated but we were more debilitated and reduced than by any fever's attack /3/ so much that our stomachs will not bear the bark.<sup>10</sup>

There was much sickness on board the shipping at this time. Every officer in the service was ill except Telford and Robertson.<sup>11</sup>

A schooner arrived with rice from the Rio Nunez and brought a message from Mr. Walker the chief trader there, requesting that we would send a schoolmaster there to whom he would willingly give £100 *per annum*.<sup>12</sup> I mean to visit that river soon.

<sup>6</sup> The Company report of 1794 noted that drunkenness was one of the 'various evils interwoven in the [slave] trade...'. *Substance of the Report Delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Proprietors on Thursday March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1794* (London, 1795), p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Sixteen days later Macaulay recorded in his diary that 'Queen Naimbanna sends goat for liquor'. The request was 'referred to Mr. Dawes'. In order to maintain good relations with neighbouring Africans, such requests had to be dealt with in a way that would not cause offence. Diary, Wednesday 23 October 1793, f. 26. See below ff. 34-5.

<sup>8</sup> In his 'Meteorological Account of Sierra Leone', Thomas Winterbottom noted that 'the rains which, during the three preceding months, had been very severe, began to diminish considerably during the present'. He commented that in October 1793 'the atmosphere was less gloomy than in the preceding months, though still hazy and often obscured by clouds'. Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London 1803, reprinted London, 1969), pp. 282, 287-8.

<sup>9</sup> Macaulay noted in his diary that 'King Jamie and Prince George friendly'. Diary, Thursday 8 October 1793, f. 23. For earlier references to Prince George, a ruler from the west side of Pirates Bay three miles west of Freetown, see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 94, 113. For earlier references to King Jamie, see *Ibid.*, ff. 87, 96, 102, 120, 173.

<sup>10</sup> This refers to cinchona bark (*Cortex peruvianus*) which was effective in the prevention and treatment of malaria. Curtin notes that the bark could be used successfully to treat the disease and to prevent an expected attack. The treatment, which had been known about in England since the late seventeenth century, went through different phases of popularity. The use of bark was comparatively popular in the late eighteenth century, as it was recommended as a treatment by James Lind, a former naval surgeon, and J. Fothergill. There was conflicting advice on the timing and frequency with which the bark should be taken. It was usually administered in powdered form with wine. Macaulay appears to have taken bark once the symptoms of fever had appeared. This reference, together with others in his journals, suggests that Macaulay did not use it for prophylactic purposes. Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa. British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (London, 1965), pp. 81-2.

<sup>11</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted that 'Wenham, Davies, Woollis and Benson ill'. Diary, Thursday 10 October 1793, f. 24.

<sup>12</sup> This probably refers to Mr. James Walker (c. 1750-1796), whose trading factory was located at Walkaria, near Kocundy in the Rio Nunez. Mouser points out that Walker, a substantial trader in the Rio Nunez, had formerly worked as a surgeon on a slave ship. In addition to employing a number of Fula, he owned several



**October 11** The *Peggy*, Smith of Liverpool (a slave ship) sailed hence to the West Indies. Mr. Strand wrote you a few lines by her.<sup>13</sup>

**12** Mr. Watt came over and left all things well.<sup>14</sup> You will see by his report that he wishes to decline the addition to his salary which the Court of *Directors* had made. I am sorry that he had not weighed the matter better before he empowered me to give you the intimation which I suppose was the ground of the resolution of the Court. It shall if possible however be settled before the sailing of the next vessel.

The surgeon at Bance Island having died lately, I find that Mr. Tilley has been making underhand offers to Mr. Jefferies to quit the *Companys* service and repair to Bance Island where he will live at free cost and have £250 per annum. Jefferies rejected the offer.

**October 13** We continue recovering slowly. Only Wenham and Allen the carpenter seem to be in a dangerous state<sup>15</sup> /4/.

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cutters which traded as far north as Bissau, approximately 100 miles from the Rio Nunez. During their expedition to Timbo in February 1794, James Watt, Matthew Winterbottom and John Lowes spent several days with Walker in the Rio Nunez. On 1 February 1794 they 'came to an anchor abreast of Mr. Walker's factory'. Watt noted that he initially 'received us kindly and, being made acquainted with the object of our journey, he promised us in a hearty manner all the assistance in his power'. The following day Walker accompanied them to different factories in the Rio Nunez. Watt noted on 7 February 1794 that Walker was 'uncommonly attentive' towards them, although four days earlier he had observed that 'a great deal of mean selfishness appeared in him', particularly in his conduct towards Matthew Winterbottom. Walker accompanied Watt, Winterbottom and Lowes on the first stage of their journey. Bruce L. Mouser (ed.), *Journal of James Watt: Expedition to the Timbo Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison (1994), pp. 4-9, 116,

<sup>13</sup> The *Peggy* in the command of Captain John Smith had left Liverpool on 26 March 1793. The barque of 159 tons burthen had been built ten years earlier in Folkestone, although it was registered at Liverpool in 1790. The captain purchased a total of 259 slaves at Sierra Leone and Cape Mount during the period between 30 April and 12 October 1793. 237 slaves were on board the vessel when it departed from Sierra Leone for Kingston, Jamaica. The ship, which had four named owners between 1790-3, had previously traded to Sierra Leone on at least four occasions whilst in the command of John Smith. He was named as the second captain of the *Peggy* between 1786-7 when the vessel traded at the Iles de Loss. 102 slaves were delivered to Dominica in June 1787. In November 1787 the ship left Liverpool and traded for slaves on the Windward Coast before sailing for Barbados. In May 1791 the vessel departed from Sierra Leone having purchased over 200 slaves at Sierra Leone. Bance Island was one of the three sources of supply during the subsequent period of trading on the coast between December 1791 and July 1792. Of the 212 slaves purchased, 198 were delivered at St. Vincent in August 1792. During the course of this voyage in 1793 nine of the 37-man crew deserted the ship. David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, 1999), voyage identity numbers 83026, 83029, 83030, 83031. The practice of using slave ships to convey mail was commonplace. On the day the *Peggy* sailed Macaulay noted in his diary that he had written to an individual named D. Davidson and that 'Strand wrote to Henry Thornton'. Diary, Friday 11 October 1793, f. 24.

<sup>14</sup> For earlier references to James Watt see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 11, 24, 27, 62, 76, 81, 95, 107, 112-14, 122, 173 & 175.

<sup>15</sup> As this was a Sunday, Macaulay's diary recorded that 'Horne preached from Acts 17.22 to 31'. This may have been Horne's last formal preaching commitment in Sierra Leone prior to his departure on the *Felicity* on 17 October 1793. Diary, Sunday 13 October 1793, f. 24. Two days later Macaulay recorded that 'Wenham, Allen and Haswell going home. Horne and Dixon'. Diary, Tuesday 15 October 1793, f. 25. Following his return to England Horne explained that 'I had gone to Sierra Leone with the hope of doing something towards the establishment of a mission to the natives; and, after a residence of 14 months, I returned to England from a conviction that I could not effect my purpose'. Melville Horne, *Letters on Missions Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches* (Bristol, 1794), p. iii. On 19 September 1793 the Governor and Council

I hear that a most surprising conversion has been wrought by the Methodists on no less distinguished a character than Elliott Griffiths.<sup>16</sup> It has been attended on his part with loud and vehement declarations, even in the streets of his lost estate.<sup>17</sup> He continued in this state of mind for a day or two, the Methodist preachers praying with him night and day when at last he said God was pleased to reveal himself to him, and give him comfortable assurances of mercy. I am not at all disposed to doubt the possibility of such sudden conversions or to affirm that Griffiths may not be sincere, but I am sorry to see the beginning of his religious course marked by such extravagancies, and to see the preachers encouraging him in them and calling them the genuine marks of the operation of God's spirit. There are many circumstances however which incline me to think unfavourably of his professions, and which would induce me to look for the evidence of a godly life and that for a considerable time, before I would put implicit faith in them. He had failed before of making himself popular in the colony, on which he went to live among the natives, engaged in all their idolatrous practices, drove away his wife and took a number of concubines, borrowed money at all hands which he squandered away, till he finds it unsafe now to quit the place where he resides, and is reduced to great want. The natives too have brought /5/ palavers against him which exposed him to the risk of being taken and sold as a slave. He has now played his last card, and that very dexterously, nor do I think it unlikely that our mad Methodists may make a preacher of him without delay. He has thus gained the favour of a large party and recovered the protection of the colony. After all, should he prove sincere, he may prove from his knowledge of the native languages a most valuable instrument in the hands of God for spreading his Gospel, although should it be otherwise he may do proportionate mischief. He has written a penitential letter to Mr. Dawes soliciting his forgiveness for his past conduct.

**October 14** A Mr. Aspinall, a trader in the Scarcies<sup>18</sup>, came here and we contracted with him for fourteen tons of last years rice at £10 *sterling per ton* and for 50 tons of this years rice at £12 *per ton*.<sup>19</sup>

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noted that Wenham had 'laboured under disease' since his return from the River Gambia and that as his condition had deteriorated over the previous few days he was granted permission for a leave of absence of a few months. Thomas Haswell, described as a servant of the Governor, was given permission to return to Britain. Two months earlier, Macaulay had explained that Haswell's illness was so severe that he had almost been despaired of. Schwarz, *Journal, June - October 1793*, f. 113. The Governor and Council also granted permission to Dixon to return home due to his 'impaired constitution'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 93. Macaulay was disappointed with Dixon as he 'has done nothing since he came out here, and as he proposes returning in the *Felicity*, he will have received a pass out and home ~~and~~ besides his salary without making the smallest return to the Company'. Schwarz, *Journal, June - October 1793*, f. 172.

<sup>16</sup> Macaulay and other Company officials regarded Elliot Griffiths, one of the original settlers in the 'Province of Freedom', as a troublemaker both amongst the settlers and local African groups. See Schwarz, *Journal, June - October 1793*, ff. 81-2, 86, 100, 102, 157.

<sup>17</sup> This suggests that the plot of land that had been granted to him in Freetown in March 1792 had been redeemed by the Company or occupied by another settler. Dr. Bell had seconded a proposal by Richard Pepys that Elliot should be granted a remuneration of 300 bars a year and a plot of land in Freetown for acting as an interpreter to the Sierra Leone Company. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> The Great Scarcies river and the Little or Small Scarcies river lay approximately 30 miles north of Freetown.

<sup>19</sup> Aspinall lived at Robat on the Great Scarcies. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London, 1962), p. 54. In July 1806 Joseph Corry spent a number of days at 'Robart, the factory of Mr. Aspinwall'. He described Aspinall, who had lived on the coast for 'upwards of 32 years', as a valuable informant 'on many in-

He has lived 21 *years* in this country and has great property in it, but he dare not for fear of having himself robbed and plundered by the natives, bring his goods out of the river *although* he wishes it much.<sup>20</sup> He allowed that wars for the purpose of making slaves were the only wars he had known, and that they prevailed much in the Scarcies where people were continually in a state of alarm.

15 Mr. Padenheim taken ill.<sup>21</sup> All the other invalids getting better. /6/

**October 16** We finished the dispatches for the Court of Directors, which I was sorry should have been so imperfect, by the next *opportunity* we shall send such papers as were omitted.

17 The *Felicity* sailed.<sup>22</sup> Some people came from the Turtle Islands to acquaint us that they had great quantities of stock on hand and wished us to send down to purchase them.<sup>23</sup> We have frequent messages of this sort from various quarters, but we wish to encourage as much as possible the natives themselves to bring their stock &c. to market. It will save us much trouble and increase the intercourse of the natives with the people of this place, which is desirable on many accounts.

18 Mr. Cleveland sent up his clerk from the Bannanas<sup>24</sup> to agree with us for rice and camwood.<sup>25</sup> We agreed with him for 50 tons of new rice at £12. The camwood I believe we will shall be obliged to give him £14 or £15 ton.

19 It has become a practice with slave traders to bring out guns for trade marked SLC for which they get a rapid sale and a double price in the Rio Nunez. This practice will be followed by two bad effects. Our sale will be injured (but indeed we have no guns at

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teresting particulars'. Joseph Corry, *Observations Upon the Windward Coast of Africa* (London 1807, reprinted London, 1968), pp. 109-110. Macaulay's decision to purchase rice from this slave trader was justified on the basis that it was intended 'to prevent the renewal of the evils which the colony has already experienced from a want of provisions to guard against a disappointment in the hope of receiving a supply of flour from England'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 94.

