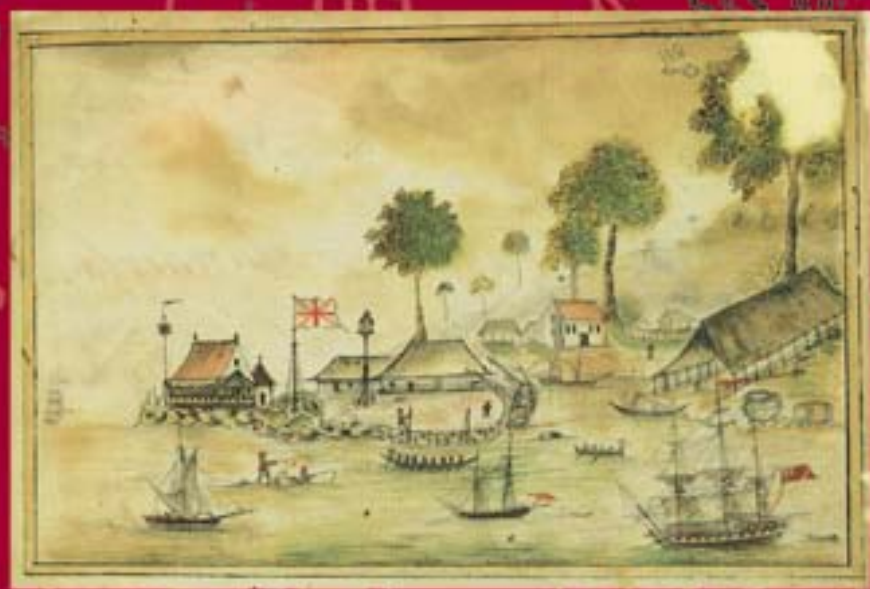


A
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to Africa and Jamaica

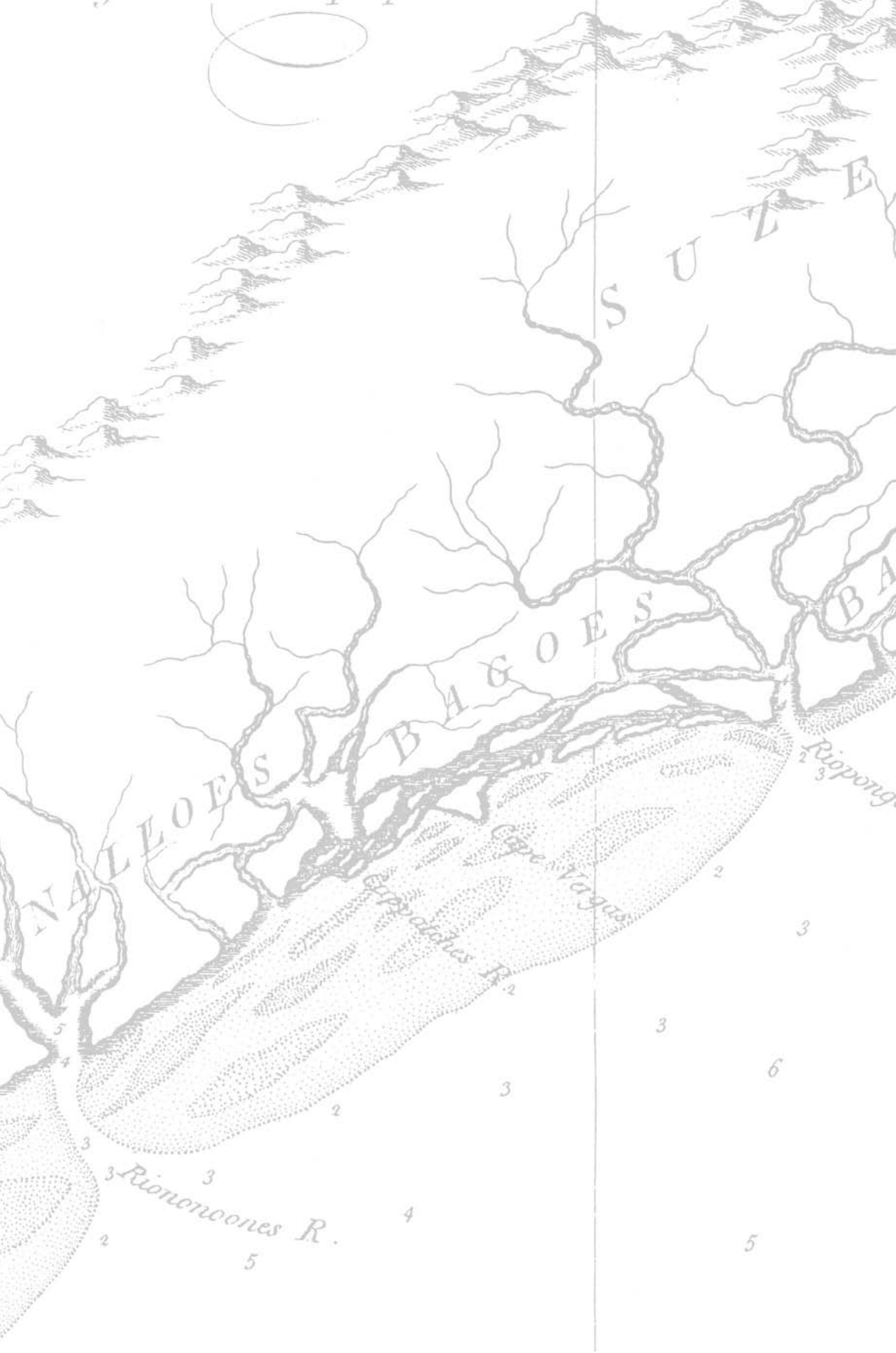


THE LOG OF THE SANDOWN, 1793–1794

Edited by

BRUCE L. MOUSER

A
Slaving
Voyage
to
Africa and Jamaica



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Introduction

Early 1793 was not a good time to begin a trading venture from England to the African coast. War had broken out with France in February 1793, and the possibility of seizure by French men-of-war or privateers of any type was high. Capture would mean a loss of cargo and vessel, and perhaps the captain and crew would be confined in a foreign jail until the war's end. Underwriters had increased insurance rates, and these higher costs would need to be compensated with higher prices for goods delivered at the end of the voyage. The British government had placed an embargo upon trading between England and certain continental ports, and officials had increased their vigilance over all vessels leaving port. The composition of merchandise taken on board was also regulated closely, as were certain items of military value that might fall into the hands of the enemy. The difficulty of enrolling and shipping seamen was constant, but now had become even more complicated by the practice of impressment used by the Royal Navy to fill its complement of sailors on war vessels. Merchantmen were required to receive permission to hire their crews, and each ship was allotted a quota of seamen necessary for the voyage. Permissions to sail were tightly controlled.

Against these obstacles, there were significant advantages for captains and investors who were willing to surmount these hurdles and accept accompanying risks and costs. Shortages caused by the war and actual capture of British vessels in the Atlantic steadily increased the value of those goods that actually made it to market. Prices paid for British goods were high in the West Indies, and the settlement at Freetown, Sierra Leone, was desperate for supplies. Manufactured goods were also highly sought by European, Euro-African, and African merchants resident along the African coast, some of whom represented company interests in England and some of whom were acting independently of these large operations. Vessels with prior contracts or obligations along the coast could no longer be depended upon to successfully avoid capture from privateers. Shortages, therefore,

promised improved marketability for manufactured goods on the coast and increased profits to those who were successful in reaching it. Reduced numbers of vessels venturing into the trade perhaps would mean, moreover, that prices for African commodities also would be depressed, an advantage to shippers who might be better able to manipulate circumstances to their benefit. Assuming that fewer vessels joined the Atlantic trade in slaves, prices paid for slaves in the Americas would also improve. In each port, then, a successful captain could expect to increase his profit margin and bring to himself and his investors significant advantages.

The captain of the *Sandown*, Samuel Gamble, was not new to the African trade. Gamble, by his own account, had sailed to Old Calabar, on Nigeria's western coast, in 1780, and it may be assumed that he had visited the coast often thereafter. His destination in 1793 was the Iles de Los on Africa's windward coast and the rivers that neighbored these islands. The Iles de Los were well known to sailors who ventured into these waters. Located but a few kilometers off Cape Sangara, these islands had become important sources of fresh water, ships' supplies and repairs, and commodities since the mid-eighteenth century. In 1755, Miles Barber, representing the Liverpool Company, had negotiated a guest/host relationship with the ruler of the islands and had established a sizeable factory on Factory Island, one of the island group. Here Barber maintained supplies necessary to refit vessels should their equipment fall into bad repair. He employed coopers, carpenters, rope makers, sail makers, and pilots and had a large number of *grumetes* or laborers-for-hire that could be loaned to a captain for tasks that were unique to the coast. Factory Island also was known as a place where vessels could be beached for repairs commonly required by vessels that remained in these waters for long periods. Some captains came to Factory Island and purchased in-demand commodities directly or from those merchants resident on the coast who brought their goods to the islands for the commerce located there. Other captains used the islands as a convenient anchorage place, mooring their ships at the dock or offshore and sending their pinnaces or longboats into coastal rivers in search of better prices and ready markets. Barber, and those who succeeded him at his retirement, maintained working relationships, through either agents or sub-factors, with the trade and traders up and down this coast. Operations and contacts on the island stretched from the Rio Grande on the north to Cape Mount on the south. The Liverpool Company likewise maintained a major factory on Bance Island, which was located in the Sierra Leone River estuary. The Iles de Los (see Map 6), and the major factory located there,

were therefore a necessary port-of-call for most vessels visiting the coast and the principal destination for Gamble and his crew.

Commerce in the rivers neighboring these islands was different and less secure; but it was rewarding for those who dared to accept the risks. The Rio Nunez was home to several European, Euro-African, and African traders in 1793 (see Maps 3, 4, 5, 8). Apparently Gamble had ventured here before. Dr. James Walker operated a factory at a town, called Walkeria, that took his name. He maintained good relations with the local Landuma ruler and with the Fula governor who lived in that region. Walker's factory was located near the boundary between Landuma and Nalu territories and was perhaps the closest to the coast that Fula caravans reached when they came coastward. The Fula brought rice, hides, slaves, gold, ivory, and other commodities and sought to purchase salt, cola, guns, gunpowder, and other European and American manufactures in return. It was Walker's practice to send scouts or agents into the interior to direct caravans to his factory and to advertise his merchandise and prices. Walker owned several coasting vessels with which he carried commodities to factories on the Iles de Los or to Bance Island or the nearby and new British settlement for freed Africans located at Freetown. He maintained good working relationships with most traders in the Rio Pongo and at Bissao, and his contacts extended far south along the coast. Walker's services to ship captains, in addition to trading, involved providing a pilot and *grumetes*-for-hire for tasks that African workers could do better than Europeans. His was a full-service factory, similar to that at Factory Island, except that he did not offer major repair for damaged ships. Walker had been in the river's commerce for nearly thirty years by 1793.

Another Nunez trader was David J. Lawrence, a Euro-African, who operated a factory at Kissassi, a few miles farther upstream from Walkeria. Lawrence was the Nunez and Pongo agent for a larger trader lineage whose principal center was in the Cacine River to the north of the Rio Nunez. By 1793, Lawrence had established a foothold in the river's commerce and with the Fula who came to the river. Lawrence owned several coasting vessels and, like Walker, carried commodities to fellow traders and factories located nearby. Once the British established the Freetown settlement, Lawrence sought to expand his operation in that direction. He maintained good relations, however, with those superior in years and experience and was, at least in 1793, careful not to antagonize Walker or challenge Walker's apparent control of trade in the Nunez. Further upstream, near the capital of the Landuma, was Dr. Fortune, an elder European trader of more than

thirty years on the coast. Fortune also owned several vessels for the coasting trade, and he, like Walker, stationed agents along interior paths to entice Fula caravans to his factory. Others resident in the river included Dr. Monroe, Mr. Cummings, Thomas Powell, and George Bollard/Bolland, all Europeans, and John Pearce, a Euro-African of mixed European and Nalu descent. All Nunez traders sustained close working relationships with each other and with compatriots along the coast, provisioning slavers with cargos, generally in a cooperative manner. Gamble's journal mentioned numerous other traders who carried goods into or from the Nunez, but many of these were associated with the Pongo, Iles de Los, and Bance Island trades that dominated commerce south of the Nunez River.

There also were numerous European, Euro-African, and African traders in the Pongo, Konkouré/Dembia, and Dubréka/Dania rivers, all located between the Iles de Los and the Rio Pongo, but Gamble chose to ignore these rivers and their trades for the most part (see Maps 3, 8). The Pongo trade until 1791 had been dominated by John Ormond, Sr., who operated factories in the Bangalan and Fatala branches of the upper Pongo. There, he maintained friendly working relations with caravan leaders from the interior, a Fula governor stationed near him, and similar traders from the Nunez to Bance Island in the Sierra Leone River. Like Walker, Ormond had provided captains with services customary to the coast and worked closely with other traders to fill cargos of slaves and commodities. At his death in 1791, his trading sphere passed to his widow and a son, who failed to preserve his dominance in the river's commerce. Others, including William Skelton, Sr., Richard Wilkinson, John Holeman, Sr., Louis Gomez/Bissau, Mr. Gaffrey, and John Irving, operated in the river's commerce but were unable to fill the vacuum that followed Ormond's death. Perhaps the physical features of the Pongo partially explained that river's temporary decline in trade. The Pongo was more precarious than the Nunez for vessels with deep drafts; it therefore attracted fewer captains to factories located in its upper reaches, especially as long as the slave trade remained legal and slaves could easily be transported by schooner or canoe to more accessible ports in the Rio Nunez.

Two Luso-African lineages dominated trade south of the Pongo and into the Konkouré River. These were the Gomez and Fernandez lineages that had established their influence there mid-century, had intermarried with indigenous lineages, and had acquired rights of land use in consequence. Caravan trade from the distant interior reached their factories on the coast. These lineages became important in coasting commerce, where slave ships anchored offshore and scouted/boated with small craft for com-

modities and slaves. Around Cape Sangara, both to the north and south, several English, French, and African traders operated trading establishments, but none of these maintained factories of significant size or provided like services for ships or their captains. Most of these traders were dependent upon the factory at the Iles de Los for their market and services.

The commodities and slave trades along this section were fairly regularized by 1793. Slaves or commodities produced in Africa and sought by shippers were sold to resident traders on the coast, whether European, Euro-African or African, who warehoused manufactured goods sought by traders from the interior. A lively trade in coastal-produced salt also characterized commerce between traders and indigenous suppliers at these factories. Nearly all trade was conducted on a barter basis — so much of one product being the equivalent of so much of another. Resident traders sent vessels into neighboring rivers and transported salt and other products to their factories. They also conducted extensive traffic among themselves. Resident non-African traders paid “rent” or tribute to hosts for these privileges and received protection and certain rights in return. As a guest, a trader was expected to obey local law and provide his host/patron with firearms should that be required. In effect, the resident trader was a principal market for African-produced goods. This commerce was conducted, generally, in local languages or a coastal mix of African and European languages, and it followed customary bartering rules.

Captains who came to this coast were expected to follow different rules. Instead of dealing directly with African producers of commodities, whether goods or slaves, most captains were required to make an arrangement with a resident trader and remain loyal to that agreement. In consequence, a captain would, if he had instructions, seek out a known contact on the coast and reach an agreement for the value of his cargo and for the composition of cargo he sought. Once that agreement had been made, the captain was effectively obligated to remain attached to his trader until the transaction had been completed. On his part, the resident trader would negotiate with other traders in his vicinity to provide commodities, but that was not a part of the agreement between the captain and his trader. Occasionally, the trader would require the captain to make a partial advance payment, obtaining goods that he could then use for barter with indigenous or compatriot suppliers. It was to a captain’s advantage to retain possession of the bulk of his cargo, however, because traders were not always to be trusted. In the meantime, the trader became the captain’s host and protector and conducted trade that would satisfy his contract. This might involve providing food supplies and hospitality for the captain and

his crew. A captain was still required to pay customary anchorage and waterage fees and death duties to traditional authorities. Once the cargo had been collected and loaded, the trader provided a pilot to lead the ship safely out to sea.

To be sure, there were captains who found these rules too constricting. Some captains scouted/boated the coast for cargo, buying a few from this trader and a few from that one, but that practice was fraught with danger. By conducting business in that fashion, a captain lacked the protection of a contract and official sanction along the coast. He also risked striking unknown reefs or bars and consequently becoming a victim to customary rights of salvage practiced by indigenous peoples nearby. Scouting or boating could also mean that it could take a long time to fill an order and barter one's goods; the longer one stayed on the coast, the more likely that the captain and crew would succumb to local fevers and diseases. An extended coasting voyage along this coast also meant that early slaves in the vessel's hold might remain for months in chains and become debilitated and lose market value. The longer a ship remained in African waters, the more likely it was to encounter a slave rebellion and loss of life and property. Long residence additionally could lead to a ship's deterioration, for many vessels were wooden-bottomed. If captains knew of reliable traders along the coast, it was generally to their long-term advantage to deal directly and quickly with them and accept perhaps a less advantageous price.

Beginning his voyage in early April 1793, Gamble arrived at the Iles de Los in June, nearly three months later. His timing was matched by a flurry of activity along this section of coast. War fever brought by declaration of war between England and France in February 1793 had spread to this coast, where many traders would perhaps have preferred to remain neutral for the good of commerce. Gamble had left England as part of a convoy of vessels heading for the West Indies, but once past English territory, Gamble and several other vessels struck south and toward Africa without the benefit and protection of large numbers. The threat of privateers was constant. His arrival at the Iles de Los coincided with a collapse of neutrality along this coast, with vessels being seized seemingly at random. French privateers cruised the coast, as well as French men-of-war. Local traders, and especially those stationed at the Iles de Los because of the islands' conveniences, were leery of ships of any sort, assuming that all carried flags of several countries and hoisted whichever flag was convenient for the moment. Anchoring at Factory Island, Gamble immediately presented his credentials and faced the problems of conducting commerce and, at the same time, protecting his cargo and vessel against capture. Per-

haps having previously visited these islands and neighboring rivers, Gamble understood that anchoring at the *Iles de Los* left him vulnerable to capture by privateers who sought easy prey on the open seas. In consequence, Gamble proceeded by pinnace to the Rio Nunez, and within a few days struck his arrangement with James Walker of Walkeria for 250 slaves as cargo. Walker sent a pilot to lead Gamble's vessel to his factory and to the protection of the upper river.

While seeking the protection of the rivers conferred some advantage, it also brought disease and fever. Mangrove swamps marked much of this coast, and so it was in the Nunez. Walkeria was located above the least healthy section of the river, but swamps and mosquito swarms still were nearby. June was also the beginning of the rainy season, and that period would last until October. "Country fever" inevitably came with the rains, along with other fevers and diseases being spread by caravan traders or ships that had stopped at numerous ports along the way. Poor knowledge about safe drinking water and food preparation meant that captain and crew would certainly encounter new parasites and bacteria. Such was the case with Gamble's crew. Unbeknownst to Gamble, an outbreak of Yellow Fever had occurred at Bulama Island in 1792, and, at the time of his arrival in mid-1793, this disease was spreading rapidly along the coast and across the Atlantic. Almost immediately, his crew members, one after another, became too ill to work and were placed on shore in the care of Dr. Walker and his employees. One after another died. Indeed, 1793–1794 was recorded as the second most unhealthy year on the coast, only marginally better than 1787 had been. And caravans did not arrive with promised slaves from the interior. Local produce was available, but Gamble had contracted for a cargo of 250 slaves. Gamble waited for his crew to recover; other ships came to the coast and filled their orders, but Gamble's crew was too ill to receive slaves on board and guide the ship to its destination. His circumstances became desperate. Finally, in mid-March 1794, nearly nine months later and with eight crew members dead and twelve new seamen shipped, Gamble left the Nunez with 234 slaves as cargo, bound for Jamaica.

Gamble's voyage was already in trouble. Before he left the coast, six slaves had died of disease, and he also had experienced a slave rebellion on board his vessel. Yellow Fever was circling the Atlantic, carried by ships that traveled in tight groups to avoid privateers. His slaves became more and more ill during the Middle Passage, and many died. The crew also became unwell and a few died; it became increasingly difficult to maintain control of the vessel. His water kegs leaked, and he found it necessary to

place his crew on three-quarters rations. Basically, everything was going wrong on this voyage. In desperation, and perhaps expecting a rebellion from his crew, he put in at Barbados for supplies and lost sixteen crew members, who left the *Sandown* without leave or pay. With only a crew of six people remaining, the *Sandown* limped its way to Jamaica and to the cargo's buyers. But even here disaster awaited him. Yellow Fever had struck Kingston with great force, and the market was clogged with slaves waiting on board ships for buyers.

Gamble's record of his voyage is important for many reasons. It is remarkable, however, that this record survives. Surely the owners would have known that such a detailed account might be used by anti-slave trade advocates, and Gamble must have been aware that his record was, in many ways, damning of that commerce. Luckily, however, it did survive. This record, covering the period from 23 January 1793 to 11 October 1794, more than twenty months, is divisible into six parts. The first, from the beginning to 16 May 1793, is instructive of rules and expectations associated with the beginning of war and operation of convoys from England. The second, lasting from 16 May to 12 June, covers his voyage from England to the Iles de Los and his unique description of the Cape Verde Islands. From an African perspective, the most interesting part relates to his trials and tribulations upon the windward coast, from 12 June 1793 to 27 March 1794. The Middle Passage comprises the fourth section; this record, while crisp and occasionally callous, describes the dangers of the Atlantic and the possible, and in his case near-disastrous, consequences of disease on a voyage's success. Part five details the process of delivering a cargo at its designation, and part six narrates his return voyage from Kingston to England.

This journal is particularly rich in information about the slave commerce as it was practiced on the windward coast. Gamble, perhaps in his waiting, became interested in his surroundings and recorded his observations with remarkable clarity. He described the traders he met and their practices. He was intrigued by the interior commerce and repeated what he had heard about how that trade was conducted. His commentaries on Baga society were written from firsthand observations. But Gamble was not only an observer; he traveled to several parts of the coast and participated in the collecting of slaves that would make up his consignment. He visited and described the Rio Pongo, the Iles de Los, Bance Island, and Freetown, all important ports at that time. He described the fauna, land, indigenous practices, African wildlife—basically anything that came before him. His record of disease and the challenge of trading on this coast is generally unsurpassed. Whether Gamble recorded his observations in such

detail with an intention to polish and publish them later is uncertain but certainly not beyond the possible. Many captains, in contrast, entered their observations in the briefest of forms, generally noting winds, weather, soundings, and only those items absolutely necessary. Clearly, Gamble's log represented more than that.

At least four other diaries, journals, and reports exist, fortunately, to verify much of the information recorded by Gamble. Adam Afzelius, as reported in his *Sierra Leone Journal, 1795–1796*, edited by Alexander Peter Kup (Uppsala, 1967), visited the rivers and included detailed notes on their fauna, commerces, and peoples. Kup's generous annotations are particularly useful for historical reconstruction. Zachary Macaulay, who served as the Sierra Leone Company's administrator of the Freetown settlement, produced a diary and two journals that included daily transactions at the colony and crucial information about traders active at the Iles de Los and in these rivers; his original reports are deposited in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and are presently being edited by Dr. Suzanne Schwarz and published by the University of Leipzig Papers on Africa Series. The Viscountess Knutsford used these reports in her *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay* (London, 1900), and, while her report is the most complete published version to date, this publication is lacking in clarity and exactness. James Watt, as recorded in his *Journal of James Watt, Expedition to Timbo, Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser (Madison, Wisconsin, 1994), began his expedition into the interior from factories in the Rio Nunez, and his account is especially rich in description of the mechanics of commerce as it was conducted between the interior and the coast. Several of the Sierra Leone Company annual reports, especially that for 1794, summarized extensive interests that the Company maintained in these rivers, as well as circumstances surrounding the outbreak of hostilities between France and Britain and accompanying disruptions of commerce on the windward coast. Collectively, these diaries, journals, and reports reveal intricate details of the coast for the time of Gamble's extended stay on the rivers and allow for extensive analysis of Gamble's observations.

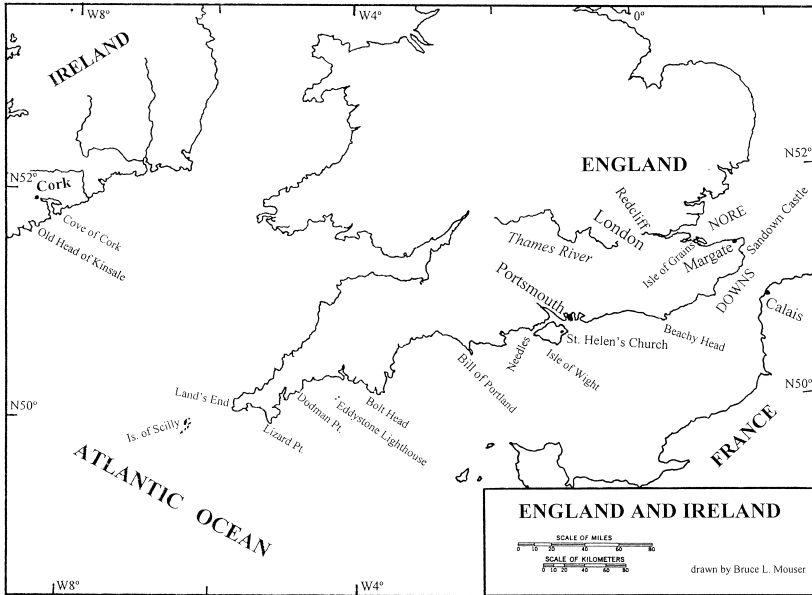
Gamble's journal is preserved in a remarkable state, although very difficult to read. Most pages contain pictures of sailing vessels, fish, fauna, or other notable scenes, usually in color, and copious navigational sightings. Only six pictures have been reproduced in this publication. Navigational sightings have been deleted in this edition. Gamble, or the person who kept his record, wrote in the English style of the time and omitted periods and punctuation that would have been helpful in following the text.

Where one or more words were unreadable, I have indicated their absence in brackets in the text. I have used brackets to fill out abbreviations and to add punctuation where sentence breaks appeared evident but not marked by periods or the presence of capital letters, or where it seemed necessary to bring clarity to the document. All ship names are printed in italics. Capitalization and word spelling follow that of the original document.

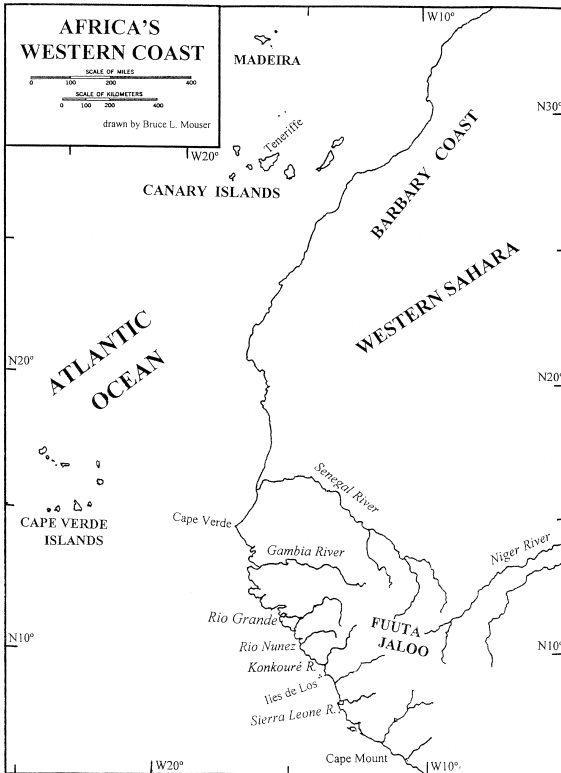
I am indebted to several persons and institutions that provided assistance during the research. Professors Svend Holsoe and George Brooks read sections of the manuscript and made helpful suggestions. The American Philosophical Society rendered financial support that enabled me to revisit the National Maritime Museum in the finishing stages of the research. The staff at the Caird Library in Greenwich enthusiastically provided suggestions, and several unnamed maritime historians helped to decipher often blurred words and willingly graced me with the benefits of long experience in the usage of terms and knowledge of naval customs. As always, others also have been instrumental in making it possible to conduct research from afar. Lavonia McCarty, Jean Bonde, and Mary Baldwin of the Interlibrary Loan Office, Murphy Library, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse have always been supportive of my many unusual requests.

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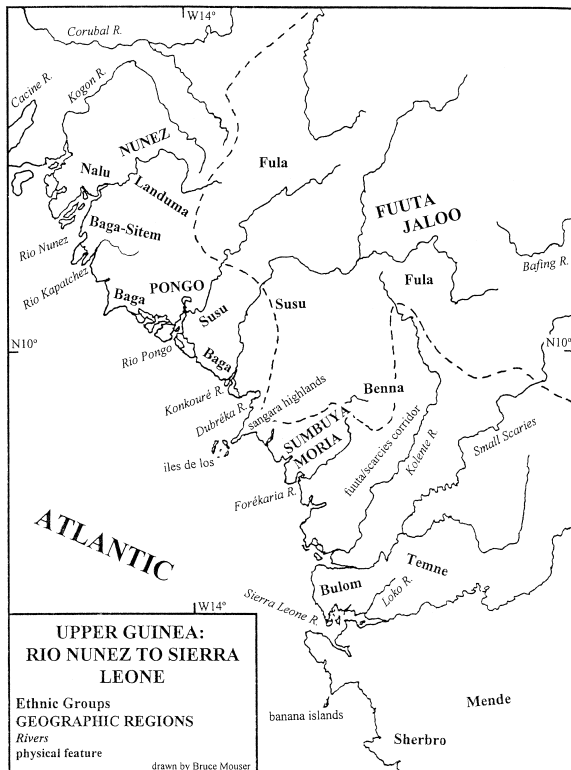
Maps and Illustration



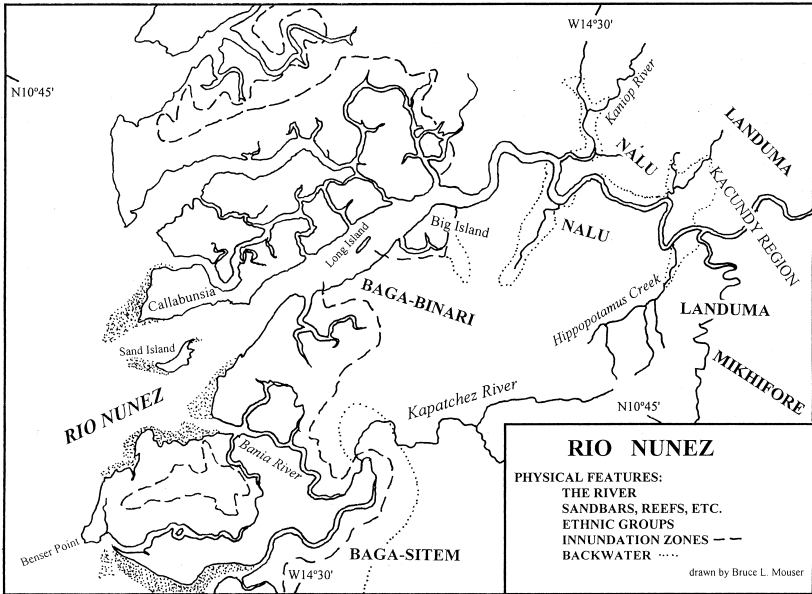
MAP NO. 1: England and Ireland. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



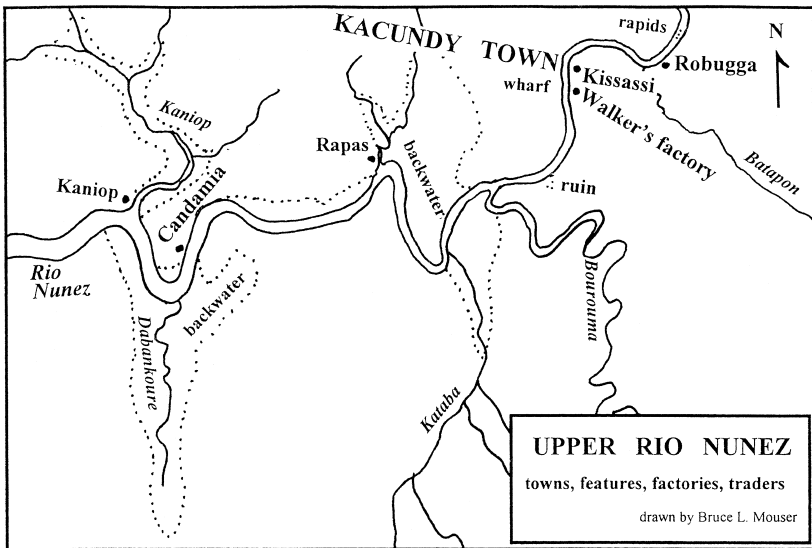
MAP NO. 2: Africa's Western Coast. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



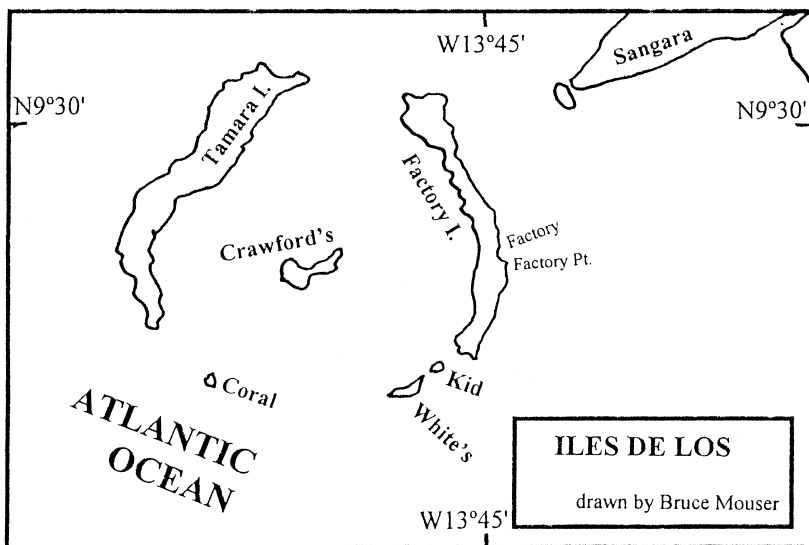
MAP NO. 3: Upper Guinea: Rio Nunez to Sierra Leone. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



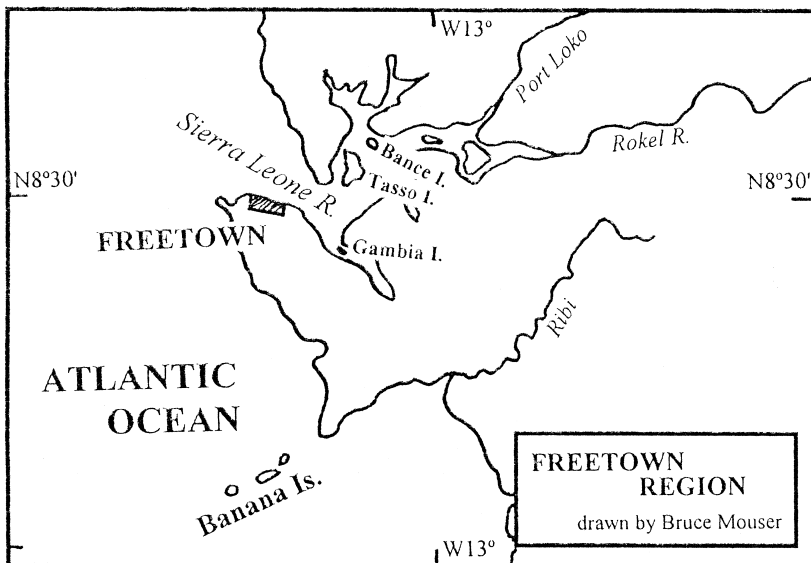
MAP NO. 4: Rio Nunez. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



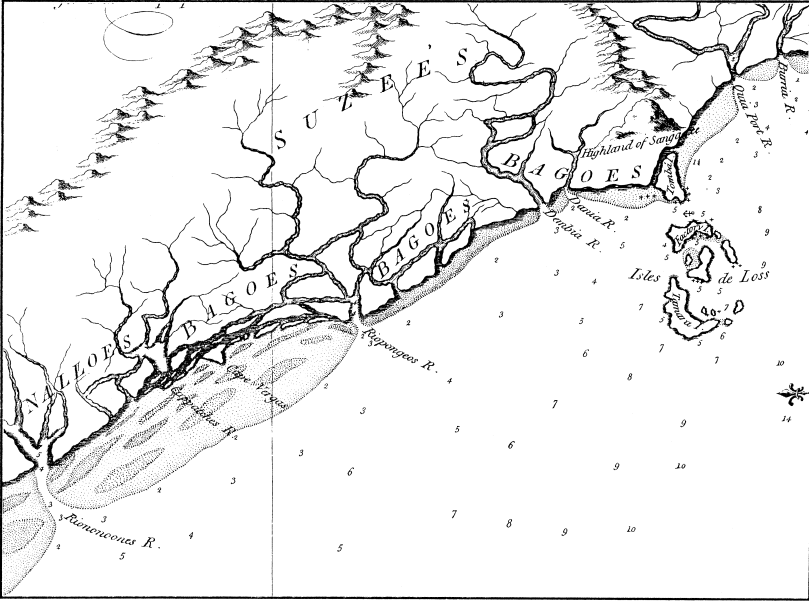
MAP NO. 5: Upper Rio Nunez. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



MAP NO. 6: Iles de Los. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



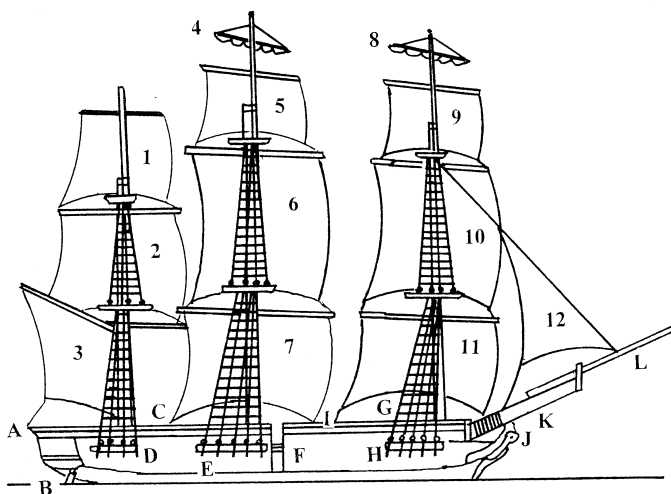
MAP NO. 7: Freetown Region. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



MAP NO. 8: Detail from "Chart of part of the Coast of Africa, from Cape St. Ann to the River Rionoonos." John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (London, 1788).



MAP NO. 9: West Indies. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.



SHIP'S SAILS, RIGGING, TERMS

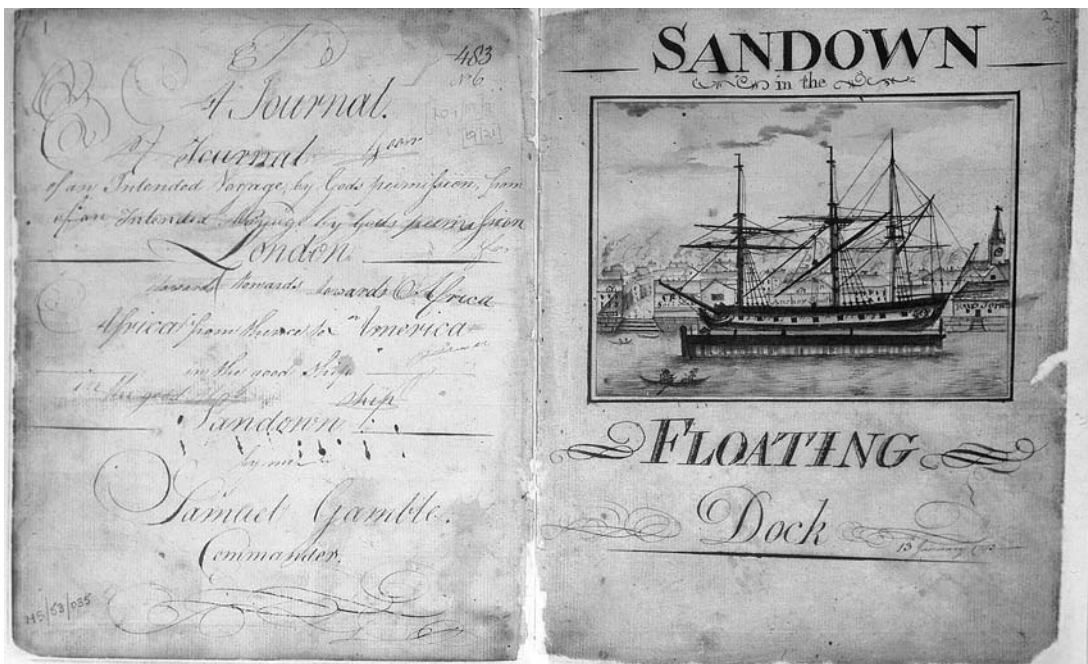
Similar to those used on the *Sandown*

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Mizzen Topgallant | A. Poop Deck |
| 2. Mizzen Topsail | B. Rudder |
| 3. Spanker | C. Quarterdeck |
| 4. Main Royal | D. Mizzen Chains & Stays |
| 5. Main Topgallant | E. Main Chains & Stays |
| 6. Main Topsail | F. Boarding Battens/Entry Port |
| 7. Main Course | G. Shrouds & Ratlines |
| 8. Fore Royal | H. Fore Chains & Stays |
| 9. Fore Topgallant | I. Waist |
| 10. Fore Topsail | J. Figurehead |
| 11. Fore Course | K. Jib Boom |
| 12. Flying Jib | L. Bow |

drawn by Bruce L. Mouser

FIGURE NO. 1: Ship's Sails, Rigging, Terms. Drawn by Bruce L. Mouser.

A
Slaving
Voyage
to
Africa and Jamaica



1[r]¹ SANDOWN in the FLOATING Dock 13 January 1793

1. Drawing from “Sandown” manuscript, title page, and reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London. [r] = recto (right-hand page); [v] = verso (left-hand page).

2. Specific description of the *Sandown* is found in several official documents. In Lloyd’s of London, *Lloyd’s Register 1793* (London: Lloyd’s, 1793), S-151, the *Sandown* was described as a sheathed vessel of 138 tons built in 1781 by the French, lengthened in 1787, owned by John Barbe & Company and Cameroon & Company, displacing 13 feet of draft of water when loaded, surveyed in the Port of London in 1791 as grade E1, bound for the Coast of Africa, and insured in 1793. In Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), Board of Trade (BT) 107/9, Lon-

A Journal
Of an Intended Voyage, by Gods permission, from
London
towards Africa from hence to America
in the good Ship
Sandown
by me
Samuel Gamble
Commander.

[2v]

The Vessel² Charterd³ at £125 ø[er] M^{o[nth]} to expire when the Slaves are sold

The Ship to be deliverd up⁴ in the West Indies:

Number of Slaves as ø Tonage ⁵	250
N ^o Purchas'd	280
[torn] of upon freight ⁶	<u>30</u>
Total bro[ugh] ^t to Market	<u>242</u>

Carridge £46⁷

3[r] laying in Church Hole Pier. Redriffe.⁸

don Foreign Trade, 159, the *Sandown* was described as “foreign built & was stranded in Sandown Bay at the back of the Isle of Wight in Jan. 1786 & having since been repaired in the proportion required by Law as Reg^d No. 619 in pursuance of an Order of the Hon[ora]ble Comm^r of his Ma[jes]tys Customs dated 1st Feb^y 1787.” The record further revealed that the *Sandown* was a ship of two decks and three masts, 81.9 feet long, 20.9 feet wide, 4 feet between decks, and of 151 tons burthen, with the head in the shape of a man. The “kind of vessel” was identified as “square masted with a flush deck and quarter badges, with no gallery.” The ranking of vessel as “E1” indicated that it had been granted a high rating, for ships were classified, in terms of construction and soundness, as A, E, I, O, U, in that

Wednesday 23^d Jan.^y 1793 Fine Pleasant weather. Receiv'd on board 40 Tierces⁹ Beef, 20 Barrels Pork, 19 Firkins¹⁰ Butter, 50 Kegs¹¹ tripe.¹²

order. For this ranking, see George Blake, *Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1760–1960* (London: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, [1958]), 5. In W. H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Word Book* (London: Blackie and Son, 1867), 611, sheathing was described thus: "Thin boards placed between the sheets of copper and the ship's body to protect it from damage from worms. A layer of tar and hair or brown paper dipped in tar or oil would be laid between the body and the sheathing. After 1783, most vessels had copper bottoms." Ships were lengthened in two fashions. In *A Naval Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersley, 1881), "lengthening" was described as "sometimes performed on the ends of a ship," but care was given to insure that this process did not damage the structure or strength of the vessel. W. A. McEwen and A. H. Lewis (*Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge* [Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1953]) wrote that lengthened ships might be "placed in a 'graving dock,' cut through amidships and extended, with the center or added part rebuilt and refortified." See entry dated 8 December 1793, when Gamble described the head as "an excellent piece of Carved work. being the figure of the Unfortunate Louis 16 King of France." Gamble apparently commanded the *Sandown* only for this single voyage. Between 1789 and 1793, the *Sandown* was commanded by W. Snow, owned by St. Barbe & Company, and traded between London and ports in the Mediterranean (*Lloyd's Register*: 1789, S-184; 1790, S-180; 1791, S-509; 1792, S-151). Ownership included Cameroon & Co. in 1793 (1793, S-151), and only Cameroon was listed as owner in 1794 (S-165). After 24 July 1794, the *Sandown* was commanded by P. Smith (1795, S-155), and Smith was listed as captain and owner in 1797 (S-123) and 1798. The *Sandown* was used in the London-Cork trade during these latter years. It was not listed as insured in 1796, 1799, or 1800.

3. BT 107/9, London Foreign Trade, 159, recorded the *Sandown* as registered on 6 February 1793 under charter to an investment syndicate of brokers who included John L. Barbe, John Green, and William Bignell of Seething Lane and subscribers that included Robert Forbes, merchant, William Richards, ship builder of Gosport in Southton, James Morrison of St. Michaels Alley Cornhill, merchant, and William Snow of London Street Ratcliffe Crosse, mariner. C. Ernest Fayle ("Shipowning and Maritime Insurance," in *Trade Winds: A Study of British Overseas Trade During the French Wars 1793–1815*, edited by C. Northcote Parkinson [London: Allen and Unwin, 1948], 27–29) noted that owners of a ship often "let the ship" to such syndicates. Indeed, Fayle observed that it was "probable" that most British vessels during this period were owned by persons who were "mainly confined to the earning of freights" (28). To be sure, some owners and captains used the term "cargo" to refer only to those goods that belonged to owners. It was also uncommon for a master or captain by this date to have a commercial interest in the cargo or venture. Instead, he was the employee of the owner. Whether this figure of £125 per month included wages of the captain and crew is unclear.

4. In this case, the investment syndicate had chartered the vessel for only two segments of the Atlantic trade: Britain to Africa, and Africa to the West Indies. According to Fayle ("Shipowning and Maritime Insurance," 31), this apparently was common practice because such long-distance trade often could be protracted, and financial and political circumstance could change considerably to influence markets and costs. In consequence, the ship would be "delivered up" to the own-

Thursday 24th D^o— Ditto weather, got the top gallant masts¹³ amend and the yards across. Receiv'd on board 980 Powder¹⁴ Kegs, 40 to the B^l.

ers' agent abroad, who would arrange for another charter or cargo and perhaps a new captain and crew. In this instance, Captain Gamble would remain with the *Sandown* until 27 May 1794, at which time he "deliver'd up the Ships papers" (see ms. 88v) in Kingston, Jamaica, to Joseph and Agnus Kennedy, whom he described as "Past Charterers of the Said Ship." That this journal continued through his return to England on 11 October 1794 suggests that the log was either kept in his possession or that he carried it or a copy to the ship's owners in London. Unfortunately, no contract or letter of arrangements between Gamble and the ship's owners has been located. C. M. MacInnes ("The Slave Trade," in *Trade Winds*, 263–264) described a set of instructions from an owner to the effect that the captain would report, upon arrival at Barbados, to "a certain firm" which would by that time have received "orders for the remainder of a voyage," and "with arrangements for the payment of commissions." This was likely the case in Gamble's circumstance. In this log, entries dated 12 May and 22 May 1794, Gamble wrote that he was "consign'd" to the Kennedys and that Angus Kennedy had ordered him to leave the vessel and obtain "sick lodgings." This circumstance indeed suggests that the Kennedy firm was acting as the owners' agent in Jamaica. Gamble may have been intended to captain the vessel throughout the voyage, but his illnesses led the owners' agent to dismiss him at Kingston and to return him to England by another conveyance.

5. The "Act to Regulate the Carrying of Slaves," passed by Parliament in 1788, stipulated that ships could carry only five slaves per 3 tons of tonnage and that a ship's master was required to declare on oath in the West Indies the correct tonnage of his ship and the number and height of each slave carried on board. For the 1788 act, see Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, II (4 vols., New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 582–589; F. George Kay, *The Shameful Trade* (1967/London: Muller, 1969), 92–93; and Averil Mackenzie-Grieve, *The Last Years of the English Slave Trade: Liverpool 1750–1807* (1941/New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968), 251. In Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73, "Shipping and Carrying Slaves," enacted 17 June 1793, but agreed to by "Order of Council of 11 February 1793," the Act of 1793 continued the legislation concerning slaves to tonnage, adding that any slave over 4'4" was to be allotted extra space. If the number of slaves on board exceeded this number at the ship's destination, a fine of £30 per head was to be levied on all slaves above the allowable. If any slaves were landed without permission, a fine of £500 was to be levied, and if total penalties were not paid within fourteen days, the vessel could be seized by authorities. It seems clear from this record that Gamble was intending to maintain an accurate record, to adhere strictly to the law, and to meet all requirements, if for no other reason than to avoid penalties and to retain insurance coverage on his vessel, for to have willingly violated legal stipulations would have voided insurance guarantees as well.

6. It is likely that these numbers were provided at the end of the voyage, rather than at its beginning. What Gamble meant to suggest in the torn section is unclear. A loss of 30 slaves during the voyage, for instance, does not account for the figure of 242 slaves brought to market. In a margin, Gamble jotted the figures of "212 Ship" and "30 fn," followed by the number "242." The difference of 38 slaves perhaps includes those who died on board ship before leaving the African coast or

Friday 25th Fresh Breezes from the SE with rain Receiv'd on board 11 Puncheons¹⁵ Manchester goods mark'd K 1 to 11.¹⁶—221 Barbaroons,¹⁷ 5 Crates, 1 Cask & 1 Basket earthenware,¹⁸ 10 Kegs shot,¹⁹ 400 lead

who were killed during the ship's rebellion. In any case, Gamble's loss of 38 slaves surpassed the allowable of 2 percent provided in Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73, "Shipping and Carrying Slaves."

7. The placement of this note suggested that the cost of transporting the cargo of slaves amounted to £46 and that this portion of the log was completed at the end of the voyage. This figure likely accounted only for food costs.

8. Redriffe, Redcliffe, or Ratcliff were names used to designate a section of the Thames River located directly north of the current Millennium Dome and took its name from the red clay soil found there. From the fourteenth century, this section of the river was well known for shipbuilding, for "fitting out, repairing and victualling of ships," and for mapping and charting. It was a major crossing point for the Thames before bridges were built. The village of Ratcliff/Redcliffe was located there and contained many "ship-chandlers, chart sellers, outfitters, ship and anchor smiths, mast and block makers." It was destroyed by a great fire in 1794. For more on Ratcliff, see Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, editors, *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: MacMillan, 1983), 637–638.

9. A tierce was a wooden vessel or barrel that held approximately one-third of a pipe, or roughly 35–42 gallons. It usually was used for wine, but also could be used for other products. For all practical purposes, most of the ship's cargo would be loaded on board within barrels of various sizes. The term "barrel" referred to a type of wooden container that bulged slightly on its side and narrowed on each end, was made of wooden staves that were hooped together, and was capped with a flat wooden end. This term also referred to a specific measure of approximately 32 gallons. In effect, there were barrels of different sizes, some larger than 32 gallons and some smaller. In this case, a "tierce" was a larger-than-normal barrel. It was common practice for many goods to be shipped in barrels. Barrels could be easily moved from place to place, were watertight in most cases, were reasonably secure from pilferage, and could be collapsed into bundles of staves and reassembled for use during a voyage. Wet goods and dry goods were generally shipped in different barrels. Square boxes, in contrast, while perhaps using less "real" space than barrels, were difficult for a single person to move about, to turn over, or to reuse. The "holds" or storage areas of ships were also more amenable to rounded containers than to square ones.

10. A firkin was a small wooden cask/barrel that held liquids, fish, butter, etc. It measured approximately a quarter of a barrel. It normally took the shape of only one end of a barrel.

11. A keg was a watertight container with a capacity varying from 4 to 10 gallons.

12. "A Schedule of agreements between Masters & Men," appended to Parliament, 33 Geo 3rd, cap. 73, "Shipping and Carrying Slaves," noted that crew members were to receive wholesome food during a voyage. Each was to receive a specified amount of meat per day of regular ration. Assuming that it was common to expect that slaving voyages to the African coast could last as long as a year (MacInnes, "Slave Trade," 261), that it was common for slavers to employ twelve crew members per hundred tons of vessel, and that provisions upon the coast might be difficult to procure, perhaps such a quantity of meats would have been considered

barrs.²⁰ 20 powder Kegs 40 to the B^l. Seamen and Tradesmen employ'd at sundry.²¹
 Saturday 26th D^o breezes from the SE with pleasant w^r. Receiv'd on board

normal. It is doubtful that any of these goods were meant for the Kingston market. Some of the beef and pork (see 4 January and 7–10 January 1794, ms. 69v) would be sold at Freetown, indicating that some may have been intended as marketable cargo once the *Sandown* reached the African coast.

13. See Figure No. 1, “Ship’s Sails, Rigging, Terms,” which shows the masts, yards, and sails of a vessel similar to the *Sandown* and typical for the time.

14. Gunpowder sent to the African coast was generally of a poor quality, yet it was highly sought on the Windward Coast. This trade good would also have been carried for defensive purposes, especially at a time when war was being rumored with France and when privateers were expected to be active along the African coast (see entry dated 19 March 1793). That Gamble listed these goods by “keg” and yet noted that a barrel consisted of 40 kegs may indicate that the powder was loaded in barrels rather than kegs. The measure of “barrel” was not consistently used during this period, with the consequence that Gamble may have intended to indicate that these barrels contained only 40 kegs of powder.

15. A puncheon was a large wooden cask (about 112 gallons or 3½ barrels) used for carrying liquids and commodities.

16. It was common to mark kegs or puncheons in this fashion, as a bookkeeping measure and as a convenient way to identify the cargo’s ownership. It is likely that “K” meant that this item belonged to Joseph and Angus Kennedy of Kingston, Jamaica. The Kennedys had a principal interest in this voyage, although they were neither owners nor brokers for goods going to Africa; they would broker the *Sandown*’s cargo of slaves once they reached Kingston. Gamble also noted that he had delivered the vessel’s “papers” over to the Kennedys upon arriving at Kingston on 27 May 1794.

17. A babarhum was a type of cake made with rum. The word is a combination of “baba-plum cake” and rhum or rum.

18. Earthenware or crockery was a common trade good reaching the African coast, especially within European communities of traders who had established residence to service the Atlantic trade. It is doubtful that such goods would have been considered viable for long-distance commerce with the interior because of possible breakage.

19. Shot refers to lead balls or pellets used in firearms. These could be used in small arms or in cannon. Whether this number was destined for sale in Africa is uncertain; perhaps a quantity would have been carried for self-defense during wartime. It is likely, however, that this would have been considered a part of cargo that would be sold on the coast, since it was in high demand and would command a high price.

20. While it is likely that these goods were meant for trading, they might also have been used as ballast to balance the cargo within the hold of the ship. For good sailing conditions to prevail, the *Sandown* required a draft of 13 feet of water when fully loaded with cargo. It would have been common for a vessel to take on whatever heavy goods necessary to secure the vessel’s expected draft. In effect, the lead bars could have been sold on the African coast along with the cargo and replaced with rocks as the weight of the slave cargo required.

21. It was common practice that crew members would be hired only as they

2 Casks mark'd K 1 Bundle, 41 Kegs, 20 Barrels White bread, 15 D^o flour. People employ'd Blacking²² the Mast heads yd^s &c Joiners fitting Cabbins²³ in the steerage Painters at the sides, head, and stern & boats which are at Hawkins yard,²⁴ redriffe.

[3v] Sunday 27th Jan.^y 1793 Fresh breezes from the Westward with pleas^r Weather.

Monday 28th D^o Weather. Employ'd shipping people²⁵ Ship'd Alexander Horn 2^d Mate[,]²⁶ John Morris Seaman[,]²⁷ Moses Morris Boatswain[,]²⁷ Jm^s Armstrong Carpenter. Laughton McKinnan Cooper[,]²⁷ Thomas

were needed for protecting the ship while in harbor, guarding the cargo while the ship was docked or anchored in the harbor, or actually preparing for a voyage. In this instance, the terms “seamen” and “tradesmen” probably referred to those locally based persons who were making final repairs to the vessel in preparation for its departure or who were arranging for or loading cargo on board the *Sandown*. C. Northcote Parkinson (“The Seaports—London,” in *The Trade Winds*, 52) wrote that this period of loading and repairing was often a dangerous time for both the captain and the ship’s investors, since it was the time when pilferage was most commonly attempted and often accomplished. In effect, once Gamble began to load his cargo, he would soon need to begin the process of obtaining a permanent crew to care for and guard it against theft.

22. “A good mixture is made of coal-tar, vegetable-tar, and salt-water, boiled together, and laid on hot. The tarring and blacking of rigging; or the operation of blacking the ship’s sides with tar or mineral blacking” (Smyth, *Sailor’s Word Book*, 104). Although masts, heads, and yards were made of the hardest of woods, these needed to be protected against varying climatic changes that might affect their strength. In consequence, it was important that each would be given a coat of tar before a voyage began.

23. Cabins generally referred to living quarters for the captain and officers or rooms within a vessel’s forecabin intended for crew members. In this case, perhaps Gamble had ordered that accommodations/bunks be prepared to serve crew members. The term “steerage” usually referred to that area where non-paying passengers would be bedded. “Cabins” also could have alluded to compartments within the cargo section that needed to be made water-tight. It was common for all vessels of this type to experience minor leakage that, if left unattended or undiscovered, could result in the ruining of market-bound goods. A third possible use of “cabins” may have referred to special quarters produced on the lower deck for housing female slaves or children. Some captains exercised particular care to separate these from the men, who were placed in the hold. Whether that occurred in this case is unclear.

24. It is likely that this was the name of a repair facility at Ratcliff.

25. Shipping people referred to hiring/registering persons to serve as crew members on board a vessel. This and other nautical definitions found in footnotes are taken from *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956); Smyth, *Sailor’s Word Book*; *Naval Encyclopedia*; Peter Kemp, *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); and McEwen and Lewis, *Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge*. In “A Schedule of agreements between Master and Men,” attached to Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73,

Carey Cook, Adam Chisholm Steward, Charles Dudgeon, Samuel Thompson, James Dixon[,] James Smith, Alexander Stuart[,] James Martin[,] W^m Ford, Seamen. Robert Tyte & Pedro Bagnetta Boys & Ja^s. Lee Receiv'd on board 1 Tierce Beef[,] 1 Bag Callimine[,]²⁸ 3 Boxes pipes K N^o 1.2.3.²⁹

Tuesday 29th Fresh breezes from the SW with cloudy w^r. Receiv'd on board 4 Chaldrons³⁰ Coal, Sundry stores from Mount & Johnstons Ironmongers[,] Mapping Desk, 4 Cartridge guns[,] 2 Swivells³¹[,] big Iron Handcuffs[,] Neck chains & collars. Mess & Deck Chains, Slave harth

“Shipping and Carrying Slaves,” language stipulated that certain regulations required that a master 1) provide sufficient and wholesome food to crew members and listed quantities of meat, etc., expected in a daily diet, 2) issue allowances and advance payments of wages as identified, 3) provide “protections” or amenities while ships or crew were “up the Rivers” on the African coast, 4) provide shelter to crew members while they were in Africa, 5) issue at least a month’s pay advance before leaving Britain, 6) grant “River or Harbour pay” to crew members as an extra payment above regular wages, 7) issue one month’s pay at landfall in the New World and at least ten days before the beginning of the homeward voyage, and 8) announce his intention to begin his homeward voyage at least twenty-four hours in advance of departure and make that decision known to crew members. In return, each crew member was required to agree to obey all rules, show due respect and subordination, and remain with the vessel until released by the commander.

26. Mate was a position directly under master/captain. Mates were ranked by seniority, with the first mate taking charge of the vessel in case the master became incapacitated or if he died.

27. A boatswain was a person, generally of noncommissioned rank but assigned tasks similar to those of an officer, who was given a special warrant and placed in charge of sails, rigging, anchors, and cables. Such persons often were known as warrant officers. The boatswain’s tasks included summoning crew members to their posts with a whistle. He was directly in charge of all work on deck.

28. This likely refers to calamine, a native zinc carbonate (ZnCO₃). When added to mineral oil or lard, it produced a skin ointment that was effective in relieving itching or as a treatment for insect bites.

29. Cartons marked with the letter K clearly were goods belonging to the Kennedys’ firm of Jamaica. In this case, the term “pipes” likely refers to clay pipes for tobacco smoking.

30. A chaldron was a measure of coal amounting to approximately 36 bushels.

31. A swivel was a gun mounted on a platform that permitted it to be rotated. Jay Coughtry (*The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade 1700–1807* [Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981], 73) identified the swivel as a favored weapon for slavers. This gun resembled an “oversized blunderbuss” and could be mounted easily at strategic locations on the main deck. It was most efficient at short range and was designed to project shot over a wide area. This meant that it became one of the principal tools with which to control slaves when they were on deck. Carriage guns, in contrast, were designed for longer-range prey or for use against other vessels. New England practice suggested that a vessel of 150 tons, approximately the weight of the *Sandown*, carry two carriage

and furnace.³² Coopers³³ tools compleat &c &c. Painters painted Ships now employ'd at Sundry.

4[r] Friday 15th Feb.^y 1793³⁴ Light airs from the SW with rain. At 10 AM got underweigh at half past 10 came too abreast of the round tree in 8 Fathoms moor'd ship with the small Bower and Stream anchor.³⁵ Hoisted out the Pinnace³⁶ & got the Long Boat out of the Chocks³⁷ [and] clear of the Hatchways.

Saturday 16 D^o Light airs and fine weather. Ships company employ'd clearing the after hold Carpenter cutting out ports in the waist,³⁸ Cooper

guns and four swivels. This may have differed from British practice, however, because American slavers tended to employ a larger ratio of crew to slaves, therefore relying more on firepower to control their slave cargos. That the *Sandown* loaded four carriage guns may indicate that this was an unusual number dictated by wartime conditions.

32. Slave hearth, furnace, handcuffs, chains, and neck collars were customary equipment found on board slave ships. Slaves were expected, generally, to cook their own food, and the hearth and furnace would have been used for that purpose. Handcuffs, chains, and various collars would be used to secure the cargo of slaves during the Middle Passage, or while awaiting a full complement of slaves on the West African coast. Some slave captains used chains and cuffs only while in African waters, removing them once the vessel was at sea as a measure to insure less damage to cargo during the Middle Passage. See Theophilus Conneau, *A Slaver's Log Book or 20 Years' Residence in Africa* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Avon Books, 1976), 80–86, for a discussion of use of these items during the 1830s. See also MacInnes, "Slave Trade," 262, for a list of fetters used to contain slaves while they were on board ship.

33. A cooper was a crew member whose task was to assemble, trim, and repair wooden barrels/casks so that they would hold water or other liquids/goods as required. This was an important position, for barrels were often loaded as bundles of staves and needed to be assembled to receive cargo as a voyage progressed. These containers also needed to be kept in good repair and watertight, for once ships left the African coast and entered the Middle Passage, no fresh water would be available until they reached North or Central America.

34. The sixteen-day omission in the record is unexplained. In this period, however, the *Sandown* was issued a Pass on 8 February 1793, No. 523, and certificated on 7 February 1793. ADM 7/112, Register of Passes, indicated that the vessel was classified as a "ship," was of London registry, weighed 151 tons, carried two guns, was foreign built, had then a crew of fifteen British seamen and five foreign seamen, and was bound for Africa and the West Indies.

35. Ships regularly carried a variety of anchors. A Bower anchor was normally carried on the bow of the vessel and would be used to secure an anchorage. A Stream anchor was smaller than a Bower anchor, often was used from the stern, and moored a vessel in a fixed position. With a small crew employed, Gamble cleared the dock to better protect his ship from the dangers of pilferage, whether by those who sought opportunity from on shore or by crew members who might send goods ashore.

36. A Pinnace was generally a small boat, although it varied in size. For this

trimming water casks. Arrived a Schooner French Privateer³⁹ prize⁴⁰ to the *Hind* & Cutter.⁴¹

Sunday 17th Moderate breezes from the NE^d with fine pleas^t W^r. at Meridan. Ewen Cameron Esq^r Owner⁴² & M^r Fortesque came on board to dine[.] at 8 P.M. they return'd to London.

Monday 18th Fresh Gales from the NW with drizzling rain. The *Princess Amelia* & *Worster* East Indiamen got underweigh in order to go round to Portsmouth. Ships company employ'd at sundry necessarys.

[4v] Tuesday 19th Light breezes from the WSW with pleasant w[eathe]^r.

period, as many as eight crew members might man the vessel as oarsmen. These boats were used to scout the coast where reefs or sand bars made it dangerous for larger ships to approach more closely.

37. Chock was a wedge of timber used to confine or prevent something from moving.

38. A waist was that part of the upper deck located between the foremast (forward) and the mainmast. Some merchantmen referred to the waist as that part of the upper deck located between the forecabin deck and the poop deck. Since neither of the latter were found on this vessel, it is probable that the former definition applied. It is likely that Gamble was referring to gun ports in this case, since war with France had been declared only a few days earlier. It was not uncommon in wartime for ships to add gun ports, even if the vessel lacked the guns to man those positions. This may have been a maneuver to dissuade a privateer from engaging the vessel at sea. Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 71–72) described alterations that might be made to a slave-carrying vessel, noting that captains often cut portholes to provide improved ventilation in the slave compartment. Various drawings of the *Sandown* show that nine ports were made on each side of the vessel. Charlotte and Denis Plimmer (*The Damn'd Master* [London: New English Library, 1971], 43) noted that it was common for slavers to have air ports to provide for better air circulation below deck. The fact that the *Sandown* had not been used as a slaver before meant, perhaps, that such air ports had not yet been cut in her waist.

39. The term “privateer” was used for privately owned vessels that were heavily armed and operated during wartime against enemy trade. The term also applied to a person who operated such a vessel. A privateer avoided the charge of piracy only by obtaining and carrying a “letter of marque” (see footnote 91 for a full discussion of such letters) which legally gave him permission to seize vessels belonging to an enemy.

40. War had broken out earlier in February 1793 between Britain and France. To damage French commerce, Britain authorized British vessels to seize French vessels. Such seized vessels were called “prizes.”

41. According to *Steel's Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy* ([London: D. Steel, 1794], 9, hereafter cited as *Steel's List* . . . 1794), the only online vessel of this description was the *Hind*, a vessel of 28 guns. “& Cutter,” in this case, may refer to a smaller vessel, a “cutter,” that was attached to the *Hind*.

42. In *Lloyd's Register 1793* ([London: Lloyd's, 1793], S-151), the *Sandown* was listed as belonging to “Jⁿ Barb[e] & C[ompany], and Cameroon & C[ompany].” MacInnes (“Slave Trade,” 263–264) noted that the “principals” in the trade might

Receiv'd on board 21 Puncheons Brittish Brandy⁴³ Stow'd it in the after Hold.

At 8 PM his Majestys Frigate *Iris*⁴⁴ impressed⁴⁵ the following men Viz Moses Morrice Boatswain. John Morrice[,], Alex^r Stuart[,], Charles Dudgeon Seamen[,], Robert Tyte[,], Pedro Bagnetta[,], James Locke Ordinary d^o.

give last-minute instructions to the captain, especially as they related to trade and disposition of cargo at the voyage's completion. Such instructions reminded the captain of legal limits for carrying slaves; specific directions concerning the purchase of numbers, sex, and ages of slaves; instructions concerning discipline and feeding of crew members; instructions to maintain cleanliness; reminders of the dangers of insurrection from slaves; directions for disbursal of expenses, book-keeping requirements, and surrender of papers; schedules of commissions to be paid officers upon completion of a successful voyage; and, in case of war, specific instructions concerning what to do in case of capture or in defending oneself against privateers. Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 52) wrote that Rhode Island-based slavers similarly were given instructions that included a description of cargo to be purchased by number, age, and sex; specific instructions with regard to traders or arrangements already made for trade upon the African coast; a breakdown of privileges granted to each officer; and a reminder to take care of the crew, watch slaves, and clean the vessel often. It is likely that Gamble's instructions also directed him to sail straight to the Iles de Los and to make his arrangement either with a merchant there or with James Walker in the Rio Nunez. See entry 12 June 1793 for a letter given to Gamble for delivery to Richard Horrocks of Factory Island, from "Mess^{rs} John & Tho^s Hodgson Mercht^s in Liverpool."

43. This would represent a significant amount (about 2400 gallons). Perhaps Gamble anticipated some of its use during a long voyage, but that is doubtful. Instead, brandy was considered to have useful medicinal properties and was believed to be a water purifier. Perhaps he intended to use it as a barter good, or possibly it came on board as merchandise ordered by a merchant on the African coast. See entry dated 1 March 1793 for a notation that an amount of rum was loaded "for ships use," clearly suggesting that the brandy mentioned above was intended as cargo. On 23 September 1793, Gamble mentioned that he distributed small amounts of brandy to African workers who were assisting him on board the *Sandown* while it was trading in the Rio Nunez. Perhaps this quantity of brandy was expected to be used as "extra" payments along the coast.

44. *Steel's List* . . . 1794, 9, listed the *Iris* as a frigate of 32 guns.

45. It was customary practice that if a merchant ship had not received written approval (protection from impressment) to recruit seamen, those seamen on board such a vessel were liable for involuntary draft into the British navy. In this case, with many ships collecting at harbor to join a convoy out to sea and with many not yet having official "protection" to recruit seamen for the voyage, Royal Navy vessels could impress seamen at will. Michael Lewis (*A Social History of the Navy, 1793-1815* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960], 97-108) discussed impressment in detail. He noted that before 1793, official British policy was to maintain royal squadron vessels at anchor during peacetime and to have few officers or crew on board. This effectively meant that many former officers were furloughed at half pay and crew members often also were employed elsewhere, usu-

Wednesday 20th Ditto breezes and pleasant weather. Employ'd trimming⁴⁶ ship by the stern[,] got the LongBoat⁴⁷ in the Chocks[.] at Noon the *Iris* boats came alongside to overhaul the Vessel and to take the Seamen's Chests and bedding⁴⁸ that were impress'd yesterday[.] at 1 PM. they went away without finding any, they being stow'd away.

Thursday 21st D^o breezes from the SW with pleasant weather. The ships Company that are left all gone on shore for fear of being taken[,] the Frigates boarding all the shipping here.⁴⁹

5[r] Friday 22^d Feb.^y 1793 Light airs from the Westward with pleasant weather. trade at present appears totaly at a stand, owing to the embargo,⁵⁰ and no arrivals of any consequence. people on shore complain very much.

ally on board merchantmen. When war broke out in 1793, many officers were re-activated and crew members were recruited from merchantmen where they were then employed, because they were already experienced seamen and many had known service on HM vessels. Almost all of those impressed in 1793 came from the merchant service. "Impressment" obtained a bad reputation, however, because pay on HM vessels was less than on merchant vessels, food was not as good, there was little or no shore leave because impressed seamen could be expected to vanish (run) once they reached land, treatment of seamen was generally harsher on HM vessels, and chances of surviving a voyage on a war ship were lower than on a merchantman. The "Press law" required that an officer be present during the process of impressment to reduce "strong armed methods of freelance recruiters" and that, if impressment occurred at sea, seamen could only be taken from "inbound" vessels and a ship could not be deprived of sufficient men necessary to see it safely to port. All crew members were liable to impressment, except the master, chief mates, boatswains, carpenters, and boys, after a ship had received permission to "ship" seamen.

46. Trimming referred to adjusting the sails properly to take best advantage of the wind on the course desired; trimming usually involved bracing the yard arms. The sails had to be trimmed during tacking or altering course in other ways, such as falling off or jibing. Frequent trimming was also required because most lines were made of hemp, which stretched or contracted depending on climate, humidity, or wind force.

47. A longboat was generally the largest boat carried by a ship with a single mast, rigged fore-and-aft, with a single headsail. It was often used to carry cargo between shore and ship. It was similar to a launch.

48. Each crew member was responsible for his own clothes and bedding, and each owned a chest in which he secured his property.

49. Lewis (*Social History*, 103) wrote that impressment was most successful when conducted "by surprize"; otherwise, crew members "would bolt like rabbits to their holes."

50. The Embargo mentioned here pertained to regulations that single ships, especially those carrying naval and military supplies, were not allowed to travel without official sanction and escort. This curtailed smuggling to the continent and regulated traffic, and it also gave the government some control over the types

Saturday 23^d D^o Brisk Gales with very heavy squalls and rains Ships company employ'd at sundry Necessarys. This night being so very squally the people dreaded no apprehension[.] at Midnight his Majestys Frigate the *Iris* boats boarded us and impressd the following people. Alex Horn 2^d Mate[,] Tho.^s Surley Carpenter[,] Laughlan McKinnan Cooper. Arch^d Long, James Smith seamen. at same time they took their Cloths &c.

Sunday 24th D^o Fine moderate breezes with pleasant weather.

Monday 25th D^o Fresh gales from the SW with cloudy W^r. at 4 AM M^r King[,] Trinity pilot came on board[.] M^r Jm^s Limeburner⁵¹ being call'd on his Majestys Service on board the *Sirdes* [*Ceres*]⁵² to take the *Duke of York* to Williamstat in Holland with 1800 of the Guards.

[5v] Tuesday 26th Feb.^y Fresh gales from the WSW with cloudy w^r and heavy storms of hail. waiting for a protection,⁵³ and the embargo taken off[.]

Wednesday 27th Ditto W^r. Employ'd at sundry necessarys His Majesty's ship the *Ceres* gone to the Nore⁵⁴

Thursday 28th D^o Moderate breezes from the WSW with very pleasant weather[.] ten East Indiamen lying here, besides his Majesty's ship the *Flora*⁵⁵ and a great number of outward bound Merchantmen[,] outward bound East Merchantmen.

Friday 1 March 1793 Fresh breezes from the SW with cloudy weather all thats remarkable receivd 1 puncheon rum for ships use

of goods that could be shipped. Effectively, during an embargo, no vessel was allowed to leave port without permission, and that meant that ship owners or investors chose not to purchase goods for provisioning their vessels, at least until they received some notice that the embargo was to be lifted. Captains then out of harbor also were reluctant to enter the river, for once anchored, their vessels effectively would be captured by the embargo. This compelled trade to stop. To be sure, those involved in port trade would have been disadvantaged, for service tradesmen and those selling goods would have been underemployed.

51. This statement concerning Limeburner suggested that he had been reactivated and that he most likely had been a Naval officer on half pay.

52. *Steel's List . . . 1794* did not list a *Sirdes* for 1794. The *Ceres* (6) was described as a frigate of 32 guns. *Steel's List . . . 1793* (18) identified a schooner *Ceres*, of 10 guns, that had been hired as an armed vessel in March 1793.

53. "Protection to ship" meant permission to enroll/register seamen. Gamble had already lost several hands to impressment and apparently was awaiting official permission before trying to replace impressed crew members.