<sup>20</sup> Aspinall's situation indicates how the slave trade was essential to the West Africans' economy. Macaulay noted in his diary that Aspinall had 'a great deal of money in the country, having lost two fortunes'. Diary, Monday 14 October 1793, f. 24.

<sup>21</sup> For earlier references to Daniel Padenheim, see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 13, 85.

<sup>22</sup> Macaulay recorded in his diary that the ship 'sails at night by the help of a tornado'. Diary, Thursday 17 October 1793, f. 25.

<sup>23</sup> The Turtle Islands are located close to the mouth of the Sherbro estuary, approximately 60 miles south of Freetown.

<sup>24</sup> The Banana Islands are located at the southern end of the Sierra Leone peninsula. See Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, map 2, p. xxi. William Cleveland ran a slave factory at the Banana Islands and also had rice plantations on the mainland. He inherited the business concerns of his uncle, James Cleveland, who died in 1791 and was the son of William Cleveland (died 1758), who had established himself as a slave trader on the Banana Islands. Alexander Peter Kup (ed.), *Adam Afzelius Sierra Leone Journal 1795-6*, Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia XXVII (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 79-80. Fyfe, *History*, pp. 10, 54. Cleveland descendants in the United States are discussed in E. Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle, 1741-1808: A Lady of Color in the South Carolina Low Country* (Columbia SC, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> In a diary entry for 17 October 1793 Macaulay recorded a visit by 'Graham from Bananas' who 'gets goods and contracts for 50 tons rice at £12'. Diary, Thursday 17 October 1793, f. 25.

present) and the character of our guns will be injured, as the guns sold with the colony's mark are in no respect superior to the ordinary trade guns. The cloths /7/ marked SLC are also in such repute in that river that the traders will probably have recourse to a similar expedient with respect to them. It were to be wished the gentlemen who adopt this plan could be indicted for forgery. It certainly comes under the spirit if not under the letter of the law, which punishes a man for counterfeiting another's signature.

20 Garvin preached.<sup>26</sup>

21 Captain Davis took charge of the *Domingo* which is preparing with all dispatch for the Windward Coast to lay in a cargo of rice and pepper chiefly, and ivory if it falls in the way.<sup>27</sup>

22 The *Duke of Clarence* sailed to the Scarcies for rice.<sup>28</sup> Poor Wallace is in a miserable state always complaining. He is totally unfit for business.<sup>29</sup> Mr. Graham was taken ill.

23 Graham better. Mr. Dawes went over to the Bullam Shore, partly on account of his health, but chiefly with a view to sound the natives on the subject of forming a sub colony on that side of the river.

24 Mr. Cleveland of the Bannanas sent up 4 tons of camwood by one of his craft.<sup>30</sup>

25 I was told today that the friends of young Nanybanna had disposed of all his books, cloaths &c. at Bance Island and that they had made a present to Mr. Tilley of the picture of H.J. Granville which you sent out to his father some time ago.<sup>31</sup> /8/ Seeley confined with a disorder in his bowels.

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<sup>26</sup> John Garvin, an English Baptist schoolmaster sent out by the Sierra Leone Company, arrived in Freetown in August 1793. See Schwarz, *Journal, June - October 1793*, ff. 115, 121, 168, 172, 181.

<sup>27</sup> It was resolved on 12 October 1793 that Captain William Davies should be given command of the *Domingo*. This was short-lived as he was dismissed from the Company's service the following month for purchasing two African boys during this voyage. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 93-4. See below f. 13.

<sup>28</sup> The Governor and Council had resolved on 17 October 1793 that the *Duke of Clarence* was to 'receive the rice which Mr. Aspinall has now on hand'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> By August 1793 Zachary Macaulay had reached the conclusion that Wallace was extremely inefficient as a commercial agent. Schwarz, *Journal, June - October 1793*, ff. 114, 140-1. The Governor and Council resolved on 29 October 1793 that he should be replaced immediately by Mr. Buckle. He was to receive instructions to make 'an immediate transfer' of all Company goods in his possession to Mr. Buckle and to close his accounts with the Company as soon as possible. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 95.

<sup>30</sup> According to Macaulay's diary, Cleveland 'wants tobacco much'. Diary, Thursday 24 October 1793, f. 26.

<sup>31</sup> In April 1792 Alexander Falconbridge had presented King Naimbana with a portrait of his son, John Frederic Naimbana, whom the Sierra Leone Company was educating in England. Anna Maria Falconbridge's account recorded that the picture, a present from the directors, is 'an admirable likeness, and the poor Father burst into tears when he saw it'. Christopher Fyfe (ed.), *Anna Maria Falconbridge: Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793 and the Journal of Isaac DuBois with Alexander Falconbridge An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (Liverpool, 2000), p. 75. The title page of the *African Prince* features a representation of Prince Naimbana rejecting an improper text.

**26** A cutter came from Bance Island with an account that Mr. Tilley was dangerously ill, accompanied by a request that one of our medical gentlemen might be permitted to visit him. Dr. Winterbottom accordingly went up.<sup>32</sup>

The *Providence* sailed for Sherbro.

**27** Dr. Winterbottom returned from Bance Island where he left Mr. Tilley a good deal recovered. His complaint had been a violent belly ache.

Captain Telford, Captain Woollis and Mr. Strand were taken ill.

**28** All our sick convalescent, Strand excepted who continued to have a considerable degree of fever. Two vessels appeared in sight, which proved to be the *Harpy* and *Speculator*. We were at first a good deal alarmed by their appearance as we looked in vain for the signal which was appointed for the Company's vessels, but Mr. Lowes who had set off in the cutter as soon as the settlement appeared in sight and who got on shore before the vessels were abreast of the Cape dispelled our fears.<sup>33</sup> The signal it appeared on inquery notwithstanding a strict search was not to be found on board the vessels and Captains Devereux and Buckle supposed that by some mistake they had not been put on board at all. Lowes brought with him some cuttings of vines from Teneriffe<sup>34</sup> which it is hoped may thrive.<sup>35</sup> /9/

**October 29** Messrs. Dawes and Watt came over from the Bullam Shore both in good health.<sup>36</sup> Strand continued very poorly having had no abatement of fever.

**30** Strand died in the course of last night, much lamented.<sup>37</sup>

The resolution of Council will shew you what measures were taken *with* respect to the gentlemen who arrived in the *Harpy*.<sup>38</sup> Mr. Jones was introduced by Mr. Dawes to

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<sup>32</sup> Four days earlier Macaulay had recorded that 'Tilley sends down to Seely for drugs and for his attendance'. However, Seely who may have assisted the surgeon Lowes in the medical work in the settlement, was unwell. Diary, Tuesday 22 October 1793, f. 26.

<sup>33</sup> Their apprehension was undoubtedly linked to the fears of attack during the period of warfare with France. The circumstances described are very similar to those preceding the French attack on the settlement in September 1794. Zachary Macaulay's journal, 18 July – 26 November 1794.

<sup>34</sup> Tenerife.

<sup>35</sup> A man of the name of Yonkas who arrived on the *Harpy* applied to the Governor and Council for employment in the service of the Company. He claimed that 'he was well acquainted with the cultivation of vines from having been employed on a plantation at Constantia near the Cape of Good Hope for some years'. He claimed that he had various other skills, and agreed to work in any capacity which the Governor saw fit. After checking 'testimonials of his character' they resolved to employ him as an assistant to Mr. Padenheim, the Company engineer. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 99.

<sup>36</sup> Macaulay recorded in his diary that 'Things settled Bullam Shore for 20 families'. Diary, Tuesday 29 October 1793, f. 28.

<sup>37</sup> For earlier references to Strand see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 13, 52-3, 123, 143, 177.

<sup>38</sup> These ships also brought dispatches from the Court of Directors. Although the documents do not survive, it is clear from the Minutes of the Governor and Council dated 29 October 1793 that they emphasised the importance of 'prosecuting the Company's commercial views...'. As these vessels also carried trade goods the Governor and Council considered measures for disposing of these goods. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 95. The dispatch of goods for trade may well have been in response to requests which Macaulay had made in June 1793. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 1.

the preachers who *received* him with great cordiality.<sup>39</sup> An unfortunate expression of his however roused David George's attention, and I was apprehensive that they would be involved to a dispute about general and particular redemption but Mr. Jones very prudently avoided it by some qualifying observation.<sup>40</sup>

We were applied to by several of the seamen on board the *Harpy* for redress of grievances. They complained much of the harsh treatment they *received* from Devereux, particularly in his drunken moments. As we stood much in want of seamen for the different vessels now preparing for sea, we thought the best way would be to give *Captain* Devereux an order to grant a discharge to every seaman who applied for it. By this measure the *Harpy's* expences will be lessened and the Company's business expedited at the same time. On their *receiving* their discharge they almost all entered with *Captain* Telford for 20/- /10/ less *per* month than they had with Devereux.

**November 1** A schooner belonging to Bance Island which has been down on the Grain Coast brought up a letter from *Captain* Estill in which he informed us that he had purchased some ivory, rice and pepper but that Mr. Winterbottom ~~was~~ and several of his people were dangerously ill.<sup>41</sup> If this be true he was wrong not to return to the settlement immediately, if otherwise he was still most culpable to alarm us as he has done. Dr. Winterbottom was made so miserable by the news that in order to relieve his anxiety we offered to him a vessel to carry him down the coast where the *Packet* was; he thankfully accepted the offer.<sup>42</sup>

The *Ocean* arrived from Bissao, and in coming in had nearly been lost. We observed her within the middle ground and on looking more narrowly we saw that she had no anchors at her bows.

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<sup>39</sup> Mr. Jones was the new chaplain to the colony, appointed to replace Horne who had left Freetown on board the *Felicity* in October 1793. Jones was lodged in 'Strands house'. Diary, Thursday 31 October 1793, f. 29. In June 1793 Macaulay had described the accommodation occupied by Strand as a 'tight box which also serves for an office and library, built for him by Mr. Dawes'. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 13.

<sup>40</sup> A more serious dispute with Moses Wilkinson, an influential Methodist preacher, occurred in July 1794. In an interview with Zachary Macaulay, Moses Wilkinson and 'one of his colleagues Stephen Peters ... accused Jones and Garvin as the authors of dissension'. Macaulay explained how Jones had been refused 'all liberty of preaching among them...'. By 26 November 1794 Macaulay reported that the dispute had escalated to the point that the Methodists under Moses Wilkinson's leadership refused to attend church services conducted by Jones. Macaulay explained to Henry Thornton that 'Our church which is made to contain about 500 people will be ready for preaching in next Sunday. The church has been entirely deserted for some time past by the whole body of Methodists following Moses Wilkinson on account they alledged of the ill conduct of Jones and Garvin who generally preached there, but as they absent themselves also from Mr. Langlands, I should rather think on account of the wholesome truths they should hear there. These form a firm body of malcontents united under leaders [...] notorious for their discontent'. Journal of Zachary Macaulay, July – November 1794.

<sup>41</sup> Macaulay noted in his diary that 'news from *Packet*. All Sick'. Diary, Friday 1 November 1793, f. 30. The letter from *Captain* Estill of the *Sierra Leone Packet* was dated 19 October 1793 and was addressed from the River Sestos. It stated that 'he himself, Mr. Winterbottom his mate and a great part of his crew were in a bad state of health'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 100.

<sup>42</sup> His younger brother Matthew Winterbottom was first mate on the *Sierra Leone Packet*. On 4 November 1793, the Governor and Council gave permission to Thomas Winterbottom to 'go down the coast till he overtakes the *Packet* and that he be empowered to take such measures with respect to the sick on board the *Packet* as may to him appear expedient'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 88, 100. See also Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 170.

An order was immediately given for a boat to be dispatched to her with an anchor and hawser *which* was done.<sup>43</sup> The boat fortunately reached her in time to prevent the danger we dreaded, she having lost her last anchor the night before.

Her cargo consisted of near a ton of ivory and about as much wax, some cattle, hogs and St. Iago<sup>44</sup> cloths, and a considerable remainder of goods.<sup>45</sup>

It was with great regret we heard of Captain Lowe's death.<sup>46</sup> Since his last arrival he had exerted himself in such a manner in the service of the *Company* and performed every part of his duty with such /11/ fidelity and alertness, as not only to remove former unfavourable impressions, but to raise him high in our esteem. The habit of drinking which during his first voyage to Sierra Leone he had indulged so freely, he seemed to have rid himself of entirely.