54. Patrick Crowhurst (*The Defence of British Trade, 1685–1815* [Chatham: Dawson, 1980], 72), identified the Nore as the assembly area of convoys going to Norway, Quebec, and Hudson Bay. It was located near the entrance to the Thames River.

55. *Steel's List . . . 1794* (8) listed the *Flora* as a vessel of 36 guns.

Saturday 2^d D^o A very heavy gale from the SW Struck the top G[allan]^t masts.

[6r] Sunday 3^d March 1793 The Gale still continues to blow very hard[.] at 1 AM parted the stream Cable[.],⁵⁶ a great deal of heavy rain: most of the Vessels drove during the night.

Monday 4th D^o Fresh gales from the SW with cloudy[.] employ'd at sundry necessary Jobs.

Tuesday 5th D^o Moderate breezes from the SW^d with clear weather: weigh'd the stream Anchor and found the Cable⁵⁷ unfit for further service, bent a new 4½ inch Hawser⁵⁸ of 120 Fathoms⁵⁹ belonging to the LongBoat and morr'd ship with it Shipp'd Alex^r. Chisholm Seaman.

Wednesday 6th Light airs of wind from the SE & fair w^r. The *Princess Royal* East Indiaman gone to the Downs.⁶⁰ Rec'd on board 1 Puncheon Rum for the Black Traders use.⁶¹

[6v] Thursday 7th to Sunday 10th March. Fresh gales from the SE^d with dirty rain'y w^r. Still waiting for a protection to ship our Complement of hands pass'd the *Fox*⁶² & *Inconstant*⁶³ Frigates.

Monday 11th to Wednesday 13th. D^o Gales and weather. Receiv'd on board 2 f^m fire wood at 16/. ø[er.]⁶⁴ nothing more remarkable.

Thursday 14th to Sunday 17th Moderate breezes from the SE with pleasant

56. Ships carried various cables, but generally these were called after the type of anchor used: bower-cable, stream-cable. The term "cable" is somewhat misleading, because these were not made of metal until later. Cables were made of hemp or twine and varied in size depending on their intended use and the weight of the anchor or ship. Large ships required large cables that could often be very heavy and require significant space on the ship's deck for storage when the ship was making sail or moving.

57. In this case, the stream-cable was damaged, and it was necessary to substitute that belonging to the longboat.

58. To bend a Hawser means effectively to join or knot together two ropes. In this case, Gamble used the anchoring rope from the longboat to repair his main Hawser cable.

59. A fathom was a naval unit of measure of about 6 feet or 1.825 meters.

60. The Downs was a vessel rendezvous point off the east coast of Kent. The sea here was open, but it also had the disadvantage of being close to the French port of Calais, and therefore ships became liable to seizure from French war ships or privateers. The Downs was also often the place where a ship obtained a pilot before entering the Thames River or discharged one when leaving the river. See entry of 11 April.

61. It is interesting to note that each item of cargo and provision was designated for intended use. Some would be consumed by the crew, some used as barter in Africa, and some sent on to Kingston for sale. This puncheon was marked for disbursal to African traders, either as hospitality or for sale.

62. *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (8) described the *Fox* as a frigate of 32 guns.

63. The *Inconstant* was described in *ibid.* (9) as a frigate of 36 guns.

64. Firewood would be used in cooking and for heat on the passage to Africa.

weather came down here the *Surprise* Cutter⁶⁵ of 14 sixpounders and the *Bustler* Brig of 20 nine pd^{rs} privateers. arrive'd here a French privateer of 16 six and 9 Pd^{rs} & 6 Swivells with 80 Men, prize to his Majesty Frigate the *Boston*.⁶⁶ Receiv'd on board one ton of potatos @ 5/.

Monday 18th Light breezes from the SE with rain[.] shipt Richard Cook, Ordinary Seaman. Receiv'd on board 5 bags bread and 2 Firkins Barley. HMS [His Majesty's Ship] the *Flora* saild for the Downs

7[r] Tuesday 19th March 1793 Light breezes from the W^d with fine pleasant weather. Breach'd Barrel of Gunpowder. employ'd filling Cartridges,⁶⁷ painting the guns &c.

Wednesday 20th to Sunday 24th Fresh Gales from the WNW with dark cloudy w^r. Receiv'd on board 4 small carriage guns⁶⁸ in addition. People on board employ'd at sundries.

Monday 25th D^o Gales & W^r Discharg'd by their own request John Cork[,] W^m Simpson, & Richard Cook.⁶⁹ sent on shore a spar⁷⁰ to be reduced

65. A cutter was a single-masted vessel generally attached as auxiliary to a war fleet because it was relatively fast and could dart in and out of the convoy at will. That the *Surprise* carried fourteen six-pounders indicates that it was a large cutter, since most carried only four to ten four-pounders. Gamble noted above, however, that it was outfitted as a privateer.

66. During this period, six-pounders, nine-pounders, and twelve-pounders referred to guns that were capable of throwing shot weighing six, nine, or twelve pounds per charge. A Swivel was a gun that sat on a swivel base, so that it could easily be rotated as targets moved. Such weapons could be used against privateers that might attack the vessel or against unfriendly coastal installations. *Steel's List . . . 1794* (5) described the *Boston* as a frigate of 32 guns.

67. A cartridge was a container (sack) of gunpowder that would fit into a cartridge gun and might come in various sizes. A charge of powder necessary for a four-pounder, for instance, would be different from a charge for a six- or nine-pounder.

68. It is likely that this type of gun was small enough to carry; it could have been a type of gun mounted upon a wheeled cart.

69. This notation suggests that Gamble was shipping seamen in a professional fashion. He may have used local recruiters, locally known as "crimps," to obtain seamen in return for a fee. In any case, Gamble's agreement with the seamen apparently permitted a period of reconsideration during which time a seaman could change his decision. Perhaps the rules of this voyage were too strict, the risks too high, the wages too low, perhaps another merchantman was offering better employment, or perhaps, since the vessel had not yet obtained "protection," these seamen believed that their chances of avoiding impressment were better if they simply left the vessel. Whatever the case, these men would have been expected to repay Gamble whatever advance pay they had received and the costs for "crimpage," if that process had been used in their recruitment. In this instance, however, seamen were not given advance pay until 6 April.

70. "Spar" was a general term for a mast or central pole to which sails were attached. A topmast was a smaller mast fixed on the top of a lower mast. A lower

~~on shore~~⁷¹ to make either a topmast⁷² or lower yard[.] saild the *Manerva* East Indiaman.

Tuesday 26th D^o Gales from the NE with dirty weather[.] pass'd here about 80 deep Loaden Colliers bound up Coalls selling at London at 43/. 0 Chaldron. no accounts of any protections being granted yet none being granted only to the Greenlandmen which are going out very fast.⁷³
 [7v] Wednesday 27th March 1793 Fresh breezes from the NE^d with fair weather[.] at 8 AM. Mr Hughs one of the Excise officers came on board and seiz'd a Puncheon of Rum ships Stores, being inform'd that it had been board'd while I was at London and three case bottles taken out for use of the ships Company⁷⁴ Gauge 29" 3 Wet Inches, 3 Dry d^o. in the afternoon the Doctor⁷⁵ came down from London with information that our protection was granted. The Press Gallery⁷⁶ came and exam^d us

yard was a spar slung at its center from, and forward of, a mast, and it served to support and extend a square sail. The term "spar" was also used to refer to any smaller extension to a mast, such as a yard, gaff, boom, or bowsprit. For more on rigging and for illustrations that show how they appeared, see "Types of Rigs of Sailing-Ships," chapter 5 in *The Romance of the Merchant Ship* by Ellison Hawks (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1931), 84–106.

71. Occasionally, words are struck in the original document. The struck sections are included here, with a line drawn through words.

72. A topmast was a section of mast that extended upward from the main mast. This section anchored the topgallant sail.

73. A Greenlandman was a large vessel generally engaged in the whaling industry of the Northern Atlantic. In general, all vessels were required to join a convoy, if one was available and heading to the specified destination. Special exception, however, was made for "fast" vessels that were considered to be well armed and able to defend themselves against privateers or enemy ships of war. Greenlanders also seldom carried significant cargo on the outward voyage, and their cargos would not have been considered important enough to warrant consideration under the Navigation Acts. See Patrick O'Brian, *Nelson's Navy: The Ship, Men and Organization 1793–1815* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1989), 269. Basil Lubbock ("Seamen," in *Trade Winds*, 111–112) noted that the Greenland commerce, or whaling industry, was a principal "nursery" of seamen, where sailors learned the art of sailing and working. Seamen attached to the Greenlanders also were known to be valiant fighters, and perhaps in consequence the Royal Navy would have considered these vessels capable of defending themselves.

74. This notation suggests that British law required that the captain formally receive all cargo goods or provisions placed on board a ship.

75. British law practice often involved decisions being made in council, with actual legal bill enactment later in Parliament. In the instance of the bill "Shipping and Carrying Slaves," Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73, enacted 17 June 1793, but agreed in Council on 11 February 1793, regulations stipulated that a "surgeon" was required of all vessels carrying slaves; without a surgeon, a ship could not legally sail, and certainly insurance on the vessel would be forfeited. The doctor was required to keep a journal that would be surrendered to the officer of

Thursday 28th D^o breezes and weather. Receiv'd the protection of 20 Men and 2 Boys.⁷⁷ Employ'd sundries

Friday 29th to Sunday 31st Moderate breezes with pleasant weather The *Bustler* and *Surprize* privateers saild upon a cruize, & the *Lord Thurlow* East India man for the Downs[.] pass'd here a large French ship from Marsailes bound to Havre de Grafs⁷⁸ loaden with wines[.] Brandy[.] Silks[.] and Castiel Soap[.] a prize to the *Juno*⁷⁹ Frigate Captⁿ Wood[.] like wise two Brigs prizes Ship't Marshall Fair Carpenter and Tho^s Rouffley ordinary seaman

8[r] Monday 1st April Fresh Gales with cloudy weather and heavy rain Employ'd getting every thing ready for sea Ship'd Joseph Trout[.] Thomas Mathison Seaman[.] James Atkins a Black Cook.

Tuesday 2^d Light breezes with rainy cloudy w^r. Ship'd David Richardson Boatswain[.] John Hutchinson & Jm^s Rutherford Seamen.

Wednesday 3^d. Light winds and pleasant weather[.] sway'd up the Top Gallant mast, and got the yard across. Receiv'd on board 1 Ton [tun]⁸⁰ of Beer & a Chaldron of Coals. Ship'd James Ronald Cooper, Peter Fraser boy.

Thursday 4th Ditto breezes with pleasant weather[.] pass'd here going up

customs at the ship's destination. If the doctor failed to keep the record regularly and correctly, he became liable to a £100 penalty. This act also stipulated that if slave losses amounted to less than 2 percent, the surgeon was to receive a bounty of £50 or, if less than 3 percent, £25. If losses exceeded 3 percent, the surgeon was to receive no bounty.

76. In this instance, "Press Gallery" probably referred to naval officials who came to check their "protection to ship" crew members and to establish allowable numbers for seamen on board the *Sandown*.

77. Permission to employ twenty men and two boys had been given the *Sandown*. Any above that number would be subject to impressment. See PRO ADM 7/374, Register of Protections from being pressed, that indicates that the *Sandown* of London, 151 tons, "bound for Africa & West Indies," was issued a certificate of "protection" on 29 March 1793. This certificate allowed the *Sandown* to take on twenty men and two boys. It was commonly accepted practice (MacInnes, "Slave Trade," 261) to allow slavers twelve crew men per 100 tons of ship weight over 300 tons total. This was a larger complement than required on regular merchantmen carrying goods to the West Indies, which were generally permitted only seven per 100 tons. According to Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 56), however, American slavers regularly employed the ratio of one seaman per fifteen slaves cargo. The figure of twenty seamen suggests that the *Sandown* and governmental officials were following a ratio of twelve to thirteen slaves per seaman.

78. This likely referred to the harbor at 's Gravenhage, the Netherlands.

79. *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (9) listed the *Juno* as a frigate of 32 guns.

80. A tun/ton was a large barrel, usually used to transport wine. A tun generally was equated to 2 pipes, or 4 hogsheads, or 210 imperial gallons.

the river near two hundred Vessels[.] at 4 PM M^r & M^{rs} Cameron and M^r [Joseph] Kennedy⁸¹ came on board[.] saluted them with 9 Guns: at 6 they went on shore.

Friday 5th. Ditto breezes from the Eastward[.] at 2 AM M^r & M^{rs} Cameron came on board[.] at 4 they went on shore in order to return to London.

Saluted them with 9 Guns. Ship'd M^r [James] Mackey 2^d Off[icer].

[8v] Saturday 6th April Moderate Breezes from the Eastward with fine pleasant weather. Receiv'd on board 1 B^l Beer. The spar that was sent on shore to be reduced & a New Buoy. Ship'd Robert Fenlison[,] Arthur Jones Seaman[,] discharg'd Tho^s Hutchison & Jm^s Wadson[.]⁸² at 3 PM paid the ships Company there Months advances and river pay as ø copy of the Articles[.]⁸³ at 5 M^r Cruden surveyor came on board

81. Joseph Kennedy, representing the firm of Joseph and Agnus Kennedy of Kingston, Jamaica, and Ewen Cameron, one of the vessel's owners, came on board the *Sandown* on 4 April 1793, where they were saluted with nine guns. Kennedy remained on board the vessel until 31 July, when, at the Rio Nunez, he received his sea stores and indicated his intention to proceed to America, perhaps on board the Brig *Kate*, destined for Charleston. Perhaps those items in the *Sandown* cargo marked "K" were destined to accompany him to Kingston. On 14 August 1793, Kennedy remained still on the coast. A later reference to Kennedy (88v), identifying him and Agnus Kennedy as consignees of Gamble's cargo of slaves at Kingston, indicates a significant role for the Kennedys in the *Sandown's* enterprise. That Cameron visited the vessel at this point likely was a recognition that the fleet was indeed collecting for departure and that he had brought final instructions, and perhaps letters to carry to the coast, before Gamble lifted anchor. MacInnes ("The Slave Trade," in *The Trade Winds*, 251–272) described the general practice of paying "three months' salary in advance" to help equip seamen for the voyage and indicated that captains received detailed instructions "as to the conduct of their trade."

82. Note that it was common practice for seamen to obtain employment and to subsequently change employment, but only while the vessel was still waiting to begin its voyage. A problem that might occur involved advanced payments given seamen for shipping; if the seamen changed employment, these advances would need to be repaid.

83. A voyage to Africa represented significant risks to crew members. It was common knowledge that some might die from disease or become casualties to slave insurrections on board ship. Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73, "Shipping and Carrying Slaves," enacted 17 June 1793, agreed in Council 11 February 1793, stipulated, in an attached "Schedule of agreements between Master and Men," that each crew member was to receive a month's pay in advance before leaving Britain and that "river pay" was to be an extra payment. No copy of "Articles" has been located for this voyage. Lubbock ("Seamen," 110) wrote that the average pay for seamen was thirty-five shillings per month and that most received a two-months' advance payment in order to procure equipment or provisions before they left port. MacInnes ("Slave Trade," 261) noted that those sailing to Guinea generally received an additional five shillings per month, perhaps as the river pay mentioned above. Seamen would receive no additional pay until they reached their destina-

and mustered⁸⁴ the people and cleared the ship.⁸⁵ The *Barwell* East Indiaman drop't down to the Hope.

Sunday 7th D^o Fresh breezes from the eastward with hazey w^r. at 4 AM. unmoord[.] at 7 hoisted in the pinnace[.] at 10 got underweigh in company with the *Annabella* for S^t Kitts, and the *Nigia* for the straights. *Tho^s Osterly & William Pitt*, East Indiamen. at 4 PM came too on the edge of her flats to wait for the tide, a fleet of light Colliers here wind-bound. Isle of Grain SBE½E and the Church NEBN 6 miles distance 7 fms.⁸⁶

[9r] Wednesday 10th April Blowing a fresh gale from the ENE^d. with dirty weather, Employ'd trimming Ship by the head and other necessarys

Thursday 11th D^o Fine breeze from the NNE with hazey weather[.] at 4 AM weigh'd and stood down the Queens Channel[.] at 10 pass'd the *Barwell* in Bugby Hole⁸⁷ at an Anchor in 9 fms[.] at Maredian abreast of Margate[.] at 2 PM in sight of the Shipping in Ramsgate[.] at 5 came too in the Downs, Sandown Castle bearing WBS 2 Miles dist^t in 7 fms Discharg'd the Pilot. Shipping here the *Romulus*⁸⁸ 44 [guns] Rear Admiral McBride and 2 frigates with 27 [guns.] Merchantmen waiting Convoy⁸⁹ both to the East and & [sic] Westward. saw several small cruisers on our passage.

tion, when an additional half of wages would be paid them, generally in local currency, a circumstance that was always a reason for argument since values of colonial currency often varied significantly against sterling.

84. To muster a crew meant to assemble them and explain tasks and legal obligations, according to the ship's regulations and codes of maritime law.

85. According to Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 66, "Encouragement of Seamen," passed 17 June 1793, agreed in Council 11 February 1793, Letters of Marque would remain in force only if ships accepted a customs search and permitted boarding by a surveyor who explained the contracts and issued a clearance certificate to leave the port. See Map No. 1, "England and Ireland," for sites mentioned.

86. Lloyd's of London (*Lloyd's List* [London: Lloyd's, 1793], No. 2497 for 9 April 1793) indicated that the *Sandown* sailed for Africa on 7 April 1793.

87. *The English Pilot* (London: Mount and Page, 1788), Chart one, "The River of Thames from London to the Buoy of y^e Noure." Bugby's Hole later became known as Bugsby Reach and was that part of the Thames upon which Wapping and Ratcliff were located. It was that bend of the river downstream from Blackwall Point, just east of the Millennium Dome.

88. *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (13) described the *Romulus* as a vessel of 36 guns.

89. David Hannay (*A Short History of the Royal Navy, 1217–1815* [London: Methuen, 1909], II, 479) noted that between 1793 and 1815, one of the most constant duties performed by the Royal Navy was the task of protecting "the trade." Royal vessels were required before 1794 to remain with the convoy and only after that date were permitted to "give chase" against hostile vessels that might be shadowing the fleet, perhaps hoping for a stray vessel to fall behind and become easy prey. The most dangerous time for a convoy was when the entire group left

[9v] Names and numbers of the Buoys⁹⁰ &c from the Nord

Nord to Oxfordness	Colour	N ^o	depth at L[ow] Wat ^r
Shewberry	Black	1	4 fms
Mouse [*]	Do	2	4 fms
Middle [*]	Do	3	3 fms
Ridge in Whitaker Ch ^l [*]	Red	4	12 feet
WBuxey Raysand [*]	Black	5	8 feet
Wallot Buoy Spitway	Red	6	3 fms
Swin Spitway	Black	7	3 fms
Heeps	White	8	3 fms
Gunfleet [*]	Black	9	4 fms
Ruff	Red	10	3 fms
Whiting	White	11	3 fms

or approached harbor, because the “prowling privateer was most active” in those locations. Furthermore, at that point in time merchantmen might leave the convoy in order to be the first to arrive and thereby to sell their goods before the port became glutted with merchandise. Hannay noted that not all merchantmen were required to join convoys until 1803. O’Brian (*Nelson’s Navy*, 269) wrote that some vessels were excluded from this requirement, especially if they were considered to be fast and well armed. Of course, there were some disadvantages in joining a convoy. Crowhurst (*Defence of British Trade*, 71–73, 96–98) observed that at least early in 1793 it was Lloyd’s of London, rather than legislated law, that was requiring membership in a convoy, if one was available and heading in the desired direction. With the embargo in place, ships became crowded at the docks, often bumping into each other and creating damage to their structures. Indeed, so many ships were assembled in February 1793 that it became necessary to establish assembly points outside the Thames, thereby increasing the risk of capture by prowling privateers. Cooking fires on board so many vessels could also be seen for long distances. Closely assembled and waiting, convoy members also became easy prey to impressment efforts being conducted from royal vessels. This could mean that merchantmen might easily find themselves stripped of crew members, with the requirement to return to shore for renewed recruitment or to pay high charges to those persons, known as “crimpers,” who recruited crew on a freelance basis. Often the quality of crew declined during this “hot press.” Rules of the convoy were to be strictly obeyed and, perhaps more importantly, understood; otherwise the commander of the convoy might report disobedience to insurers who could cancel insurance coverages. A final disadvantage for convoy membership was the often incredibly slow pace of the convoy’s progress, for all ships needed to be kept in line and some vessels understandably were slower or were in bad repair. In effect, the convoy needed to move in formation according to its slowest member. Penalties for violating rules of the convoy were stipulated in Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 66, “Encouragement of Seamen,” as a £500 fine or up to a year’s imprisonment. Owen Rutter (*Red Ensign: A History of Convoy* [London: Robert Hale, 1943], 88) discussed the problems confronted by membership in a convoy and the penalties applied to captains who disobeyed convoy rules.

90. “Chart of the River Thames from London to the Nore” (Richard Stanier, 1790 [G.218: 8/1, Manuscript Division, The Caird Library, National Maritime

Nord, South Channell to Margate

South Break [*]	Black	12	3 fms
Cross Ledge	White	13	2 ½ fms
North Brake [*]	Red	14	3 ½
East Margate [*]	Black	15	4 fms
East Tongise	White	16	3 fms
North Spilt [*]	Black	17	6 fms
West Tongise	White	18	3 fms
Wedge [*]	Red	19	4 fms
Panpatch	White	20	16 feet
Knowl [*]	Black	21	10 feet
West Pansand [*]	White	22	13 fms
Girdler	Black	23	3 fms
Shiveringsand	Checkerd	24	3 fms
Knoble	Red	25	4 fms
East Daze Edge	White	26	3 fms
West Daze edge	Red	27	3 ½ fms
Spiol	Black	28	11 feet
W Spaniard [*]	White	29	11 feet
Gilman	Red	30	5 feet
E Spaniard [*]	Black	31	11 fms
West Spell [*]	White	32	10 fms
Woolpack [*]	Red	33	6 fms
W ^t Past	Black	34	10 fms
Elbow of the last	Do	35	11 fms
East Last	Do	36	11 fms
Seame	Do	37	2 fms
Middllingore	White	38	2 fms

10[r] 1793 Friday 12th April A fine steady breeze from the NE^d clear w^r. at 10 AM received [one word undecipherable] favor of M^r Iggelsdan Deal from London the letter of Marque⁹¹ finding no Convoy only one to the

Museum, London]) named sixteen of these buoys as existing in 1790. Those listed by Stanier are marked with [*] in the text.

91. A Letter of Marque was an official document that provided a vessel with the legal right to seize merchantmen belonging to foreign countries as prizes. See Gomer Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers and Letters of Marque* (1897/New York: A. M. Kelley, 1966), 304, 670–674. In PRO IND 1/8982, Index of Letters of Marque against France, Captain Samuel Gamble of the *Sandown* was issued a Letter of Marque on 6 April 1793. PRO ADM 7/328, Register of Letters of Marque & Reprisals: France, lists the letter of marque for Gamble as issued on 21 March 1793, for a vessel of 150 tons, six fourpounders, and twenty men. This

eastward and being afraid of missing the West India Convoy agreed with Captⁿ Bennett of the *Union* Liverpool Trader who mountd ten 4 Pd^{rs} to make the best of our way for Portsmouth[.]⁹² at 3 PM got underweigh in Company as above[.] at 6 the White cliffs of Callais bore SWBS 6 leagues⁹³ and Dover castle NE 3 or 4 Miles. Several Vessels in sight close in with the French land at 8 Dungeness light bore NEBE 4 Leag^s distant.

Saturday 13th D^o Moderate breezes from the NNW. at 2 AM Beachyhead bore NNE 3 Leag^s dis. at 6 the One floating light bore N 3 or 4 Miles[.] at 1 PM Admiral Sir Peter Parker Hoisted his flag Com[man]d^{tr} in

Register included special language that permitted Gamble to “apprehend, seize, and take, the Ships, Vessels and Goods belonging to France.” This language, however, did require that he keep a detailed log that included all details of seizures and specifically reminded him that the *Sandown* was effectively acting as an arm of British official policy and not as a privateer. Act of Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 66, “Encouragement of Seamen,” passed 17 June 1793, stipulated that a Letter of Marque was issued to the captain and then would flow to successors in the case of his death. Prize monies were to be divided between owners, captain, and crew as per agreements drawn between the parties. No such agreement for this voyage has been found in this research. This act also specified that no letter of marque could remain in force unless the vessel had received a “clearance to pass,” or leave the port of departure unless the vessel had been properly surveyed with regard to “burthens” or tonnage. The act also included a number of exceptions where penalties might apply.

92. In effect, Gamble could find no convoy protection for a voyage to West Africa; therefore, along with other vessels heading for Africa, he joined the West India and Mediterranean convoys at least as far as the Scilly Islands. From this point they would sail southward together, trusting that their numbers would ward off attacks from privateers. The assembly area for these convoys was at Portsmouth Bay. D. W. Waters (“Notes on the Convoy System of Naval Warfare,” typescript 35 pages [The Caird Library, National Maritime Museum, London], 8) wrote that the Admiralty worked closely with Lloyd’s of London with regard to the convoy system in 1793, but also noted that Lloyd’s was the “prime mover” in all formal legislation. Paul M. Kennedy (*The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* [London: Allen Lane, 1976], 132) also credited Lloyd’s with working closely with the Admiralty in crafting the Convoy Act of 1793. Charles Write and C. Ernest Fayle (*A History of Lloyd’s* [London: Macmillan, 1928], 204) indicated that Lloyd’s expected all shippers to sail with convoys and gave an “allowance of return” of a third to half of normal premiums to those who did so. Fayle (“Shipowning and Marine Insurance,” 45) wrote that the Admiralty regularly informed Lloyd’s of all vessels that had joined convoys and had obeyed convoy rules. Paul Kemp (*Convoy Protection: The Defense of Seaborne Trade* [London: Arms and Armour Press, 1993], 11) also noted that from 1793 through 1797, the “London insurance market recognized the success of convoys and charged higher premiums—often 30 to 40 percent higher—on those ships which chose to sail independently.”

93. A league is equivalent to 3 nautical miles or approximately 3.5 statute/land miles.

- chief on board the *Royal W^m*⁹⁴ of 98 guns at same time a general salute from near 50 Men of war[.] at 3 came to in Straksbay Pull and be damn'd point bearing East ½ miles distance in 13½ f^{ms}
- [10v] Sunday 14th April 1793 A fresh breeze and fair weather wind NW nothing remarkable any further only went on shore to see Portsmouth Gosport &c
- Monday 15th D^o Brisk Gales from the NW rainy w^r[.] receiv'd sailing Instructions⁹⁵ from HMS *Vengeance*⁹⁶ of 74 guns Captⁿ Thompson bound with the Convoy to the West Indies[.] arrive'd here the *Beddeford*⁹⁷ Man of War of 74 Guns[.] having engaged off[f] Scilly thro mistake the *Leopard*, 50 gunship, the 12th Ins^t.
- Tuesday 16th D^o. Fresh Gales from the NE with Sleet & Hail. at 5 AM parted the stream Hawser[.]⁹⁸ at 10 AM the Commodore made Signal for the Fleet to get underweigh at 11. having secur'd both anchors, made sail after the fleet a number of Vessels astern of us. This day ends at Maredian in order to commence a sea log.
- 11[r] Friday 19th April 1793 First part of this 24 Hours. Blowing hard from the SW with very thick w^r. The Fleet all bore up.
At 2 PM. the Needles p[oin]^t bore NNE 4 or 5 Miles dis. 35 Sail in sight[.] at 7 PM came too in 6 f^{ms} St. Hellens Church, WBN 1½ Mile distance, see the appearance of the Isle of Wight[.] at 10 AM the *Vengeance* fird a Gun and display'd her signal for the fleet to hold themselves in readiness to join the rest of the fleet, with the *Latona* Frigate that cannot get in, they being insight of Dunnose.
- [11v] Saturday 20th April 1793 First part of these 24 Hours Fresh breezes from the Nw^d[.] at 10 AM went on shore at St. Helens from thence to breden [Brading].
N[ota] B[ene]⁹⁹ the Isle of Wight is the pleasantest, richest, and most fertile Island ever I saw; an entire garden thro, out Well cultivated and plenty of fine timber

94. *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (13) described the *Royal William* as a warship of 84 guns.

95. In effect, Gamble indicates that he had joined the convoy of vessels sailing for the West Indies or had indicated his intention to obtain its temporary protection. Certainly the placement of his vessel within the convoy would have required that he receive a copy of instructions and a list of signals that would apply between merchantmen and royal escort vessels, and that he notify the commander of his intention to leave the convoy at the agreed-upon point.

96. *Steel's List* . . . 1794, 16.

97. This was likely HMS *Bedford*, a ship of 74 guns, as described in *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (4).

98. A hawser was a large rope, from 5 to 6 inches in circumference, used in mooring a vessel.

99. "NB," for Nota Bene or footnote, appears several times in this manuscript.

Middle and latter part light winds from the NNE, the Admirals signal out for the Fleet to be in readiness. Run¹⁰⁰ Joseph Trout Seaman. Bo[ugh]^t some fresh stock.

Sunday 21st D^o Moderate breezes from the SSW^d with fine weather[.] at 9 AM hove up and run up to the Mother bank and came to in 5 f^{ms} Ride town bearing SW 1 Mile distance[.] receiv'd information that the before mention^d J Trout was on board the *Prince W^m Henry* East Indiaman[.] went on shore to Captⁿ Dunda's lodging to recover what he was indebted. Hed promis'd either to deliver him up or pay the debt for him.¹⁰¹

12[1] Monday 22^d Moderate breezes from the SSE with fine pleasant weather. The Commodore's signal out for the fleet to be in readiness which consists of 140 Sail[.] at 7 AM the boat went to Portsmouth[.] at Maredian the signal out and repeated by the Men of war for getting under weigh, at 1 the boat returnd[.] hoisted her in. receiv'd information that two of the Fleet that went out with us first in the gale got over on the Coast of France and were taken.¹⁰² At 4 PM hove up and run down for the Needles[,] in company a Forty gun ship and 17 Merch'men. at 8 got thro the Needles, hauld up SSW^d and shortned sail for the fleet to come up that went round Dunose These remarks continue till tomorrow at Noon. at 11 PM made sail Steering WSW & WBS[.] at 8 AM the bill of Portland bore NEBE distance 7 leag^s[.] at 11 Berryhead N½E 5 Leagues. The fleet very much squanderd. Receiv'd from Captⁿ Dundas £5/10/. to the am^t of & J Troutts advances &c.

NB not sending for his cloths am oblig'e'd to carry them the Voyage.

100. "Run" referred to leaving a ship without permission.

101. Trout had received an advance payment, plus "river pay," for shipping on board the *Sandown*. Once Gamble learned of Trout's new employer, it was necessary for Gamble and the new ship captain to reach agreement about this payment. In this case, Trout's new employer paid Trout's debt of £5/10/, or 110 shillings, to Gamble. Assuming that Trout received two months' advance pay, plus 5 shillings extra per month in river pay, this would have amounted to about 55 shillings per month, higher than normally paid in the Guinea trade, as noted by Lubbock, "Seamen" (110). MacInness ("Slave Trade," 261), however, cited the example of Hugh Crow, who in 1801 paid his seamen six Guineas per month and paid "crimps" as much as three or four pounds for recruitment of seamen. This figure of £5/10/, consequently, does not provide sufficient data with which to determine specifically the monthly wages received by seamen for this voyage.

102. As mentioned earlier, the "Downs," a collection point for vessels heading toward the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and Africa, was located north of Dover, between Deal and Ramsgate. Calais lay less than 20 statute miles (35 kilometers) across the channel. It was very easy for sudden winds or carelessness to send vessels eastward and into the grasp of French privateers. See also Rutter, *Red Ensign*, 89, for particular dangers present at the Downs.

- [12v] Tuesday 23^d April 1793 Moderate breezes from the SW Part of the fleet a long way to windward with two Frigates with them pass'd by bound up Channel two Vessels under American Colours and thick hazey weather with Drizzling rain. The Fleet rather closer together; employ'd at sundry necessarys.
- 13[r] Wednesday 24th April 1793 Fresh breezes variable with squalls and very heavy rain for the first part[.] middle and latter part light airs inclining to a Calm At 4 PM the Bolt Head E½S 3 leagues the Fleet squandred about very much. Latt & Obsⁿ 50°03'N.
- [13v] Thursday 25th April Throughout these 24 Hours light breezes and calms with clear weather[.] at 3 PM the Eddystone lighthouse bore E½S. 4 leagues distance. At 7 the Dodman NW½N 3 Miles at Mare-dian the Lizard NWBW½W about 5 Leag^s dis. Admiral Cosby with his Squadron and about 30 sail of Merchantmen left us[,] they being bound for the Mediteranean Latt & Obsⁿ 49°57'N
- 14[r] Friday 26th April Moderate breezes and pleasant w^r. for the first and middle part. The latter fresh gales cloudy weather with rain[.] at 4 PM pass'd the *Edgar*¹⁰³ 74 [guns] with a prize in tow a Spanish Galleon worth One Million Sterling. had been taken by a French Privateer and retaken by the *Edgar* who captain'd the Privateer like wise, after she had plunderd the Spaniard of £400,000 in Spices. at Mare-dian the Wolf rock bore WBN dis about 2 Leagues About 140 sail in sight[.] all thats remarkable.
- [14v] Saturday 27th April Fresh Gales with rainey weather[.] at 1 PM the *Sandown* bore SWBS Cape Cornwall EBN and the Long Ships EBS 3 Miles distance. at same time a Falmouth Packet¹⁰⁴ gave information that he saw two French Privateers to the W^d of us. at 7 AM the *Leviathan of London* shew'd lights and fir'd small arms[,] hove too and spoke her[.] the privateer as soon as she saw us come to her assistance hauld her wind, fir'd several guns and hoisted lights signals for the Men of war[.] at 7 Spoke the Commodore. Latt Ob^s 51°16'N
- 15[r] Sunday 28th April 1793 Moderate breezes with fine pleasant weather, at daybreak saw the Land[.] at 8 AM the Old head of Kinsale bore NBE 5 or 6 Miles distance[.] at 2 PM a Pilot came on board[.] at 4 came to at the Cove of Cork in 9 fathom/water[,] moord with the Kedge¹⁰⁵ about two Cables length from Cove Island[.] several Vessels

103. *Steel's List* . . . 1794, 7.

104. A packet was a small vessel used to carry mail and passengers from one part to another.

105. A kedge was a small anchor.

receiv'd damages they laying so thick theres not room to swing, counted 170 sails HMS *Medusa*¹⁰⁶ laying guardship.

NB the Hours in cove are by far worse than any Negroe hates I ever saw on the Coast of Guiney. People[,] Hogs[,] and Dogs all live and lie in the same place are very much mistaken if they do not feed all of them out of the same vessels ~~are them~~. The poorer sort of Women are us'd to a degree of barbarity carrying the Manure¹⁰⁷ on their backs to the land, while as off[ten] great idle fellows are looking on at their ease.

[15v] Monday 29th April Fresh Gales from the SW with rain HMS the *Latona*¹⁰⁸ brought five of the Convoy in that could not keep up with the fleet likewise a Prize to a Liverpool Privateer.

Tuesday 30th D^o Fresh Gales from the WNW with cloudy rainy weather. Ships C^o[mpany] employ'd at sundry.

Wednesday 1st May 1793 Light Breezes from the WNW with fair weather, employ'd Shipping hands

Thursday 2^d D^o & Friday 3^d May Fresh gales from the Northward cloudy w^r. at 7 AM the *Vengeance* made signal for sailing. Shipt five seamen & articles. Dischard by his own request not liking the sea Adam Chisholm steward and Tho^s Mattison seaman having the [word struck and unreadable] I take with a complication of other infectious disorders & not being capable of doing his duty. at 4 the frigates left us[.] at 8 PM the Old Head of Kingsale bore NE½E 4 Leag^s from which I take my departure.

NB this week ends on Friday at Maredian in order to begin a sea log. Latt Ob^d 50°26'N Long 09°32'W.

16[r] Saturday 4th May 1793 Fresh gales with heavy squalls & rain[.] employ'd taking in reefing and making sail occasionally to keep up with the Commodore

The fleet consists of one [*HMS Vengeance*] 74[,] *Ulysses*¹⁰⁹ 44[,] *Latona* 38 and another 40 gun frigate and 78 sail of Merchantmen.

No Observation

[16v] Sunday 5th May. Latt by Obsⁿ 49°30'N Long W 11°30'.

106. *Steel's List . . . 1794* (10) described the *Medusa* as a "Guard-ship" of 50 guns.

107. Many vessels carried livestock, destined either for sale at their destinations or for use during their voyage. The *Sandown* had several swine on board that were producing manure.

108. See *Steel's List . . . 1794*, 10, for *Latona*, a vessel of 38 guns.

109. *Steel's List . . . 1794* did not list the *Ulysses* as online in 1794, although it was listed in 1793 (18) as a vessel of 44 guns.

First part of these 24 Hours fresh Gales with Squalls and rain Middle part a fresh breeze Latter part moderate d^o with pleasant weather.

The fleet very much dispers'd[.] at 8 AM two Cutters hove in sight[;] to the Eastward the *Ulysses* K^{d110} and spoke them They immediately haul theirs to the ENeward. at Maredian the fleet pretty well together The 44 Gun ship [*Latona*] carrying sail to speak the Commodore.

17[r] Monday 6th May Long 11°42' West Throughout these 24 Hours light Breezes, and Calms; with a heavy swell from the westward, the weather very thick and hazey. Fleet much dispers'd great numbers of them not seeming to pay the least attention to the Commodore's signals. one of the Frigates not in the Fleet (counted 76 sail in all) Employ'd altering and reforming old sails &c work out the Cables and tow'd the Anchor. N^o Obsⁿ.

[17v] Tuesday 7th May Latt Obs^d 48°34' Long W 12°05' Light breezes with fine pleasant weather, it being agreeably warm The fleet carying sail to the best advantage A Swallow alighted several times upon deck very much fatigued[,] being upon its passage to the N^d, from which it seems very probable that great number of Birds of Passage must perish on the Journeys betwixt the Climatis[.] serv'd out the allowance of provisions to the Ships Company as \emptyset act of Parliament.¹¹¹

18[r] Wednesday 8th May Long W^d 12°17' First and latter part of these 24 Hours light breezes[,] middle inclinable to a Calm. The weather very dull & hazey. at 5 PM saw a strange sail to the SEastward one of the Men of war gave chase[.] at 8 being very little wind she bore up for the Fleet. This before mention'd vessel steering to the ESEward at Maredian the fleet very much dispers'd. The Commodore away upon our weather¹¹² Bow. The sun so overcast, and obscured was fog cannot get an observation.¹¹³

[18v] Thursday 9th May. Latt Obs^d 46°25' Long W 12°44' Fine moderate breezes with flying clouds and drizzling rain[.] at 6 PM the 50 gun

110. Enquiries at the National Maritime Museum among a number of researchers resulted in a consensus that this meant that the captains had signaled each other or otherwise made contact.

111. In this instance, Gamble noted that he was making certain to comply fully with legal requirements that seamen be fed wholesome foods and in correct amounts, as stipulated by Parliamentary Acts.

112. The term "weather" in this instance refers to the direction from which the wind was blowing, or the windward side, in contrast to the leeward side.

113. Assuming that Gamble was using a sextant, cloud cover or fog would have blocked his view of the sun.

ship¹¹⁴ spoke us and gave information, that he & the *Hermoine*,¹¹⁵ were to be to leeward of the Merchantmen. The *Vengeance* ahead, and the *Latona* to windward and astern of the Fleet.

ends moderate winds The Commodore waiting for the slowest vessels to come up. Ships Company all in good health[.] employ'd at sundry necessary jobs.

19[r] Friday 10th May. Latt Obs^d 45°20'N Long West 12°24' *Latona* in Chase.

First part of these 24 Hours light breezes, middle and latter part d°. with dark cloudy weather. at 10 AM the *Latona* joint the fleet again, and spoke the Commodore she having been in chase to the SE. The *Vengeance* carry's a press of sail all day, The Men of War answering one anothers private signals.¹¹⁶ some of the Fleet hull down astern, Ships Company all well employ'd at sundrys.

[19v] Saturday 11th May. Latt Obs^d 43°18' Long W 13°18' First part of these 24 Hours fresh Gales with Cloudy weather & rain Middle and latter d° gales with fair & hazey weather.

several of the Fleet a great way astern. The Commodore great part of this day under his main topsail and foresail in the brails.¹¹⁷ Ships Company employ'd at sundry necessarys.

20[r] Sunday 12th May. Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ. 41°13'N Long W^d 13°52'. All these 24 Hours fine fresh Gales with Pleasant weather[.] several of the fleet Hull down astern carrying sail accordingly to keep company with the Commodore.

114. The only 50-gun ship mentioned earlier was HMS *Leopard*. It is uncertain, however, that the *Leopard* was a member of this convoy escort. See also *Steel's List* . . . 1794, 10, for *Leopard*, a vessel of 50 guns.

115. *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (9) listed the *Hermoine* as a vessel of 32 guns.

116. *British Naval Documents 1204–1960* (ed. John B. Hattendorf, et al. [London: Scholar Press for Navy Records Society, 1993], 412–420) listed signals used by royal vessels. These varied depending upon whether they were used during the day or night, or during fog. There was a separate list that was to be used by “private vessels.” The editors quoted instructions given to captains of private vessels: “*And it is strictly required* that all merchant ships and vessels that shall put themselves under my convoy be very careful in keeping company with me when under sail, and that they do not, under any pretence or private interest whatever, part from the fleet without my being acquainted thereof and have my consent for the same, that no accident may arise after leaving the fleet, and should not be taken and by their intelligence to the enemy may be the LOSS of the whole TRADE AND CONVOY, and more destructive to the public good than any advantage a private ship can bring” (416).

117. Brails were small ropes fastened to the edges of sails to truss them up quickly before furling.

NB it is something surprising that the Men of War does not take the dull ships in tow, as we loose 40 or 50 miles \emptyset [er] day. counted 82 sail. The fleet much disperst[;] even the ships that sail will pay very little attention to the Commodore. Has the appearance of some of them wanting to be taken.

[20v] Monday 13th May. Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 38°57' Long W^d 14°34' Fresh gales and cloudy weather[.] at 3 PM saw a strange sail to the N^d. lying too, with an English ensign at her Mizen peak.¹¹⁸ The *Ulysses* hoisted the Convoy signal and headed the fleet The Commodore and Frigates drop't astern probably to watch The Strangers motions who appears to be a Man of War. counted 76 Sail in all[.] I allow 1 Mile \emptyset hour for an indraft into the Mediteranean.

21[r] Tuesday 14th May. Latt Obs^d 36°48'N Long in 15°02'W Var \emptyset Amplitude¹¹⁹ 20°

Fresh gales with cloudy weather. at 2 PM saw a strange Sail to the W^d[.] at 4 she pass'd the Fleet under Swedish Colours. at 8 AM the Commodore hoisted a signal for the *Ulysses* to head the fleet at 9 hour and the *Latona* hauld their wind to the Nw^d.

I allow for an inset into the Straight as before.

[21v] Wednesday 15th May Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 34°27'N Long in 15°37' During the whole of this 24 Hours A fine steady breeze with hazey w^f. at 4 PM spoke the *Issabella of London*[,] Captⁿ Grandison[,] respecting our Keeping Company as far as Cape De Verd together, she being bound to Gambia;¹²⁰ and expecting to have the fleet in a few days came to a determination of her, us, and the *Friendship* Sch^r[,] Captⁿ Taylor[,] leaving the fleet together, some of the fleet a long way astern the Commodore[.] carrying easy sail so as to keep along with them. Madiera bears S20°W dis 18 Miles East point.

22[r] Thursday 16th May. Latt Obs^d 32°16'N Long in 16°34'W All these 24 Hours fine steady breezes. at 6 AM the Commodore hauld his wind in order to separate the fleet of Ships bound with him to the West Indies from those bound to the Southward[.] at same time hoisted our Ensign and hove away in Company with the *Issabella* & *Friendship* Guineymen[,] two Brigs bound to Teneriff[,] and two Southseamen

118. Mizen peak referred to the top of the Mizen mast, the aftermost mast of a three-masted vessel.

119. This was a measurement of the horizon taken at sunset to determine the correct way to use the compass in navigation.

120. See Map No. 2, "Africa's Western Coast," for locations of Madeira, Cape Verde, and the Gambia River.

bound round Cape Horne[.] at 8 the *Vengeance* and fleet out of sight[.] at 9 Spoke Captⁿ Grandison who reckon'd in Long 16°20' West and a fine weather looking out for Madeira.

[22v] Friday 17th May. Latt Obs^d 30°17'N Long 17°17'W Fine steady breezes, with Hazy weather. At 4 AM exercis'd and seal'd the great guns. at 5 Spoke the *Issabella* (being uneasy at not seeing Madeira) Captⁿ Grandison is of Oppinion that we are to the Eastward of the Island. The Vessels in Company draw to the Windward of me very much tho they promis'd to steer the same course w[h]ether it is the fault of the Compasses or not[.] I cannot tell[.] mine all agree. saw a fine Turtle and some flying fish.

23[r] Saturday 18th May Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 28°40'N Long 17°49'W Var \emptyset Ampt^{de} 17°59'W Moderate breezes, with pleasant weather[.] carrying all sail to the best advantage. at Day light the Vessels all out of sight. Am partly convinc'd that we pass'd to the westward of Madeira, if not should have seen some of the Canary Islands, being in Lattitude of them today.

Ships Company all well[.] employ'd Painting the Boats, scraping Decks &c. Cooper making Crews.¹²¹ Carpenter at sundry necessary.

Jibbi¹²² saw a great many Bottlenoses [Dolphin] & Birds.

[23v] Sunday 19th May. Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 27°30' Long \emptyset ac^t 17°00'W Height of the Peak of Teneriffe [Tenerife] is 14,650 feet \emptyset two Altitudes.¹²³

A fine steady trade[.]¹²⁴ at 1 PM saw a Sail to the Eastward steering to the NW^d[.] clear'd ship for action.¹²⁵ at 4 PM saw the Grand Canary [Gran Canaria] bearing SWBW 6 Leagues distance

121. "Crews" refers to crues or pots. Ronald W. Davis (*Ethnohistorical Studies on the Kru Coast* [Newark, Delaware: Pencader Publishers, 1976], 2–3) described a "croo" as a unit of measure approximating half a bushel of rice. In this instance, however, several "crews" were being made, perhaps suggesting that these were large wooden tubs used in the feeding of slaves.

122. "Jibbi" may have been Gamble's term for a seaman who watched the currents from the Jib boom, a spar running out beyond the bowsprit. A seaman was occasionally stationed there to spear fish as they passed the boat. The "jib-o-jib" was a set of sails ahead of the headsail.

123. Tenerife Peak is 3,710 meters above sea level.

124. A "trade wind" was a wind that blew in one consistent direction, depending upon one's location. In this instance, Gamble likely was referring to a wind blowing from the northeast to the southwest.

125. This was the first vessel that Gamble had encountered while outside a convoy. As a precaution and as practice for his crew, it would have been prudent that Gamble use the circumstance as an excuse to prepare the *Sandown* for an engagement, whether it came or not.

at 2 AM the Peak of Teneriffe bore NWBN Dis from the land 4 or 5 leagues[.] at Maredian the Body of d° NE dis 9 leagues and Gomera NNW^d 8 Leag^s

NB it is absolutely necessary for every one bound to the S^d to be very careful of making allowances for the indraft into the Straights for fear of the Barbary Coast (and of being Sold for Slaves).¹²⁶

24[r] Monday 20th May. Latt Obs^d 26°02'N Long^d 17°55'N[*sic*] Fine steady breezes[;] carrying all Sail to the best advantage. Yesterday I took a fresh departure from the Island of Gomera. (at Maredian) being in Latt^d 28°06'N Long^d 17°04'W^d. Ships company all well and employ'd Painting the pinnace &c. Carpenter and Cooper at sundry jobs. I allow 12 Miles for a current to the Eastward.

Saw several Flying fish and Benitos The weather very warm.

[24v] Tuesday 21st May. Latt Obs^d 24°23' Long in 19°14' All this 24 Hours, a fine steady breeze[.] all sail set for the best advantage. The weather serene, and agre[e]ably warm. This certainly is a glorious Climate, capable of producing the greatest of Luxurys, as well has [*sic*] all Kinds of useful Vegetables, fruits, &c. in their highest purity.¹²⁷ Ships Company all well and employ'd at sundry necessaries.

25[r] Wednesday 22^d May. Latt Obs^d 22°40'N Long, 20°36'W All these 24 Hours a fine steady Harmattan,¹²⁸ all sails set that would draw. at 4 PM exercis'd the great guns. overhaul the small arms. Carpenter employ'd fitting the Pinnaces masts &c. Cooper making a can Buoy.

NB Doctor [George] Kettles¹²⁹ remark respecting the ship &

126. The Beys of northwestern Africa had become infamous for capturing merchantmen and enslaving their crews. European governments regularly made payments to these Beys to return their seamen. This practice had occurred for centuries, and Europeans had been unable to bring about any effective change. In 1801, the young United States of America landed troops at Tripoli intending to challenge this policy, at least as it related to American ships along the African coast. For Americans in Barbary, see Gardner W. Allen, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905); Ray W. Powers, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776–1816* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931); Glenn Tucker, *Dawn like Thunder: The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the U.S. Navy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963).

127. The Canary Islands had become known early as a convenient stopping place for fresh vegetables, fruits, and water.

128. The Harmattan was a wind pattern that blew from the north. The term is used in Africa to refer to winds from the Sahara that blow and carry sandy soil, but these generally occur from January through March.

129. The 1788 Act to regulate numbers of slaves carried on board also stipulated that each vessel was required to employ a surgeon to care for the cargo dur-

boats was that they greatly resembled pill boxes (one in another)¹³⁰ Saw several large Albacores.

[25v] Thursday 23^d May Sun wants 7 Miles of being Vertical Latt Obs^d 28°50'N Long 22°02'W Vac ∅ Ampt^{de} 16°W Fine steady breezes, the sky clear & of a beautiful azure, till near sun set, when clouds begin to rise to the Westward, and a gentle Dew descends all night. The weathers agreeably warm all day but rather cool all night. The water is chang'd from a fine Blue, to a kind of sap green colour. at 2 PM the Ships Company went through the old Custom of Shaving, and Ducking, all that never cross'd the Tropic of Cancer before.¹³¹ Island of S^t Nicholas [São Nicolau] bears SSW½W 290 Miles.

26[r] Friday 24th May. Latt Obs^d 18°48'N Long 23°02'W Fine fresh trades, the weather rather Hazey with heavy clouds, especially at y^e Sunrise and setting, indicating an inclination for water spouts rising. This change of weather is perhaps caus'd by the Suns being vertical, and the Moon being near at full or occasion'd by y^e season Ships crew all well and employ'd at sundry Necessary duty.

S^t Nicholas bears by acc^t from me S29°W Dis 151 Miles.

[26v] Saturday 25th May Latt Obs^d 16°54'N Long 24°12' West First and latter part of these 24 Hours Blowing a fresh breeze middle part moderate. The weather hazey thro^hout Intending to tutch at the Island of S^t Nicholas[.] at 3 PM bent the Cables[.]¹³² at 9 AM saw the Island bearing SWBS Distance 7 Leagues.

ing the voyage. That Act specified that this surgeon was obligated to keep a daily log in which numbers and conditions of slaves and slave deaths were recorded and that this log would be delivered to a proper official at the ship's British port-of-call in the New World. It was also common practice that, in addition to his wage, the surgeon received bonus head money of one shilling for each slave delivered to port. See Donnan, *Documents*, 579–580, 584–585; James Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Norton, 1981), 295–297, 302–303

130. The *Sandown* carried at least three boats—a yawl, a pinnace, and a long-boat, each progressively larger in size, as defined in the late eighteenth century.

131. This was a rite of passage expected of all seamen. Another rite involved piercing one's ear after crossing the equator. R. S. Allison (*Sea Diseases* [London: John Bale, 1943], 76) wrote that ducking was administered to all “fresh-water sailors” and involved dropping crew members, with a rope tied around them, from the main-yard three times. He noted that one could avoid this rite by paying a fine, although most “wanted to do it.” In other circumstances, ducking was administered as a punishment.

132. To bend the cables meant to place the cables and anchors in their correct locations so that they could easily be dropped once within reach of land or in preparation for obtaining an anchorage.

At Maredian the Northermost point of S^t Nicholas bore SSW about 3 Leagues dis Ships Company all well and employ'd at sundry necessary duty

27[r] Sunday 26th May. First part of these 24 Hours a fine breeze[.] at Sun- set the Extremes of the Island bore NEBN and WBN distance 3 Leagues from the body of the Island.

at 6 AM hoisted out the Pinnace & Rigg'd¹³³ her. at 7 went in shore in her into Parragissa [Preguiça] Bay[.] at 11 return'd on board with a Pilot.¹³⁴ Bore up and at 5 PM came to in 26 f^{ms} The Guard House bearing NWBW: Distance 7 Miles.

NB this Day contains 36 Hours.¹³⁵

[27v] Monday 27th May Fresh breezes, and fine pleasant weather. at 8 AM went on shore[.] at 9 a Jack Ass¹³⁶ and Servant came from the Govern[.] at 10 the Doctor & I went up to the town about 6 Miles, at 2 Waited upon him and paid him the Anchorage¹³⁷ Four Dollars[.] at 5 ret[urn]^d. at 7 got on board again. The Ship drove into 35 f^{ms}. Rocky bottom, steady'd her with the Kedge to the N^d.

Tuesday & Wednesday 29th May Fresh breezes and pleasant weather Em- ploy'd clearing the Hold for goods to trade for S^t Jagos [São Tiago] Cloths.¹³⁸ The Gov^r Captⁿ Seit came on board Breakfast Din[ne]d and

133. To rig a vessel meant to put a vessel in proper working order. This generally involved placement of the mast, sails, ropes, and oars.

134. It was customary practice that, before entering a port, a captain would secure a local pilot who knew the location of reefs and bars. In this case, it likely was a port requirement.

135. This comment is unexplained. Perhaps Gamble meant it to be a joke, indicating that the day had been long and full.

136. The jack ass or male ass/donkey was a favored mode of transport in the Cape Verde Islands.

137. Anchorage fees established a relationship between local authorities and captain. These fees legitimized the vessel's presence and granted privileges of trade, waterage, and hospitality while the vessel was at port or anchored in neighboring waters.

138. T. Bentley Duncan (*Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-Century Commerce and Navigation* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972], chapter 8) characterized the Cape Verde islands as the "Crossroads of the Atlantic." Duncan noted that a lively trade existed between the Cape Verde Islands and European and West African ports during that century and that cotton was one of the principal cash crops of the islands. This product was woven into bands 4 to 5 inches wide which were attached six across to form a "pano" or cloth; these were produced in numerous designs and were highly sought on the African coast. During the seventeenth century, Portuguese authorities monopolized the commerce in São Tiago cloth. Gamble's description here does not suggest, however, that he was attempting any clandestine commerce. See also George

Spent the day. Spar'd him $\frac{1}{4}$ firkin butter[,] 1 loave Sugar[,] 1 Cheeses, Potatoes[,] Coals &c.¹³⁹

Thursday 30^h D^o breezes. employ'd buying Cloths[,] Stock, &c.

Friday 31 May D^o breezes & w^r. trading for Cloths. cannot purchase¹⁴⁰ our Bower Anchor it having hook'd a Rock: rode short all night.

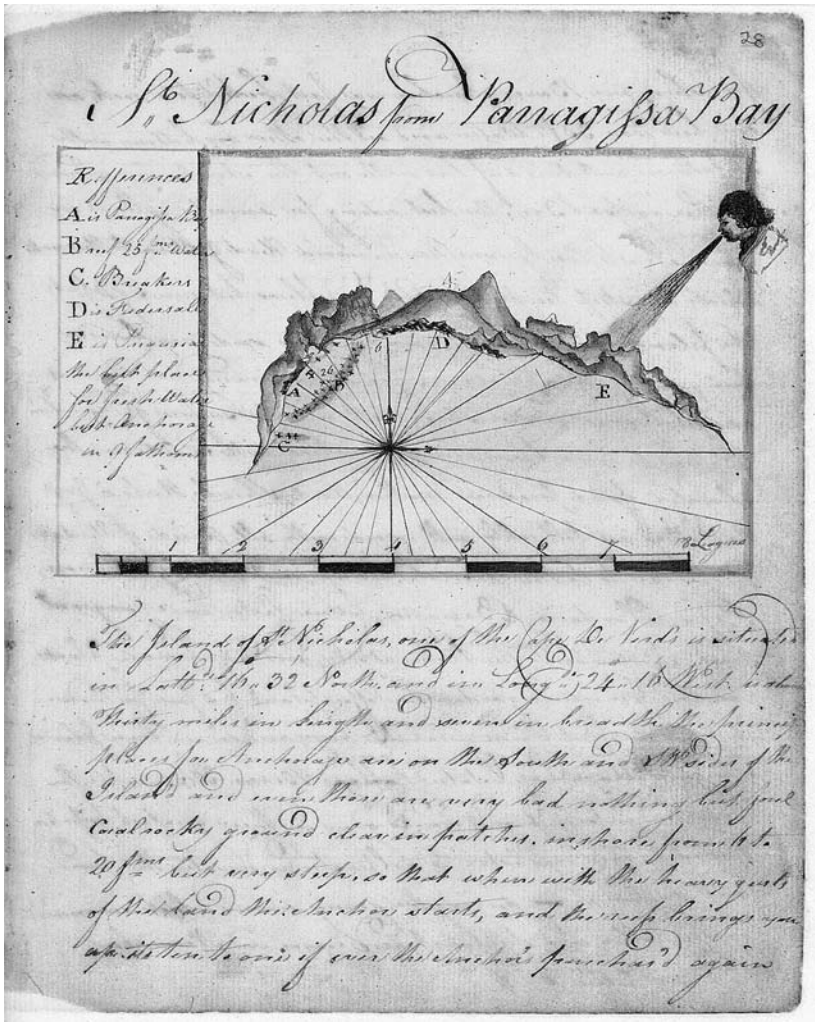
28[r] The Island of St Nicholas,¹⁴¹ one of the Cape De Verd's is situated in Latt^d. 16°32' North and in Long^d 24°16' West is about Thirty miles in Length and several in breadth The primary places for Anchorage are on the South and SW sides of the Island and even there are very bad nothing but foul Coral rocky ground[,] clear in patches. in shore from 11 to 20 f^{ms} but very steep, so that when with the heavy gales of the land the Anchor starts; and the reefs brings you up its ten to one if ever the Anchor's purchas'd again [28v] for when our Bower Anchor was fast hook'd to a rock on one bow[,] there was 35 f^m water and on the other no bottom, with 56 fathom out[,] This reef lies with out the Anchoring ground in Parragissa Bay. The best riding for small Vessels is in a cove close to the Guard House. moor'd Head & Stern to the rocks which are steep too. The tide Ebbs and flows between 3 & 4 feet[,] The Island is in general mountainous [*sic*] and very barren[,] has greatly the appearance from the many deep Chasms and Volcanic matter spread all over the surface of both the Mountain & Valleys to have been much troubled with Eruptions. The Elevated land, produces neither, Wood, Shrubs, Herbs, or Grass. The Valleys are tollerably well cover'd with all Kinds of Verdure Peculiar to to [*sic*] the Climate. like wise the Orange, Lemon, Poppa, Plantain, Banana, Cotton, Caster and Manganeel trees. Ipecacuana, Pepper[,] Pumpkin, the Bitter Apple and Night shade plants[,] In the Governors garden the Coffee plant bid fair for produce[,] it being the first time trial has been made in these Islands[,] Onions, Cabbages, Peas, Potatoes[,] Carrots, Beans,

E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993), chapter 8, “The Cape Verde Archipelago–Western Africa Nexus,” for a recent treatment of the islands and their social system and productions.

139. In this instance, Gamble undoubtedly was supplying the Governor with what was known along this coast as a “dash” or “buniah.” In effect, Gamble was “tipping” the Governor for services that were expected; none of these gifts would be reported as transactions, other than expenses expected to guarantee the voyage expeditious progress.

140. To purchase an anchor was to retrieve or haul in an anchor.

141. See Photo No. 2, “St. Nicholas from Parragissa Bay,” “Sandown” manuscript, page 28r. Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.



St. Nicholas from Parragissa Bay.

Flowers, &c. The Governor inform'd me would grow in their greatest perfection[,] Provided care was taken to cultivate and water the land and drain it during the rainy season which commences in the latter end of August, and ceases in November, seldom latter. 29[r] This Island abounds with no kind of Venomous animals whatever, the chief Inhabitants of the Mountains are wild Asses, Bulls, Goats[,] Hogs.¹⁴²

142. Allison (*Sea Diseases*, 76) mentioned the Cape Verde Islands as a place to obtain fresh water to replace the water that was then in kegs and that had prob-

The Domestic ones are the same[,] with an addition of Sheep[,] Dogs[,] Catts, Horses, Poultry &c.

The Island is ruld chiefly by a Bishop or Nicera who his [*sic*] sole Judge and Jury, both for and against the Crown of Portugual in all causes throughout the Cape De Verds. The Place of his abode should be S^t Jago, only he [h]as liberty granted from the Queen to reside where it being the Healthiest Island and partly to his being prohibited ever returning to Europe[.] Thus from his allways being here it may be recon'd the most Perfect seminary of learning in this quarter, having Pupils from all the neighbouring Islands.

He Absolutely his [*sic*] held in perfect adoration[.] no one even the Governor, approaches him without Kneeling and Kissing his hand. The Priest are in general here a detestable set[,] some of them tho in Orders, soliciting the Doctor on his going on shore with me for relief in a certain Disorder. They did not wish to make public and great number of that lower class of people laborer'd under the same Predicament in fact so great, they kept it no secret coming on board and discouraging to the Ships Company.

[29v] The capital is call'd Parragissia [Preguiça,] is situated in a Valley cover'd with high craggy Mountains dreadful in its appearance to a Stranger. The Houses are small only one story high excepting the Bishop & Governors which are larger and built more in the European stile[.] The Streets are narrow and crooked, thro the center of the town runs a rivulet of fresh water with groves of trees which makes a beautiful tho romantic appearance[.] This town contains about eight Thousand people[,] all coulor'd [*sic*] but the Viceroy, Governor & family whose wife is an English Woman.

The Natives complain of being harrass'd to a degree of Severity what with the Governor and Queens duty which is 20 ø[er]c[en]t^r on their whole Property which God knows seems to be very little for by appearance they are a wretche'd set of beings.

There [*sic*] principal employment is making cotton cloths which they barter with for European goods[,] Viz. Linnen, Shawls[,] Handkerchiefs[,] Shirts[,] Jackets[,] Matts, Iron Potts[,] Cotton cords[,] Spirits[,] &c.

They are a Mixture of the Portuguese and Guiney Blacks. The Men are large in stature 30[r] and in general well made[.] The Women robust[,] strong[,] and very disagreeable. Their rogueishly inclin

ably begun to taste. The islands were also known for available fresh fruits, potatoes, fowl, and hogs.

from their Infancy, cunning and crafty and appear to be very Jealous. was it not for their lazy Indolent slothfulness they might not only have plenty for themselves but enough to spare for Strangers (instead of which they are often Starving)[.] Was the Priests and Friars to check them in their Indolence they would improve. (being learn'd to to believe these set of imposters, are something supreme) But that would be too tedious for them who mind nothing but their Seraglios¹⁴³ & imposing on the Public to support them.

Their is another town nam'd Penguissia but of no great note distant about 10 Miles from the other so that with the Country people and all the Island may contain twelve thousand Souls. They appear greatly Distress'd for want of a Doctor ~~amongst them~~ seeing no Person amongst them in that line.¹⁴⁴ They all appear Ignorant of the

143. "Seraglio" was a term generally used to describe a harem. Perhaps Gamble meant to suggest that these religious men had mistresses. The term also was used to suggest a confined and enclosed area, such as a monastery perhaps. Another definition identified a seraglio as a place where licentious behavior was permitted. The correct interpretation of the word's use is unclear in this case. In 1830, Conneau (*Slaver's Logbook*, 53) interpreted the term's use in the Rio Pongo to refer to a harem.

144. For Gamble to have commented on the absence of a local doctor perhaps suggests that many people then were ill with an unknown disease; otherwise, perhaps, he would not have made the observation. On manuscript page 29r, Gamble mentioned a "certain Disorder" of some embarrassment to local clergy, likely a venereal disease, and noted that this "Disorder" was apparently common among the lower classes as well. This may have been the cause of the "Distress" cited here. It is also possible that a new strain of Yellow Fever had begun to spread within the islands by this date, 31 May 1793. This type of Yellow Fever eventually became known as Boullam Fever and apparently had its Atlantic origins on the Island of Bulama, near the mouth of the Rio Grande on the African Coast. In July 1792, Lieutenant Philip Beaver of the Royal Navy attempted to establish a British settlement at Bulama Island with roughly 275 settlers and struggled through the rainy season to build houses, clear land, and tend to the sick, whose numbers grew steadily until a near panic gripped the settlement. Numerous vessels trading along the coast between Bissao and Sierra Leone visited the new British settlement and helped to spread the disease, Yellow Fever or Yellow Jack, up and down the coast. By September, nearly one-third of the settlers were on the sick list, and people were beginning to die. By 1 October nearly two-thirds were ill. The schooner *Hankey*, which had been hired to transport settlers to Bulama, had been chartered to continue its voyage in mid-October as a slaver to the New World. By that date, however, dissension among settlers at Bulama was sufficiently acute that fourteen settlers decided to board the *Hankey* bound for Bissao and the West Indies, and additional settlers slipped away to other places along the coast. All carried the disease with them. The *Hankey* left Bulama on 23 October 1792, apparently obtained a slave cargo at Bissao, reached St. Jago Island on 26 December 1792 and remained within the Cape Verde Islands group for nearly a month, after which it

Virtues of any species of herbs except those that are Poisono[u]s (not that I ever heard, they made use of them) A European that trade here ought to take Particular care that he is not Plundered.

NB Here is found upon the Mountains a kind of Moss call'd Argales,¹⁴⁵ famous for setting dies. if any of the natives are found concealing or disparing [*sic*] of the least quantity to any other person, by the Governor they are made slaves, or confind for life.

[30v] Saturday 1 June 1793 Fresh gales from the NE with a short swell[.] at Day light hove ahead with the Stream Hawser and a Peak on the Bower. got the Pinnacle's Cable with two Sinkers and drop'd Down along the Cable[.] swept the flow of the Anchor and cross'd it with the Pinnacle & Yawl Casted the Anchor and weigh'd it[,] hoisted in the Boats. whole purchase 86 S^t Jago Cloths Receiv'd a present from the Governor[,] 1 Bag Pepper[,] 2 Milk Goats[,] & A Chart of these Islands. This Afternoon Carried to the Sea Log.

Sunday 2^d June. At 3 PM got underway[.] at 5 the East end of the Island hove NE½E about 6 Leagues distance Steering SE½E 6 and 7 Knotts ∅ Hour[.] at 10 AM; saw the Isle of Mayo bearing SEBS about 6 Leagues[.] at 9 saw a Vessel in Englishroad¹⁴⁶ Hoisted a french flag and

sailed for America, finally reaching Grenada on 19 February 1793. Of the 275 settlers that arrived in Bulama in July 1792, only 28 remained by the end of 1792, and Beaver noted that he was the only person then not ill. For the Bulama settlement, see Philip Beaver, *African Memoranda: Relative to an attempt to establish a British Settlement on the Island of Bulama* (1805/Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970), particularly 134–165. For the course of the fever as it relates to the *Hankey*, see C. Chisholm, *An Essay on the Malignant Pestilential Fever, Introduced into the West India Islands from Boullam, on the Coast of Guinea, as it appeared in 1793, 1794, 1795, & 1796* (London: J. Mawman, 1801), 98–101, 108–109, 118. An extract from the *Hankey's* ship log of November 1792 to October 1793 is included in Beaver, *African Memoranda*, 470–471. For another report on the Bulama fever, see William Pym, *Observations upon Bulam, Vomito-Negro, or Yellow Fever* (London: John Churchill, 1848), which reviewed the disease in relationship to 1793–1840 outbreaks along the African coast.

145. Argales was likely the same as “the dye-yielding lichen [fungus] called orchil (*urzela* in Portugese), which was collected in mountainous areas, processed, and exported.” Duncan (*Atlantic Islands*, 160, 191–192, 221) wrote that commerce in orchil was a Portuguese royal monopoly and that English interest in orchil had grown steadily, becoming especially strong during the eighteenth century when the English textile industry was undergoing rapid growth and change.

146. During the eighteenth century, the principal trade good of “Englishroad,” or Porto Inglês, the largest seaport on the island of Maio, was salt. Duncan (*Atlantic Islands*, 190) noted that Portuguese authorities on the island of São Tiago had failed to supervise the salt trade and that in consequence the island had increasingly come under British control. The primary destination of that salt from Maio was the British North American colonies.

clear'd Ship for action[.] at 10 Run up alongsides of her, she proved to be the *Mary of Iron Mill* bound to Boston. Had seen no Frenchmen lately. at Noon took my Departure from Mayo bearing NBE 4 Leag^s Obsv'd in Latt. 15°00'N

31[r] Monday 3^d June 1793 All these 24 Hours fresh Breezes and Hazy weather.

Caught with the Grains¹⁴⁷ a fine Benito Employ'd overhawling the Cables[,] Platts, and services.

The weather very warm, several of the Ships Company bad with Biles two in the Doctors list¹⁴⁸ Feverish. Struck a Porpoise and lost the Harpoon By the rippling of the water it indicates a Current & all for one to the ESE^d. Latt Obs^d 13°01'N.

[31v] Tuesday 4th June Moderate breezes with Hazy weather Carrying sail to the best advantage. The weather is very sultry and warm. Great part of the Ships Company very much afflicted with blind Biles[,] two in the Doctors list[,] one rather better Employ'd fitting the Pinnacle wash-boards, and reducing her sails, &c. filling Powder Kegs. Latt Obs^d 11°36'North.

32[r] Wednesday 5th June. Light breezes, with thick Hazy weather; very hot and sultry. at 2 PM hoisted out the Jolly boat and tried the Current. found it to set to the SWestward (very little if any) Employ'd fitting the Quarter deck awning, filling Powder &c.

147. The grains referred to a fish spear or harpoon with two or more prongs.

148. The Doctor's list was a listing of seamen unfit for work. This was the eighth day after the *Sandown's* arrival at the Cape Verde Island. Biles was a term often used in a diagnosis of a reappearing form of malaria or "ague." Incubation was thought to range from seven to fourteen days, and generally the fever was characterized by periods of chills, shaking, and headaches, followed by nausea and vomiting, diarrhea, high temperature, exhaustion, and slow recovery. Philip D. Curtin (*The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964], 75) noted that a fever was considered "bilious" if it was remittent and if jaundice and vomiting were present. For a description of "remittent bilious fever," see R. V. Pierce, *The Peoples Common Sense Medical Adviser* (Buffalo, New York: Worlds Dispensary Printing, 1895), 404–405, and William Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1892), 147–152. It is possible, although unlikely, that this was the first reference to the appearance of Yellow Fever within the *Sandown's* crew. Harry Leach (*The Ship Captain's Medical Guide* [London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1906], 92) noted that the incubation period for Yellow Fever was from two to ten days. Roderick E. McGrew (*Encyclopedia of Medical History* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985], 356–358) particularly noted that a ship's water supply, often of poor quality, and bilge water in the ship's hold were excellent breeding grounds for mosquitoes that carried Yellow Fever. This meant that ships carried the disease from port to port. McGrew noted that ports were more affected by Yellow Fever than were inland areas.

Carpenter caulking the Quarter deck. Latt Obs^d 10°54'N.

[32v] Thursday 6th June Moderate breezes, with hazey w^r. Very hot, and Sultry.

about Midnight smart lightning from the Westward. Sun rise 17' past 6 & sunset 43' past 5 Ships Company much better. The Isles De Los¹⁴⁹ bears by ac^t S80°E Dis 77 Leagues. Latt Obs^d 10°10'North
33[r] Friday 7th June First part of these 24 Hours moderate breezes with clear weather.

Middle part D° breezes with dark cloudy weather attended with Thunder and Lightning.

Latter part cloudy weather and rain.

Var \emptyset Amplt^{de} at sunset 13^o/₂W^d Isles de Los bears S86°E Dis 50 Leagues. N° Obsⁿ.

[33v] Saturday 8th June Very unsettled dark cloudy w^r. with very smart Thunder and Lightning[,] attended with heavy rain, threatening to blow hard.¹⁵⁰

149. The Iles de Los were a group of five islands located a few kilometers from Cape Sangara on the Guinea coast. These islands, at the end of the eighteenth century, were the home of several traders associated with the Liverpool Company. One or more French traders also were located here. The islands had become known as an important bulking center for trade along the coast, providing pilots and coasting/boating crafts for trade with coastal peoples. One also could obtain repairs at these islands where traders offered numerous services and a good supply of equipment or rigging necessary in the shipping trades. In consequence, these islands became necessary ports-of-call for most vessels that visited the region. As noted earlier, it is likely that Gamble had been instructed to proceed directly to these islands and to conduct his business either here or in the Rio Nunez located close nearby. For more general detail of the Iles de Los during this period, see Bruce L. Mouser, "Iles de Los as Bulking Center in the Slave Trade 1750–1800," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 83, no. 313 (1996): 77–90.

150. June is the beginning of the rainy season along this section of coast. Seasons here were divided into two groups: rains and dries. The rainy season lasted from May to October and was characterized by heavy rain, tornadoes, thunder and lightning, and numerous fevers and parasites that came with these humid conditions. The dries, from October to May, were the times that caravans came coastward with rice, hides, gold, ivory, slaves, and other products of demand. To be sure, the rainy season was the most dangerous for Europeans, especially those on board ship and those unaccustomed to tropical fevers. Interior peoples also avoided the coast during this period because paths joining them to the coast often became impassible. This was not a good time for a trading venture to the coast. For a description of the climate, see Beaver, *African Memoranda*, 365–371; Beaver recorded daily climatic conditions for July–October 1793 on 461–464. Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 53–54) discussed the timetable of market demands in the Caribbean to Virginia regions and noted that greatest demands for market slaves coincided closely with harvest seasons when labor shortages were greatest and when sale of produce brought income to plantation owners. It was important for slave captains to time the American markets carefully, otherwise they might arrive at the mar-

Employ'd attending Sails accordingly sometimes all close'd up, and every one but the Foresail, and top sails furl'd: at other times set to best advantage.

Isles De Los bears by acc^t. S83°E dis 29 leagues But by Mess^r Woodville & De Pontevez.¹⁵¹ 86°E dis 53 Leg^s. Latt Obs^d 09°40'N.

34[r] Sunday 9th June Moderate breezes with very heavy clouds low and inclind much to a Pyramidical Shape, like water Spouts[,] attended with a great deal of heavy rain. Thunder and Lightning.

Caught a Shark.

at Maredian sounded in 50 f^{ms} gray sand with yellow specks & shells. N^o Obsⁿ.

[34v] Monday 10th June During this 24 Hours light breezes inclining to a Calm.

The Surface of the water cover'd with a kind of red spawn

Saw great numbers of Sharks[,] Porpoises and sucking fish. at 2 AM sounded in 28 f^{ms}[,] at 4 in 26[,] at 8 in 24[,] at 10 in 23[.] at Maredian in 21 fath^{ms} gray sand & Shells. Latt. Obs^d 09°41'N.

35[r] Tuesday 11th June Throughout these 24 Hours fair and rainy weather in intervals, with dark Cloudy weather attended with wind[,] Lightning, and loud peals of Thunder The heat very great, close and sultry. I find Hambleton Moores¹⁵² Draft to be very eroneous respecting the Longitude he has laid down the Isles de Los in The Isles de Los by Mess^{rs} Woodville & Pontevez Gien bears S72East Dis 20 Miles. Latt Obs^d 9°30'N.

ket only to find it flooded with cargos of slaves seeking buyers. Harvests began in January in Barbados and in May in Virginia. This meant that Gamble would have wanted to obtain his full complement of slaves by early to late November at the latest. Coughtry also noted that New England slavers attempted to arrive in West Africa after 1 August in order to miss the worst of the rainy season and after captains had already left the coast from the previous trading season. In this instance, Gamble had arrived on the coast perhaps a bit early. His arrival would place him, however, in good position to made good trading arrangements with resident traders who were then without commerce.