His death seems to have been owing to over exertion. He had been ill of a fever from which he scarcely recovered when he set himself with his own hands to clearing the hold. This of course caused a profuse perspiration, which he was unthinking enough to check by going into a cold bath. He was soon siezed with a return of fever which carried him off in two days.<sup>47</sup>

One of the seamen had fallen overboard while the vessel lay at Bissao, and the tide was so rapid as to carry him far beyond the reach of assistance before a boat could be manned and sent after him.

There has been a new Governor appointed at Bissao who has thought proper to make some new regulations for trade, among others, one imposing a tax of £10 *per cent* on all merchandize brought to Bissao by all traders, Portugueze excepted. This heavy tax will be an obstacle to our trading at Bissao.

The *Ocean* did not go to Bulam, but an European sent by Mr. Beaver to receive the articles we had furnished for his use said that he had been very ill and *though* now better was still very weak.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Hawser refers, in this context, to a large rope.

<sup>44</sup> Santiago, the main island of the Cape Verde islands.

<sup>45</sup> Anna Maria Falconbridge noted that 'a narrow, handsome kind of cotton cloth is manufactured at St. Iago...'. She purchased several pieces at 'one of the manufactories' and noted that the cloths 'are in great estimation, and sell for a high price...'. Fyfe, *Anna Maria Falconbridge*, p. 58.

<sup>46</sup> Macaulay recorded in his diary that '*Ocean* arrives. Low dead'. Diary, Friday 1 November 1793, f. 30.

<sup>47</sup> Curtin refers to the contemporary belief that sudden changes in temperature and perspiration caused by exercise increased the risk of fever. Macaulay considered that inappropriate behaviour increased the chances of illness, whilst careful management of behaviour could lessen the risks. Curtin, *Image of Africa*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>48</sup> For fuller references to Lieutenant Philip Beaver and the scheme of colonisation on the island of Bulama see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 115-16, 121. P. E. H. Hair, 'Beaver on Bulama', *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 58 (1960), pp. 360-383; idem, "'Sierra Leone and Bulama" 1792-4: Further Notes', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, 6 (1964), pp. 26-31. Beaver, one of the few colonists remaining on the island of Bulama, had requested 'some necessaries' in August 1793. The *Ocean* had been instructed to deliver various items to Bulama *en-route* to Bissau. Beaver left Bulama at the end of November 1793 as there were too few colonists remaining on the island to implement their aims. This contrasts with the optimistic report Philip Beaver had sent to the Bulama Association in a letter of 24 July 1793. He claimed that 'we want nothing, that we are in good spirits and that we are determined to hold the Island till you can send out other settlers'. He complained, however, that if he had had 'one tenth part of the support of the Sierra Leone Company I would long before this day have added to our present territories land sufficient to maintain 500,000 souls and at very little expence'. PRO CO 267/10, ff. 51-6. On his return to England, Beaver remained optimistic about their plantation-based scheme of agriculture in Africa and tried to generate further funding and support for re-establishing the colony. Curtin, *Image of Africa*, pp. 110-15.

The *Ocean* in her way out of the Bissao channel spoke the *Naimbanna*, all well.<sup>49</sup> Mr. King meant to visit the Cassamanga to see what /12/ could be done there, when he should return to the Gambia and take on board cattle for the settlement.<sup>50</sup>

Now that the flour has arrived in the colony, an order has been given to pay off the back rations. Some months ago, Mr. Dawes had settled with the settlers the accounts of back rations and given them all memorandums of the number due, but now many of them pretended that these memorandums were lost and brought in an *account* of back rations due them to a much greater amount than was really due. As the intention was so palpably to impose, Mr. Dawes absolutely refused to pay a single pound of flour unless the memorandums were produced. On this they thought proper to produce them.

I mention this circumstance as an evidence of the disposition of many of the settlers, and these by no means of the people from whom such conduct might have been expected, but of those from whom we expected better things.

One man Luke ~~Jackson~~ Jordan, whom we had esteemed as a deserving character assured us that the rats had actually destroyed the paper and presented at the same time a demand for double the quantity due to his company. However, he found means next day to recover the paper from the rats, which he brought to Mr. Dawes.<sup>51</sup>

**November 2** *Duke of Clarence* returned with 7½ tons of rice, and orders were immediately given for unloading her, and preparing her for Dr. Winterbottom.<sup>52</sup> /13/

An information was lodged by a man of the name of Crankipon (a settler) against Captain Davis, the burden of which was to shew that Davies had purchased two boys while down to leeward and that they were now in his possession.<sup>53</sup>

**November 3** Jones made his first public appearance today, and spoke from these words “though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor”. I was glad to see throughout the whole congregation evident marks of lively satisfaction.

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<sup>49</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted that the ship ‘saw *Naimbanna* at Cape Roxo’, which is located north of Bissau, just south of the river Casamance. Diary, Friday 1 November 1793, f. 30.

<sup>50</sup> The Casamance River is located approximately 50 miles south of the River Gambia.

<sup>51</sup> In his diary Macaulay expressed the incident succinctly in an entry ‘Luke Jordan, trick about flour’. Diary, Friday 1 November 1793, f. 30.

<sup>52</sup> The *Duke of Clarence* had been dispatched to the Scarcies for rice on 22 October 1793. See above f. 7.

<sup>53</sup> As a result of Crankapone’s complaint the Governor and Council instituted an inquiry into the accusation. They interviewed George Wall and Charles Roston, mariners on board the *James and William*, who confirmed that they had witnessed Captain Davies purchase two African boys. They claimed that the boys, named Hai and Noo[?], were purchased ‘one at Cape Mesurado and the other at Bassau’. In his defence, Davies claimed that he had not purchased the boys as slaves but that he ‘meant to bring up the boys to the settlement with a view of their being serviceable to the Company’. However, Dawes and Macaulay identified a number of ‘very glaring inconsistencies’ in Davies’ testimony, and resolved to dismiss him from the Company’s service. The two boys were taken into the protection of the Governor and Council and it was resolved that ‘they be declared free at the first Court of Sessions’. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 101-4, 106. Macaulay made several references to this incident in his diary. On 31 October 1793 he noted that Davies ‘owns having bought two slaves. Desire him to come ashore tomorrow’. The following day he recorded that ‘boys come ashore from Davis. Think of dismissing him’. By 4 November 1793 Macaulay recorded that ‘Davis discharged. Affidavits respecting him’. Diary, Thursday 31 October, Friday 1 November and Monday 4 November 1793, ff. 29-31.



He wants no doubt Horne's richness of thought and his copiousness of expression, as well as his fire, but there is more of the appearance of devotedness in him, and his address is uniformly serious, and in general more pathetic.<sup>54</sup>

You will see by the resolutions of Council what our proceedings were with respect to Davis. His prevarications, and above all his industrious concealment of the circumstances of the purchase from us will I hope justify the measures we have taken.

Intelligence was brought of the death of Pa Cumba, accompanied with applications for rum to make a cry for him.<sup>55</sup> Determined however as we are to conform as much as possible to your wishes on this point, we declined complying with the request. A puncheon of rum had been applied for by Pa Kokelly, but was absolutely refused. We gave him at full /14/ length our reasons for the refusal, assuring him at the same time that he would find us ready to comply with every reasonable request of his and to do him every good office.

##### 5 Dr. Winterbottom sailed in the *Duke of Clarence*.<sup>56</sup>

I have had frequent conversations with Joss Will and John Freeman, the two native traders who came from leeward.<sup>57</sup> They possess a considerable share of intelligence. The amount of their information was that *although* on the coast it was not usual to sell men without palavers yet that kidnapping was a general practice among the bush men, by which they mean those who live in the interior, that it was no[?] unusual thing for the inhabitants of the coast to travel back into the country, and lay in wait in the woods for stragglers, and that almost all the slaves which were brought from a distance were taken either by force or fraud.<sup>58</sup>

They say that there are great numbers of slaves now on the coast waiting for purchasers who are kept confined. One trader was mentioned who had no less than 200 at present in his possession.

On being asked why these were not employed to work in some useful way, as cutting camwood, planting rice &c. they replied that there was danger of insurrections from so

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<sup>54</sup> This was Jones's first participation in the Sunday preaching services which were held both morning and afternoon. Macaulay noted that there was a 'full church'. This contrasts with the depleted congregations by November 1794 when a dispute with Methodists meant that large numbers absented themselves from the official services of the colony. Garvin, an English Baptist schoolmaster sent out by the Company, conducted the afternoon service. The following Sunday they alternated again, with Garvin preaching in the forenoon and Jones in the afternoon. Diary, Sunday 3 November and Sunday 10 November 1793, ff. 30, 33.

<sup>55</sup> Pa Cumba, a ruler of the Koya Temne, was probably designated regent following the death of King Naimbana in February 1793. For earlier references see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 22-3, 87-8, 91, 94, 101.

<sup>56</sup> The purpose of his journey was to treat the sick on board the *Sierra Leone Packet*, which included his younger brother Matthew Winterbottom. Diary, Friday 1 November 1793 f. 30. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 100.

<sup>57</sup> In November 1793 the Minutes of the Governor and Council referred to these traders as being in the employ of the Company. There is an acknowledgement that these men were likely to engage in slave trading if given the opportunity. The Minutes of the Governor and Council refer to a discussion with John Freeman and Joss White, native traders in the employment of the Company. They stated that they had been instructed by Captain William Davies to make a false declaration that the two boys whom he had allegedly purchased were their property. They confirmed that 'the boys had been actually bought by him [Captain Davies] for rum and tobacco'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 101-2.

<sup>58</sup> In his diary, Macaulay recorded that 'kidnapping frequent whether injuries done or not'. Diary, Tuesday 5 November 1793, f. 31.

many, besides there had been no encouragement given to cut camwood. They did not know however what /15/ Captain Buckle might not effect in that way. If the slave trade were to continue at a stand they observed no more slaves would come from the bush, as indeed few were brought now, and that as for those now in hand they might be so dispersed among different hands as to take away the fear of insurrection. At present they were in the hands of a very few.

They said that the slaves would ~~not~~ certainly not be put to death, for nobody was put to death but in war or for crimes.

These men are the same who made the declaration respecting Grierson which I transmitted you by the *Felicity*, but in case of its not reaching you I shall here subjoin the substance of it.

Captain Grierson of the [...] of Liverpool had for the promise of a considerable reward procured the assistance of the natives at Bassa to defend him from the boats of a French privateer which attempted to cut him out from within the rock.<sup>59</sup> Having escaped the danger he refused to fulfil his promises of reward, in consequence of which refusal some goods were taken from one of his boats. In order to revenge this robbery, he siezed some crewmen who as far as I can learn were not partakers in the crime and among others a trader [*illegible, three or four words*] and his wife, these he carried with him to the West Indies. As this happened during the last rains, I was in hopes that something might still be done /16/ towards restoring these poor wretches to their friends and country, such thing might much[?] advance the *Company* interest. I think the officers and crew of the vessel might be got at.