151. William Woodville and De Pontevez Gien had drawn maps or given information from which maps of the Iles de Los and Rio Nunez were drawn. These maps are found in Robert Laurie, *The African Pilot: Being a Collection of New and Accurate Charts . . . Compiled from Draughts, Observations, Journals, Etc. of Messrs. Robert Norris, William Woodville, Archibald Dalzel, and George Maxwell of Liverpool* (London: Robert Laurie and James Whittle, 1799), chart no. 8. A map entitled "The Volcanic Islands named Ilhas Dos Idolos and by the English and French Sailors Isles de Loss" indicated that the islands were surveyed by Woodville in 1777.

152. Hamilton Moore, Jr., published *Nautical Sketches* (London, 1840). Perhaps there was a Hamilton Moore, Sr. The Caird Library, National Maritime Museum, London, does not have anything written by an earlier Hamilton Moore.

[35v] Wednesday 12th June 1793 Moderate breezes with dark cloudy weather, at 2 AM. saw the Island of Tamara,¹⁵³ at 3 Hove too under the Top sails.¹⁵⁴ at ½ past 5 bore up and made sail. The Island bearing ESE 4 Miles in 20 f^{ms} water[.] at 9 came too off[f] Factory¹⁵⁵ Island in 6 f^{ms} Two Vessels here[,] brigs Overhawld them and found them to be Americans; one [*Pearl*] Comanded by Captⁿ Howard[,] late¹⁵⁶ of Liverpool[,] and bound to the Rionunez. at 10 went on shore to the Factory[,] deliverd my letters from Mess^{rs} John & Tho^s Hodgson Mercht^s¹⁵⁷ in Liverpool to M^r Richard Horricks[,] there Agent here[.] found every thing in confusion[,] they thinking us to be a French ship of war,¹⁵⁸ there being one upon the Coast call'd the *Liberty of Burdiaux*, that had capturd four Liverpool Vessels at Cape Mont. The Officers and crew belonging to him wearing Seaing Caps with a brass plate on

153. See Map No. 6, "Iles de Los." Tamara, also called Forabar, Grand Island, and Williams Island, lies on the western edge of the island group. It is the largest of the islands, with a population that in 1793 was mostly Baga peoples. There were five notable villages on the island, and one of these was a factory where fresh water was available within 30 meters from the shore.

154. This meant that Gamble had furled all of his sails except the smallest one, that located above the top gallant sail. This was the smallest square sail of the rigging and allowed the ship to move slowly and gently forward.

155. Factory Island, also called Ile Kassa, was the most easterly of the island group and closest to the continent. A strait of 5 kilometers separated Factory from the Ile Tumbo at the tip of Sangara peninsula. Factory Island obtained its name from the large factory belonging to the Liverpool Company (under Miles Barber) and the successor company owned by John and Thomas Hodgson of Liverpool. This factory was known as a place where ships could obtain repairs and ships' equipment normally absent on this coast.

156. This likely suggested that Howard had sailed from Liverpool before he became a captain of an American vessel out of New York. See later comments about Howard.

157. Thomas Hodgson, Jr., had been an agent of Miles Barber. The Hodgson brothers acquired the factory from Barber at his retirement. Horrocks and Jackson were their agents. See Donnan, *Documents*, II, 56. Whether this "letter" should indicate that Gamble was intended to conduct his trade with Horrocks is not explicitly stated in the log. It is clear, however, that Gamble's employer effectively had given him a letter to deliver to Horrocks, perhaps implying that an arrangement of sorts had already been negotiated with Horrocks or that the investors had already identified the Iles de Los or accompanying region as the area in which they would conduct their business.

158. The year 1793 was one of war and confusion on this coast. Many traders sought to declare their neutrality, but others were more than willing to join the fray, especially if there was opportunity for revenge for past deeds or for plunder if unsuspecting merchantmen arrived expecting to avoid seizure. The Iles de Los, because of their location and convenience, were easy targets for privateers and men-of-war. If Gamble had remained anchored at Factory Island, his vessel would likely have invited attack; it was important, therefore, that he find a secure place where his vessel could be hidden and his cargo dispersed before he lost it.

the point with Liberty or Death Engraved upon it. The *Orpheus*¹⁵⁹[,] English Frigate[,] had call'd here and was gone in pursuit of her to Leeward.

36[r] Thus appears the Isles de Los when Crawford's Island is open with the NE point of Tamara. NE point of Factory Island SEBS. NWp^r of Tamara E½S.¹⁶⁰

[36v] Remarks on the Coast of Africa from the 13th June to 1st July Every thing here being in such a state of confusion[,] thought it best to try to the Northward for a Cargo in such a place where the Ship might lie in safety from the Enemies during our purchase,¹⁶¹ got the Long boat

159. *Steel's List . . . 1794* listed the *Orpheus* as a frigate of 32 guns.

160. This manuscript page contained two maps of the Isles de Los. One was a cartographic presentation of the island group, naming the various islands and providing soundings for waters that surround them. The second was a horizon view that displayed how the islands might have appeared from the deck of a ship. Neither of these maps is reproduced here.

161. Undoubtedly, Horrocks or other traders then at Factory Island informed Gamble of circumstances along this coast that differed significantly from those known by the ship's owners or investors. Although Gamble's instructions may have directed him to obtain an agreement to purchase a cargo of slaves with a broker, of sorts, at the Isles de Los and to remain anchored there while his own cargo of trade goods was disbursed and until his cargo of slaves was collected and loaded, strict adherence to such instructions doubtless would have placed both his ship and his cargo at significant risk of seizure. Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 52) noted that while owners often provided captains with detailed instructions, owners generally preferred seasoned commanders who could adjust to changing circumstances along the coast. Such a situation existed then on the Windward Coast, where a long-standing commercial, and to some extent political, feud between John Tilley of Bance Island and Renaud of Gambia Island had erupted into active hostilities. Both Bance Island and Gambia Island were located near the mouth of the Sierra Leone River and upstream from the British settlement of Freetown, the latter established as a homeland for "Black Poor" from England in 1787 and administered by the Sierra Leone Company after 1792. Tilley (British) and Renaud (French) had traded freely with Isles de Los and river-based traders before then, but their active struggle for supremacy along this coast now endangered all commerce. See James Watt, *Journal of James Watt, Expedition to Timbo Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser (Madison: African Studies Program, 1994), xi–xii, for a detailed discussion of the debate between Tilley and Renaud.

It is likely that Gamble's stated intention to find "a place where the Ship might lie in safety" came at the suggestion of Horrocks or others. While it was true that risk to both ships and cargos from seizure by privateers or belligerents would be reduced significantly once the ship was taken into a coastal river, such advantage was gained at the increase of other risks. Reefs and sand bars that dotted this coast presented one risk, for ships that found themselves damaged or wrecked risked the probability that local peoples would salvage their goods and vanish with them. The rivers were also home to less healthy conditions that often included polluted water and numerous fevers and diseases. If anchored near shore

on shore in order to raise upon her, with orders to finish here as soon as possible.¹⁶² Rigg'd the Pinnace[,] ballasted her and provisiond her for ten days, went myself with M^r J Kennedy[,]¹⁶³ four seamen & a

or docked at a wharf, pilferage became a problem that required constant vigilance. These additionally were places where captains could easily become involved, unwittingly, in protocol errors which required endless discussions and sometimes unexpected fines or fees. Undoubtedly, Gamble would have preferred to remain anchored at the Iles de Los and away from these unknown conditions.

In effect, Gamble, or his vessel's investors, were likely combining elements of two systems of commerce known as the "fort trade" and the "private trade." The principal characteristic of "fort trade" was the presence of a large European financial interest that had established an agent who maintained a factory of some size and who purchased whole cargos of trade goods and provisioned slavers with full cargos of slaves and other items they might want. "Fort trade" generally could be conducted quickly, with little risk to the captain, his vessel, and his crew, with the exception of the time that it might take to collect the cargo as specified by particular criteria of sex, age, height, etc. The "private trade," in contrast, involved commerce with private merchants, many of them European, American, Euro-African, or African, who had established factories of varying sizes in the coastal rivers and who generally cooperated in buying ships' cargos and provisioning slavers. This was considerably more risky because of cultural differences between buyers and sellers, the absence of a parent company to which complaints could be issued if terms of trade were violated, the length of time that such a transaction might take to complete, and the increased likelihood of pilferage or blatant deception. Certainly the Iles de Los factory represented "fort trade." For more on the fort and private trades, see Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 118–138.

162. "With orders" can be interpreted in two ways. One reading could mean that Gamble had given orders that the pinnace would depart quickly, or another reading could mean that Gamble had received orders to remove the *Sandown* from the grasp of privateers as quickly as possible.

163. That Kennedy had accompanied Gamble on board the pinnace and into the rivers likely suggested that Kennedy was more than merely a passenger on the *Sandown*. The sentence in the text also may be read to suggest that Kennedy rather than Gamble was the principal, for Gamble wrote that he "went myself with . . . Kennedy." To be sure, Kennedy's firm was acting as agent for the owners of the vessel and was the firm to which the cargo of slaves had been consigned once it reached Jamaica. Kennedy may have expected to take an active part in drawing a contract of purchase upon the African coast. Certainly he would have known the precise demands of the Jamaican slave market. Perhaps the investors intended him to assure a cargo to his liking. In effect, with Kennedy's approval of contract arrangements, his firm would become fully committed to receive whatever cargo the ship carried when it reached its destination. See also Zachary Macaulay, "Diary of Zachary Macaulay," Henry E. Huntington Library, Manuscript Division, San Marino California (hereafter cited as Macaulay, "Diary"), entry dated 20 August 1793, for a reference to a letter written to Macaulay by Richard Horrocks, Robertson, Joseph Kennedy, and John Tilley, in which the authors requested the Sierra Leone Company to "join" them in their opposition to Renaud. That Gamble had accompanied Horrocks to Bance Island on board the vessel that carried this letter and that his name is conspicuously absent from this letter also may sug-

black boy to try what success might attend us.¹⁶⁴ leaving the Ship well prepar'd for a Vessel of equal force, at 4 in the morning under sail steering to the NNW[.] at 8 AM. it fell calm and the tide against us[,] came to an anchor off[the] High land¹⁶⁵ of Dembia[.] at same time a Ship [*General Ord*] and Sloop¹⁶⁶ in sight to the Westward, did not from her Manner all together like her appearance[.] at 9 Observed a boat rowing from her towards us seeming well man'd. got our arms all clear to give them the first dose. about 10 the boat came within gunshot of us[.] I hail'd what ships boat that was. Where the Officer in a jerring manner ejaculated. What ships boats that, seeming to wonder that I should have the impudence to ask him[.] 37[r] Attempting at the same time to lay us alongside without getting their Arms ready, seeing no body but me. I cock'd my Pistel at him The [crew members] next follow'd my example with their Blunderbusses. luckily they in terror at seeing us so well prepar'd call'd out English, English. not to fire otherwise few could scarce escap'd our fire.¹⁶⁷ The Officer appear'd

gest that Kennedy was the principal in the *Sandown's* voyage. It is interesting that Macaulay's journal for the same date does not contain any reference to this letter.

164. It is likely that the "black boy" in this instance was loaned to Gamble by the resident trader of the island or was from the Rio Nunez, their likely objective. It is probable that Horrocks had an arrangement with a trader or traders in the Rio Nunez who provided cargos of slaves on demand. Perhaps such a trader at the Rio Nunez stationed a "boy" at Factory Island to lead captains into his river and to his factory, or he may have been a hire-pilot or *grumete* belonging to Horrocks. In any case, it would have been advantageous for Gamble to have a person on board his pinnace who could speak one or more languages used on this coast. Most Africans who frequented coastal factories or whom Gamble might meet in canoes or small vessels along this coast could speak some English and/or Portuguese words, but even that circumstance did not guarantee that Gamble or his crew would understand them.

165. Cape Sangara is characterized by a ridge of mountains, some reaching 800 meters, that stretch nearly to its tip. These mountains provide a spectacular horizon for ships sailing along this coast. The Dembia is another name for the Konkouré River. Two rivers empty into Sangara Bay at this point: Konkouré River and Dubréka River. Lieutenant John Matthews visited this coast in the mid-1780s and produced a fold-out map, "Chart of part of the Coast of Africa, from Cape St. Ann to the River Rionoonés," that was reproduced in his *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (London, 1788). That map would have been available to Gamble in 1793. The lower left quartile of that map is reproduced here, Map No. 8, to demonstrate a perspective of the coast as envisioned by a ship master of the time. A modern view of this coast is shown in Map No. 3, "Upper Guinea: Rio Nunez to Sierra Leone."

166. A sloop was generally larger than a longboat but was rigged similarly with a single headsail.

167. In this instance, it did not seem to matter that both ships were English. Privateers, during wartime, occasionally used the war to their own advantage.

to repent of such a rash action, alledging the[y] would be more cautious for the future, but if we were French would not be so well prepared. I wish'd him not to trust to that. He belong'd to the *General Ord*. Captⁿ Duckett of Bristol[,] a Privateer of 14 Guns and 50 Men[.]¹⁶⁸ The Sloop was a Prize she had taken off] Senegall loaded with Bale goods. that they were proceeding down to Serraleone to sell her and Cargo, from thence they were to proceed for Dominica. The breeze springing up got under sail in order to go in to the Rionunez[.] at 6 fell in with the Reef¹⁶⁹ of Riopongas bar[.] stood without it and came too, to wait for the flood tide. in the Night got underway and, run around Cape Vergas The next day run up as far as Capatches¹⁷⁰ Point [37v] During the Night we had very heavy Thunder[,] Lightning[,] and rain, but very little wind, all this day running¹⁷¹ to the NW along the land. at 4 PM spoke the Sch^r *Yamfamara*¹⁷² belonging to Cacanda

Lubbock ("Seamen," 119) noted that privateers generally were willing to capture whatever "came into their nets."

168. Zachary Macaulay ("Journal", 18 June 1793) identified the *General Ord*, Captain Duckett, as a privateer from Bristol and indicated that he had anchored at Freetown. While flying American colors, Duckett had seized a prize at Gorée that belonged to Renaud of Gambia Island in the Sierra Leone River. He later sold his prize and the slaves on board her to John Tilley at Bance Island. This event indeed may have precipitated the active stage of conflict between Tilley and Renaud. By Macaulay's account of 3 July 1793, Duckett was a disreputable rogue.

169. The entrance to the main branch of the Rio Pongo was known for a large reef and for sand bars that stretched well into the Atlantic. At low tide, a ship could easily become caught on one of these bars and become easy prey to privateers or to neighboring Baga peoples who interpreted damaged ships as eligible for plunder. Rather than accept the risk that tides might affect his course and lead him unwillingly onto either the reef or a bar, Gamble ordered the pinnace anchored, waiting for advantageous tides.

170. Kapatchez Point and Kapatchez River were known to be a part of Baga country. This small region of coast was known for salt production, collection of hippopotamus teeth, and production of red rice. The latter was cheaper than white rice, also available locally or brought coastward from the Fuuta Jaloo highlands, and was a favorite of captains of slave vessels because of its lower cost. It also was unhusked rice, which lasted better on board ship than did polished upland rice. For more on this section of coast, see Peter McLachlan, *Travels into the Baga and Soosoo Countries in 1821*, second edition, edited by Bruce L. Mouser and Ramon Sarró (Leipzig: University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, History and Culture Series, No. 2, 1999), 11.

171. An excellent brief introduction to sailing terminology, such as "running," is found in chapter 5, "Types of Rigs of Sailing-Ships," in *Romance of the Merchant Ship* by Hawks, 84–106. When the wind was aft (behind the ship), the sail was slacked off, and the ship was allowed to run.

172. The *Yamfamara* was owned by Dr. Fortune, also known as Fortunatis Servatis, who operated a factory at Kacundy in the upper Rio Nunez. This vessel fre-

bound into the Capatches to buy salt[.]¹⁷³ at Midnight came to an Anchor close to the rocks in 3 fms Sandy bottom in the entrance of Rio Nunez, at 8 in the Morning very heavy rain, got under weigh in order to run up the river[.] at 10 abreast of Sandy Island[.] a fine breeze from the SW^d. pass'd a Schooner belong to Belthasar[.],¹⁷⁴ a German (close in the bushes)[,] he being afraid of being taken by either the English or French[,] some thinking him one Countryman and another of another country.¹⁷⁵

at midnight pass'd an American brig Captⁿ Howard towing up the river; at 3 AM. got up to Little Cacanda[.]¹⁷⁶ found here the *Kate*

quently visited Freetown with products from the interior. According to Macaulay ("Journal," 14 September 1793), Fortune had lived in the region for approximately thirty years and had maintained close ties with John Ormond, Sr., in the Pongo trade. Watt (*Journal of James Watt*, 2 February 1794) described Fortune as "advanced in years" and as the person who maintained cordial relations with the upper river's Landuma ruler.

173. Production of and commerce in sea salt was important to the coastal economy. Sea salt was preferred to the rock salt available in the interior. In this instance, Baga produced salt which they sold to Nunez- and Pongo-based traders in exchange for other goods. Nunez traders sold it to Fula merchants in exchange for rice and slaves and other products available from the interior. For Baga trades, see McLachlin, *Travels*, and Bruce L. Mouser, "Qui étaient les Baga? Perceptions européennes, 1793–1821," in Gerald Gaillard, ed., *Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des Basses-Côtes Guinéennes. Actes du colloque international de l'université de Lille 1, les 1er, 2 et 3 décembre 1997* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2000), 434–459. For placement of physical features and ethnic groups of the Nunez region, see Map No. 4, "Rio Nunez."

174. Daniel Belthasar/Botifeur was once a surgeon attached to John Tilley, principal agent at Bance Island in the Sierra Leone River. Botifeur spoke German, French, Portuguese, English, and at least enough of several African languages to be understood in the rivers' commerces. He was also known as the "French Carpenter." He was European and had taken an African wife; at least two children attended Church Missionary Schools in the Rio Pongo after they were founded in 1808. Botifeur was known at Freetown as a trustworthy merchant who carried cattle and produce in the coasting trade. Macaulay, "Diary," 12 September 1793.

175. That Botifeur might be misidentified is understandable. With language abilities, he would have represented a valuable addition to any agent's company; it would also have been to Botifeur's advantage to encourage such uncertainty. There were already many Luso-Africans, French, and British in the trade, and identifying him as German might open opportunities not available to those belonging to more populous groups.

176. Little Cacanda or Little Kacundy was located on the left bank and approximately halfway to Kacundy in the upper Rio Nunez. Kacundy was the local name for the region and the river. Kacundy was also the site of the principal factories in the river and the known terminus of Fula caravan trade. For placement of towns in the middle and upper Nunez, see Map No. 5, "Upper Rio Nunez."

of *Charlestown*, Captⁿ Connaly[,]¹⁷⁷ and the Brig *Venus of Norfolk*[,]
Captⁿ Merrick[.] at 4 went on shore to M^r Walkers Factory[,]¹⁷⁸ de-
liverd my letters &c.¹⁷⁹ The weather up this river very hot and sultry[,]
especially after the rains over, which is very heavy.

38[r] All this next day refreshing ourselves being very much fatigued
with being wet ever since leaving the Ship and expos'd to the scorch-
ing heat of the sun. Next day made a Barter with M^r James Walker for
280 Slaves to be paid on the 1st December next for the whole of my
cargo which amounts to £5721/7/7/.¹⁸⁰ employ'd getting M^r Walkers

177. This may be a reference to Captain J. Connelly, who had arrived at the Iles de Los on 17 January 1794 and who purchased slaves in the Nunez in May 1794. See Donnan, *Documents*, IV, 494–500. Connelly, from Charleston, returned to the coast in early 1795, visiting both the Iles de Los and the Rio Pongo. For the 1795 visit, see Joseph Hawkins, *A History of a Voyage to the Coast of Africa* (1796/ London: Frank Cass, 1970), 14.

178. James Walker had lived on the river for more than thirty years. He arrived on the coast as surgeon on board a slave ship; he worked for a time with company agents at Bance Island but branched out on his own to the Nunez, where he established a factory in a town that took his name, Walkeria. Walker brought cattle and produce to the Freetown market after it was founded in the late 1780s. He was a principal slave trader in the Nunez and maintained close relationships with local rulers and Fula caravan leaders who visited his factory. This town was often called Kacundy, although that was the region and many towns there were also called Kacundy and Townside. See Map No. 5, "Upper Rio Nunez."

179. That Gamble had recorded his actions in this fashion may suggest that his instruction for trading along this coast was very specific. That he carried a letter or letters may indicate that the *Sandown's* investors had already identified Walker as the trader with whom they chose to conduct trade and that Gamble may only have been following through with an earlier understanding. These "letters" also may have been little more than introductions provided by Horrocks to trustworthy traders located in the Nunez and his subagents within the rivers themselves, or they may have contained details of agreements made between Horrocks and the *Sandown's* investors. As noted in the next paragraph, the arrangement between Gamble and Walker, or between Kennedy and Walker, was achieved very quickly.

180. It was common practice for shippers to make arrangements with resident merchants for forthcoming commodities, whatever their descriptions. Shippers delivered or promised to deliver trade goods that local traders depended upon or used as barter for commodities that shippers desired. This practice required significant trust between both parties. In Gamble's case, this arrangement probably meant that he could land at least a part of his cargo, thus making his vessel and venture less vulnerable to the privateers then plaguing the coast. Walker, as immediate host, accepted some responsibility for his guest and, no doubt, arranged with his own African host for hospitality. African authorities with rights of assigning land use played a role in this process, guaranteeing the debts of strangers with local traders, but not necessarily with shippers. Shippers received some rec-

Sloop ready to go to the Isles de Los for to fetch the Ship up[.]¹⁸¹ at 6 PM went on board of her and got underway and on Sunday 23^d June arrived safe on board the *Sandown*[.] found her with Springs upon her Cables¹⁸² and all hands at quarters[.] a Cutter french Privateer of 8 four Pounders[.] 10 Swivvels[.] 20 Blunderbusses[.] and 45 Men being in the Offing Commanded by Monsieur Rinou.¹⁸³ The day before my ar-

ognition for property advanced or promised through anchorage fees paid to indigenous authorities. In this case, Gamble committed his “whole” cargo to a single trader, suggesting an agreement made beforehand and perhaps an association that had a history of former commerce. In the early 1830s, Theophilus Conneau (*Slaver’s Log Book*, 76) described a similar arrangement in which a ship’s owners had consigned a vessel to him without his prior knowledge. The owners had stipulated the number of slaves to be purchased and set a 10 percent commission for Conneau. In that instance, the owners were treating Conneau as their agent on the coast. That *Sandown’s* agreement stipulated 1 December as the delivery date for the cargo also indicated that Gamble was anticipating arrival in the Caribbean at the peak market season for that region. This would place the *Sandown’s* cargo in Kingston when slaves were in greatest demand and when prices would bring the most profits. Clearly he intended to secure the slave cargo for an average purchase price of about £20 per slave. Macaulay (“Journal,” entry dated 25 August 1793) wrote that the former price for slaves along this coast had been £20 each, but he noted in 1793 that resident traders had tried to reduce the price to £10–12 and that “the natives, exasperated by the sudden downfall in the price, have withheld their slaves entirely and in the Susoo and Mandingo Countries particularly have employed them in the culture of rice.” Joseph Corry (*Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa* [1807/London: Frank Cass, 1968], 54) estimated in 1805 that the price for slaves then was £20, indicating that prices remained fairly consistent at the turn of the century.

181. In this case, Walker’s sending a longboat suggested that Gamble, with his former crew of nine persons and Walker’s men, would proceed to the Isles de Los where the *Sandown* was anchored. To be sure, Gamble would need a good pilot to bring the *Sandown* to Walkeria; perhaps the longboat also carried armed men better to guard the *Sandown* from seizure by a privateer. Apparently Gamble left his pinnace anchored at Walkeria.

182. Springs on cables permitted a quick retrieval of the anchor, in case the vessel was suddenly attacked. For a vessel to be moored during an attack or to be slowed by the process of reeling in a cable would have cost crucial minutes, a significant disadvantage when maneuverability was important.

183. Rinou or Renaud was the French proprietor of Gambia Island, located in the Sierra Leone River. For placement of locations in the Sierra Leone estuary, see Map No. 7, “Freetown Region.” For a time, Renaud and John Tilley, agent for John and Alexander Anderson at Bance Island, had been competitors for the river’s commerce. When it became clear in 1792 that war might break out between England and France, however, Renaud’s operations became increasingly untenable. Renaud attempted to portray himself as an innocent victim of circumstance and to ally himself with the Sierra Leone Company, which was negotiating a neutral position in the upcoming war, but Tilley saw commercial advantage should war begin. When the war began in February 1793, Tilley and Renaud became ene-

rival he came on board the *Sandown* under a pretence of Friendship[,] enquiring for his worthy friend Captⁿ Gamble that he was intimately acquainted with him, drank two glasses of rum and water[,] review'd the Ship[,] and walk'd off]. (NB he was informd by Tom Williams¹⁸⁴ King of Tamara that I was absent) In the Evening he was observ'd coming round that Island from the N^d. The Officers on board[,] being Ignorant of his having a Vessel of such force and not suspecting anything [38v] and seeing his different maneuvers, sent the yawl¹⁸⁵ to see what he was, as soon as she came close too and hail'd she pour'd a Volley of small arms into the boat, fir'd 8 or 10 her great guns at the boat but[,] she being nimble[,] kept allways in his wake so that he could not get a good shot. They pepperd his Poop or Quarter Deck so well that they put them in confusion so much that they let our boat get safe back. not likeing the boats crew, they dare'd not attempt to board, or engage the Ship, but stood into the Offing The boat receiv'd no material damage only two or three Swivel balls thro her, and one thro the Carpenters hatt, a Ball pass'd betwixt M^r Jm^s Cameroon chief Mate and the Carpenter [Marshall Fair] so close without hurting them that it knock'd them both down in the boats stern. at my going on shore found Mess^{rs} Barber and Bolland¹⁸⁶ at M^r Harrocks factory who inform'd

mies. Renaud tried to sell his island to the Company; he was initially unsuccessful in this attempt. He joined with other French traders who seized British vessels when they found them unprepared for war. By June 1793, British traders at the Iles de Los were convinced that Renaud had joined the war as a privateer. For Renaud's "squadron," see William, *Liverpool Privateers*, 346–348.

184. Tom Williams was the son of George Williams. In the 1780s Tom had studied at Liverpool under the auspices of the Liverpool Company. It was common practice for the Company to recruit sons of important traders and headmen for education in Liverpool; such education would enhance Company influence along the coast and guarantee its continued commercial success by producing valuable contacts and alliances. Adam Afzelius, *Adam Afzelius: Sierra Leone Journal*, edited by Alexander Peter Kup (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1967), 100; F. B. Spilsbury, *Account of a Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa* (London: Richard Phillips, 1807), 23–24.

185. In the late eighteenth century, a yawl was defined as a boat smaller than a pinnace, generally with a maximum of six oarsmen.

186. Miles Barber was the agent of the Liverpool Company who arranged the Company's agreement with local landlords in the 1750s. He retired from active trading before 1792, turning over control of the factory to Thomas Hughes and Jackson and Horrock. George Bolland/Bollard and Thomas Powell were agents associated with Hodgson & Company and with Horrock. Bolland was also active in the Banana Islands in association with the Caulker family, who operated trading establishments there. According to John Clarkson ("Diary of Lieutenant Clarkson, R.N.," *Sierra Leone Studies*, old series, 8 [1927]: 93), Miles Barber's son was in

me that there was two French 40 gun Ships and a Brig of 22 Guns spoke off[f] Senegall running down the Coast[,] expected to be gone in to the river Gambia[.] 39[r] finding things in such a precarious situation got the long boat off, and the Vessel unmoored ready to proceed for the Rionunez. paid the Anchorage¹⁸⁷ and at 4 PM got under weigh[,] light winds and variable rainey weather. on Tuesday 2^d July got safe up to Cacanda[,] 96 Miles up the river from the Bars (for the Course[,] Distance[,] Soundings[,] &c see my draft)¹⁸⁸ Obs'd off[f] the mouth of the river in Lattitude 10°15'North.

We have had ever since our first arrival on the Coast, once in the 24 Hours dreadful Thunder, lightning, and rain. attended at times with a heavy Turnado. These commence on the first onset of the rains, they make their appearance very black close to the horizon in the SE quarter, giving warning for near an hour, then it begins to blow with great fury all round the compass, lasting from half an hour to two or three hours[.] at its commencement[,] it is calm for a short space, at the same time the Sky appears aggitated the Sund [*sic*] setting opposite ways. No doubt but the Allmighty worker of wonders has provided these hurricanes for a useful end, in rarifying the air, and keeping it in continual circulation. They begin early in May and continue till the rains are set in, some seasons the middle of July, others sooner.

[39v] The Sun here, as well as in all countrys betwixt the Tropicks[,] his Vertical twice a year[;] upon his return from the Northward his attended with very heavy rains. The higher the Equator the sooner they begin. They set in here in general a month sooner than at Senegall or Gambia[.] in this river about the latter end of June or early in July and continue till the month of November and so great is the deluge that it has been known [to] fall 122 Inches in the course of four months.

October 1792 visiting the coast to collect numerous outstanding debts owed his father. This Barber may have been that person. For more on Barber, see my "Iles de Los"; for more on Jackson, Powell, and others involved in Iles de Los commerce, see Daniel L. Schafer, "Family Ties that Bind: Anglo-African Slave Traders in Africa and Florida, John Fraser and his Descendants," *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 3 (December 1999): 3–4.

187. In the Cape Verde Islands, Gamble paid anchorage fees at the beginning of his visit, essentially using those fees to establish his credentials and objectives at the islands. At the Iles de Los, in contrast, he paid his fees at the end of his stay. Later in the document, Gamble noted that anchorage cost at the Iles de Los was a single fee of fifteen bars of merchandise.

188. No "draft" accompanied the extant document. This term, however, could have referred to his accompanying notes on water soundings. These were given on each page but are not reproduced here.

The first of the rains are deem'd by the Natives to be very sickly. They are very cautious of being wet, if by chance they are caught in a shower if near the salt water[,] they plunge overhead into it, or wait till they get to a spring.¹⁸⁹ for they deem the river water if fresh to be pernicious. These rains no doubt serve to aswage the intence heat of a twice vertical Sun, likewise to allay the pestiferious vapours, that probably might rise especially in a sandy country, which might prove distrustful to the whole Annimal creation, for when in the *Gainsborough* at Settra Crew¹⁹⁰ I found Fahrenheit Thermometer to stand from the 1st December 1789 to the beginning of March 1790 from 98° to 100° & 106° if hanging up in the Cabbin.

40[r] only at intervals when the [H]Armattans blew from the East and ENE then the Natives complain'd of it being very cold. These winds blow sometimes three or four days, are distrustful to every thing especially timber[,] shrinking it up to an amazing degree, which gains its former Magnitude when they cease.¹⁹¹ They begin in December & end in February.

189. Curtin (*Image of Africa*, 71–85) discussed eighteenth-century beliefs about the influence of rain, fogs, dews, and humidity on health. As late as the 1850s, travelers to this coast considered dews or rains to be particularly unhealthy. For that reason, most sought shelter at night, even if that meant sleeping in a local hut. By the 1850s, canvas tents had become regular equipment for visitors. The rainy season, the most humid time on the coast, was the period when “country fever” was most prevalent. Fevers of this sort took a variety of forms, but many of them were malaria. Mangrove sections of this coast were hosts to numerous parasites unknown to Europeans who, if they stayed there very long, inevitably came into contact with them. See John Ulrich Graf, *Journal of a Missionary Tour to the Labaya Country (Guinea/Conakry) in 1850*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser (Leipzig: University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, History and Culture Series, no. 1, 1998), 5, 20, 46, for comments about pernicious effects of dews and rains.

190. Settra Kru was located on the Liberian coast and was best known for ivory and slaves. See George E. Brooks, *Yankee Traders, Old Coasters & African Middlemen* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1970), 315. Gamble's remarks of having been to Old Calabar in 1780 and Settra Kru in 1789 and 1790 suggest that he had visited this coast frequently. In any case, the 1788 Act which regulated the slave trade specified that any ship leaving port to engage in the slave trade required a captain/master who had formerly been master to a slaver or had “served as chief mate or surgeon during the whole of two voyages, or either as chief or other mate, during three voyages.” See Donnan, *Documents*, 586.

191. While this section of coast has some native hardwoods that are useful in boat construction, most woods are soft. During the rainy season when winds blow from the ocean side and when humidity is particularly high, both types of woods absorb moisture, but the softer woods more than the harder ones. In the dry season, during which time the sand-laden Harmattan winds are significant, those woods that absorbed the greater amounts of moisture are considerably more af-

Upon entering the Rionunez it has a pleasant appearance The face of the elevated country appears cloath'd with a Delightful verdure, excepting some low swampy places that are surrounded with thickets of trees and fit only for the resort of wild beasts, but coming further up it has a different aspect: The Banks swampy and Oozey overrun with Mangroves and noxious weeds[,] full of rivulets & Creeks[,] the Slime and filth of which at low water is very disagreeable especialy in the night. This Country appears to be at variance with Mankind. The woods are impennetratable [*sic*] only by wild beasts which are innumerable, what little clear land there is[,] his overrun with Snakes some of an enormous size[.] The ground his cover'd with Buggabugs¹⁹² and Ants of various sizes that are distrustful to every thing they come near, nor is this every fresh, for the air swarms with incredible numbers of wild Bees¹⁹³ and Large flies very troublesome in the day, with Sand Flies and [40v] Musketos in the Night, together with the croaking noise of the Frogs, theres little if any sleep to be got. so that a European richly deserves what he gains here,¹⁹⁴ a small Idea can only be form'd, but by those who have experienced it[.]¹⁹⁵ from the first of our arrival till the middle of July the whole of the Ships crew continued very healthy. when a general complaint made its appearance all about in the course of two nights[,] sixteen where down in a raging Fever.¹⁹⁶

fected or damaged than are the harder woods. Boards burst easily, and once split they remain so until the next dry season, when they likely split again. Nighttime temperatures easily dip into the 10–15 degrees Celsius range. For more on destructive effects of Harmattan winds, see Corry, *Observations*, 102, and Brooks, *Yankee Traders*, 81.

192. Corry (*Observations*, 140–147) identified “bug-a-bugs” as termites.

193. One of the principal exports from this coast was wax that was collected from the honeycombs of the bees. Thomas Campbell (PRO CO2/5, “Expedition of Discovery,” 98) wrote of the vast numbers of bees that confronted his expedition and of the deaths of several animals that occurred as a result of their stings.

194. This was certainly the sentiment expressed by Corry (*Observations*, 116–119) in his conclusions. Corry believed that while abolition of slavery might be laudable, slave trading was a natural condition on the African coast and that enterprising Europeans who traded there were enriching themselves at the same time as they were extending to Africans the benefits of civilization. Great risks were met with great rewards for those who entered the commerce.

195. Gamble’s description of the river’s course and its shoreline was gloomy. Yet Gamble apparently knew both the risks and rewards that came with trade along this coast. That he arrived in June, at the beginning of the rains, was certainly to his disadvantage. But his timing also meant that few other vessels would be there to compete for slave commodities. For Gamble and the *Sandown’s* investors, the promised reward more than equaled the expected risk.

196. This suggestion that Yellow Fever had infected his crew on or around

Made application to Mr Walker for to procure a place fit for a Hospital, which he procur'd[.]¹⁹⁷ got fires in the inside of the house and dried

18 July might indicate that a majority of his crew may not have been exposed during the *Sandown's* earlier visit to the Cape Verde Islands. In any case, the fever was endemic to coastal communities by this date, certainly spread by coasting crafts and by those settlers at Bulama who fled from the contagion then present on that island. In his "Diary," entry dated 8 August 1793, Macaulay remarked that a vessel had arrived at Freetown from Bulama with the "sickness." James Clark (*A Treatise on the Yellow Fever, as it Appeared in the Island of Dominica, in the Years of 1793-4-5-6* [London: Murray and Highley, 1797], 10-15) identified this fever, known as the "Bullam fever" in Grenada and as "Vomito-Nigro" by the Portugese, as having three distinct stages. The first was characterized by fever, flushed face, redness of eyes, chills, and yellowness. The second stage involved nose bleeding, slow pulse, black vomit, delirium, muttering and moaning, stomach cramps, hiccup, and prickly heat. The third, which he also called the "putrescent stage," included massive quantities of black vomit that looked like coffee grounds, violent hiccup, scarlet spots on skin, black tar-like stool, followed by death. These stages lasted, from first to last, as little as seventy-two hours. For treatment, Clark reported (24-30) that some physicians recommended removal of "a pound, or in some two pounds of blood" in the early stages, but that had generally failed to stop the disease's progress, and he suggested that Europeans never be bled for this fever. He did recommend, however, that patients be given a purgative of jalap with calomel, mint or basil tea, Creme of tartar, warm drinks, and opium to calm the stomach. He also suggested blistering over the stomach. Benjamin Rush (*An Account of the Bilious remitting Yellow Fever, as it Appeared in the City of Philadelphia in the Year 1793* [Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1794], 244-258) reviewed all known remedies of that time and suggested that the most effective treatment included application of laxatives every two hours, restricted diets, blood letting, and blistering. Blistering (291) might be "applied with great advantage to every part of the body. They did most service when they were applied to the crown of the head." Rush also believed that vomiting often stopped when a blister was applied to the stomach (293). Roger N. Buckley ("The Destruction of the British Army in the West Indies 1793-1815: A Medical History," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 59 [1978]: 88) wrote that the typical treatment of Yellow Fever included "bleeding of twenty to thirty ounces; repeated doses of tartar emetics to induce vomiting; purgation of calomel and salts; and frequent doses of antimonial powder, followed by blistering and further bleedings." These treatments, he concluded, generally hastened death. Even as late as 1906, the Navy still considered Yellow Fever a major disease that continued to plague its fleet. Leach (*The Ship Captain's Medical Guide*, 92-93) advised that the disease generally followed a 2-10-day period of incubation, began with chills and flushes of heat, then continued with high fever of 101-105°, headache, back pain, nausea, and tenderness in the pit of the stomach. Two days later, vomiting commenced, along with pains in the stomach and constipation. On days three and four, the skin turned yellow and the stool became black with blood. This period might be followed by a brief improvement, but this was generally followed by renewed black vomit, violent pains in the legs and arms, delirium, and eventually death.

197. As a doctor and obliging host, Walker could be expected to provide such services. Walker combined knowledge of European medicine with experience in

it well, sent on shore all the Sick that were fit to remove, or did not refuse to go. at the same time M^r Walkers Grometas employ'd clearing the Roads and bushes about the place in order to give them fresh air, or at least more air, nor is it to be wonderd at, that sickness prevails.¹⁹⁸ How is it possible that Men who have breath'd in so pure and healthy a climate has our own, can bear the inclemency of such a tainted atmosphere; which unavoidably must be the consequence, from such heavy deluges.

41[r] Monday 20th July Very rainey Dirty disagreeable weather Ships crew very sickly. on shore rather better but those on board worse. M^r Ja^s M^cKie [Mackey] insensible What whites are well employ'd looking after the sick.

Tuesday 30th Still continues very Disagreeable weather. 18 in the Doctors list[.],¹⁹⁹ some very dangerously ill & delirious. Got off[f] 4 Natives from the Shore.²⁰⁰ employ'd them in scraping and washing betwixt decks, got fires fore and aft and smoak'd the Vessel with Tobacco[.] at 11 PM Departed this life M^r James M^cKie 2^d Mate

traditional river practice. His long tenure at Kacundy would have meant that he was aware of local medicines that had been tested and known for many years.

198. Removing undergrowth from around the hospital made it possible for better air circulation, then believed to be important for good health. One of the first French settlements in the Nunez, founded in the late 1830s, would be known as Bel-Air, a clear reference to the notion that Europeans sought locations where good air circulation would bring healthy conditions. Several important attributes given for the Iles de Los were their location off the coast, absence of mangroves/swamps/mosquitoes, and prevalence of winds that guaranteed "good air." J. A. Nixon ("Health and Sickness," in *The Trade Winds*, edited by Parkinson, 121) noted that mosquitoes were not identified as the carrier of Yellow Fever until 1901.

199. The doctor's list named the crewmen unable to work or in the hospital.

200. It was common practice for resident traders to have a number of *grumetes* in their employ. These were either slaves or free persons. Some would act as pilots, guiding ships to their factories. Others had skills as carpenters, coopers, or other craftsmen. Generally payments for these services were made to factory managers, with an additional payment given to the worker when the task was finished. Gamble's circumstances were desperate if he needed to employ outside help at this point; too many of his crew were ill for him to maintain his vessel and prepare it for cargo and the Middle Passage. Perhaps shippers needed local skills, however, for these preparations; that is not clear from this document. Some of these same services could also have been supplied by European seamen who found themselves abandoned on the coast, perhaps as a result of a voyage that had failed, onboard insurrection which had disabled a vessel, or a "juried" local decision that had identified a vessel as no longer seaworthy. In any case, such skills were readily securable at many factories. For more on the availability of these skills, see Mouser, "Iles de Los."

Wednesday 3rd Hot sultry rainy weather as before[.] at 7 AM went on shore and interr'd M^r J^s M^cKie. came on board at 8 and took an acc^t of his Cloaths and nail'd the Chest up.²⁰¹ 17 in the Doctors list. Deliver'd M^r Kennedy's sea stores[.] hes going of[f] in an American.²⁰²

Thursday 1st Aug^t D^o Weather[.] 17 in the Doctors list out of 21 our Number. Sail'd from here the Brig *Kate*[,] bound for Charl[e]ston[,] South Carolina.²⁰³ Receiv'd on board two Yawl Boys from M^r Lawrence²⁰⁴

[41v] Friday 2^d Aug^t 1793 During the whole of this day and night very disagreeable rainy weather. Ships Company in a bad condition[,] 17 in the Doctors list Those that are not delirious, are has peevish and Childish has if in their first state of Infancy. Got four of the Natives to come on board. employ'd them in smoaking and airing the Ship between decks.

Saturday 3 D^o Weather no better[.] another taken very ill[.] 18 in the Doctors list. Employ'd procuring fresh Provisions for the Sick[,] which his very scarce to be got. Grometas employ'd smoaking the Ship with Tobacco, &c.

Sunday 4th Weather no better[.] some of the People dangerously Ill. Ar-

201. It was more common practice that a deceased seaman's property was auctioned soon after his death. Likely potential buyers would have been other crew members. Perhaps, in this instance, the fact that so many of his crew were then in the hospital led Gamble to postpone this chore.

202. By this date, Joseph Kennedy perhaps had conducted all of the business required of him on this coast. As noted earlier, his role in contracting for a specific cargo of slaves is not clearly stated in this log, although it is likely either that he was the principal negotiator or that his accord was a necessary ingredient in the arrangement. The "sea stores" identified here may have been those marked with the letter K and loaded in London.

203. Clark (*Treatise on the Yellow Fever*, 52) noted that Charleston was most troubled with Yellow Fever in the Autumn of 1794.

204. David J. Lawrence, described elsewhere as the son of Lawrence of Deal, was a Euro-African who operated a factory near Walkeria. The Lawrences maintained their principal factories in the Cacine River, north of the Rio Nunez. David Lawrence was an agent of this important lineage of coastal traders; in the Nunez he worked closely with Walker and Fortune. He owned at least one coasting vessel that he used to carry merchandise to the Freetown market. He was also active in the Rio Kapatchez (salt) and Rio Pongo trades. That Gamble was able to secure *grumetes* from Lawrence as well as Walker further suggests a close working relationship between Lawrence and Walker in 1793. It is likely that Gamble's arrangement with Walker would have required, or prudence would have dictated, that Gamble first apply to Walker for additional help. It was common practice, however, that locally based traders would cooperate in providing such services and in provisioning cargos of slaves or other goods in demand if the contracting party did not have such persons or cargo available.

rived here the *Lapwing* Cutter[,] Captⁿ Robinson[,] belonging to the Sarraleone Company.²⁰⁵ The Doctor Blister'd Tho^s Roufleys Back and Legs.²⁰⁶

42[r] Monday 5th Aug^r 1793 Throughout this 24 Hours very Disagreeable rainy weather Ships crew very sickly. at 3 AM departed this life Thomas Roufley[,] Aged 18[,] and at 3 PM Departed this life Humphry Sullivan Seamⁿ. Aged 23 years. Interr'd them and receiv'd Information that I must pay the King a duty of 15 Barrs a[nd] $\frac{3}{4}$ for every Whiteman that died in the River.²⁰⁷ Charles McLean dangerously ill. The Cutter [*Lapwing*] bro[ugh]t. intelligence that Captⁿ Hall[,] Master and Owner of an American Vessel lying here[,] was dead at Sierra Leone and that Captⁿ Carey of the *Modesty* was drown'd at the Gallinas bar attempting to go into that river.

Tuesday 6th Aug^r Very Sultry close rainy weather Ships Company Sickly. am afraid the Decks being leaky[,] that some of the Cargo will be

205. Sierra Leone did not depend solely on resident traders in the Rio Nunez to bring merchandise to Freetown. It was common for the Sierra Leone Company to send its schooners northward in search of ivory, gold, hides, cattle, rice, and other goods. Most goods, however, were purchased directly from resident traders; the Company did not establish its own factory in these rivers until 1794, at Freeport in the Rio Pongo. Until that time, it purchased goods from Walker and Lawrence in the Nunez and from many other European, Euro-African, and African traders. No direct contact was maintained with long-distance caravan trade except at Freetown, where occasional caravans ended. For Freeport, see Bruce L. Mouser, "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808," *Journal of African History* 14, no. 1 (1973): 45–64.

206. Blistering, then a common medical procedure, could by 1793 be accomplished using several methods. A blister-plaster could be prepared with a salve and either acetic acid or cantharide, a powdered product extracted from the blister beetle/fly, also called *Cantharis vesicatoria* or Spanish fly. Either of these substances would irritate skin sufficiently to cause a blister to erupt. Into that blister, it was believed, would flow serum that contained the malevolent humors causing the illness. A second method was to apply a blister by using a heated rod or plate. Either of these could have been used; it was common, however, for an apothecary and a ship's surgeon to carry cantharide. Blistering was generally considered a desperate measure, the last resort before a person died. For more on blistering, see *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), II, various entries page 846; Lester S. King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 87ff.

207. There were fees of all types in the rivers' commerce. Ship captains could be expected to pay anchorage and waterage fees, death duties, and perhaps sales duties. In exchange for these charges, captains received legitimacy within a defined region and protection from seizure or from losses through trickery. Hosts, in this case the ruler of the Kacundy region, would also guarantee debts generated by his people.

damag'd and no person on board able to assist me in examining.²⁰⁸ No fresh Stock to be got for the sick.²⁰⁹

[42v] Wednesday 7th Aug^t 1793 During this 24 Hours a Continual heavy rain Ships Crew still continues very Sickly. Departed this life Charles McLean[,] Aged 25 Years Kill'd a Sheep.

Thursday 8th Very disagreeable rainy weather Ship Company no better Arrived here the Brig *Venus*[,] Captⁿ Merrick[,] from the Scarcies[,] who brot intelligence of a French Cruizer being off[] the rivers mouth.

Friday 9th During the whole of this 24 Hours a continual deluge of rain. Ships company very Sickly All hands sick but me and the Doctor[,] and he complains very much. got some of the Natives on board and employ'd them in Cleaning[,] making fires[,] and smoaking the Ship between Decks fore and aft with Tobacco and sprinkling where the sick were with Vinegar.²¹⁰

All hands in a very bad situation

208. During the loading process in England, Gamble noted that his cargo came on board inside kegs, casks, baskets, and other containers. If these vessels were water tight, perhaps they would have been protected from rains, leakage, or the humidity that came with the rainy season. By this time, with known leaks in the hold, Gamble had become concerned that his cargo might be in danger of damage. He was also aware that his crew was incapacitated and that he would need to check his cargo nevertheless. This meant that he would need to obtain workers from shore. To be sure, pilferage was something that needed to be considered under these conditions.

209. Stock was a term that generally referred to cattle, although it also might have included sheep, goats, and pigs. By August, the rainy season was already in full force, and paths into the interior would have become waterlogged and streams would have been running strong. In 1816, Captain Campbell (CO 2/5, "Expedition of Discovery," 294) noted that cattle native to Kacundy in the Nunez were small in size and generally not in good supply. At that time, stock available for sale at Nunez factories generally came from the interior. Gamble was seeking stock at precisely the time when stock would have been in the shortest supply and prices highest, before paths with the interior had reopened.

210. It was commonly believed that Yellow Fever, or Yellow Jack or Island Fever as it was also called, was caused by "sickening ethers" given off by tropical land as it cooled during the night. In order to remove these vapors which settled in the hold of a ship, it was recommended that bilge water be pumped out of the hold at the same time that fresh seawater was pumped into it using the wash-deck pump as a way to flush it clean. Each interior surface of the vessel would then be scoured with vinegar and the boat fumigated with tobacco smoke. McGrew (*Encyclopedia of Medical History*, 358) wrote that vinegar and camphor, especially when sprinkled on cloths that one placed over one's nose, were used to protect against infection. Denis and Charlotte Plimmer (*The Damn'd Master*, 18) noted that slaving ships were often fumigated with vinegar to remove "stench," and that it was not uncommon to wash down areas of ships with vinegar at least two or three times a week while at sea to reduce sickness (41).

43[r] Saturday 10th Aug^t. 1793 Dirty rainy weather. some of the People better[.] Carpenter [Marshall Fair] & Cooper [James Ronald] very poorly[,], which the Doctor has Blister'd. No Stock to be got for the Sick.

Sunday 11th During the whole of these 24 Hours immoderate rains with very disagreeable fogs. Ships crew rather better No fresh stock to be got.

Monday 12th The rain a little abated & blows fresh at times Ships crew very bad. 14 in the Doctors list[.] got the Grometas into the Hold and found N^o4 A Puncheon of Shawls &c wet on the outside Breach'd it and put the goods into the Cabin[,], none damag'd. but soon would from the dampness of the Cask in the inside

Tuesday 13th D^o W^r. Crew no better. Pass'd the young *Crescent of Bristol*[,], bound up to Portsmouth from Sierraleone and a Pinnacle from the Riopongas bound up to Ninermindit²¹¹ The former had spoke a pinnacle loaden with provisions bound to Sierraleone.²¹²

[43v] Saturday [*sic*] 14th Wednesday Moderate sea breezes with very little rain[.] Ships Company very ill[.] 14 in the Doctors list Examin'd the Ship chest²¹³ and found 3 p^t Shoes damag'd by the Mice. am oblig'd to kill a fine breeding Sow²¹⁴ for the sick[,], no stock to be got.

Thursday 15th First part of this 24 Hours fine pleasant weather[.] latter part very heavy rain attended with Thunder & Lightning. Ships crew very sickly The Carpenter [Marshall Fair] the Doctor Blister'd on his shoulder[,], being much afraid of him loosing the use of his left arm.²¹⁵ Grometas employ'd cutting firewood.

Friday 16th For the most part of these 24 Hours fair weather[.] had a smart Turnado in the night which blew fresh with Thunder[,], Lightning[,], & rain Ships Company same as yesterday. Employ'd with the Whites²¹⁶

211. Ninermindit is unidentified.

212. In this instance, the term "provisions" likely referred to rice and "stock," cattle that went to Freetown for consumption by the settlers.

213. The ship's "chest" generally referred to an onboard "general store" operated by the purser and to which crew members could apply when in need of personal items.

214. This was not listed as part of the cargo loaded in England. If it was cargo, however, slaughtering it for consumption would have represented a significant loss, for such an animal would have brought a good price at Freetown.

215. King (*Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, 87) noted that blisters were "intended to draw fluids away from an inflamed area," in this case his arm.

216. The *Sandown* and *Gamble* were clearly in distress by this date. With his crew ill and absent from the vessel, *Gamble* obtained relief from the crew of the *Venus*, which was then anchored at Kacundy. It is certain that *Gamble* and his crew

out of the *Venus* and Grometas Delivering 10 Slaves goods into M^r Walkers sloop to go to the Riopongas. Carpenter still very low.

44[r] Saturday 17th Aug^r 1793 During these 24 Hours unsettled weather with Turnados[,] Thunder[,] lightning[,] and very heavy rain. Ships Company no better[,] all hands sick but me and another. finish'd delivering the 10 Slaves goods into the Sloop, not a white person to assist me in any thing; or Stock to be got.

Sunday 18th D^o Weather, Ships Company no better. Arrived here A Schooner from the Bonanas[.]²¹⁷ receiv'd a letter from M^r Kennedy intimating the Great distress Captⁿ Conolly was in & Messieur Rinou's intentions of taking the Vessel Sail'd the *Lapwing* Cutter for Serraleone and M^r Walkers Sloop for the Riopongas.²¹⁸

Monday 19th D^o Weather, Ships Company rather better. Employ'd clearing the Hold and sending all the empty powder Kegs²¹⁹ on Shore No fresh Stock to be got for the Sick.²²⁰

were not prepared to receive a cargo of slaves for a voyage across the Atlantic. In consequence, and perhaps in exchange for assistance given to him, he helped Walker to load a group of ten slaves aboard Walker's sloop for the Rio Pongo, where, apparently, a shipper was waiting for a cargo of slaves. A sloop was a boat larger than a longboat or cutter, generally having a single mast for sails.

217. The Banana Islands were located south of the Sierra Leone peninsula, where Freetown was located. The Caulkers, themselves Euro-Africans who had become landlords in their own right, were the recognized rulers of the islands and their principal traders. The Caulkers operated in close association with traders on Bance Island and the Iles de Los. Britons George Bolland and Thomas Powell were also associated with the Caulkers. It was common for all traders, from the Cacine River southward to the Sherbro River, to cooperate in provisioning slavers who sought cargos, especially during the rainy season when shippers were reluctant to remain for an extended period and risk diseases and fevers. In 1796, Powell lived on Crawford's Island, Iles de Los, along with Balthazar, Mrs. Hansel, and Mr. Mout, all slave traders. See Afzelius, *Sierra Leone Journal*, 115.

218. Macaulay ("Diary," 20 August 1793) noted that he had received a letter from Richard Horrocks, Robertson, Joseph Kennedy, and John Tilley in which they asked the Sierra Leone Company to join them against Renaud. On 21 August, Macaulay wrote that Renaud continued to profess neutrality toward the Company and its settlement.

219. Kegs and other vessels used to bring merchandise to the coast would generally be re-coopered or reconditioned for the outward voyage. In the case of slavers, kegs needed to be watertight. A large number of slaves would consume vast quantities of water during the Middle Passage; the last thing that a captain could want would be to discover, mid-course, that water had leaked out of his containers and that he could lose his investment before he reached his destination.

220. Repeated references to lack of stock suggest that trade with the interior either was sparse or did not involve stock. August, however, was the low point in the trading season. Regular commerce between the coast and interior began in October and continued into May/June, or until the rains began. Political unrest within

[44v] Tuesday 20th 1793 Very rainy unhealthy weather, Ships Company rather better. but their squal'd immassiated appearance, points up to me, a faint Idea of the resurrection of the Dead. This day the wild Bees took possession of the after part of the Ship. Got large fires, and Smoak'd them away with Tobacco.²²¹ They are so numerous here that they often drive every person out of the towns, killing Goats[,], fowls[,], and every Domestic Animal²²² that comes in their way. Their Vengeance sometime continues three or four days. They are often innitiated [*sic*] by some mallicious persons throwing Limes into their nests, which push They have a particular aversion too, in fact so great that they often destroy one another. Two Grometas on board employ'd at sundry necessarys.

45[r] Wednesday 21st Aug^t 1793 Dirty rainy weather blowing fresh at times. Ships crew worse, some that was getting Well again taken with a relapse. All our Per[uvia]ⁿ Bark [quinine] near expended.²²³ Two Grometas at work M^r Walkers Sloop[,], return'd having lost an Anchor and sprung a leak. No fresh Provisions to be had.

Thursday 22^d D^o Weather. Ships Crew no better. I find my self very Feverish[,], Squamish[,], and sick to day[,], this being the third attack since I came into the river. Two Grometas at work[.] 13 in the Doctors list rest poorly. No Stock.

Friday 22^d [*sic*] Aug^t 1793 Very rainy blowing dark cloudy weather[.] Ships Company no better but rather worse M^r Walkers Brig²²⁴ *Venus* alongside taking in 120 Slaves goods. have had this day a very smart Ague fit. attended with a hot fever, and violent Wreaching.²²⁵

the Fula Empire, accompanying a change of leadership and warfare, also affected commerce. Other references suggest that the new ruler halted commerce to the Nunez as a way to keep potential warriors from leaving their regiments, an action that would weaken his attempts to demonstrate strength to militant neighbors.

221. Apparently tobacco smoke was commonly used to encourage bees to leave an area. In 1816, Campbell (CO 2/5, "Expedition of Discovery," 142) wrote that he had used tobacco fumes to force bees from a horse's nostrils.

222. Campbell (CO 2/5, "Expedition of Discovery," 142) noted in 1816 that a swarm of bees had attacked his expedition and that several bullocks had died from bee stings. He also wrote that he had shot a horse so damaged by stings that it was in physical distress.

223. Peruvian bark was considered at that time to be a significant medicine for treatment of fevers. In a mixture with water or alcohol, bark did produce a quinine that would be effective in treating malaria, but it served little purpose respecting Yellow Fever.

224. A brig was a vessel that carried two masts, with a fore-and-aft sail on its front mast. Brig is a shortened version of the word "brigantine." It was approximately the same size as a schooner.

225. Ague was a fever characterized by alternating cold and hot sweating; it

[45v] Remarks on board the Ship *Sandown* at Cacandia.

From the 23^d of Aug^r to this 4th September the Anniversary of my Birth day, am necessiated to conclude my remarks very short, having been confin'd by a severe shake of the Fever and Ague, which [h]as reduc'd me very much.

Ships crew not a bit better, some of them so immassiated and reduced, that their nighest and most dearest friends would scarcely know them, even the very tone of the Voice is quite alter'd. They are become quite Peevish, fraxious, ill natur'd and Childish, amongst one another am at a loss what to do with them The Medicines are near expended and no fresh Provisions to be got. four of the Whites a little further up the river dead this last week.

The Brig *Venus*, under American Couolors, gone down to Cape Mount for 120 Slaves for us.²²⁶ M^r Walker employ'd with his Gro-metas takeing the remainder of the Cargo out²²⁷ The weather not so very wet The land winds set in in the mornings and the heat of the weather indicates the rains taking off.

46[r] Thursday 5th Sept^r 1793 The weather rather more settled but very sultry, with regular land breezes. Ships crew no better, all down but the Doctor, and me who am very weak.

Employ'd with the Natives delivering the Cargo on Shore into M^r Walkers Store.

Friday 6th D^o Weather Ships Company much the same[.] am very much

was also characterized by violent shaking and shivering. Macaulay ("Journal," 29 August 1793) and the Sierra Leone Company (*Substance of the Report . . . 27th March 1794* [London: James Phillips, 1794], 38–39) indicated that 1793 was the second most unhealthy rainy season on record; the worst had been 1787. McGrew (*Encyclopedia of Medical History*, 167) wrote that "malaria" was not a term used before the 1830s. Before that time, most described such fevers as "ague."

226. Since England and France were then at war, resident traders occasionally resorted to the practice of carrying flags of neutral countries and using them when it was to their advantage. By claiming American identity, Walker could better protect himself from either British or French privateers, or at least from men-of-war that he might meet. In this instance, also, Gamble indicated that apparently Walker was unable to provision his vessel with slaves from the Nunez market. War in the Fuuta Jalloo had certainly generated slaves; but low prices paid for slaves on the coast had alienated that trade, and the Fula ruler had declared an embargo on slave trading/selling at Nunez factories until prices improved. Walker's commercial contacts stretched far to the south; Cape Mount is more than 200 miles south of the Rio Nunez. This reference also attests to the vibrant coastal trading that occurred among resident traders along this coast.

227. Gamble was preparing his vessel for a voyage and for consummating his contract with Walker. Gamble's merchandise, promised to Walker, was now being unloaded from the *Sandown* in anticipation of receiving a cargo of slaves that would take its place.

plagued with the Bees on board who have begun to build in the Ships Stern. great numbers of Monkeys come down this day to the waters edge. delivering our Cargo on Shore into the Store.

Saturday 7th Sept^r The weather still continues tollerable dry with fresh breezes. but the Atmospheres so tainted and bad, that a Hog being Kill'd at 7 AM at 2 PM was oblig'd to heave half of it overboard[.] even Salt provisions will not bear to be steeped more than 8 or 9 hours and will not keep more than 36 hours when boild. Ships Company no better. all the Cargo landed, but 12 H[ogshea]d^s²²⁸ Tobacco & 5 Hd^s Porter.²²⁹ [46v] Sunday 8th September 1793 All this 24 Hours very unsettled[.] dark Cloudy weather. Ships Company all very sickly and weak. M^r Walker kill'd a young Heifer and sent $\frac{1}{4}$ of s^d on board for the Sick.

Monday 9th During the whole of this 24 Hours very rainy disagreeable weather[.] have very great reason to suspect that some of the People especially the Irish, shams Abraham.²³⁰

at 8 PM the *Venus* Brig return'd They having had her upon the Rocks at the Barr. from their Pumping she appears to be Bilg'd²³¹ Employ'd with the Grometas clearing the hold²³²

Tuesday 10th First part of these 24 Hours rainy weather middle & latter part fair. at 8 AM the *Venus* hauld alongside in order to discharge her Cargo.²³³ she having thro neglect of her Crew parted her Cable in the night & drove near six miles and was on shore before they perceiv'd she was adrift. Ships crew much the same Carpenter very bad. 13 Grometas on board getter her Cargo out.

228. A hogshead was a large cask, generally used to carry liquids; it held approximately 60 gallons.

229. Porter refers to a heavy and dark brown malt beer.

230. "Sham Abraham" is a naval expression used to identify a malingerer or one who attempts unjustifiably to be entered upon the Doctor's list of persons unfit for labor. Another meaning is "to feign madness."

231. The bilge of a vessel is the bottom of its hull. A vessel's bottom is "bilged" when a fracture has occurred and a leak is evident.

232. Nixon ("Health and Sickness," 121–122) described health problems that often occurred in the hold of the ship. Leakage often resulted in bilge water standing for long periods, and the ship privy, if located in the hold, contributed significantly to unhealthy conditions for crew and cargo. In this case, Gamble had sent nearly all of his crew ashore for treatment.

233. In order to fully investigate damage that may have occurred to the *Venus*, it would have been necessary to remove its cargo and heavy equipment, strike its masts to maintops and gantlines, and pull the vessel onto the beach so that it could be careened (laid on its side). This would permit workers to survey damage, replace timbers that had been broken or affected by "teredo worms," and inspect for rot in the vessel's keel or below-water beams.

47[r] Wednesday 11th Sept^r 1793 During the greatest part of this 24 Hours rainy weather attended with smart Turnadoes. Ships crew just in the same state. Brig *Venus* discharging her Cargo on board of us.

Thursday 12th Sept^r Very disagreeable rainy weather, with a smart Turnado. *Venus* finish'd discharging her Cargo on board her, none of the goods damag'd only one Puncheon of Rum leak'd out Ships Crew[,] no fevers amongst them, have learn'd such an Idle, Indolent, habit: peculiar to this Country that its nearly impossible to make them keep themselves clean.

Friday 13th First part of the day fine fair weather. Middle & latter part a Smart Turnado with a great deal of heavy rain[.] at 1 PM the Brig *Venus* was hauld on Shore abreast of us in order to examine her bottom. Went up the River to try if I could hire a Carpenter to Build our Barricado²³⁴ &c our own dangerously ill Ships crew neither better or worse.

[47v] Saturday 14th Sept^r 1793 The weather unsettled and Showry blowing fresh at times. They fir'd²³⁵ the Brigs bottom[;] very little damag'd went on Shore and pick'd a quantity of Cucumbers fit for Pickling[.] saw Waggon load of large ones turn'd yellow and fit only for seed Turnips, Carrots, Raddishes, french beans, Sharlotts, & Lettices, growd tollerable well here during the rains Carp[ente]^r still very bad, Ships Company the same, had 4 Grometas on board cleaning the Ship.

234. A "barricado" was a strong wooden rail extending across the foremost part of the quarter deck, built to provide a barrier between crew and slaves when slaves were allowed on deck for exercise. Slaves often cooked their own food and provided their own water for cleaning their living space below deck. The barricado, also called a "slave bulwark," allowed for some freedom of movement for the slaves and protection for the crew, and remained in place most of the Middle Passage. On 8ov, Gamble mentioned that there was an upper part of the barricado. This may indicate a double shield between the crew and cargo. See Alexander Falconbridge, *Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London: J. Phillips, 1788), 6, for: "Near the mainmast a partition is constructed of inch deal boards which reaches athwart the ship. This division is called a *barricado*. It is about eight feet in height and is made to project about two feet over the sides of the ship. In this barricado there is a door at which a sentinel is placed during the time the negroes are permitted to come upon deck. It serves also to keep the different sexes apart; and as there are small holes in it, where blunderbusses are fixed and sometimes a cannon, it is very convenient for quelling insurrections that now and then happen." MacInnes, ("Slave Trade" 264) described it as a "barricade" and quoted Crow as characterizing it as "a regular thatched house on the deck, for the accommodation and comfort of the slaves." Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 72) described this structure as an onboard "barracoon," noting that it was not uncommon for a railing or additional netting to be added as a way to deter suicides or escape attempts.

235. In order to investigate hull damage, it was necessary to remove barnacles and other residue; this was accomplished by burning and scraping the bottom.

Sunday 15th The weather still continues very unsettled[;] but in general the Rains, and Turnados, begin either at High, or low water, which indicates that the bad weather will not last long.

Ships company begin to be bad with the flux,²³⁶ those that are not in the least affected, are so Lazey that the Doctor cannot persuade them to walk about for a little exercise, when they are on Shore. Receiv'd on board 1 Boy 4 feet 4½. (Adam.)²³⁷

48[r] Palms, Plantain & Poppa Trees; taken from Life.²³⁸

The Palm tree takes a long time to grow to its maturity. Then it bears always Bunches of Nuts of and a flour from which the Natives extract their Palm oil This tree produces an agreeable tablewine us'd very much by the blacks. Their method of extracting it is by boring a hole in the crown of the tree where the Nuts grow & fixing a Vessel to catch the Liquor as it flows out, perhaps a Gallon during the Night, which will not keep longer than two or three days before it turns sour. When once these trees are tap'd they never produce any more Nuts. The Natives are very fond of having these trees planted round about their Towns and in their Lugar's²³⁹ They resemble the CocoNut tree very much[.] the body of the tree is of a soft Spungy nature, and very durable under water, so that it is often us'd for wharfs and supporters and

236. The appearance of “the flux” was indeed a serious turn for Gamble’s crew. The flux was generally characterized by a bloody discharge of liquid from the rectum. This condition resulted in severe dehydration and weakness for the sufferer. Unless this dysentery condition was stopped quickly, a person would soon die. Unfortunately, those with the flux needed vast amounts of water or liquids to keep their systems operating, sources of good water were scarce, and disease properties were poorly understood at the time. Brandy mixed in water provided some protection, but this was the rainy season, when water supplies often were polluted. For more on health conditions on board slavers, see Rawley, *Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 290–304.

237. Slaves generally were numbered when they came on board and so registered in the manifest. Occasionally shippers arrived on the coast with particular orders in hand—so many boys, so many girls, and so forth. In this case, Gamble named his first delivery after the first man, according to the Book of Genesis. No additional slaves would be listed on board until 15 October. Adam, therefore, may have been taken on board to help maintain the vessel. That Gamble noted here Adam’s height is instructive. Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73, “Shipping and Carrying Slaves,” stipulated that special space be provided for slave cargo that exceeded 4'4". Captains or investors were also levied a special duty of £10 for each slave over the age of 24 years. For the latter, see MacInnes, “Slave Trade,” 263.

238. See Photo No. 3, “Palms, Plantain & Poppa Trees; taken from Life,” “Sandown” manuscript, page 48r. Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.

239. The term “lugar” was used locally to refer to plantations or farms.



Palms, Plantain & Poppa Trees; taken from Life.

of great use in this Country for the worms will not come near it. Neither does it cut easily for it gives way to any thing it is attempted to be cut with and leaves of which are often used for thatching their houses and fensing round their Trapados.²⁴⁰ This tree for desert in the Head of it, offers a Mountain Cabbage of Pickled [one undeciphered word]

240. A trapado was the local word for a compound of houses, fenced with living trees. See Afzelius, *Sierra Leone Journal*, note I IV (1), 82.

[48v] brought home from the West Indies. which when boil'd his an excellent Substitute for the heart of a white Cabbage.

The Poppa tree bears fruit at the Age of a Sixteen or Eighteen months, Provided a Male, and Female, are planted within five or six feet asunder; their methods of distinguishing their difference of sex I am at a loss to find out but certain it is a tree that has born fruit before will not produce any if the Male is destroy'd unless it is replac'd. This tree never grows very large. or get lofty. Their shape in general resembles the likeness on the otherside. The Fruit when ripe are luscious to a degree, the outside green, inside yellow & the Seeds black[.] when the fruit are green they are an excellent Substitute for either Turnips, or Parsnips, or even pickling. The wood is soft and useless[.] having no solid substance not even when dried. please to observe that the tree that bears fruit so soon, are not rais'd from the seed, but a successor from a tree.

The Plantain trees produce fruit every year for when they have produced what they are likely to have[.] the Natives cut down the tree about a foot from the ground the Body or Stem of which is so soft when near 10 Inches thro as to be cut down by a single stroke of a Cutlass. The fruit in general according to the land are either large or small They like a low shelterd place from the produce of which I have seen[.] a bunch of Plantains weigh betwixt 40 & 50 pounds. when green & Boild, or Roasted[.] they are an excellent estringent & agreeable Vegetable, when ripe they have a different effect, agreeable and pallitable. but very soon decays (the old root brings a fresh tree every year.) The leaves of which are excellent when applied to a blister taken off[.]²⁴¹

49[r] Monday 16th Sept^r 1793 First part of this 24 Hours fine weather[;] middle & latter part dreadful Thunder[.] Lightning[.] and very heavy rain[.] at 4 PM the Brig *Venus* came alongside in order to take in her Cargo again.²⁴² Ships Company weak[.] three very bad with the flux. Tuesday 17th Very unsettled weather. Turnadoes, Thunder, Lightning with Prodigious heavy rains. which I expect will continue till the Sun [h]as cross'd the Equator. The *Venus* alongside taking in his Cargo. Ships Crew much the same as before[.] 12 in the Doctors

241. It is understandable that Gamble, already three months on the coast with crew ill most of that time, would have become acquainted with traditional native medicine and practices. This is the first reference, however, to a local remedy.

242. It had apparently taken only three days to survey damage to the *Venus* and to make proper repairs. The ship was now ready to retrieve its cargo, placed on board the *Sandown* before the *Venus* was careened on shore.

I omitted in the acc^t of the Plantain tree to mention that all the leaves grow in a special form, wrap'd round the Stem, or center of the leaf till they are come to their full growth, then they expand.

Wednesday 18th During these 24 Hours the weather rather more settled. Heard by a Schooners boat from the Riopongas that Rinou had taken an English Brig & two Schooners and that he was join'd by a Cutter from France & determin'd to take me when I came out of the river. The *Venus* along side taking in his Cargo. Ships Crew just the same as before.

[49v] The Cat Fish.

The largest I ever saw was 76^{lbs}, at Old Callabar. in 1780.²⁴³

This Fish is found both in Salt and fresh water. it is very ravenous and filthy, eating any thing that comes in its way. It is a very dangerous fish to take off[f] the hook when caught, being arm'd with three barbed Strong sharp horns, fix'd one on the fore part of the back fin, The other two to the swimmers under his belly. which they are very dextrous at darting into their Enemy. There excellent fine sweet fish, at least to them that can persuade them selves, to lay aside all prejudice

Thursday 19th Sept^r 1793 During this 24 Hours Variable weather with smart Turnados, Thunder, Lightning, & very heavy rain. at other times very hot, and Sultry. The Brig *Venus* alongside takeing in her Cargo. people no better.

Friday 20th D^o W^r A Schooner arrived from the Isles de Los, With news that M^r Harrocks was dead, being sick only two days and that he turn'd quite black immediately after his death from which theres every reason to suspect his having been poison'd[.]²⁴⁴ likewise a precaution

243. Old Calabar was located at the mouth of the Calabar River in what is now Nigeria. Old Calabar was an important entrepôt for slave trading during the eighteenth century. Gamble, assuming he was the author of this journal, indicated here that he had visited the Guinea coast for at least twelve-plus years.

244. Resident traders appeared to have been obsessed with the notion that poisoning was a serious threat. Stories about traders who had been poisoned were common along this coast. In consequence, traders adopted the practice of having servants taste their food and never eating alone. A slave cook, for instance, could wait many years for an opportunity to repay her owner for past slights or injustices. In the case of Horrock, he was at that time engaged in a controversy involving several *grumetes* who had left his service and taken refuge at Freetown. These *grumetes*, who claimed free status even while employed by Horrock, said that Horrock was planning to retire to Liverpool and was preparing to sell them to a slave captain. Horrock, and his partner Jackson, petitioned authorities in Freetown for their return and even suggested that the Sierra Leone Company should reimburse

from M^r Monro²⁴⁵ to be upon my guard against Rinou he having a reinforcement sent him from France and his determind to take me
 50[r] Saturday 21st Sept^r 1793 Moderate breezes & Hazy weather[,] at
 10 PM the Brig *Venus* hawl'd from alongside will [*sic*] all her Cargo in.
 5 Grometas washing & cleaning Ship.²⁴⁶
 Sunday 22^d. D^o breezes, with very hot sultry weather. at 11 AM went with
 M^r Ja^s Walker onboard the *Venus*, in order to take a Sketch of the River,
 Rocks[,] courses, distance, Soundings, &c.²⁴⁷ Ships crew very weakly.

Horrock and Jackson for their loss. This controversy continued for nearly a month and gradually entangled African traders in the Northern Rivers who began to realize that if Horrock's *grumetes* could obtain refuge at Freetown, so could their own *grumetes* or those who owed them obligations of subservience or tribute. Horrock had many enemies at the Iles de Los and in the region in consequence of this controversy, any one of whom could have arranged for his demise. See Macaulay, "Journal," 3 and 25 August 1793. Macaulay described Horrock's *grumetes* as "belonging to the island, bound indeed to labour for the proprietors of it, but placed beyond the reach of the slave trader, unless condemned for crimes." They "were not slaves liable to be sold at the will of their master."

245. Mr. Monro or Monroe was a resident trader in the Nunez in 1793–1794. James Watt (*Journal*, 2–4 February 1794) located him near Fortune's factory and described him as accommodating to the Sierra Leone Company's enterprise in the river. Afzelius (*Sierra Leone Journal*, 18, 20, 116) mentioned a "young man Munro," a slave trader, who worked for Walker in Nunez in 1795.

246. Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 90–91, 141) noted that once a slaver arrived on the African coast and contracted for his cargo, the captain used the lapse time until his cargo was collected as an opportunity to repair his vessel from damages normal to the trade. Wooden vessels naturally leaked in places and so did casks of rum, brandy, or water, and these substances collected in the vessel's hold. Lengthy waiting periods also increased the risk of dry rot, worm damage, and barnacles, which could slow the vessel's course and endanger both ship and cargo on the voyage across the Atlantic. Normal circumstances would have dictated that Gamble's regular crew carry out these repairs. In this case, however, Gamble was required to hire local persons to accomplish this task, for the boat still needed regular maintenance.