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<sup>59</sup> Grierson appears to have made regular visits to Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast. He was captain of the *Hawke*, a ship of 168 tons burthen, when it sailed from Liverpool on 24 June 1792. He purchased a total of 395 slaves at Cape Mount. The ship delivered 239 Africans to St. Kitts in June 1793, returning to Liverpool on 19 October 1793. It is possible that Jesse Topping, the second named captain of the vessel, returned with the vessel to Liverpool. Grierson is listed as one of the eight owners of the vessel. He was named as the captain of the *Fanny* which sailed from Liverpool on 6 October 1789. 144 slaves purchased at Bassa were delivered to Grenada in May 1790. He was named as the sixth owner of the vessel, and Thomas and William Earle of Liverpool were named as the first and second owners. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity numbers 81390, 81756. Alexander Grierson captained seven slave-trading voyages between 1787 and 1798. He was promoted to his first captaincy at the age of 25, which was significantly younger than the average age at first captaincy of between 30-31 years of age. He was baptised on 21 June 1762 at the parish of Balquidder in Perth, Scotland. His Scottish background was a factor which he shared in common with many Liverpool slave ship captains. Stephen D. Behrendt, 'The Captains in the British Slave Trade from 1785 to 1807', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 140 (1991), pp. 87-9, 112, 126. On 13 June 1794 the Governor and Council prepared dispatches for the Court of Directors which were to be carried on the *Thomas* as he was due to sail to Liverpool on 15 June 1794. A few days later Grierson was the cause of a dispute between Macaulay and the settlers, as Macaulay dismissed Robert Keeling and Scipio Channel from the Company's service for threatening the captain. This caused considerable resentment, as the settlers claimed that the captain had threatened settlers working at the wharf with the manner in which he 'would use them if he had them in the West Indies'. Christopher Fyfe, 'Our Children Free and Happy': *Letters from Black Settlers in Africa in the 1790s* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 42-3. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 174, 178-9. Grierson was still active in slave trading in the Sierra Leone area in the following year, as Afzelius recorded on 27 July 1795 that he 'was just going to sail for the Westindies, and should be glad to take charge of any letters we should wish to send to England'. Kup, *Afzelius*, pp. 36-7. On this occasion he was captain of the *Mary Ellen*, a Liverpool ship of 184 tons, which traded for slaves at Sierra Leone and the Banana Islands before sailing to Barbados. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 82641. His continued association with slave trading on the Sierra Leone coast is not surprising as growing sophistication in the organisation of the trade and a concern to reduce costs meant that merchants sent captains to trade in areas with which they had developed a familiarity. For a fuller discussion of this pattern see David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 134-5.

6 Notice having been given us that a vessel would sail for the West Indies from Bance Island in two days I set myself to write by her. Copies of what I then wrote accompany this.<sup>60</sup>

7 The *James and William* was laid ashore to repair.<sup>61</sup>

8 Mr. Dawes went over to the Bullam Shore to settle the boundries of the Company's district, and to effect if possible farther purchases.<sup>62</sup>

King Jamie and Prince George did me the honor to dine with me. They both allowed the frequency[?] of kidnapping among the Susoos and Mandingoes. The latter had been an eye witness of it. It was universally acknowledged by the Foulahs according to his account that they make war for the sole purpose of procuring slaves. He says it happens very often that a company of Foulahs who have brought slaves to market is attacked on its return by a party of freebooters who infest the country which lays between the coast and the Foulahs Country and who rob them of their goods and make them slaves to boot. So that it is not unusual for the same man who sold others as slaves to be in a few weeks afterwards sold himself. I asked George if he would have any objection to going home for a few months, he said he had none, but should be very willing to go. /17/

**November 9<sup>th</sup>** The *Polly*, Webb bound to the West Indies sailed today.<sup>63</sup> She had on board 110 slaves. I observed on board of her a man who had been employed ~~by another person there~~ by a trader in the Rio Nunez to dispose of a considerable quantity of rice and ivory to us, for which (being at that time without proper goods) we were obliged to give bills ~~which were drawn~~ in this man the agent's name for about £190. On inquiry I found that he had converted the money to his own use, and that he meant to leave ~~his employer~~ the country without accounting to his employer. I wished much that some measure could have been taken for preventing such villainous proceedings, but knowing nothing of the principal and having made the purchase from the agent, we were not at liberty to take any step in the business especially as the bills [...] were already granted. The name of the principal was Fortune [...]tts, a great slave dealer and of the agent Squires.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> According to his diary entry, Macaulay wrote to seven individuals including Thornton, Wilberforce and his brother-in-law, Babington. Diary, Wednesday 6 November 1793, f. 32.

<sup>61</sup> The Governor and Council resolved on 12 October 1793 that Mr. Christopher Bentezon should be given command of the *James and William*. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 94.

<sup>62</sup> According to Macaulay's diary, the palaver for this land was conducted on the Bullom Shore with 'Mr. Jack'. Diary, Friday 8 November 1793, f. 32.

<sup>63</sup> The Governor and Council sent dispatches to the Court of Directors on this slave ship which was bound for St. Kitts. They noted that the vessel 'sailing under Danish Colours renders a miscarriage of these dispatches less probable than if they were sent directly home by one of the Company's ships'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 105. The *Polly* was a schooner of 86 tons burthen. After purchasing slaves from Bance Island, the ship departed from Sierra Leone with a total of 58 African men on board. 55 were delivered to St. Kitts. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 83132.

<sup>64</sup> Macaulay's diary entry recorded that 'Squires goes in her with Fortune's money'. Diary, Saturday 9 November 1793, f. 33. Mr. Fortune, or Fortunatis Servati, had a factory at Boké in the Rio Nunez. During his expedition to Timbo, James Watt visited Mr. Fortune on 2 February 1794 and noted that he was engaged in trade with a number of Fula traders. Watt described Fortune as a 'man advanced in years'. Mouser, *Journal of James Watt*, pp. 4-5. Squires may have been the same individual who visited Freetown on 13 September 1793. Macaulay noted that 'a trader arrived from the Rio Nunez with 6 tons rice which we bought from him. He is

The *Speculator* sailed for the Gold Coast with a cargo for 7 or 8 tons of ivory.<sup>65</sup>

Mr. Jefferies the apothecary unwell. The other gentlemen in the colony in tolerable good health.

11 A trader from the Susoo Country gave me the following anecdote of which he had himself been an eyewitness. Two or three years ago Mango Simba of Quiaport<sup>66</sup> attacked Moricannou of Boureah<sup>67</sup> and made prisoners of some of his people whom he sold to Mr. Horrocks. Moricannou on this collected all his force and made war on Mango Simba whom he defeated, making a great many of his people prisoners. With these he redeemed his own /18/ people from Horrocks who obliged him to pay two for one.<sup>68</sup>

Two traders who brought ivory for sale from the Rio Nunez told me that last dries a Moor from Algiers had visited them in company with a body of Foulahs.<sup>69</sup> He had travelled through a vast number of places of whose names (as memorandums of them had been kept) they promised me an account. He talked of returning to the Rio Nunez during the present dry season so that I may chance to meet with him there.

The *Union* of Salem in America carried off about two weeks ago some free people from the Rio Nunez with whom she has taken her departure for the West Indies.<sup>70</sup>

These gentlemen agreed in their accounts of what Prince George had said of the causes of war among the Foulahs, and of the depredations committed on them on their return homewards.<sup>71</sup>

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employed by a rich merchant in that river of the name of Fortune to transact business for him'. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 161.

<sup>65</sup> Captain Edmund Buckle was issued with instructions for the voyage on 9 November 1793. It was decided by the Governor and Council that the cargo was to 'be almost wholly assorted for the purchase of ivory and that Captain Buckle be directed to confine his operations chiefly to the coast between Cape Palmas and Cape Three Points'. This encompassed areas of the present-day Ivory Coast and western Ghana. Cape Three Points was approximately 850 miles from Freetown, highlighting the scope of trading activity from the settlement. There is evidence that Company officials selected captains who had prior experience in different types of trade. In the case of Captain Buckle they noted that he was 'well acquainted' with Gold Coast trade. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 97, 105.

<sup>66</sup> Quiaport was located to the north of Freetown in Susu country. The position to the east of the Iles de Los is close to that of modern-day Conakry.

<sup>67</sup> Bereira.

<sup>68</sup> See Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 38-42.

<sup>69</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted 'Curtis & Cumings from Rio Nunez with ivory. Bought'. Diary, Monday 11 November 1793, f. 34. Benjamin Curtis operated a trading factory at Kissing in the Rio Pongo with his brothers Thomas and George. Hannah Cummings was born at Kissing in 1796. I am grateful to Bruce Mouser for these references.

<sup>70</sup> The *Union* in the command of Captain Spence Hall purchased slaves in the Rio Nunez. The Du Bois database records that the ship left Rio Nunez on 30 October 1793 and that its intended port of disembarkation was Surinam. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 25302.

<sup>71</sup> More details of the evidence he collected on warfare and modes of obtaining slaves are contained in his diary entries. The diary recorded that 'converse with man from Rio Nunez. Slaves all prisoners of war. Bambaras & Foulahs always at war. Foulah slaves 3000 revolted. Bulloms oppressed by the Mandingoes former have no slaves. Work hard. Raise rice etc. Villages attacked at night. Foulahs make slaves carried back work. Those wounded in battle put to death. Mango Simba siezed some of Moricannou's people and sold them to Mr. Horrocks. Latter carried war and killed a great many of formers people and redeemed his own paying two for one'. Diary, Monday 11 November 1793, ff. 33-4.

**12<sup>th</sup>** The *Naimbanna* arrived bringing 2½ tons of wax and some hides, also some cattle.<sup>72</sup> Mr. King brought back the greatest part of his goods, the articles in demand there being chiefly tobacco, iron bars, a few guns and gunpowder all which he had expended.

The *Domingo* sailed with Buckle on board for the Grain Coast.<sup>73</sup> Simpson who commands her had been down on that coast with Wallace.<sup>74</sup>

Mr. Dawes returned from the Bullam Shore, well pleased with his success. The native chiefs, with great readiness, permitted him to mark off two ~~miles square~~ square miles of land which they agreed the *Company* should have for 200 bars a year. Mr. Tuck[?] as he /19/ is called exerted himself very strenuously in the business. He has expressed a strong desire of seeing England, and I believe Mr. Dawes means to take him home with him. He is uncommonly shrewd, quick and penetrating and *though* upwards of 40 years of age has a great thirst of knowledge.

**November 13** Mrs. King and Graham confined by fever.

Pa Kokilly and *Signior* Domingo renew their applications for rum, but Mr. Dawes continued inexorable. To shew however that he had a sincere wish to oblige them and that it was not altogether from a wish to save expence that he refused them liquor, he gave a bullock to Pa Kokilly, one to Pa London and one to King Jamie as presents.<sup>75</sup>

**14** A native was brought to me by Mr. Garvin who had escaped from *Signior* Domingo's town where he was in confinement for adultery with one of the *Signior's* wives. He said he had been wrongfully accused by one of the *Signior's* women and that he was perfectly innocent of the charge, but that the *Signior* had determined to sell him, if he

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<sup>72</sup> As the *Naimbanna* had left Freetown on 16 August 1793, almost three months had been spent on this trading expedition. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, f. 122. Macaulay noted that 'want of proper goods prevented him [King] from making more trade'. He intended to 'send him back'. Diary, Tuesday 12 November 1793, f. 34. On his return King explained to the Governor and Council that he did not have the correct assortment of goods to meet regional patterns of demand in the River Gambia. It was noted that 'with a proper assortment of goods which he was without, a very large purchase of wax might be made in that river'. The Governor and Council resolved, therefore, that Mr. King should provide the commercial agent with a list of the goods needed for the purchase of 15 tons of wax, and that the vessel should be prepared for a return visit 'with all dispatch'. King's report to the Governor and Council emphasised how there was little competition for trade in the river. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 107-8. The *Naimbanna* sailed for the River Gambia on 22 November 1793. See below, f. 29.

<sup>73</sup> The Governor and Council considered that the vessel was 'well calculated by her size for the rice and pepper trade'. The captain was to purchase 'a load of these articles and of two or three tons of ivory' and he was instructed that the movement of the vessel should 'be confined to the tract of coast between Cape Mesurado and Cape Palmas'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 97. In Thomas Winterbottom's map the area to the south of Cape Mount in present day Liberia is also described as the 'Malagette Pepper Coast'. Cape Palmas lies approximately 450 miles south-east of Freetown in the southernmost tip of present day Liberia. Winterbottom, *Native Africans*. Cape Mesurado was the proposed location for a Swedenborgian colony on the west coast of Africa. The plan of settlement, developed by Carl Wadström and Augustus Nordenskiöld and a number of other English Swedenborgians in 1789, was intended to be 'entirely independent of all European laws and government'. The plan did not materialise, partly due to the narrow religious base of the project. Curtin, *Image of Africa*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>74</sup> Simpson was given command of the *Domingo* following Captain William Davies's dismissal for purchasing two boys whilst trading on the vessel. In March 1794 Simpson applied for leave to return to England on the *Lapwing* but was refused due to the shortage of officers in the *Company's* service. In considering his application the Governor and Council noted his good conduct. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 104, 137.

<sup>75</sup> In his diary Macaulay described the application from 'Pa Kokilly who they say is to be made king...'. Diary, Wednesday 13 November 1793, f. 35.

~~should be unable to~~ did not pay a certain sum which sum he could not command. While the poor man was relating his story, he happened to overhear the Signior's voice who was in our house at the time and I think in my life I never beheld a more gastly[?] picture of terror and consternation than his countenance exhibited. As the Signior had not yet seen him I beckoned him to follow me. I then conveyed him on board the *Naimbanna* telling him that he might continue to labour there at the rate of 4 bars a month, that on his return there /20/ might be as much due to him as would content the Signior, otherwise on agreeing to continue in our service till he could reimburse us an advance would be made for him. The amount of the Signior's demand was only 20 bars, but besides that the sum was trifling, our greater knowledge of the laws of the country has convinced us that no-one has a right to claim either a slave or freeman once escaped.

The man, however, was not content with his situation whether it was that he was apprehensive of being sold by us after the vessel left the harbour or that he had friends who would advance the money for him. When night came he went into a boat alongside which he carried on shore and left upon the rocks, since which I have not been able to hear or see anything of him.

15<sup>th</sup> I went over to Watt's and found him well. We walked out and traversed the lands granted to the *Company* which are indeed excellent. We called at several towns but found them deserted the people being all busily employed in cutting their rice. After a walk of about seven miles we got the King over to dine with us, and then set off for Freetown.<sup>76</sup>

On our arrival there I met with a man of the name of Robin Rufoy who has a petty town up the river and from him I got the following information. On slaves effecting their escape from their master's town to another, they no longer continue his property, but may be kept by him to whose town they escape, nor can any palaver be made on that account. /21/

If the first owner wishes for any particular reason to recover him, he will be under the necessity of paying a slaves goods for him, as he would for any other slave.

A freeman detected in the commission of crimes may be sold by the headman on the instant but should he escape to another town, he can't be laid hold of, but a palaver must be regularly brought against him. And *though* convicted the man in whose town he takes refuge may if he chuses refuse to deliver to him up, *though* in that case he will become liable to pay his price.

He mentioned Furrey Cannaba as a great warrior who destroyed many towns and took and continues to take much people.<sup>77</sup> The chiefs around him it seems have determined to disarm him by making him king, for by the laws of the country and of all the

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<sup>76</sup> In his diary Macaulay recorded that 'great part' of this journey was undertaken 'barefoot'. Diary, Friday 15 November 1793, f. 36.

<sup>77</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted that Furry Cannaba 'a great warrior who destroys many towns and takes much people' was 'going to be made king in the country above Sherbro, will give up fighting'. Diary, Friday 15 November 1793, f. 36. Kup noted that he was ruler of all the Kamaranka river. The Kamaranka river is a tributary of Bumpe river and lay to the south-east of Freetown in Yawri Bay, between the Banana Islands and the Plantain Islands. On 16 July 1795 Adam Afzelius noted that 'I heard first to-day that Furry Cannaba was dead, tho' it had happened some time ago'. He referred to his status as a headman, explaining that 'it is a custom among the natives ... to conceal a headman's death, till a certain time has elapsed...'. Kup, *Afzelius*, pp. 34, 92.

countries around Sherbro, a king can't make war. In a place called Sunda, kings are permitted to fight and they make good use of the permission. /22/

**November 16** Held a Court of Sessions.<sup>78</sup> Poor Strand being no more we were obliged to appoint Garvin Clerk of the Peace.

A woman was tried for theft, found guilty and condemned to be [...]tion and corporal punishment. Another was tried for having hung up by her heels over a fire purposely kindled a girl of about seven years of age and her having beat her severely besides. She was found guilty and condemned to fine and confinement in the stocks.

Besides these there was only one more trial which was for a [...]. The circumstances I related to you in my journal of the 4th *September* last. The man pleaded guilty but begged to be heard in his own defence. His defence consisted entirely of an accusation against Mr. Dawes for having been the cause of both Patrick's misdemeanours and his by his having refused to employ them.<sup>79</sup> I told the jury they were at liberty to give what weight they pleased to his defence and that *although* it was rather irrelevant to the question before them it might be well to take the opportunity which offers of giving them an explanation that I was glad to see some on the jury who had been witnesses to the persevering obstinacy with which both these men had refused /23/ to make any concession, *although* Patrick himself had called Mr. Dawes a white rascal and refused to obey his orders and had afterwards threatened Mr. Dawes to his face, but at the same time if they conceived that they had a right to receive wages from ye Company whether they behaved well or ill, whether they obeyed or disobeyed orders, whether they worked or not that they had a right to complain to the Court of Directors of their right being withheld. That to that Court they had a right to appeal in every case and if they who thought themselves aggrieved would put their causes of grievance into our hands they might depend on there being carefully forwarded by us and duly weighed by ye Court of Directors. That however the complaint of no work was without foundation, application having been repeatedly made by us without success for men to navigate the craft and to labour on board the *York* and Mr. Dawes having intimated that *although* he could employ no more day laborers that he would employ as many as chose to be so employed on sawing, cutting timbers, getting shingles, staves &c. by the piece, which offer several now on the jury had availed themselves of. Nay it was well known that those who were of an industrious habit /24/ preferred this plan to day labour. He was found guilty and condemned to pay a small fine and to find securities for keeping the peace. I gave them

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<sup>78</sup> The date of the next session was set for the first week in February 1794. Diary, Saturday 16 November 1793, f. 37.

<sup>79</sup> This was probably James Jackson, who had taken part in an escape attempt by a prisoner convicted of robbery. In his diary entry for 3 September 1793 Macaulay noted that he 'found that *James* Jackson had rescued Leicester from the officers ... threatening to shoot any who approached'. They surrendered after a period of twenty four hours and 'the convict was sent to fill up his eleven months of labour on board the *York*, and the man who rescued him found bail to appear at next court'. The Court of Sessions in November was the first which took place after the rescue attempt in September. Diary, Sunday 3 September 1793, f. 14. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 152-3. In his diary Macaulay recorded 'Great insolence from Jackson about Patrick'. He recorded that 'Flora Backhaus also insolent'. Diary, Saturday 16 November 1793, ff. 36-7. Four days later Macaulay recorded that Jackson signed a recognisance, presumably to ensure his good behaviour. Macaulay explained that Jackson 'complains of no work. I recommend cutting timbers, working on board ship, getting shingles, staves or any thing. No. that wont do for him'. Diary, Wednesday 20 November 1793, f. 39.

to understand that the sentence was so much milder than the law books would justify on account of its having been the first trial of the kind which had come before the Court.

17 Service as usual.<sup>80</sup>

18 A French trader of the name of Mouton called here on some business and as he is well acquainted with the Sherbro as well as the Susoo and Mandingo Countries having resided in both some years, I took the opportunity of putting some questions to him. The following is the result.

“Many slaves are made in the Sherbro from the bare terrors of red water. They are accused of witchcraft or adultery and the only alternative they have is to be sold or to drink the red water and the red water proving almost always fatal to inferior people they prefer the former. Another fruitful source of slavery is the accidental loss of people by alligators or tiggers. If a child for instance is devoured by one of these animals the king glad of the opportunity immediately brings a palaver against the people of the town to which the child belonged. It avails them nothing to protest their innocence or to give assurance of their total ignorance of what became /25/ of the child. They are found guilty of making away with the child, in which the whole town men, women and children are condemned to slavery.<sup>81</sup>

Mr. Mouton suspects that designing people sometimes carry off and murder children that they may have it in their power to bring on such a palaver. In the Mandingo Country some very good regulations have been lately adopted.

Traders are not permitted to buy slaves in the night time but the sale must be openly conducted with the cognisance of the trader's landlord who is made answerable ~~who~~ in case of unfair transfers or sales. If the landlord suspects that the slave has been unfairly procured he is empowered to arrest the kidnapper who on conviction shall be condemned to lose both his hands. Formerly (when to his knowledge kidnapping was frequent) little inquiry was made about the cause of anyone's suddenly disappearing but it was usually observed that the Devil had taken him. Slaves are never brought from the interior to the sea coast but when there is a demand. When there is no demand he supposes the people remain quiet and make no wars. Slaves are put to work in the Mandingo Country as soon as they are bought and continue to work till an opportunity offers of selling them /26/ to advantage. While Mahadi ruled with a high hand in these parts many slaves made their escape from their masters and for a while remained unnoticed, perhaps unknown.<sup>82</sup> But having built their town and entrenched themselves they have begun to increase their numbers by deserters to whom they afford an asylum. This has induced the Mandingo chiefs who have been without any head for some time past and living independant of each other to unite and choose a king under whose standard they mean soon to march against the new republics.

One reason why the kidnapping was more frequent in the Susoo and Mandingo Countries was that among the Mahometans trials for witchcraft are not so frequent as elsewhere and that adultery is punished with stripes and theft by amputation of the hand, the usual means of procuring slaves being thus removed”.

<sup>80</sup> Jones preached on the theme of ‘if ye will hear his voice harden not *your* hearts’. Diary, Sunday 17 November 1793, f. 37.

<sup>81</sup> For earlier references to leopard and alligator murders see Schwarz, *Journal*, June – October 1793, ff. 61-2.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 42-5.



19 Messrs. Dawes and Watt go over to the Bullam Shore.<sup>83</sup>  
The *Ocean* sailed for Cape Mount to buy rice and ivory.<sup>84</sup>

20 It has frequently occurred to me that it would be well if some person acquainted with malting were to come out who might make an experiment of the practicability of extracting spirits from rice.

Great quantities of rice might now be procured and in this way perhaps it might turn to account while it diminished the sale of West Indian produce. /27/ We have Hills here already.

I have often been surprised at the facility with which the natives around us acquire different languages that to us appear radically different.

Signior Domingo speaks eight different languages. A little girl from the Rio Nunez who lives with us speaks five or six and I have observed boys from ye Bullam Shore acquire on coming over here a knowledge of the Timmaney in a very short time although there is not the smallest resemblance between that and the Bullam language.<sup>85</sup>

One of the settlers on whose information I can depend informed me that some months before I came to the colony the daughter of a chief up the river had been seized on her father's account and sold, that the father came down to the settlement where the slave ship then lay in order to redeem her but she was positively refused unless three prime slaves were given in exchange.<sup>86</sup> This was accordingly done and the father and the daughter came both on show and continued here some time.

A very unfortunate accident which I omitted to mention in its proper place happened a few weeks ago on board the *Providence*. A native of Annabona<sup>87</sup> who was employed here as a grumetta, had been on board the *Providence* /28/ to assist in navigating her to Sherbro. Seeing rice come on board from the factories without goods being given in exchange, he began to be alarmed and to suspect that it was meant that he should pay for the rice. Full of this notion, when one of the factors came on board, he made a stab at him with a knife, but having missed him he leaped overboard. With some trouble he

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<sup>83</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted: 'Mr. Dawes taken ill'. Diary, Tuesday 19 November 1793, f. 39.

<sup>84</sup> It was planned that the *Ocean* should carry a cargo 'assorted for 30 tons of rice and half a ton of ivory'. It was stipulated that the vessel should confine its movements to an area lying just to the south of Cape Mount in present day Liberia. Captain George Woollis was appointed to command of this vessel as Captain Lowe, his predecessor, had died during a voyage to Bissau. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 97-8, 105. See above, ff. 10-11.

<sup>85</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted that 'Signior Domingo and little Mary speak a great many languages'. Diary, Wednesday 20 November 1793, f. 39.

<sup>86</sup> In his diary Macaulay recorded that 'Cuthbert says before I came here. A woman was redeemed by three slaves'. Diary, Wednesday 20 November 1793, f. 40. John Cuthbert was a Baptist elder and the captain of a company of Nova Scotian settlers. He was elected as a hundredor, and the Company's trust in him was reflected in the fact that in March 1794 he returned to England with William Dawes. John Clarkson also regarded him as reliable, although he was later to become a vehement opposer of Company government. Fyfe, *History*, pp. 48, 55. Fyfe, "Our Children", pp. 16, 71.