247. Although the course of the Rio Nunez was perhaps one of the easiest to follow among the rivers that line this coast, it was not without its dangers and required the assistance of an experienced and knowledgeable pilot to negotiate. It was probably normal practice for charts to be periodically updated. Sandbars, mud, reefs, and rocks dotted the mouth of this river, and while mud, reefs, and rocks could be expected to remain stationary, sandbars often moved or shifted according to the strength and volume of the river's current and as a consequence of heavy rain squalls, also called tornadoes on this coast, that frequently occurred during the rainy season. It was commonly expected that daily high tides would range from 12 to 15 feet, and where incoming tides met massive amounts of river water during the peak of the rainy season, sand was sure to collect. Whether this instance was one of those periodical inspections to chart shifting bars is not stated in the log. That it came so closely after the *Venus* had run aground may indicate that Walker had questions about the information available to his pilots and needed

Monday 23^d Remarks on board the *Sandown* during my absence Variable unsettled weather, with a deal of rain[.] at Maredian Departed this life Peter Frazer Aged 17 Years. Interr'd him with the usual Ceremony. having no whites able to assist Paid the Grometas 1½ Gallⁿ Brandy Extra²⁴⁸ Besides the Kings duty 15 Barrs. ¾ ea.

Tuesday 24th Light breezes and Var = fair all day & rains all Night. Employ'd stowing the After hold & filling Water.²⁴⁹ five Grometas at work on board. Carpenter no better.

[50v] Wednesday 25th Sept^r 1793 Variable weather, in the Evening a very heavy Turnado, that broke down several Trees and Fences on Shore. Employ'd as yesterday. 4 Grometas on board. Ships Crew no better.

Thursday 26th Light breezes & fair weather all day[,], rain in the Night. four Grometas employ'd with two Seamen, stowing the Hold[,], sawing up Fire wood & other necessary duty on board[.] 14 in the Doctors list.

Friday 27th D^o breezes with very hot Sultry weather, and rain in the Night. Cooper so weak that its doubtful wether he can trim the Water Casks so as to be tight. 4 Grometas at work this day; Ships Crew the Same as before.

Saturday 28th D^o Weather. Grometas Employ'd. and the Ships Crew same as before. At 2 on Sunday morning return with M^r Walker; found things much in the same state I left them in (for an acc^t see my draft and description of an excursion.)

51[r] Rio Nunez

Remark's during an excursion from Cacandia to the Rivers Mouth in order to get a Scetch of the Dangerous places. in the Brig *Venus* bound to Cape Mount for a purchase of Negroes for the *Sandown*.

Sunday 22^d September 1793 got under weigh in order to drop down the River. M^r Walker owner of the said Vesell on board going down to see her safe out[.] at 2 PM pass'd Candamia {Bel-Air.} at 6 came to an Anchor abreast of Conthiope {Kaniop} River[.] at Midnight being Moon light hove up[.] at 2 pass'd the rocky reaches[.] at

to clarify conditions in order to avoid similar mishaps. Pilots normally also used particular trees as markers against which to determine their own position relative to reefs, rocks, and so forth. Perhaps a recent storm had uprooted one of these markers. In any case, it was necessary at this time to re-chart the river's course.

248. This is the only suggestion that an extra payment, above that paid to a patron/sponsor/lender for his costs, would be given to laborers hired from onshore. Such extra payments were known locally as *buniah* or *dash*.

249. This is a reference to preparing and filling kegs/casks with water for the voyage across the Atlantic.

4 AM Monday Morning close to the rocks abreast of Long Island[,] tow'd her clear[,] and at 6 came to an anchor off[] the high trees of Callabunsia, at 9 Sent the Pinnacle on Shore to buy stock[.] at 1 PM she returnd with one Goat and three dozen Fowls a Sea Stock for the Brig[.] at 2 Parted the small Bower in heaving up[.] sun down to Sandy Island and came too with the best bow^r in 7^fⁿ Water. soft bottom[.] at 4 Went on Shore upon the Island in Company with M^r Walker which is uninhabited & barren. It is frequented by incredible varieties of Wild Fowls that resort there to lay there Eggs and bring up their young. likewise a great number [5 1 v] of Crabs thats excellent eating. likewise Turtles eggs. The Island all over where the Sea does not wash is coverd with a Sharp Kind of Grass and prickly Brambles, in the center of the Island is a stagnated Pond of fresh water, that dries up after the rains are done. so great is the dr[o]uth here in the dry Season that Ships lying here; send up the River to Great Cacandia near one hundred miles for fresh water which the Natives make them pay for[.] Latt 10° 17' N.

At 6 returnd on board the *Venus*, and Supp'd. on some of the Luxuries that the Island produced. we find the weather much different here then at Cacandia.

Tuesday 24th A fresh land wind hove us in order to go to Sea[.] at Noon, Yunkansara the outermost Rock bore SBE 3 Miles distance[.] at 1 PM left her in order to get into the river as fast as possible in company with another Pinnacle that had our Provisions in. finding our Selves within Bania reef, and a heavy Turnado coming on, got in Shore as fast as we could. at 4 it began to Thunder[,] Lighten[,] & Blow with heavy rain[.] parted Company with the other boat[.] at 6 it clear'd up a little[;] landed upon a Sandy point on the West entrance of Bania river. 52[r] got our Oars[,] Sails[,] &c on shore as fast as Possible we could, and made a large fire, just clear of Highwater mark. it Thunderd, Lightned, and rain'd. The greater part of the night, with immense numbers of Musketos; and no Provisions[;] made our Lodgings rather uncomfortable. Wednesday Morn^g 25th at day break sent the Blacks out upon the furraging order, and to see if the Pinnacle was in sight. at Sun rise saw her at an Anchor[.] she having seen our fire in the night, came to[,] fir'd two Musquets[,] and she came in. at 8 the Blacks return'd with a Plentiful supply of Shell fish, Crabs, and Turtles eggs. set them to work roasting, boiling, and frigaseeing them, as best suited their Palates. having Breakfasted hearty tho upon such a rude spot we cleard our tent and every thing into the Boats and proceeded

up the river to the Town of Bania about 8 Miles up the river to a Small creek that leads up to the town which is not large tho full of Inhabitants,²⁵⁰ great numbers of them diseas'd[,] their Legs swell'd as thick as their body has well as in other parts afflicted the same. both Men[,] Women & Children are by far the ordinaryest set of beings I ever saw[.] Perhaps the nature of their situation which is in a narrow creek surround'd by Mud and swamps may greatly contribute to it. [52v] They are equally as filthy and beastly as ugly, the Men all dress in the same manner that Women do on different part of the Windward Coast. The Women all go Naked excepting a Small slip of Cloth about a yard long and 3 fingers broad which they call a Tuntungee (and never wash it its wore out). Their houses are Miserable The chief of their employment seems to be in cultivating rice[,] Making Salt, and tapping their Palm wine tree This latter appears to be their God. They are a tribe of Bagos, peculiar to them selves, follow their own laws, never make Slaves, or sell any.²⁵¹ They breed great quantities of Stock, but seldom make use of any them selves. only when either their Parents, some near Relation, or King dies then they Kill their cattle some time after they are dead to make what they term Sarrise, or the last tribute to the dead,

250. These people belonged to the ethnic group identified as Baga-Sitem/Sitemu. Oral traditions suggest a migration coastward from the Fuuta Jaloo highlands; on the coast this people processed salt that was in high demand in the interior and at trading factories located in the Rio Nunez and Rio Pongo. The Baga-Sitem were also known for collecting hippopotamus teeth and elephant tusks and for growing vast quantities of rice. They sold ivory to the local merchants, and perhaps their rice became a commodity used as food for slaves during the Middle Passage. Their production of salt was so important that, at least in the 1820s, the Fula ordered that Baga were to be immune from slave raids. They were reasonably isolated at the mouth of the Rio Nunez, and perhaps because of their location, they were removed from the influence of major trading factories and were able to maintain unique social norms longer than were their ethnic and linguistic cousins, the Baga-Kakissa, Baga-Koba, and Baga-Kalum in the Rio Pongo or Rio Dembia/Konkouré areas. For more on the Baga, see McLachlan, *Travels into the Baga and Soosoo Countries*; Mouser, "Qui étaient les Baga?"; Ramon Sarró, "Entre Migration et Autochtonie: Les Récits d'Origine Baga," in *Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des Côtes guinéennes*, edited by G erald Gaillard (Paris: Harmattan, 2000), 457-465.

251. Thomas Winterbottom (*An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* [1803/London: Frank Cass, 1969], I, 6) wrote that the Baga did not permit slave factories to be established within their territory because "they dislike the slave trade." Leopold Butscher (*Account of the Mandingoes, Susoos, & other Nation(s)*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser [Leipzig: University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, History and Culture series, No. 6, 2000], 14) noted the same things and added that the Baga did not "suffer any of their country men to be carried off or sold for slaves out of their country."

which often ends in a debauch, their principal dish is Rice & fish. We saw here at the Chief of the Towns house who seem'd a near Relation. A White Negro Boy he appear'd to be greatly affected in his eyes by the rays of the Sun and in great pain to explore any object he seem'd a great eye soar [*sic*] amongst them They frequently urg'd us, to take him with us.²⁵² we staid here till 10 O'clock at Night[,] having bought 5 Dozen of Fowls, for Knives, Beads, & C^o[untry] white cloths. when we was very glad to get away having been from our first entering their town expos'd to trouble Vices and as much admir'd for a Curiosity as the Crew when in England, especialy by the Ladies who where very attentive. 53[r] Those that carried long wands in their hands, as tokens of their Celibacy. we where follow'd every where by Women & Children The Boys from 4 Years and upwards all carried Bows & Arrows, w[h]leather they are expert or not with them I cannot tell. The Men appear'd rougeishly inclind in their dealings. We receive'd several presents of Palm wine. made them a return for it and left them and proceeded down the Creek into the River and to our old landing spot. during the whole of this Night we where in a state amongst the wretchedest Creatures living[.] The Musquetos harrass'd and bit us to a degree of severity[.] at 4 we came to an anchor at our old spot[,] found our fire still burning[.] at daylight Thursday 26th landed[.] The Musketos all dispers'd. Boild some Tea in an old Iron Pot[,] roasted some Crabs, Clams, and Turtle eggs. made a hearty meal of it. at 9 set off[f] for Calibuch partly on purpose to buy a Milch Cow and Fowls & partly thro Curiosity to see the place and nature of the Inhabitants[.] at 10 AM got into the river and run up East about 3 Miles till we came to a Branch that run to the N^d[.] run up it about 2 Miles till we came to a Creek that run up W^d to the Town which is large and well Peopl'd[.] tho of the same tribe as the Bennas²⁵³ [Susu], they are a much better

252. Although the incidence rate of albinism among the Baga has not been recorded, it is known that the Baga are highly homogeneous. They are among the darkest in pigmentation along this section of coast. White skin was associated with illness or death (Corry, *Observations*, 152). Albinos are also known as having poor eyesight and therefore would have been of little help in the fields, where Baga men were expected to excel and demonstrate their worth and manliness. Perhaps light skin also was viewed as suggesting an illicit intercourse with European strangers who had visited the coast. In any case, it would not have been extraordinary for the Baga to suggest that Gamble's party take this albino with them when they left. Perhaps the Baga believed that he belonged with the European settlements rather than in village life, where he would have represented a deficit. For more on Baga practice, see McLachlan, *Travels*, passim.

253. The Benna Susu were located in the upper reaches of the Scarcies/Kolente

looking set of People. appear not so stiff in their manners, every Person as soon as they heard of our arrival hastned down to pay their respects to us, [53v] which the Men did by Curtseying and snapping our fingers with theirs twice, the Women crouch'd down resting their Posteriors on their heels, and stroak'd their hand through ours. They dard not snap fingers, or their Husbands & Parents would be Jealous of them.

Finding so great a concourse of People gathering[,] we would need to have our fingers shod with Iron or other Hard substance. and their civility tending to a Degree of absurdity, thinking it a piece of ill manners for to leave us a Moment. from which we must if we staid all night be expos'd for a Show and no Rest be got at all Concluded it was best to be going, while the tide answ^d for the Creek is dry at ½ ebb all down to the river at half 2 pm and leave our other Pinnacle to bring a Cow and what fowls they could, and join us at Sandy Island the next day. The houses in this town where built in the same form of the others but larger and neater, we saw numbers of people with swell'd Legs &c. (am inform'd that there being afflicted so dreadfully, is occasion'd by drinking so great quantitys of Palm wine)²⁵⁴ The Women never wash, but bedaub themselves all over with Palm Oil. They have plenty of Stock which may be bought tollerable cheap[,] Cow 25/ to 30 Shil^s[,] Fowls 4^d.[,] Capons 6^d.[,] Goats 4/. The latter appear rather scarce but the whole of them, are generally in good order. 54[r] Accordingly we left there after making the Head Man a present,²⁵⁵ and

River, which empties north of the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Benna country was in the important Fuuta/Scarcies corridor of caravan trade from the Fuuta Jaloo to coastal factories in Moria and Sumbuya, Mandingo and Susu states located south of Cape Sangara. This corridor was often plagued with wars, partly in consequence of bickering among the Temne, Lokko, and Sulima peoples who border it. The Benna maintained, generally, a cordial trading relationship with Moria. Gamble may have been wrong in identifying these peoples as Benna. It is more likely that they belonged to a group later known as the Mikhifore, a collection of former slaves, belonging to the Fula, who had sought refuge on the coast and carved for themselves a homeland along the upper Kapatchez River. Still, the fact that he mentioned the Benna specifically suggests that his informants had drawn this connection and that it might have had some validity.

254. Although consumption of great amounts of palm wine may have contributed to this condition, the swelling no longer occurs significantly among these peoples even though the Baga still have the reputation for drinking vast quantities of palm wine. Current informants report memories of some with the condition in the early twentieth century. See McLachlin, *Travels*.

255. Accepted protocol required that strangers first introduce themselves to hosts and explain their presence. Small gifts were generally exchanged, and this introduction and gifting legitimized the guest. If accommodations were required,

made the best of our way to Sandy Island, got there about 4 OClock[;] landed and made a Fire upon the beach. Roasted some young Fowls, Crabs, & Turtle eggs, and made a good dinner, considering we wanted Knives, Spoons, Plates &c. but Necessity's no law. we supplied their places with Shells &c thrown up by the sea

Finding our selves rather tir'd of this Savage way of living, for when I bring to memory the various Scenes & transactions we have gone thro. it greatly resembles [William] Dampier²⁵⁶ and other Adventurers accounts of them, (least why not,) for in fact we are amongst the same race. as soon as the flood tide made, got the Pinnacle under sail and play'd to windward all night. at 2 in the morning Friday 27th the ebb having made strong against came to an Anchor abreast of the high trees of Callibunch [Talibonche],²⁵⁷ at 8 the tide slack^d[,] hove up, the wind coming round in our favour run up the river heartily wishing for its continuance, at 10 pass'd Long Island, at 11 passd Dapalong. The weather Schorching hot. even degrees more than M^r Walker ever felt it, who [h]as resided ten years in this Country. Blistering every part of our Body that was the least expos'd. at 2 PM spoke the Chief and head of this River Jm^s Price [Pearce]²⁵⁸ who came on

the host would provide them and expect to be reimbursed at the end of the visit. Small gifts would be exchanged, as well, at the visit's end. For more on accepted protocols, see Bruce L. Mouser, "Landlords-Strangers: A Process of Accommodation and Assimilation," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8 (1975): 425-440; John Ulrich Graf, *Journal of a Missionary Tour to the Labaya Country (Guinea/Conakry) in 1850*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser (Leipzig: University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, History and Culture series No. 1, 1998), passim.

256. William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (London: Printed for James Knapton, 1698). In fact, Dampier sailed from the Cape Verde Islands directly to the Sherbro River and never touched the Nunez area.

257. Also identified as Chellebuntu on early maps.

258. John Pearce was a Euro-African resident trader and important headman among the Nalu people. It is likely that his father was European and his mother Nalu, for he claimed rights to land as a Nalu. Pearce regularly transported cattle and rice to the Freetown market on board at least one schooner. American records also placed him as an important slave trader with Charleston connections. He reportedly had more than a hundred children, which would have represented a significant number of marriage alliances among the Nalu. Macaulay ("Diary," 17 September 1793) called Pearce by the title of Mangé, a status reserved for indigenous chiefs. He had sent a son to Freetown for an education, paying for his costs with ivory. Macaulay indicated that African authorities should pay education costs with rice instead. In "Journal," 18 September 1793, Macaulay mentioned that Pearce had sent a son and a daughter to Freetown. On 20 November 1793, Macaulay noted that a Nunez girl "who lives with us" spoke five or six languages. Campbell (CO 2/5, "Expedition of Discovery," 210) described Pearce's son, John Sabastian, as a "native chief" and "black man."

board and drank a Glass of rum and water, he was going up to Cacandia. had a whole train of Men, Women & Children along with him, as they never travel without the whole family attending them, the more the greater grandeur. [54v] They were all landed out of their Canoes, upon a point of land, had fires[,] and dressing their Victuals in their own Country fashion. The breeze freshning and finding that we could stem the tide did not wait with them. got within 18 Miles of Cacanda The wind failing & tide running so strong was oblig'd to let go our Anchor greatly against our Inclinations, at 5 it came on a Turnado with a great deal of heavy rain. at 8 PM hove up and row'd up the River and at 1 Got up to Cacandia.

Upon examining the entrance of this River which is a very dangerous one especally to Strangers[,] I find there his no Bar. but a good deep tho narrow channel, with Rocks on the Southside: and Sands to the Northward. The fair way into the River, is to bring the Southernmost or Bania Point to bear NBE 5 leagues distance coming no nearer till Sandy Island bears NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N for Yankansara the outermost rock lies right 3 or 4 leagues to Seaward when the said Island bears NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N Steer in, NE close past the Island which course will carry a Vessel 26 Miles up the head of Sea Reach.

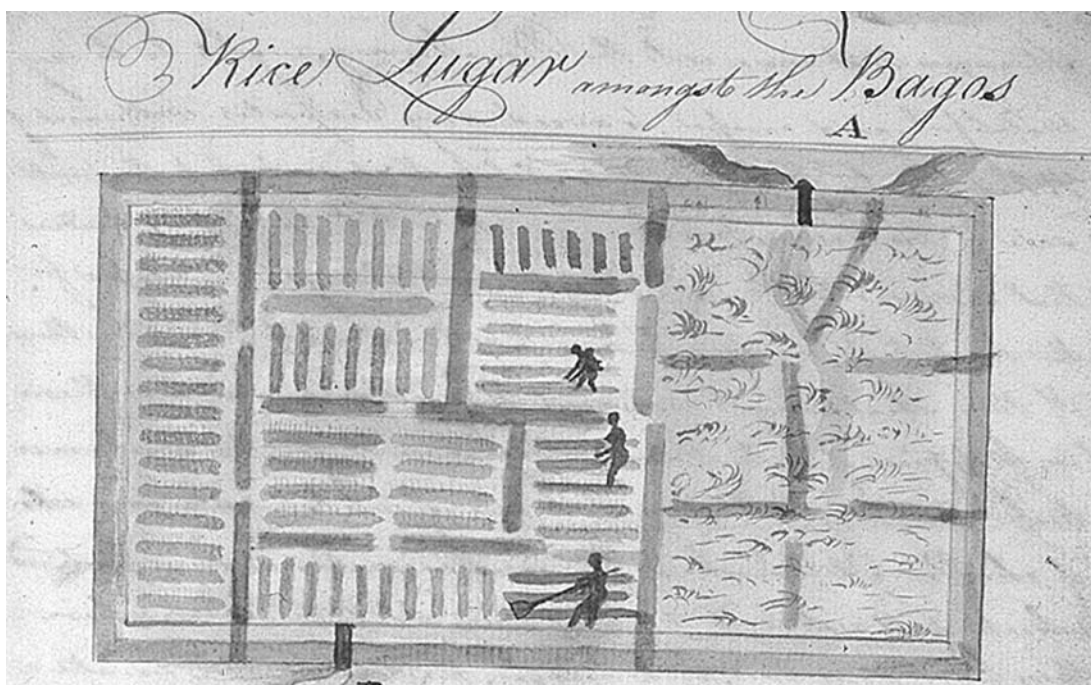
NB theres no Variation allow^d upon the Courses, either here or in the Draft of the river.

At Cacandia it flows $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 full and change, and rises 18 feet perpendicular. They count 10 thus. 1 Embo[,], 2 Sulli[,], 3 Deah[,], 4 Exon[,], 5 Doba[,], 6 Bagla[,], 7 Bago[,], 8 Bandeh[,], 9 Backinanef[,], 10 Tian.

55[r] RICE LUGAR amongst the BAGOS²⁵⁹

The Bagos are very expert in Cultivating rice and in quite a Different manner to any of the Nations on the Windward Coast The country the[y] inhabit is chiefly low and swampy. The rice they first sow on their dunghills and rising spots about their towns[.] when 8 or 10 Inches high transplant it into Lugars made for that purpose which are flat low swamps, at one side A they have a reservoir that they can let in what water they please[;] other side B is a drain cut so that they can let off[f] what they please. The Instruments they use much resembles a Turf spade with with [*sic*] which they turn the grass under

259. For a drawing of rice production, see Photo No. 4, "Rice Lugar amongst the Baga," "Sandown" manuscript, page 55r. Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.



Rice Lugar amongst the Baga.

in ridges just above the water which by being confin'd Stagnates and nourishes the root of the plant. Women & girls transplant the rice and are so dextrous as to plant fifty roots singly in one minute[.] when the rice is ready for cutting they turn the water off[f] til their Harvest is over[;] then they let the Water over it and lets it stands three or four Seasons it being so impoverish'd Their time of planting is in Sept^r and reaping. [55v] Strangers that come into the Rio Nunez, ought to be very Watchful, and careful, to avoid any disputes with a set of Blood-thirsty People call'd Nelos that inhabit the north side of the River, they are a great pest to the White traders that are residents, drawing their Belmy's (or Cutlasses) for the least trifling dispute and putting it across the traders throat[.] If they Steal anything, and the right Person sees them in possession of it, they dare not claim it, for the Chief never keeps the thing, but gives it to one of his Companions who if challeng'd drinks a Poisonous water²⁶⁰ as they pretend which will not

260. This refers to "Red Water," a customary test administered to determine innocence or guilt. Red water was produced by grinding the bark of a special tree

kill them if they are innocent. when they have done this, and recover^d. they instantly make a Country Palaver,²⁶¹ and two or three Slaves goods will not suffice them. some times that the Challenger is oblig'd to pay. They ramble up and down 30 or 40 in a gang in large Canoes on purpose entirely to thief, and plunder. what they can from the Whites, which they sell to the Bagos (to subsist upon.) The King of whom thinks it no dishonour to receive things, that they know are stolen (even from a White that is a Tenant under them) The Nelos are a hard Savage race, often when necessity forces them. Migrate in search of prey to immense distances bearing great hardships and fatigue. They in general are Robust Healthy good looking People[,] live chiefly upon rice[,] fish[,] &c. This is not the exaggeration of a traveller but what I have demd as demonstrations of the truth.

56[r] Sunday 29th Sept^r 1793 Variable unsettled weather Ships Crew still continue in the same weak state, attended with Indolence to a degree.

Monday 30th Light variable breezes with hot sultry weather[,] went up the River and got 2 White²⁶² & 1 Black Carpenters to come & do the Necessary duty wanted Ships Carpenter very ill. 3 Grometas on board.

Tuesday 1st Oct^r 93 D^o Weather The Carpenters at work building the Necessarys I find that the Puncheons fill'd & Stow'd, will be forc'd to be got up again out of the After Hold[,] the water ½ leak'd out owing to bad Cooperage.

Wednesday 2^d. D^o Winds & Weather. Carpenters employ'd building the

and mixing the residue in water. The accused could not eat or drink for a designated period before the test. The red water was then given to the accused, who was required to drink vast quantities until he vomited. If the vomit contained blood, that was an indication that the accused was guilty. Since the water often contained a stringent poison, generally there was blood in the vomit. Often the accused died before the test was completed. References to accused persons being innocent were rare. For more on Red Water, see Samuel Walker, *Missions in Western Africa* (Dublin: William Cury, 1845), 21, and Afzelius, *Sierra Leone Journal*, 24–30, 63–64.

261. The term “palaver” generally meant discussion or conference. An “empty palaver” indicated that the discussion likely would have no resolution. “God palaver” referred to religion. A witch palaver was a court called to determine whether someone had cast an evil spell upon another person; persons found guilty in a witch palaver generally were sold into slavery and removed from society.

262. It was common for factories to have unemployed Europeans in residence. Occasionally, seamen would request permission to leave a ship's service for employment on the coast. Vessels became shipwrecked or were condemned as unseaworthy, and crew members became stranded. Slave insurrections on board slavers could also result in Europeans being put on shore. These stranded seamen sought employment, and perhaps transportation whenever opportunities arose.

- Barricado. Cooper trimming Casks. Receiv'd a firkin butter from M^r Walker for Cabin use.
- Thursday 3^d Very unsettled W^r with a great deal of heavy rain[.] 3 Carpenters, 3 Grometas, Cooper and what are able employ'd at sundry necessary duty One of the White Carpenters taken ill & gone.
- [56v] Friday 4th Oct^r 1793 Moderate Sea & Land breezes, with rain. The 2 Carpenters at work at the Barricado The 3 Grometas with what are able amongst the Ships Company employ'd at sundry duty
- Saturday 5th Very hot Sultry weather, with Thunder, Lightning[.] and rain. Carpenters & Grometas at work as before[.] only 2 Seamen able to do Duty.
- Sunday 6th D^o Weather. All the White Gentlemen in the River din'd on board.²⁶³ Sailed the *Union of Salem*[,] Captⁿ Fisher[,] for the Bonanas. Ships Company much the same as before
- Monday 7th D^o Weather, Employ'd clearing Ship[.] ready to take in the Carridge Guns, having receiv'd information from Serraleone that Renou offers 10 Slaves for a Pilot to come here. having taken the Sch^r *Adonis* of Liverpool, his force consists of the Sch^r[,] 14 four Pd^{rs} & Cutter of 8 D^o[,] he being Determin'd to take or Destroy the *Sandown*.
- 57[r] Tuesday 8th Oct^r 1793 Hot sultry weather. Carpenters finish'd the Barricado Employ'd them taking down the Cabin Bulkhead & got

263. A special camaraderie existed among European captains who visited this coast. It was customary that captains would entertain at the conclusion of transactions. A few years later, Hawkins (*Voyage to the Coast of Africa*, 152–153) arrived in the Rio Nunez and described his reception: “The Captain and I on our arrival, went on shore to lay in stock and water, but had contemplated returning as soon as we should have engaged with some person to supply us; we were met, however, and invited to the house of an Englishman, who had once followed the sea; he entreated us to spend the day with him, and that in the meantime, our business could be done by ordering what we wished from his house. It was early, and we were provided with a sumptuous breakfast of chocolate, tea and coffee, elegantly served up in beautiful China and plate, with fruits of various kinds in glass ware. Several of the neighboring factors joined us, and appeared jealous of our accidentally becoming guests of one and not of the other; however, that the society of the place should be kept up, they agreed (without asking our consent) that we should spend a day with each of them, in order. We objected to this excessive liberality, but were obliged to dine with one, and sup with another, to take a bed with a third, and a glass of wine EN PASSANT, with half a dozen more; we were conducted to the gardens that I have before noticed, and heard anecdotes of the several plantations, and possessions from the first settlement. As the heat of the day increased we retired, and the sacrifices to Bacchus commenced, with what they called a WHETTER before dinner.”

the Ships Carpenter on board from his sick Lodgings on shore quite delirious. 3 Grometas on board. Rec'd 4 Carridge guns from the Shore Wednesday 9th D^o W^r Carpenters at work taking down the State Rooms and clearing the Cabin for a Women Room.²⁶⁴ Grometas in the Hold, Ships Crew no better

Thursday 10th Variable weather, Carptenters [*sic*] gone into the woods to cut sparrs for a Gallows for the Booms.²⁶⁵ 3 Grometas at work on board. Ships crew all in the Doctors list but three.

Friday 11th D^o Very disagreeable hot sultry weather, with frequent Turnados, Thunder, Lightning and rain, the Bees have been very troublesome lately near takeing Possession of the Ship. Carpenters and 3 Grometas at work as before, Ships Company no better.

[57v] Saturday 12th Oct^r 93 Very hot, schorching, sultry, weather. Carpenters makeing the Gallows, 3 Grometas at work, and the large Canoes getting Ballast²⁶⁶ for the Ship.

at 5 PM. Departed this life, after a tedious illness of eleven Weeks, Marshall Fair Carpenter Aged 32 Years[.] interr'd him and paid the Customs.²⁶⁷

Sunday 13th D^o W^r, with a smart Turnado in the afternoon Ships Company in the same state.

Monday 14th Dirty rainey weather with Turnados at high and low water. Carpenters at work at the Booms. Cooper trimming casks. Grometas getting Ballast for the Ship.

Arrive'd here M^r Walkers Pinnacle from the Riopongas,²⁶⁸ sail'd his Schooner *Mary* for the Skarsas [Scarcies River.]

264. It was common practice for women and young children to share separate quarters from adult males. This removed problems that could develop during the Middle Passage and identified this separate population as segregated from the crew as well.

265. Spars for a gallows for the booms were cut pieces of wood which supported the booms that enabled a sail to be extended in order to catch the wind. A gallows for the booms was often used as a wooden frame upon which the ship's boats were stored.

266. By this time, Gamble had landed most of his cargo or heavy goods and needed to add weight to provide the ship with balance and proper draft, in case he needed to put to sea. Without a proper draft, the ship might actually tip over.

267. This likely referred to death or burial fees paid to the traditional African authority.

268. Macaulay ("Diary," 10 October 1793) noted that a shipment of rice had arrived at Freetown from the Nunez and with it came a request from Walker that the Company provide a "schoolmaster" at Walkeria. In "Journal," 10 October 1793, he reported that Walker offered to pay £100 per annum for the teacher.

58[r] Tuesday 15th October 93 Unsettled dirty rainey weather with smart Turnados, Carpenter's finish'd the Gallows & both of them return'd home. Ships Crew no better. Slaves on board, 1 Boy. 1 Woman, 1 Womangirl.²⁶⁹

Wednesday 16th D^o Weather, Schorching hot at times, at others very Cold, Winds chiefly from the Eastward. Cooper employ'd trimming Casks. Grometas getting firewood, and stowing the Hold. only two Whites able to do duty. 3 Slaves on board.

Thursday 17th. Hot schorching W^r. with very smart Turnados attended with very loud Thunder, vivid Lightning and heavy rain, employ'd landing Tobacco, Clearing the Hold, Overhawling Blocks &c.

Friday 18th D^o Weather, employ'd as yesterday. Still find several of the Puncheons so leaky that I am under the necessity of sending them on shore to be Cooper'd over again[.] 3 Grometas on board, & 3 Slaves. Ships Crew gets no better.

[58v] Saturday 19th Oct^r 1793 Very hot sultry weather, with Turnadoes & heavy Rain[.] discharg'd the last of the Tobacco. 3 Grometas on board Stowing the hold, arriv'd here from the Isles de Los, Bellthasar, Alias French Carpenter[,] who says Monsieur Renou's gone to Goree having Sold his Island [Gambia] and property, exchanged great part of his prize goods taken in the Liverpool Schooner [Captain Stovel], with the Serraleone Company, who it appears wishes for Equality.²⁷⁰

Sunday 20th D^o D^o Weather with a Turnado in the Evening[,] with rain This being an Idle day up the River, and People could attend. Sold the Deceas'd peoples Cloaths great part of which was damag'd and rotten[.] Paid the two Carpenters their Wages for 14½ days ea[,] the White 15 & the Black 10 Barrs.²⁷¹ The latter of which is at work to

269. As of 1788, British law required shippers to list the slave cargos according to height, a measure considered to determine allowable numbers of slaves that a ship of a certain size could carry. Captains grouped their cargos into categories to meet this test, listing persons as man, manboy, boy, woman, womangirl, and girl. These were designations according to age or size. See "An Act to Regulate the Carrying of Slaves" in Donnan, *Documents*, 582–589.

270. Surely Gamble meant to write "neutrality." "*Égalité*," however, was one of the slogans of the French Revolution, and perhaps Gamble meant to imply that Renaud wished to seek refuge within the French settlement at Gorée. By this date, Renaud had sold Gambia Island to the Sierra Leone Company.

271. It was not uncommon for white seaman to be present along this coast, and perhaps they also were acting individually as service persons. This comment suggests that some Africans were independent laborers who acted outside of a patron's/merchant's service. Whether Gamble incorrectly or correctly accounted for the destination of these wages is unclear.

- day repairing Main hatches Ships company no better. (3 Slaves on Board)
- Monday 21st Oct^r 93 D^o Weather with hot scorching gleams at other times very cold, Cooper so weak & Sickly that he cannot trim the Water Casks Rest of the Ships Crew little better than dead. 3 Grometas doing the Ships duty on board.
- 59[r] Tuesday 22^d Oct^r 93 Very hot sultry weather, launch'd the *Fanny* Schooner, and tow'd her alongside, at same time they Saluted from shore, with three great guns Ships Company that are able employ'd getting her Masts in, and Rigging her. 3 Grometas on board, employ'd at sundries.
- Wednesday 23^d D^o Moderate sea, and land breezes. with a very heavy Tur-nado, Thunder[,] Lightning[,] and rain, all night the Wild beasts make a dreadful howling in the Woods close to the riverside[.] 3 Grometas on board, Ships Crew very little better, Bellthasar Sail'd for the Isles de Los. 3 Slaves on board.
- Thursday 24th D^o Hot sultry calm weather all day with rain all Night, Employ'd with the 3 Grometas clearing the Fore castle[.] 2 Whites overhauling Blocks &c. tow'd the *Fanny* from alongside and bent her to an Anchor & deliverd her to M^r Walker
- Friday 25th D^o D^o W^r Receiv'd on board 5 Men Slaves being the first Lot of Tulle's [John Tilley of Bance Island] that have come this season who have travell'd upwards of 1000 Miles. Employ'd Mending sails, filling and stowing Water Casks, Overhawling Blocks &c. (8 Slaves on board[.])²⁷²
- [59v] Saturday 26th Oct^r 93 Very hot scorching sultry weather, are Plagued all night with the Musketos. 3 Grometas at work employ'd Coiling the Sheet Cable in the fore hold, getting the spars and lumber, upon the Booms in order to clear the Main Deck. Ships crew no better[.] 5 Men[,] 1 D^o Boy, 1 Women[,] 1 D^o Girl Slav^s on board^d
- Sunday 27th Fine pleasant weather, with Moderate Sea & Land Breezes. Ships Company rather better. last Night the Leopards took a fine Sow within a few days of Piggling, that had been sent on shore in order to keep the Ship clean, likewise a Boar belonging to M^r Walker
- Monday 28th D^o Weather. 3 Grometas on board[.] employ'd paying the Bends²⁷³ round with Pitch what Whites are able, Overhawling the

272. From this point, Gamble would have been obligated to maintain close watch over his human cargo. The loading of five new slaves required heightened vigilance and more attention given to feeding, guarding, and cleaning.

273. Bends, also called wales, were horizontal planks along the sides of a ship

Rigging. cleaning guns & Mending sails. Jm^s Rutherfords very ill. A Leopard last night at 7 Oclock was so outdacious as to take a Dog from out of M^r Walkers house near the table when at supper[,] drop't down & came too astern of us the *Pearl*[,] Captⁿ Howard of New York.

60[r] Tuesday 29th Oct^r 93 Hot Sultry weather with Rain. Pass'd by the *Tom*[,] Sloop from the Bonanas[,] bound up to Townside [Cacandy town] but no news of any fresh arrivals from England Ships Company worse Doctor blisterd 3 of them Employ'd a Black Cooper to trim the W^r Casks.

Wednesday 30th Oct^r Fresh breeze but sultry with heavy Turnados, smart Lightning & heavy rain[,] 3 Grometas and what People are able employ'd as these two days past. NB. Cooper at Work. People same.

Thursday 31st Oct^r Fine pleasant weather. have been ill myself for this several days past. but find myself a great deal better, went on shore & din'd with M^r Walker. at 2 AM departed this life Jm^s Rutherford Seaman[,] Aged 32 Years. Interrd him, paid the River Custom, and sold his cloths by Auction. B[lack] Cooper employ'd trimming Casks. Boatswain [David Richardson] & Grometas with what whites he can muster fitting a New fore stay²⁷⁴ &c. Receiv'd on board 2 Women, for a Country Witch Palaver,²⁷⁵ but they are not sold yet. (8 Slaves on board)

[60v] Friday 1st Nov^r 1793 Hot sultry weather. Black Cooper trimming Water Casks. Ships Company that are able rigging the Ship. The Wolfs, and other wild beasts, make a continual roaring & howling, all night. 3 Grometas at work

Saturday 2^d D^o D^o Weather. all hands that are well[,] employ'd as before. Slaves on board 5 Men, 1 Boy[,] 1 Woman[,] 1 WGirl[,] & 2 Women not paid for. 3 Grometas at Work

Sunday 3^d Moderate Sea & land breezes, very sultry & hot Receiv'd a present of a Quarter of Beef from M^r Bostock²⁷⁶ at Townside. 3 Caulkers at work on the Main deck. Ships Crew very weakly

extending from stem to stern. To “pay the Bends round with Pitch” can be translated as “applying pitch to the seams between the planks.”

274. A fore stay was a large rope that supported a mast.

275. A “witch-palaver” generally referred to the circumstance in which a person had been accused of being a witch and was condemned to a status of servitude or transportation in consequence of being found guilty of witchcraft. The term “palaver” can mean either “conversation/discussion” or “trouble”; both meanings could apply in this case. For a recent discussion of witchcraft, see Rosalind Shaw, “The Production of Witchcraft/Witchcraft as Production: Memory, Modernity, and the Slave Trade in Sierra Leone,” *American Ethnologist* 24, no. 4 (1997): 856–876.