<sup>87</sup> Presumably Annobón (sometimes written Annoboan or Anobom, today called Pugalú), an island lying southwest of São Tomé.

was recovered, and being asked the reason of his conduct, said he was sure he was to be made a slave of and he would rather die.<sup>88</sup>

As he appeared bent on putting an end to himself it was thought proper to bind his hands, but at his earnest entreaty, and as he promised to remain quietly, they were again loosed. About midnight he got into a canoe alongside which he cut away and drifted down to a town lower down the river, where he was seized and put in irons by the natives. On this the master of the *Providence* went to Jenkins and applied to Mr. Addow, who procured the poor man his liberty. All the arts they could use to sooth him were to no purpose; the idea of slavery had got possession of his brain and drove him almost to madness. At length, while the attention of the people was taken up another way, he allowed himself to fall backwards into the water. He sunk to the bottom and never rose again. /29/ I did not well know how to blame the master for any part of his conduct even forcing him back to the settlement whither the vessel was on the point of returning appears a necessary measure as by being left in the Sherbro, he would most inevitably have met the fate he so much dreaded. It will however furnish an additional instance of the light in which slavery is viewed by Africans.<sup>89</sup>

**21** The *Lapwing* sailed for Sherbro.<sup>90</sup>

**22** The *Naimbana* sailed for Gambia so that there are none of the trading vessels unemployed except the *James & William* now under repair.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> The published Company report of 1791 included a report of the ‘terror, anguish, and despair shewn by the slaves when they come down to the coast...’. Reference was made to the views of King Naimbana’s son who ‘is persuaded that he has known himself above an hundred who have cut their throats, shot, or stabbed themselves, or some way to put an end to their own lives, before they could be got into the ships’. *Substance of the Report 1791*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>89</sup> This incident was quoted extensively in the published Company report of 1794. The published account differs from Macaulay’s version as it was recorded that ‘it proved that he once more got on shore, and being again recovered by the Company he was carried back in the ship to Freetown, where he is now employed within the settlement. It is thought by the physicians that the terror of being made a slave must have overpowered him so much as to have occasioned in him some derangement of intellect, which may occasionally return in some small degree. He feels now very much attached to the Company, and happy in their service...’. *Substance of the Report 1794*, pp. 86-7.

<sup>90</sup> On 11 November 1793 the Governor and Council appointed Mr. Vyles to command of the *Lapwing* with orders to ‘proceed with her to the Sherbro to collect rice from the factories’. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 109. Macaulay criticised Vyles in his diary for taking ‘two men more than he was ordered’. Diary, Thursday 21 November 1793, f. 40. The ship returned with five tons of rice just over two weeks later. See below, f. 47. Macaulay had visited this area to the south of Freetown in July 1793 to negotiate arrangements for existing factories and for the establishment of new ones. William Ado, an elderly chief, at Jenkins Town on Sherbro Island agreed to act as landlord for Company traders in the Sherbro. In August 1793 Macaulay referred to how the Company factories at York Island in the Sherbro River had accumulated ‘considerable’ quantities of rice, camwood and stock. The *Providence* and *Duke of Clarence*, Company vessels, had been sent to collect rice and camwood from the Sherbro in September 1793. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 33, 63-5, 68-70, 135-8, 156-7, 172-5.

<sup>91</sup> The *Naimbanna* returned to Freetown just over two months later on 25 January 1794 with 3½ tons of wax. The diary entry also made reference to ‘Left goods there. 17 cattle, 6 cwt. ivory. Hides’. However, as the entry is so clipped in style it is unclear whether this refers to goods purchased or left in the Gambia for later collection. Macaulay noted that the *Naimbanna* was unloaded two days later on Monday 27 January 1794. Diary, Saturday 25 January and Monday 27 January 1794, ff. 64-5.

**23** Mr. Dawes returned from ye Bullam Shore rather unwell. He had fixed on a situation for a town between Watt's and the King's town.

It was thought more eligible in every respect to fix the first twenty families under Watt's eye and on the square mile of which his plantation makes a part than on the other square mile *although* there is no swamp to cross in the latter between the sea and the ascent. The settlers having been very backward in availing themselves of the offer made them some time ago of establishing retail shops, Cooper the black man who came out with me was of course the only retailer and he seemed disposed to take advantage /30/ of the monopoly. Permission was therefore given to Graham to retail a few articles at the hours of cessation from business, chiefly with a view to prevent the impositions that would follow if they were no competition. On this, a letter came from the hundredors, complaining that their rights were infringed. I suspect indeed that Cooper has instigated them.<sup>92</sup> An answer was given them shewing that the arrangement had been made to benefit them and that it had not been made till an offer had been made to the hundreders themselves of the goods taken by Graham [...] that putting that circumstance out of the question, it was a very extraordinary thing for them to doubt any man's right to buy at the Company's stores what articles he chose and afterwards do with them what he pleased especially as two of them were retailers occasionally while they enjoyed a salary from the Company. After all I doubt the policy and propriety of the measure and I think it chiefly justified by necessity. It may be discontinued however as soon as the settlers themselves are induced to buy by wholesale which now they shew a disposition to do.

**24** An American vessel from Boston arrived<sup>93</sup>, the supercargo of which offered us his cargo for observing he could take nothing else and that he hoped we should be able to dispatch them[?] in a few days. /31/ Having declined to deal with him in a few days, I began to enquire how the laws stood in America relative to the slave trade. He told me that all the states had now abolished it and that if it was proved that an American vessel had carried slaves she became forfeit and the captain was fined £1000 and confined till the money was paid.<sup>94</sup> Having received from him full assurances that this law had been adopted by all the states, I asked him how he expected to escape the penalty "Oh says he I don't mind that nobody will inform". "Indeed Sir you are mistaken for if nobody else will I certainly shall". "Sure you would not treat me in so unfriendly a manner". "Sir I think it better to prevent evil than to punish it and I give you my word that if you venture to carry a single slave from this coast, I shall turn informer myself. I give you fair warning".

This speech made him change his note instantly. He had intended to have disposed of his cargo at Bance Island for slaves finding he could get none here. But he now with the most matchless effrontery expressed his abhorrence of the slave trade, affirmed that it had not been his intention at any time to take slaves that what he had said was not /32/

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<sup>92</sup> Three days earlier Macaulay recorded that 'Cooper complains of Graham selling at shop as does Cuthbert. Explain to them'. Diary, Wednesday 20 November 1793, f. 39.

<sup>93</sup> This was probably the *Katy* in the command of Captain Connelly (or possibly Conolly). The intended destination of the ship, which had departed from Boston in 1793, was Havana in Cuba. Sierra Leone was the principal place of slave purchase. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 25299.

<sup>94</sup> His diary entry for the following day differs slightly as it noted that 'American vessels carrying slaves confiscated and captain fined £500'. Diary, Monday 25 November 1793, f. 41.

seriously meant and said he would on no account dispose of his cargo for anything but bills.

This incident I think a very important one, as it proves the possibility of stopping the slave trade entirely, the Americans being at present the only people who venture to visit this coast. And as it is certainly better in all cases to prevent evil than to punish it, we judged it necessary to give notice to the different slave traders around us that we should certainly give information to the American Government of every American vessel which should carry slaves.

But I think the matter might be carried still further and that information might be transmitted to the Federal Court (which I find tries causes of this nature) of all American vessels during the last twelve months employed to our knowledge in carrying slaves off the coast. The advantages which must result from this measure strike me very strongly. I have therefore been at considerable pains to collect intelligence and now send you along with this a list of vessels which appear to me to have incurred the penalty accompanied by circumstances which may lead to their detection.<sup>95</sup> You will be the best judge what further steps to take whether of putting the information into the hands of the Attorney General of the States General or of employing some private person to conduct the prosecution. /33/

**26** The American brought what he called his original invoice to shew us but the prices which he pretended to have paid for articles in America were considerably higher than the price at which the same articles are sold at the Company's stores; of course we could not deal with him.

A schooner came from the Isles de Loss with intelligence that an American vessel the *Pearl*, Captain Howard had been cut off by the slaves off the island of Matacong but that she had been retaken by a vessel belonging to the Isles de Loss.<sup>96</sup> Mr. Jackson wished to know whether we did not think her a fair prize. Howard who commanded her is the same who was prosecuted I believe at Mr. Wilberforce's instance for some cruelty committed at Calabar. At least a prosecution was commenced and Howard not appearing was outlawed. He at the same time sailed in a Liverpool vessel; the papers on this subject which are transmitted to the Court of Directors will shew you the particulars. Howard was killed.<sup>97</sup> You will likewise see our answer to Jackson. Understanding af-

<sup>95</sup> Macaulay included a list of slave ships in his diary entry for 25 November 1793. This may have been the substance of the information transmitted to the Court of Directors. The entry refers to 'Memorandum. *Pearl* Howard, New York. Connolly, Charles [...], New Providence. *Union* Hall, Norfolk, Salem. *Nancy* Cook Isles de Loss 100£ Bananas, *Willing Quaker* Adamson Boston, Sterry. *William Bullins*...'. Two days later Macaulay recorded in his diary 'write about American vessels'. Diary, Monday 25 November and Wednesday 27 November 1793, ff. 41, 43. The W.E.B. Du Bois database identifies Connolly as captain of the *Katy*, a vessel which traded for slaves at Sierra Leone in 1793. The vessel which departed from Boston was registered at Charleston, Massachusetts. The *Willing Quaker* in the command of Captain Adamson left the Ile de Batz in France on 15 December 1792. Registered in Boston, the vessel traded for slaves in Sierra Leone between April and September 1793. The ship carried 110 Africans to Guianas. The *Union* in the command of Spence Hall (and a second captain R. Fisher) purchased slaves in the Rio Nunez before departing for Guianas on 30 October 1793. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity numbers 25299, 25300, 25302.

<sup>96</sup> The W.E.B. Du Bois database indicates that the *Pearl* was a brig registered in New York. Its principal place of slave purchases was Cacandia, located in the Rio Nunez. The vessel had 108 slaves on board when it departed on 12 November 1793 from its last slaving port. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 25503.

<sup>97</sup> This corresponds with information in the log of the brig *Sandown*. The *Sandown*, a vessel of 150 tons, commanded by Samuel Gamble (subsequently commanded by Apsey), departed from London on 7 April

terwards that some of the slaves had been killed in retaking the vessel and that the Isles de Loss schooner did not return immediately, /34/ with Mr. Dawes's approbation I wrote to Jackson another letter which I now enclose you. My chief view in writing it was if possible to put a bar to the slaves being sent off the coast and that I might not have afterwards to reproach myself with not having said everything in their favor that it was possible to say. If you think there is any weight in what I have said and that a legal enquiry into the points hinted at in my letter would prove of any use the long list of names which is affixed to the extract from the *Nancy's* Log Book (now transmitted to the Court of Directors) will furnish you with witnesses.

The intention of the slaves seems to me evidently to have been to get to this settlement. When the vessel was taken possession of by them she was not above eight or nine leagues from this Cape. I should have been well pleased had they effected their purpose. The greatness of the loss would necessarily have led to investigation. The slaves in the meantime could be fairly claimed by no individual and the American Government would I think be the last to demand their restitution.

**27** Several of the native chiefs, King Jamie, Pa London<sup>98</sup>, Prince George &c. came to renew their applications for rum. Their perseverance is astonishing. By way of forcing us from our ground London observed that if we would not /35/ give him rum, he would carry his brother to Bance Island as a pawn.<sup>99</sup> However this had no effect. Mr. Dawes continued resolute without changing his usual kind deportment. He professed his warm desire to serve them in any way that would not injure them and his regret if anything should happen to cause any misunderstanding.<sup>100</sup>

They all said there was no palaver but were visibly chagrined. They partook of our dinner however with tolerable humour and I am in hopes that applications to us for rum

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1793. Slaves were purchased in the Rio Nunez and a total of 250 delivered to Kingston, Jamaica on 13 May 1794. Eltis, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, voyage identity number 83502. Following the arrival of the vessel at Factory Point, Iles de Los, an entry for Wednesday 1 January 1794 recorded that 'At 7 AM went on Shore & staid to Breakfast and dine with the Agt. Mr. [H] Jackson. found lying here the Brig Pearl of New York[.], late Captn Howard, the Slaves having rose upon them and taken the Vesel[.], Kill'd him[.], & run the Brig upon Mattacong but where [= were] retaken by the Nancy of Liverpool, with the loss of one Kill'd and one Drown'd. They had destroy'd all the Vessels papers, had dress'd 10 Dozen of Fowls & 8 Goats in the space of 36 hours possession of the Vesell'. On Sunday 29 December 1793, the captain had received intelligence that the 'Nancy[.] Captn Smith[.] saild 20<sup>th</sup> Inst from the Isles de Los for the West Indies'. The *Nancy*, a brig of 12 guns and 26 crew, later arrived in Jamaica with 328 slaves from Angola. I am grateful to Bruce Mouser for providing extracts from the log of the *Sandown*, which he is currently preparing for publication. The log is held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich [hereafter *Sandown* log].

<sup>98</sup> For earlier references to Pa London see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 22, 94, 96, 173.

<sup>99</sup> It is possible that Pa London intended to leave his brother at the slave factory at Bance Island until he supplied a sufficient number of slaves in return for rum. Lovejoy and Richardson suggest that it was common practice in the slave trade by the 1770s for European traders to advance goods on credit to African traders and to use pawns as security. Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, 'Trust, Pawnship and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade', *American Historical Review*, 104, 2 (April 1999), pp. 333-355.

<sup>100</sup> In his diary Macaulay recorded 'Crowd of people. Long palaver about rum'. He noted that 'we remain firm to their great mortification' but also observed that 'Give 3 cattle to King Jamie'. On previous occasions when they had refused demands for rum, Macaulay noted that they had offered alternative presents as a way of retaining the goodwill of neighbouring leaders. See above 13 November 1793, f. 19. Queen Yamacouba also made an application for rum on Wednesday 4 December 1793 but was 'refused'. Diary, Wednesday 27 November and Wednesday 4 December 1793, ff. 42, 48.

are at an end.<sup>101</sup> The cry for Pa Cumba I find will continue for some weeks yet when Pa Kokilly will be crowned King of Sierra Leone by the name of King Tom. He will then take possession of King Jamie's town and King Jamie will sink into a private station. Another king will be named at the same time for the Queah<sup>102</sup> country over which Nambanna formerly presided, as well as over the south side of the river which will be now under King Tom's government.

**28<sup>th</sup>** Namina Modou the chief of the river Port Logo whom I mentioned having seen at Gambia in *September* last paid us his promised visit and staid with us with some days.<sup>103</sup> As he is a man /36/ of consequence and at the same time a man of uncommon discernment and of a very liberal turn of mind we shewed him a good deal of attention. Everything was shewn him which we thought could please him and he expressed his admiration of almost everything he saw. The schools delighted him.<sup>104</sup> He cried out with some warmth on seeing them. "I see it is all lise [= lies?] they tell me, people can do this must be good people". He examined everything he saw with great attention. Being a Mahometan he has of course an idea of the worship of God. The church which is now nearly finished surprised him by its size and by the use for which it was intended.<sup>105</sup> "God Almighty must do this people good". On giving him a view of the whole town from one point he was much struck with its extent for at Bance Island they told him it was a little place. "But this passing Bance Island ten times I never see town big so". He had never seen a white woman. I carried him to Mrs. King's with whose appearance he was quite transported. His ~~notes~~ discourse for some time consisted only of notes of admiration. He said he should think of her many a day and many a night.

When we told him that everything he saw here would be exceeded by what was to be seen in England he expressed a strong desire of going there and said that if he could get his people to consent to his leaving then he certainly should go.

He applied very strenuously to have an establishment in his town for the purpose of purchasing rice, camwood, stock &c. We gave him reason to hope /37/ that we would comply with his requests as well with a view to promote the Company's interest as to

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<sup>101</sup> This section is quoted almost verbatim in the Company report of 1794 to illustrate the moral deprecation caused by the slave trade in Sierra Leone. *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 83.

<sup>102</sup> Queah is a form of the word Koya, the name of the country.

<sup>103</sup> Macaulay met Namina Modu, the chief of Port Loko, on 12 September 1793. During a visit to Gambia Island, Macaulay discussed with him the possibility of opening a path for trade between the Fula country and Port Loko. As a result of their discussions Namina Modu expressed his intention of visiting Freetown 'for the more full adjustment of preliminaries'. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 160-1.

<sup>104</sup> During discussions with Macaulay in September 1793, Namina Modu expressed his intention of sending 'several of his children' to be educated at Freetown. This practice of local Africans sending their children for education was actively encouraged by the Company as it offered the opportunity to proselytise and to extend the 'blessings of industry and civilisation' to local populations.

<sup>105</sup> The new church was opened on Christmas Day 1793. Macaulay noted in his diary that it was 'quite full'. He recorded that 'Jones preached' and that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God'. Diary, Wednesday 25 December 1793, f. 54. The log of the *Sandown* noted in February 1794 that the church 'is a plain neat structure large enough for a Congregation of 1hd people with Copula and bell in it. in the inside are seats instead of Pews (owing to the heat of the Country) The Schoomaster [Garvin] is their Divine, & his Usher [Gordon,] Clerk. They appear very Religious[,] attending Service by 3 O'clock in the Morning and till Eleven at night. four or five, times. Week. but I am very doubtful wether it is [blank space] or not'. *Sandown* log.

benefit the natives.<sup>106</sup> He gave us an anecdote of himself which marked his moderation very strongly. A trader who lived in his town had accidentally struck one of his daughters so violent a blow as to kill her to all appearance.<sup>107</sup> The trader expected to be hardly dealt with by Namina Modou. Told him that he must not grieve. He saw it was not intentional and as God had thought proper to take his child he must remain satisfied with God's will. The girl luckily recovered. The following is the substance of his information respecting the slave trade. The people inland go to war on purpose to make slaves. If there is no demand they won't go to war. At present they don't make war. White people often encourage palavers promising dashes in case the convicts are sold to them. They were in the practise also of exciting the natives to make war on each other giving arms and ammunition to both parties. This used to happen very frequently. Instances of it Mr. Aspinall and Mr. Mercer. He was himself engaged in a war which lasted five years when Mr. Aspinall furnished both him and his enemies with powder. Used often to way lay and sell strangers in order to buy arms &c, but says this was a bad thing and justified only by the necessity he was under then[?] of defending himself. Had there been no slaves factories he would not have done so. The people of Bance Island had acted different of late years. /38/

Seeing that the inhabitants of Port Logo had diminished their numbers much and that the state of war in which they were engaged prevented a free intercourse with the interior, they used their influence to settle all differences and to secure to the people inland a free passage to the river's mouth. They succeeded in this design and for some years past there have been no wars in Port Logo, but almost all the slaves sold there are brought down from the interior (It may be truly said that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel). Thus do they feed the wars inland where the country is well peopled and they keep the coast in peace that they may reap the fruits of these wars.

A native cannot be sold by a chief without a palaver. If he should there is good ground for a palaver against him. But headmen are sometimes abandoned enough when in want of goods to tell their women "Suppose such a man want you, you must be with him". After the crime has been perpetrated the women undergoes a kind of conjuration to force confession. But this is used only as a blind. She accordingly charges the man with the crime on which he is seized and sold. This he said was a bad fashion but it did not prevail among those of the Mahometan persuasion, flagellation being with them the punishment of adultery. Being asked if refused prisoners were killed he said /39/ "No that is never done in Port Logo. We carry them home and make them work". "Won't they run away". "If they run away no matter can't help that but can't kill him if man too old to sell, he too old for do you bad again. What you kill him for?" "Did you never see any refused slaves killed". "No! I old man I never see that. If they do that in another country. I don't know that". We were much pleased with this old man's behaviour while he staid with us. His wife and daughter who accompanied him were taken ill of a fever the day after his arrival and his confidence in us was such that he permitted Lowes to

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<sup>106</sup> On the basis of his discussions with Namina Modu in September 1793 Macaulay concluded that 'he seems very desirous[?] indeed to have us established in the Port Logo...'. Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 160-1.

<sup>107</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted that the trader was a Frenchman. Diary, Friday 29 November 1793, f. 46.

prescribe for them. They fortunately got well. We made them a few triffling presents.<sup>108</sup> They left us highly gratified by their reception.

29<sup>th</sup> Mr. Cleveland sent up a craft with three tons of camwood for sale. We heard that the American had disposed of his vessel and cargo to Bolland at the Bananas, but whether this be a mere feint or not I can't tell.

30<sup>th</sup> The transactions of this day I must communicate to you with no small regret, for it was marked by the most signal calamity that has yet befallen your colony.

Between nine and ten in the morning we were alarmed by the cry of fire, and on looking out beheld the *York* in /40/ a blaze. Her upper works being very dry and the awning overhead being done over with tar the flames made a very rapid progress and soon spread from stem to stern. Before eleven o'clock the fire had completely ransacked her hold. In the afternoon when the violence of the fire had a little abated people were sent alongside to extinguish it entirely if possible but two days more past before that could be effected. There shall be sent home a very circumstantial detail of this unhappy accident but the following were the chief circumstances attending it. Captain Telford had come on shore to settle his monthly accounts with Mr. Grey and Mr. Day<sup>109</sup> and Mr. Rowe mate of the *York* were in the gunroom arranging some of the trade goods when the fire began. It originated in the chimney of the galley and spread itself very rapidly over the pitched awning. It was first observed on shore by some of the settlers who hailed the *York* on which all who were on deck and who consisted chiefly of grumettas got into the boat without wasting a moments thought on those who were in the cabin and gunroom. The bustle on deck however alarmed Captain Wallace who was in the cabin and the gentlemen in the gunroom. They ran up suspecting nothing less than fire and found everybody gone over the side and the fire already over their heads and burning with great fury. After trying in vain /41/ to prevail on the people in the boat to assist them, they were at length forced to descend to avoid their[?] being scorched to death. While this passed on board Captain Telford had got into a boat, a number of people (settlers) accompanying him with a view of extinguishing the fire. But the people absolutely refused to pull him alongside pretending fear of gunpowder.

He assured them there was no gunpowder on board, two half barrels excepted, entreated, prayed and threatened in turn but all to no purpose, not one would accompany him, and he had the mortification to be forced to be an inactive spectator of the conflagration. You will ask what did Captain Devereux and his crew all this time. That is a question which remains fully to be answered. It is certain no exertion was made by the *Harpy's* people, although the fire was perceived in its early stage, nor did they shew any disposition to exert themselves until the evil was remediless.

You may ask further why orders were not issued to Captain Devereux by Mr. Dawes or myself. In the first place there was not a boat to be found on shore, all the boats having pushed off on the first alarm.

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<sup>108</sup> According to Macaulay's diary, the presents consisted of a hat valued at 8 shillings 3d. and silver valued at 9 shillings. Diary, Friday 29 November 1793, f. 46.

<sup>109</sup> Mr. William Day arrived in Freetown on the ship *Harpy* at the end of October 1793. It was noted in the Council Minutes that he was appointed initially as a clerk at a salary of £70 per annum. At a meeting of the Governor and Council, it was decided that 'in consequence of the Commercial Agents request to that purpose' he was appointed as 'his assistant and book keeper'. By October 1793 Mr. Buckle had been appointed Commercial Agent in place of Captain Wallace. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 95, 97.



In the next place we did not think ourselves authorized to issue positive orders to any man /42/ to endanger his life. We did not know what powder was on board or rather whether any had been put on board from the *Harpy*. Telford and Devereux were both afloat and we trusted that no exertions would be wanting on their parts which it was possible to make. By Telford I believe everything was done which (unassisted as he was by everyone but Day and Rowe) could be done. For further particulars, I shall refer you to the public accounts.

The loss is very great indeed. Upwards of £4000 sterling worth of African produce was destroyed. All the trade goods excepting a few still remaining on board the *Harpy* and those which were sent off in the different vessels.<sup>110</sup>

A great quantity of rum, beef, pork and other articles. Estimates of the loss shall be sent you.

The settlers it would naturally be supposed felt great concern at this event and exerted themselves on behalf of their benefactors. Many of them no doubt did so but at the same time there were many who acted very differently. Some were heard rejoicing in the calamity as a just judgement of Heaven on their oppressors. Some said that it was but right that the goods which had been withheld from them unjustly by the Governor and Council should be destroyed and thus that their sinister ends should be frustrated, that the *York* had been the repository in which Mr. Dawes's gains and mine were stored, but thank God she was now gone; while others more daring scrupled not to attempt converting to their own use what /43/ could be saved from the wreck. I shall probably enlarge on this subject hereafter but shall dismiss[?] it for the present with observing that some of the more respectable settlers ashamed of these proceedings offered themselves as a guard to prevent them and have promised to furnish a list of those who were guilty of any improprieties with a list of witnesses so that they may be prosecuted. They have even promised to mark out such as seemed to rejoice in the misfortune, and such as by their insinuations would have vilified Mr. Dawes's character or mine. They have been induced to take these steps chiefly from a desire of distinguishing the good from the bad as they are aware that the particulars will be known in England and that their ingratitude will make against them in the opinion of the Directors and I think they will do well to follow up their present intentions.

**December 1<sup>st</sup>** Although it was Sunday a good many people were employed in extinguishing the fire.<sup>111</sup> The greatest part of the copper money appeared to have been saved and all the iron which was on board, but these two articles excepted the whole cargo I fear is irrecoverably lost.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> The Company report of 1794 estimated the total loss at £15,000. The *York*, used as a store ship, contained African produce which had been collected together by the Company's smaller trading vessels from 'up and down the coast'. In addition, the ship contained part of the cargo of the *Harpy*, which had arrived from England approximately a month earlier. See above f. 8. The cargo and ship were not insured. *Substance of the Report 1794*, p. 21. The log of the *Sandown* recorded in January 1794 that the captain 'Staid and Din'd with the Governor. I find their factory Ship the *York* is lately burned by the Carelessness of the Cook and their loss is Estimated at near Thirty Thousand Pounds'. This information was recorded after a meeting with the Governor William Dawes and Zachary Macaulay. The basis on which the estimate was calculated is not clear. *Sandown* log.

<sup>111</sup> It is unclear whether Mr. Jones, the chaplain, was critical of this work as Macaulay noted in his diary that he preached on 'breaking the Sabbath day and on the mercies of God'. Diary, Sunday 1 December 1793, f. 47.

<sup>112</sup> Macaulay's diary recorded the different responses amongst the settlers. He noted that 'some detected in thieving', although other settlers 'continue extinguishing fire and clearing wreck'. On the following day

Mr. Dawes has been unwell for some days past.

**2d.** Some pieces of ivory were found on board the ship but they were burned to a cinder. Tilley at /44/ Bance Island thought proper to take some offence at our declining to assist him against Renaud and has since that time been very distant in his civility. We sent him lately a few articles of provision which came out in the *Harpy* and intimated at the same time our wish to supply him with any other articles of the same kind he might want. The following is a part of his reply “I cannot doubt but any application I may make to Mr. Dawes or yourself will be attended to when I am so fully convinced of your friendship towards me by the part you have taken in endeavouring to prevent the American now at Sierra Leone from doing business with me for slaves. It is not me Sir you have been keeping the cargo from, but the natives of this and some other rivers. You may perhaps suppose the emoluments arising from informations given of Americans carrying off slaves will be an advantageous business, but I think it is most probable it will not. I should be exceeding sorry that anything should happen to cause a difference with this settlement and your colony. It never shall arise from any proceedings on my part but when I see it is the intention of anybody to distress us by interfering in my trade I think it high time to look about me”.

The above exhibits no small chagrin and disappointment but Bance Island is no longer an object of terror to your colony and *although* it is unpleasant /45/ to be at variance with anyone yet when such variance arises from the faithful discharge of an important duty it causes less uneasiness than it otherwise would do.

It will be gaining much to the cause of humanity to exclude the Americans entirely from all participation in the slave trade.

**3d.** The Company were not the only sufferers by the fire. Some individuals were proportionably greater sufferers having lost by it everything they had vizt. Captains Telford, Buckle, Wallace and Mr. Day, Mr. Rowe and Mr. Vaughan and some seamen. As their distress was urgent and within our reach to relieve, we judged it necessary to order £50 apiece to Messrs. Telford, Buckle and Day, £40 to Captain Wallace and £30 each to Messrs. Rowe and Vaughan.<sup>113</sup> This was meant to supply their present necessities leaving it to you and the Court of Directors to decide how far they are not entitled to indemnification. We have desired them to give in statements of their respective losses (Buckle is now down to leeward) which will assist you in forming your judgement on the subject and enable you to judge how far they are entitled to a compensation and how far the advance already made exceeds or falls short of what you judge sufficient. We have not ventured to promise that any indemnification will be /46/ made, but we cannot help thinking that notwithstanding the very heavy loss the Company have sustained it would be a peculiar hardship if these gentlemen were to receive no compensation for their very heavy losses.

It has been indeed a sweeping fire, there is not the vestige of an account left. I had been at considerable pains in arranging the commercial accounts and had journalised

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Macaulay noted that ‘most of the Tythingmen came to express sorrow for what had happened yesterday (thieving) and offered themselves to attend on board the wreck to render assistance’. Diary, Sunday 1 December and Monday 2 December 1793, f. 47.

<sup>113</sup> According to the Minutes of the Governor and Council, these men had ‘lost all their wearing apparel and other necessaries, and stood of course in want of immediate assistance’. Compensation of £15 was also paid to Mr. Jefferson ‘late a clerk in the Company’s service’. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 113.

them in a regular manner to so late a date as the 30<sup>th</sup> of *September*, but Wallace having begged of me to send them on board to assist him in closing his accounts, they perished in the general conflagration.

Captain Devereux, being unfortunately of a very unaccommodating disposition and having on the present occasion treated the sufferers who expected an asylum on board the *Harpy* very cavalierly, their distress was of course enhanced. We made room however for some of them at our house and for the others the *James*, the vessel we had fortunately bought from Renaud some time ago, was ordered to be fitted up.

4<sup>th</sup> Mr. Jeffrys still in a declining state. Graham complained of a fever. Mr. Dawes better.

5<sup>th</sup> I examined the different schools today. They make some proficiency, but by no means so much as they ought. The black teachers are exceedingly negligent and will continue so I fear until we can get [...] /47/ of schoolrooms where they may be under someone's eye who may overlook them. At present the schools are kept in the houses of the teachers.

6<sup>th</sup> We are a good deal pestered with complaints from those on board the *Harpy*. Benson and Devereux are continually at variance. Today a grievous complaint was preferred by the former accusing the later of drunkenness and of loading him with unmerited abuse. There appeared to me faults on both sides. The tempers of both are irritable in the extreme.

The *Lapwing* arrived with 5 tons of rice from ye 'Sherbro'. A son of Mr. Addows came to visit us in his fathers name who by the way has attached himself very warmly to us and has thereby incurred the displeasure of Bance Island.<sup>114</sup>

A fire happened in the town today by which seven of the settlers houses were burnt to the ground.

It happened rather singularly that the sufferers by the fire were almost all of the number who rejoiced in the *Yorks* destruction. Their loss no man could rejoice in who had a spark of humanity about him but I confess I could not help feeling less grieved at its falling on those who had shewed such a total want of charity than if it had fallen on people of a different character. I overheard some people at the time /48/ reminding them of the expressions they had made use of a few days before when they averred the burning of the *York* to be a judgement of God.

It was no doubt a visitation of Providence but whether sent with a view to punish us for our sin or to shew us the nothingness and uncertainty of human hopes or to remind us that in prosecuting the present attempt of spreading Christ's Gospel we had relied too much on human efforts and too little on the arm of the Almighty or to give us a lively and awakening picture of that sudden destruction which shall go forth as a whirlwind to over helm the ungodly it would be presumption to say.

It is enough for us to know that it comes from the disposer of events and that in his hands it will conduce to good. I have said this much to shew you that however severely we have felt the calamity we are by no means discouraged by it. Sometimes indeed we tremble for its effects on the minds of men in England. And sometimes we are led to hope that it may be the means of rousing the benevolent to farther exertions. But if not

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<sup>114</sup> For earlier references to Ado, see Schwarz, *Journal, June – October 1793*, ff. 64-5, 67-70, 122, 136.

we trust there will still be found a few who will not be influenced by it to turn their backs on poor Africa or to shut their hearts against her cry. A supply of goods and provisions will be immediately wanted but of that subject we shall treat fully in the public dispatches.

7<sup>th</sup> Mr. Bumsted ill.<sup>115</sup> /49/

8<sup>th</sup> Mr. Jones preached.

9<sup>th</sup> We determined on ordering the *Lapwing* to England with all speed and on getting Captain Devereux if possible to carry her home.<sup>116</sup>

10<sup>th</sup> Captain Devereux was accordingly spoke to and it was much to our satisfaction that he gave his assent to this measure. We shall thus I trust part without coming to any rupture, an event the violence of his temper gave me scarce room to hope for.

11<sup>th</sup> Mr. Jeffreys applied for leave to go home in the *Lapwing* which was granted him, his state of health is such as to render this measure absolutely necessary.<sup>117</sup>

**12 December** A French trader from the Mandingo Country confirmed the account given you in my journal of the 18<sup>th</sup> ultimo respecting the approaching war in that country.<sup>118</sup>

He said that the slaves to the number of 1200 are very strongly entrenched about ten leagues back from Berera.<sup>119</sup> That the new King Sitapha<sup>120</sup> is to collect his forces and march against them as soon as the rice harvest is over and that there is great reason to believe the slaves will be reduced as they will have to contend with numbers infinitely superior to their own.<sup>121</sup> He said that there are now in the Mandingo Country at least

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<sup>115</sup> Mr. Bumsted arrived in Freetown on the *Harpy* at the end of October 1793. The Governor and Council decided that he should be employed in the accountant's office together with Mr. Hall who arrived on the same vessel. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, p. 99.

<sup>116</sup> The decision to send the *Lapwing* to England was linked to the urgent need to inform the Court of Directors of the extent of the loss sustained by the fire on the *York*. The Governor and Council considered that this was 'of the utmost consequence to the fate of the colony...'. Sixteen categories of correspondence were prepared for dispatch to England. These included items 5 and 6 which were estimates respecting the loss of the *York*. Item 14 included papers relating to Captain William Davies. He had applied for leave to go home in the *Lapwing* as he intended to 'explain his conduct to the Court of Directors'. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 114-16.

<sup>117</sup> This was confirmed in a report by Mr. Lowes and Mr. Seely to the Governor and Council on 11 December 1793. Minutes of Council, PRO CO 270/2, pp. 114-15.

<sup>118</sup> In his diary Macaulay noted that the Frenchman was from Malacury [Melikori] in the Northern Rivers. Diary, Thursday 12 December 1793, f. 50.

<sup>119</sup> This probably refers to Bereira on Bereira River located in the Northern Rivers. Mouser, *Journal of James Watt*, p. 100.

<sup>120</sup> Mouser notes that Alimamy Sitafa Touré was the ruler of Moria between the 1770s and his death in 1797 or 1798. He was resident at Forékariah in the Northern Rivers. James Watt and Matthew Winterbottom met King Sitafa at Forékariah on 28 April 1794 and noted that he 'received us kindly...'. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 114.

<sup>121</sup> Thomas Winterbottom described how 'about the year 1785, or 1786, a number of Mandingo slaves, availing themselves of the distractions which then prevailed in that country, revolted, and withdrew to a place called Yangheeakurree, in the Soosoo territory'. Winterbottom described how the slave fortification was at-

2000 slaves waiting for purchasers. That in order to prevent desertions /50/ (for these slaves are employed at work) a general agreement has been entered into by which all the chiefs bend themselves to deliver up to their owners all deserters whom they take up.

I think that if by any means the army of deserters could get these 2000 slaves to cooperate with them the war might take a very curious turn. The deserters having enjoyed three years of repose since Mahadi's death have cultivated rice of which they have now a good stock on hand and with their overplus they have been laying up store of arms and ammunition.

Their town is surrounded with a high mound of earth round which runs a very deep and broad ditch.

The present combination of African chiefs to crush these people and the gallant struggle it is likely they will make for their liberty will form a parallel to the history of Europe at this moment. The only difference seems to be in the number of combatants, the game and the stake are the same.

I shall here close my journal for the present being with great truth *dear Sir*,

Your most faithful and obliged servant  
Zachary Macaulay.

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tacked in 1795-6 by a combination of Susu and Mandinka peoples. Winterbottom, *Native Africans*, pp. 154-9. Afzelius's account in his journal for 26 March 1796 noted that 'Mungo Simba headman of Wongepong and King of the Sooses is Commander in chief of the combined armies [sic], and Setafa headman of Kissey and King of the Mandingos is General of the attack...'. Afzelius explained that the effort to suppress the slave resistance was linked to a fear that the town was becoming 'more and more formidable by runaway Slaves that united with them, and those who yet remained with their Masters declared that if the town was not soon subjugated, they would all arise to go to the assistance of their oppressed Brethern'. Kup, *Afzelius*, pp. 122-3. For a fuller discussion of the rebellion see Bronislaw Nowak, 'The Slave Rebellion in Sierra Leone in 1785-1796', *Hemispheres*, 3 (1986), pp. 151-169.



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