276. Although this Mr. Bostock is not identified, Bostock was a common

- Monday 4th D^o Moderate breezes and Variable, the weather so intense hot as scarce able to be bore. People at work morning, and evening. not being able to do any thing in the middle of the day. 3 Grometas on board employ'd at sundrys. B[lack] Cooper trimming Water Casks.
- 61r] Tuesday 5th Nov^r 1793 Very hot sultry weather. All hands that are able employ'd as before. Arrived here a schooner from the Isles de Los who brought news of the arrival at there the *Nancy of Liverpool* of 12 Guns & 26 Men after a Passage of two Months during which time, she had buried Captⁿ Moser, the Doctor, & M^r Roberts a Passenger. Receiv'd no letters by her. Grometas left us this day[.] B Cooper at Work.
- Wednesday 6th D^o D^o Weather. Ships Company employ'd at the rigging Arrived here the *Cacandia* Packet from the Bonanas bound up to Townside with intelligence that an American was arrived at the Isles de Los and the *Harpy* of 20 Guns from London belonging to the Company (at Serraleone) Slaves as before
- Thursday 7th D^o D^o Weather[.] employ'd getting all a Fanto.²⁷⁷ Ships Company rather better then usual all but the Cooper who appears rather doubtful of a recovery. Slaves on board as before & all well. A Smart Turnado with rain.
- [61v] Friday 8th November 1793. Very hot sultry weather with a Turnado at night. No Slaves coming down owing to a dispute in the Interior part of the Country [Fuuta Jaloo] in electing a new King [Alimamy]. Two claiming a right to the crown. The one nominated has stop'd the Path for a certain time to see wether the inland people acknowledge him a King or else he must declare war.²⁷⁸ The reason these people give

name in the slave trade. Robert Bostock captained slave vessels in the late 1780s. Perhaps this Mr. Bostock was the same person who was on particularly good terms with Mr. Monro of Granada and John Cleveland of the Plantain Islands. Perhaps the Nunez Bostock was a relative or descendant. A Dr. Monro was also present in the Nunez in 1793. See Donnan, *Documents*, vol. II, 557–558; Mackenzie-Grieve, *The Last Years*, 66–72.

277. Watt (*Journal*, 7 February 1794) wrote that his party at Fortune's factory had obtained a quarter of a "Flintambo" for provisions. This may have been the same as Gamble's "Fanto." According to Beaver (*African Memoranda*, 356), a flintambeau was a kind of deer/gazelle commonly found on Bulama Island.

278. Watt, *Journal*, 19 March 1794, and Macaulay, "Journal," 16 September 1793. In his reconstruction of events of the 1793–1794 period, Winston McGowan ("The Development of European Relations with Futa Jallon and the Foundation of French Colonial Rule, 1794–1897" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1978], 92–93) described circumstances differently and more correctly. The beginning of hostilities between England and France in 1793 had brought with it a "stagnation of credit, a great rise in marine insurance rates, increased transport costs, and the possibility of seizure, especially of British and

for going to War is much the same as urg'd by Civiliz'd nations which is to prevent an infringement on their territories and to maintain the liberty of passing thro their accustomed path, and guard those lands which they consider from a long time as their own.

Interest at all times is not the most powerful incentive to their making war, the passion of revenge is the distinguishing Characteristic of these People Injuries are felt by them with exquisble [*sic*] sensibility and Vengeance pursue'd with unremitting ardor, for when one of their Mungo's or Chiefs wishes to make war, he uses his utmost Marshall eloquence to excite them to take up Arms, by saying to them that the Bones of their Dear Countrymen lies bare and their Blood cries out for revenge therefore let us go and devour our Enemys[,] sit no longer inactive[,] give way to the impulse of your natural Valour. 62[r] Animated by these exortations, they arm and are impatient to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies

Some times the advice of their most Intelligent Women is ask'd if their determination before war, they go without, further ceremony. Their Chief does not all ways go himself but pitches upon a person

French ships, on the high seas by privateers." This circumstance, along with the instance that few Europeans involved themselves in the West African trade during that period, meant that manufactures and gunpowder were in short supply along the coast. These factors dramatically influenced the structure of commerce, increased the value of non-African-produced goods, and decreased the value of African commodities that included slaves. Prices paid for slaves were then reduced from 160 to 120 bars each, a significant contraction. Since the Fula relied increasingly on coastal markets for gunpowder with which to wage successful wars against neighbors, an economic crisis of sorts occurred between African purchasers and Atlantic suppliers. According to McGowan, the Alimaami Timbo directly ordered his Fula subjects to refrain from sending slaves to coastal markets until advantageous prices were restored. At about the same time, he initiated negotiations with British authorities at Freetown for alternative supplies of firearms and gunpowder. These discussions led eventually to the Watt expedition to Timbo in 1794. In the meantime, however, his own position within the Fula political system was being questioned by his own Council of Elders, without whose approval the Alimaami Timbo was able to exercise little authority. To be sure, the dynamic of Fula politics that included rival lineages (Alfaya and Soriya) that claimed right to the title of Alimaami of all the Fula was a constant component to this crisis. By ordering the cession of slave trading with the coast, Alimaami Sadu of Timbo (Soriya) weakened his own authority and increased the challenge capability of the rival Alfaya lineage and those leaders that supported that lineage. It is unlikely, however, that Gamble was correct in his depiction here that the Fula were engaged in a dispute "in electing a new King." McGowan's listing of Alimaamis (526) cited Alimaami Sadu (Soriya lineage) as ruling from 1784 to June 1796. It is more likely that Gamble's Nunez-based informant may have described to him a routine reaffirmation of Alimaami Sadu's position at Timbo by the Council of Elders.

whose Conduct and Valour he can depend upon Their Armies are seldom very numerous, or incumber'd with much baggage, relying upon the fertility of the Country supplying them with fruit &c that gives Spontaneously.

They seldom attack a place but by surprize[.]²⁷⁹ if they carry it they commit great barbarity especialy amongst the Aged that are not fit for Sale or labour[,] burning and destroying all before them[,] and feasting upon the hearts of the Slain. if repuls'd they sneak away home not wishing their excursion to be known. If Victorious nothing but mirth and debauchery last while they can get any thing to support it They are very superstitious with regard to their dreams Prognosticating good or bad luck from them. as well as in small bracelets with some medicine sew'd in a square piece of leather to it. which while they wear they imagine neither Man or Beast can hurt them (call'd a Gargary)²⁸⁰

They are tollerable expert in curing their wounded it is very certain they have attained the Knowledge of many plants and Herbs, that are of a medical quality and which they know how to use with great Skill.²⁸¹

[62v] Saturday 9th Nov^r 93 Very hot sultry weather I have reason to expect that yesterdays Turnado will be the last this season, the Harmattans

279. McGowan ("Development of European Relations," 83–84) described two kinds of warfare conducted by the Fula. One involved minor and quickly executed raids by provincial armies that moved swiftly across Fula borders to attack neighbors. Such engagements generally were well-organized operations, especially if conducted by surprise. A second type of warfare involved large national armies, and while these actions were usually successful, they tended to be poorly organized and lacked the advantage of surprise because of the troop movements and time necessary to assemble a large force. For an excellent analysis of Fula warfare, see McGowan, *ibid.*, 80–86.

280. Grigri were similar to amulets or talismans. These charms were worn around the neck or sewn on war shirts to bring good luck. They were most worn by Fula and Mandingo peoples and by some Susu who had converted to Islam. That Gamble identified these amulets correctly suggests either that he had observed them himself or that he had knowledgeable informants at Kacundy. Certainly Walker associated closely with both Fula and Mandingo traders. Corry (*Observations*, 62) wrote that these packets consisted "of exorcised feathers, cloth, &c. short sentences from the Koran, written on parchment, and enclosed in small ornamented leathern cases, worn about their persons, under the idea that it will keep away evil spirits." See also McGowan, "Development of European Relations," 84.

281. Macaulay ("Diary," 11 November 1793) wrote an elaborate description of wars in the Fuuta Jaloo to obtain slaves. His informant, likewise, came by way of the Rio Nunez from Benjamin Curtis, who would soon operate a factory at Kissing in the Rio Pongo.

having set in & fogs in the Morning. Ship all rig'd[.] a Fanta[.] people rather better. Kill'd a fine Hog for the Ships Company

Sunday 10th D^o Weather only a very heavy dew begins to fall in the night and the land wind very Cold and chilly in the Morning.

Monday 11th D^o W^r Arrived here a Schooner belonging to M^r Walker, from the Scarsas with 18 Slaves on board In examining the Water Casks find theres 8 that must be unstor'd & trimm'd over again[,] some being 15 Inches out. Black Cooper employ'd trimming them Receive'd from M^r Walker 1 Woman[,] 3 Boys[,] & 3 Girls and the two Women put on board for Witchcraft paid for[.] total, on board 17 Slaves. last night a Leopard took two Pigs out of the Fence which is stak'd round with strong ones 8 feet high[.] he was seen to heave them both over and then leap'd it himself The Grometas fir'd at him which prevented his taking one of them away

63[1] Tuesday 12th Nov^r 93 Strong Harmattans during the first part of this 24 Hours, Receiv'd on board one ton and a half of red rice.²⁸² Ships Crew all down again but one with the fever and Ague. Sailed from here the Brig *Pearl* of New York with 108 Slaves on board.²⁸³

Wednesday 13th Nov^r. D^o Weather. every one complaining. The fogs and dews are very heavy, and sickly. The Black Cooper on board trimming water casks.

Thursday 14th D^o D^o Weather. two hands employ'd in the Holds Starting water out of the casks that are not tight and sending up to the Black Cooper to trim.

Friday 15th D^o W^r Employ'd filling water, reeving[,] running[,] rigging[,] getting firewood on board &c. Ships Company no better. Slaves all well

282. Many varieties of rice were present along this coast. Rice brought from the interior tended to be polished white rice, which brought a better price than locally Baga-grown red or husk rice. In this instance, Gamble was purchasing the less expensive variety for his cargo's consumption. Louis de Vorsey, Jr., and Marion J. Rice (*The Plantation South* [New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992], 118) wrote that husk rice kept better on board ship than did processed rice.

283. That other ships were being provisioned ahead of the *Sandown* suggests that Gamble and his crew were not yet sufficiently recovered from illness to receive the *Sandown's* full complement. It is surprising that he had already loaded even a few slaves, however, some of whom had been on board for more than a week. Macaulay ("Diary," 11 November 1793) reported that Howard of the *Pearl* had carried off some "free people" from the Rio Nunez. Howard formerly had survived a slave insurrection at Cameroon's factory at Matacong Island in which fifty slaves were killed. In Macaulay's "Journal," 11 November 1793, Macaulay identified the offending vessel as the *Union of Salem*.

Saturday 16th D^o Weather. Employ'd as yesterday. Cooper making a watering pail & draw buckets.²⁸⁴ I have been poorly these five or six days, but find myself worse to day & not able to sit up.

[63v] Sunday 17th Nov^r 1793 Very unhealthy weather sometimes extreme Hott at others very Cold with heavy fogs and dews. I'm a little better to day. Ships Company all in the Doctors list but two. 17 Slaves on board all well.

Monday 18th Nov^r D^o Weather[.] no Prospect of any Slaves coming down.²⁸⁵ (the Natives wanting to raise the price)²⁸⁶ What we can muster that are able employ'd reeving[,] running[,] rigging[,] &c. The *Fanny* arrived from the Isles de Los but no letter or material news.²⁸⁷

Tuesday 19th Nov^r Hot sultry Weather, begin to be fairly tird of my Situation. not an Officer that has done ten days duty since my first arrival in the River. sent up to Mr Gafferys²⁸⁸ for his Black Cooper[.] got him with a great deal of Reluctance to trim a Scuttle Berth.²⁸⁹

64[r] Wednesday 20th Nov^r Hott Sultry Weather with heavy dew all night and thick fogs in the Morning. Ships Crews no better. M^r Fortunatis Seravatis²⁹⁰ Schooner (alias Fortunes) Arrived from Serra Leone. The

284. Watering pails were used to distribute drinking water. Draw buckets were lowered over the side for water used in cleaning cargo, vessel, and the hold.

285. "Coming down" refers to caravans of slaves and produce from the interior arriving at factories in the upper Nunez. The Fula were still determined to embargo sale of slaves until prices improved.

286. Macaulay ("Diary," 17 November 1793) remarked that no slaves were coming coastward because Fula were pricing slaves at 120 bars each, but resident traders were refusing to pay as much. See also Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report . . . 27th March 1794*, 140. In this instance, resident traders were faced with a slow market for slaves, which translated into low prices and a scarcity of European and American goods because of the uncertainty of the Anglo-French war, higher prices in England, and increased insurance rates. All of those market factors combined further to affect the price of slaves negatively, from an African perspective, and to increase the value of manufactured goods that arrived at coastal factories.

287. On the coast already four months, Gamble apparently expected new instructions from the *Sandown's* owners. See in-text reference for 26 November.

288. Mr. Gaffery operated factories in both the Nunez and Pongo Rivers. He was likely an American, for his principal agent was Benjamin Curtis, an American born near Boston, Massachusetts. See Afzelius, *Sierra Leone Journal*, 114. For Curtis, see Mouser, "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict."

289. A "scuttle berth" refers to the hatchway to mess area.

290. Fortune apparently was a former ship's surgeon who was among the original resident settlers in the Nunez in mid-century. He operated a factory near Boké and was on particularly good terms with the ruler of the Landuma peoples and with Fula caravan leaders. Campbell in 1816 (CO 2/5, "Expedition of Discovery,"

- Master J. C. Squires of her. employ'd as a Clerk. having sold the whole of her Cargo to the Company there. and gone off[f] Passenger to America with the booty.²⁹¹ Ships Company no better. Slaves as before.
- Thursday 21st Nov^r D^o Weather. Ships Crew no better or yet any appearance of the Fulla's coming down with Slaves. (*Fanny* gone to the Rio-pongas.)
- Friday 22^d Nov^r D^o Weather. Employ'd Painting the Ships Mast &c. Ships Company no better Cooper very ill, several of our water Casks leak'd out.
- [64v] Saturday 23^d Nov^r Weather scorching hot to a degree, ship equally as sickly as in the height of the rains[.] not a breath of wind or loud peals of Thunder to burst the Shatterd clouds or rumble along the Sky, all Vegetation seems to have felt the effect of a Vertical sun.
- Sunday 24th D^o D^o Weather with very heavy dew all night and thick fogs with strong NE Harmattans from 2 in the Morning till Sun rise. Receiv'd on board 1 Man Slave
- Monday 25th D^o D^o Weather Receive'd on board 1 Man[,], 1 Woman Girl[,], 2 Boys[,], total 22 Slaves Ships Company very weakly. Cooper dangerously ill.
- Tuesday 26th D^o D^o W^r. Ships Company that are able employ'd painting the Ships sides &c. Receiv'd letters from home ø Doct^r Monro.²⁹²

502) identified him, perhaps incorrectly, as a Haitian. Watt (*Journal*, 13f) described him as "blunt."

291. James Squires was an employee of Mr. Fortune of Kacundy. Squires sold merchandise from Fortune's schooner at Freetown, absconded with the proceeds, and headed for America. Squires explained to Zachary Macaulay that Fortune owed him money; it was not uncommon on this coast for those claiming debts from another to take direct measures to obtain repayment. Traders regularly raided, or commissioned others to raid, slave villages belonging to local debtors and held their captives as a ransom until the debtors made good on their obligations. America was a likely destination because all slavers were heading in that direction. See Macaulay, "Diary," 14 September 1793, 23 October 1793, 9 November 1793; and "Journal," 9 November 1793. Squires had sailed to America on board the *Polly*, captained by Raphael. This Squires may have been the John Squires who was a member of Beaver's colonial experiment at Bulama Island and who was "discharged at his request, at Bissao, 20th June, 1792." See Beaver, *African Memoranda*, 434.

292. Monro was stationed at the Iles de Los and employed by Horrocks. This comment indicates that Gamble was continuing to apprise the ship's owners or investors of the progress, and no doubt also the problems, of his voyage. Whether it was common for captains to maintain contact with those who had commissioned the enterprise is uncertain; perhaps his circumstances were unusual since his contact point, i.e., Horrocks, was located on a major line of communication between the African coast and England.

- 65[r] Wednesday 27th Nov^r Very Hot Sultry weather. Ships Company that are able employ'd at sundry necessarys
- Thursday 28th Nov^r D^o Weather. A lott of Fullas come down with Ivory with information that there's Plenty of Slaves on their Passage down.
- Friday 29th Nov^r Weather close and Sultry. employ'd at Sundry necessarys. Ships Crew very weak Slaves all well I find myself Feverish.
- Saturday 30th Nov^r to Saturday 7th December 1793 During the whole of this time the weather very hot all day, and Cold in proportion during the Night. with thick fogs, and heavy Dews, which causes it [to be] so very Sickly, even amongst the Natives on shore. No News from the *Venus* from Cape Mont or any Fullows come down with Slaves Ships Crew no better. Receiv'd 1 Man N^o. 23 all well. I find my Self a great deal better[,] But very much tird of my Situation.
- [65v] Sunday 8th Dec^r 1793 Very close hot sultry weather Ships Crew no better. Slaves all well. I cannot help takeing Notice of the shrew'd remark of a Slave Boy who skul'd [sculled] me round the Ship in the Yawl, he paid great attention to the Head, an excellent piece of Carved work. being the figure of the Unfortunate Louis 16 King of France and fresh painted, he was silent, till we came under the Stern, where he saw the Image (he then broke out in a Kind of rapture, shaking his head exclaim'd Whiteman savey every thing, no more that time Man dead he cant make him rise again.) Some Fishermen down the river having caught a Stingeree (or Ray) cut off[f] its tail and hove it into the River. A large Cat fish attempted to take it when the sting got fast in his upper jaw, the barbs of which prevented it comeing out. after a great deal of strugling it drownd him so as to float upon the Surface of the water[.] sent a boat & pick'd it up not dead. Dennis MCarty seem^d Delarrious and very troublesome quarreling with every body. Doctor Shav'd his head and blisterd it.²⁹³
- 66[r] Monday 9th Dec^r 93 Hot Sultry weather in the middle of the day and thick fogs and very cold[.] during the night arrived from the Bonanas the Schooner *Active*[,] M^r Powell Ships Company and Slaves as before
- Tuesday 10th Dec^r D^o Weather. nothing material only M^r Powell brings acc^t that they heard at the Bonanas that the Brig *Venus* had saild from Cape Mount for here full slav'd.

293. William Heberden (*Commentaries on the History and Cure of Diseases* [1802/New York: Hafner, 1962], 101) mentioned that "blisters behind the ears have appeared to abate the violence of the fits."

Wednesday 11th Dec^r D^o Weather. Arrived here M^r [Philip] Beaver²⁹⁴ Governor of Bulam[a] his People having run away and left him. The Natives took the advantage and forc'd him to fly with what little property he could save in a Cutter [*Beggar Bennison*]. Salluted him at M^r Walkers request with seven guns. At 3 PM Departed this life James Ronald[,] Cooper Aged 23 Years. in the Evening Interr'd his Body, and paid the Kings Customs Ships Crew and Slaves as before

Thursday 12th D^o D^o Weather. what part of the Ships Crew that are able[,] employ'd at sundries. Receiv'd on board 5 Men[,] 1 Woman[,] 1 Girl[,] 1 Boy Slave[.] total on board 40. Rice receive'd 8^{Ton} 10^{Do[hundred]} 3^{quar[ter]s} 24^{lbs} 295

[66v] Friday 13th Dec^r 1793 Hot sultry weather through out the day, with very Cold chilly weather in the night and mornings attended with heavy fogs and dews. The Fever and Ague rages very much both on board & on Shore. Sold by Public Auction Ja^s Ronald[,] the Coopers Cloaths. Ships Company & Slaves as before

Saturday 14th D^o Weather. exchang'd with the Governor [Beaver] of Bulam, two Porter Hdd^l for 2 Butts.²⁹⁶ Receiv'd from him a present of 6 Bottles Mustard, 2 D^o Vinegar[,] 1 large Hog Ships company that are able employ'd at sundry necessarys. Slaves all well but one Man complains a little

Sunday 15th All this day not an air of wind perceivable Ships Company continue very weakly Slaves as before. No accounts of the Brig *Venus* being in the river yet, or any Slaves coming down from the Country.

Monday 16th Moderate breezes with hot scorching sultry Weather. Ships Company that are able employ'd reeving[,] running[,] rigging[,] &c Dennis Mcarty dangerously ill[.] slaves all well but the beforementiond Man

294. Beaver, *African Memoranda*, 278. Beaver noted that the *Sandown* was anchored at Walkeria and that he remained at Walkeria until 17 December. Beaver indicated (276) that he had entered the Nunez at the suggestion of Lawrence, who had told him that he could exchange his plantation tools there for ivory.

295. These measures for rice may suggest separate purchases. Assuming Gamble was using a count of 2,000 pounds per ton, this would have represented a total of 18,774 pounds of rice. With a cargo of 250 slaves and a crew of 22–25 seamen, and allowing for some consumption before leaving port in Africa, this amount of rice would have permitted a daily 1.5 pounds per capita consumption for a voyage of forty-five days. There would have been no reason to transport rice to America for sale.

296. A butt was a container that held approximately 130 gallons, or from 15 to 22 hundredweight.

- 67[r] Tuesday 17th December 1793 Very unhealthy disagreeable weather.
At 11 AM the Governor of Bulam sail'd for Serraleone. nothing more remarkable. Ships Crew & Slaves as before
- Wednesday 18th D^o D^o Weather. no accounts of the *Venus* yet. Fevers & Ague rages very much. Begin to be very uneasy,²⁹⁷ there being no prospect of soon getting away and all Hands very sickly The Medicines nearly expended.
- Thursday 19th D^o D^o Weather in the day and extremely cold all night Ships Company rather worse Slaves much the same.
- Friday 20th D^o D^o Weather. at 3 PM Departed this life after a Lingering illness of 5 Months[,] Dennis MCarty Seaman[,] Aged 36 Years[,] at 6 Interred his Body Ships Crew and Slaves same as this few days past
- Saturday 21st D^o Still continues very unhealthy disagreeable w^r No accounts of the Brig *Venus* yet Ships Company and Slaves just the same. Sold MCarty's Cloaths by Public Auction.
- Sunday 22^d D^o D^o Weather[,] nothing remarkable. Only a few Slaves we hear come down to Laba [Labé] where the King of the Fullews is coming to settle the price
- [67v] Monday 23^d Dec^r 93 Very unhealthy disagreeable foggy weather, Ships Company very weakly Slaves all well
- Tuesday 24th D^o D^o Weather[,] extremely Cold in the Mornings Kill'd a Hog. People & Slaves as before.
- Wednesday 25th Dec^r D^o W^r This being Christmas day all the White

297. By this time, Gamble had good reason to feel "uneasy." He had arrived at the Iles de Los more than six months earlier and had made little progress in securing a cargo. Most of his crew remained debilitated as a consequence of Yellow Fever and other diseases, and some had died. This meant that he would need to employ new crew members from among the seamen then available, certainly not a welcome prospect considering the character of many of those present on the coast. New contracts would need to be negotiated, and some advance payments to new crew members would need to be made. The workmanship of coopers available to him was not to his liking, for many of the water casks were leaking. Gamble would also have considered that the trading season, by this date, was already well advanced and that his goal of reaching the Jamaican market at the beginning of the season was now in question. Whether the agreement between the *Sandown's* investors and the Kennedy firm in Kingston had stipulated an arrival date is uncertain, but clearly the Kennedys would have preferred that he deliver his cargo while prices for slaves in Jamaica were high. Gamble may also have been stretching his welcome with his host and contract merchant, Dr. Walker. Perhaps Gamble also was running short on cash or goods that he could turn into cash, as his expenses for additional help and local fees had begun to accumulate. All of these circumstances, and his own physical problems, combined to increase his concern that the voyage might not terminate as planned.

Gentlemen in the River came down & Din'd &c. Receiv'd on board 1 ManBoy[,] 1 WGirl N^{os} 43
 Thursday 26th Dec^r Hot Sultry weather all day, very Cold fogg all night[.]
 Receive'd on board 1 MBoy[,] 1 Woman[.] Slaves N^o 45
 Friday 27th Variable Winds with thick foggy weather and very Cold Night
 & Mornings. Schorching hot all day. Ships Crew very weakly. Slaves
 all well Receiv'd on board 1 Boat load firewood.
 Saturday 28th Dec^r 1793 D^o Weather[.] what part of the Ships Crew that
 are able[,] employ'd cleaning betwixt Decks. Slaves all well. Employ'd
 getting ready to go down to Sierra Leone to try to get some Arms for
 Provisions and a lot of Slaves from Bance Island. N^o ac^t of the Brig
Venus yet.

68[r] Remarks in the Schooner *Mary* from hence to Sierra Leone

Before I begin any Remarks on this trip I cannot help takeing Notice of the Villainy of the Natives [Landuma of Kakundy] in general. It being with the greatest difficulty that M^r Walker could get his Craft man'd tho Plenty of them employ'd by him & under Monthly wages their Provisions & houses found them. They found some superstitious excuse or other. Should they be forced against their own will and any Axcident happen. It would cost a great deal to reconcile their Relations which in general is very hard to do.

From the general sketch I have given previous to this of these people tho it is evident that the utmost acessible extremities of their Country [h]as not been much Visited, yet from what I have seen their Manners, Customs, Religion, Laws, the produce of nature and Necessities may easily be penetrated into. None of which creates any Admiration excepting the Bountiful Spontaneous production of the Earth. There are no People on the face of the Globe more ready to resent an Injury. Still they take every Opportunity of Shewing their Insolence provided they apprehend they are of the strongest party. from which it may be justly concluded that their furious resentment is rather from a Savage disposition [*sic*] than real courage or Bravery (Cowards they certainly are their being Ocular demonstrations of that allmost every day) are Supersticious [*sic*] to a degree dishonest[,] Stealing very thing they can lay their hands on and think it no crime if even caught in the fact[,] especialy if it be from a White trader.

[signed] PJO²⁹⁸

298. PJO appears twice in this ship log. It does not match with any name on the crew list, but perhaps it refers to a Petty Junior grade Officer.

[68v] These Characters I principally allude to are a set or Banditti of Migraters who live chiefly by rapine and Plunder[.] from what I can learn the whole set are tinctur'd with the same principals. A Philosopher would find here an ample field to display his genius which may justly be term'd a Natural History of the Human Species in their Savage state.

Sunday 29th Dec^r 1793. Dropt down the River last night[.] at 1 PM came to an Anchor off] Mungo²⁹⁹ Bameras River and sent the Yawl on shore to cut firewood[.] at 4 a boat from Rufelle pass'd and inform'd me that the *Nancy*[,] Captⁿ Smith[,] saild 20th Ins^r from the Isles de Los for the West Indies. at 7 PM got under way and work'd down the River[.] a fresh Sea breeze. SSW.

Monday 30th Dec^r 1793 At 1 PM came too, and at day break got underway with a fresh land wind and run out to sea. at 8 pass'd the Pinnacle *Pedro*[,] the *Fanny* in sight[,] both of which left Cacandia the day before us. This Afternoon 2 Schooners pass'd us bound into the Rio Nunez. at Sun set Cape Vergas bore EBS 4 or 5 Miles[.] a fresh sea breeze WSW.

Tuesday 31st Dec^r 1793 At 3 AM. the landwind came off] at ENE[.] at daylight the *Fanny* in sight to leeward Tho the *Mary* is reckon'd one of M^r Walkers fastest sailers she held us a Chase of 24 Hours before we came up with her[.] at 9 Spoke a Schooner belonging to Boobicar³⁰⁰ loaded with Stock[.] at 4 PM saw the Isles de Los[.] at 11 Came too off] factory Point Here ends the Old Year. Latt Obs^d at Noon 09°40' North

69[r] Wednesday 1st January 1794. At 7 AM went on Shore & staid to Breakfast and dine with the Ag^t M^r [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 retaken by the *Nancy of Liverpool*, with the loss of one Kill'd and one Drown'd³⁰¹ They had destroy'd all the Vessels pa-

299. The term Mangé is used commonly among the Baga and Susu to refer to the village headman.

300. Bubakr of Berika, alias Quia Bubu, frequently carried stock in his canoes to the Freetown market. Whether this is the same Bubakr is uncertain; Bubakr is a common name among Muslims along this section of coast.

301. One of the greatest fears for a slave captain was rebellion among his cargo of slaves. From the slaves' perspective, the most advantageous time to attempt such an insurrection was while the vessel was located in African waters. Within sight of land, they could easily reach shore or maneuver the vessel along the coast. Once at sea, however, insurrection could spell disaster for all concerned. Certainly the crew would be captured and perhaps killed, leaving slaves with the responsi-

pers, had dress'd 10 Dozen of Fowls & 8 Goats in the space of 36 hours possession of the Vesell. at 4 PM got underway for Serraleone[.] at 8 it fell Calm and continued so all night

Thursday 2^d Jan^y 1794 First part of this day a light landwind Rest of the day very hot and a perfect Calm. Obs^d in 08°52'N.

Friday 3^d Jan^y 94. Light baffling winds, at 4 PM, the Highland of Sierra Leone in sight[.] at 9 Came too off Free Town the New Settlement.³⁰²

Saturday 4th D^o At 10 AM went on shore[.] was Introduced by the Surgeon of the Settlem^t to His E[xcellenc^y] Gov^r [William] Daw[e]s & M^r [Zachary] M^cCauley³⁰³[,] Lieu^t D^o [William Macaulay,] & first in Council (who inform'd me of the Disagreeable news of the Brig *Venus* being cut off] at Cape Mount with 105 Slaves on board) 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 his Estimated at near Thirty Thousand Pounds.³⁰⁴ [signed] PJO.

[69v] Vessels here the *Harpy* of London and 7 Craft of different sizes[.] at 5 PM Captⁿ Trelfall [Telford] of the *Harpy* went on board the *Mary* & examin'd some of the Beef & Pork. They seem'd not to like either it (or the Price,) so got underway for Bance Island.

Sunday 5th Jan^y 1794 Light airs all this Day[.] at 11 AM came too off] Tasso [Island.] at 5 PM got underway[.] at 6 came too & went on Shore to the Agents M^r Tilley[.] found here the sch^r *Eleanor & Eliza* Captⁿ Hallsa³⁰⁵ of New York, the *Morning Star of Bristol*[,] a French Prize Brig[,] and several other craft

bility of returning to the African coast or continuing across the Atlantic. Many such vessels floundered mid-ocean, and in some cases all passengers/cargo perished. Occasionally, one of the original crew would take charge of the vessel, but slaves then were at the mercy of judgments that often were to their disadvantage. Insurrection could also result in charges of piracy, a significant crime in European laws. Tales of insurrections spread widely along the African coast; consequently, captains were always aware that one must always keep cargos secured. According to Macaulay ("Journal," 26 November 1793, and "Diary," 26 November 1793), Howard had lost his vessel a month earlier.

302. See Map No. 7, "Freetown Region."

303. In "Diary," 4 January 1794, Macaulay identified Gamble (Gambold) as arriving at Freetown from the Nunez with provisions (beef and pork) to sell. Gamble apparently complained of trade in the Nunez, for Macaulay characterized his venture there as a "losing voyage." War in the interior was apparently one of the causes of poor commerce.

304. Macaulay, "Journal," 30 November 1793 and 4 January 1794; Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report . . . 27th March 1794*, 22, 33.

305. Macaulay ("Diary," 16 December 1793) wrote that the *Esther & Elize* of New York, commanded by Captain Alsey, had stopped at Freetown.

Monday 6th D^o M^r Tilley inform'd me that owing to taking the American up which was to sail with 150 Slaves on the 14 Ins^t[,] it did not lay in his power to let M^r Walker have any Slaves. Strangers here. M^r Aspinall from the Scarsas & M^r Skellton³⁰⁶ from the Rio Pongas.

Tuesday 7th to Friday 10th D^o Receiv'd a letter from M^r MCawley [Zachary Macaulay] intimating that if I would bring or send the Provisions down[,] he would take them at the beforemention'd price³⁰⁷ Receiv'd from M^r Tilley 2 Puncheons Rum[,] 5 Empty water Puncheons, 10 p^r Leg Irons, & 10 Handcuffs; went down to the Settlement [Freetown], landed the Beef & Pork[,] sold 14 Casks[,] and left three in the [Sierra Leone Company] Stores till call'd for.

The Settlers may consist of about 2500 Men, Women, and Children. mostly Collour'd who Stand the Climate better than the Whites. The Principal Buildings are the Governors House which is very neat and compact; well situated on a rising eminence having both the Sea & land wind in their greatest propity. Protected by a Platform of 4 Nine Pd^{rs} and two 5½ Inch Howisers.

70[r] The Courthouse is a large commodious building, when finish'd will surpass any of the others very much. built in the West India stile with Gallerys all round. The Church is a plain neat structure large enough for a Congregation of 1^{hd} people with Copula and bell in it. in the inside are seats instead of Pews (owing to the heat of the Country) The Schoolmaster [Garvin] is their Divine, & his Usher [Gordon] Clerk. They appear very Religious[,] attending Service by 3 OClock in the Morning and till Eleven at night. four, or five, times. ø week. but I am very doubtful wether it is [blank space] or not. There is likewise a range of Buildings Occupied by the Physician, Doctors, Clerks, &c. with several other neat little Houses that the Commercial Agent[,] Engineer, Cashier, Storekeeper & their Clerks live in (there is only one White Lady³⁰⁸ of Consequence [Anna Maria Falconbridge] the Store-

306. William Skelton, a European trader, was located at Kissing in the Rio Pongo. He was known as the "elder" because he had a son who took the same name. Skelton sent his son William to England for an education; the son returned in 1811 and was associated with Samuel Samo, who operated a factory on Factory Island after the slave trade became illegal for British subjects in 1808. The elder Skelton traded in association with the Liverpool Company at Bance Island and at the Iles de Los. For more on Skelton, see Mouser, "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict."

307. In "Diary," 8 and 10 January 1794, Macaulay agreed to take Gamble's cargo, but erroneously identified Gamble as an American.

308. Anna Maria Falconbridge, *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone, During the Years 1791—2—3* (1802/London: Frank Cass, 1967).

keepers Wife amongst them) There is two tollerable good Hospitals but as for the rest they are by far worse then the meanest Negroe hutts I ever saw in Africa & take them in general. The Planters complain that the Buggabug or large black Ant destroys all their sugar Canes and other plants, so that their is nothing likely to come to perfections except the Cotton or Indigo Plants, but which means Ivory, Camwood, Gum, Pepper, Rice, Indigo & Cotton are their staple commodities for remittance for such enormous expences They have been and are daily of which I am informd it not less then two hundred pound ϕ Day or Sixty two Thousand six hundred pound St^s ϕ year exclusive of accidental losses. The loss of the *York* is computed at not less than £18,000 St^s [n]or is y^e land half clear'd, or their Warehouses scarcely the foundations laid, they are employ'd build^s fast round the confines of their Libertys to keep King Jimmy³⁰⁹ and people in Awe [70v] Who where very Riotous on Christmas day last some of whom struck the Lieutenant Governor for refusing them Liquor. in fact nothing but the great guns & vessels keep them under any degree of subjection. They are an awful Rogueish set, press'd of a great deal of low cunning and not under much subordination to their Chiefs[,] live chiefly by Hunting[,] fishing, or plunder which they sell to the settlers at an exorbitant price for their curr^t coin. 1 Penny pieces[,] 10 Cents or 6^d, 20 Cents or 1/, 50 Cents or 2/6, 100 Cents or 5/ Currency.³¹⁰

The Mackanseis employ'd have 3/. ϕ day and have a lot of land to build upon with priveledge of Church, & Hospital. The Labourers appear a wretched set[,] have 18^d ϕ day with a lot of land They go to work at Sun rise by the tolling of a large Bell They go to Breakfast at 8 Oclock[.] at 9 the Bells Tolls they go to Work again[.] break off[.] at 11 and go again at 2 till sun set They fire a Morning & Evening gun.

Provisions here is very dear Vennison or Mutton 7^d ϕ ^{lb}[,] Salt Pork 8^d[,] Eggs 1/. ϕ dozen. Vegetables &c in prop[or]t[io]n[.] here is two Charity Schools, one for Boys the other for Girls The Boys are learn'd

309. King Jimmy was the nominal landlord who had contracted with the Sierra Leone Company for a settlement. Once the settlement had been established, Jimmy frequently attempted to revise his agreement with the Company. For King Jimmy, see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 23–25, 30, 36–38.

310. For the first decades of the colony's existence, its currency consisted of a mixture of coins, but most of them were American. This became a significant embarrassment after the settlement was transferred from the Company to a colonial status in 1808. See P. E. H. Hair, "Freetown Abused, 1809," *Durham University Journal* 59 (1967): 152–160.

to Read, Write, Arithmetic[,] & Church music Girls Reading, Singing, and Needlework. are about 50 in Numr In the Center of the Town is a Platform & flagstaff defended by twelve 12 Pd^{rs} and at the W^{end} or landing place is another platform of 9 12 Pd^{rs} all kept in excellent order This place is subject to Violent gusts of Wind[,] Thunder[,] Lightning[,] & heavy rain thru out the year, attracted by the very high Mountains contiguous to it.

7 1[r] Saturday 11th Jan^y to 14th of D^o Left Free Town in order to proceed to the Northward and on the 14th Arrived at the Isles de Los. got a Promise from M^r Jackson to lend me 45 Slaves on M^r Ja^s Walkers Acc^t Friday 17th Left the Isles de Los 14th and Arrived here [Kacundy] this day[.] found that during my absence there had been an Insurrection on board 14th Ins^t & seven Men & 1 Woman drown'd. One MBoy and a Man run away.

Saturday 18th to Friday 24th Thick foggy disagreeable weather, Ships Company still continues very weakly Two Slaves sickly[.] 57 Slaves on board. At 3 PM left the Ship in order to go to the Isles de Los for 45 Slaves promis'd me there.

Saturday 25th to 31st Jan^y Arrived at the Isles de Los 31st Ins^t[.] found there the Ship *Jimmy of Liverpool*, Captⁿ Pearson[,] belonging to the employ^r [Hodgsons] which prevented me getting any Slaves there. The *Fanny* gone into the Scarsas for Slaves[,] Rice[,] &c and to call for me in her return

Saturday 1st to Saturday 15st Febr^y. finding the *Fanny* to stay long[,] took a passage in a Bance Island Craft 10 Ins^t The *Fanny* spoke us. had a long tedious passage[,] nothing but fogs and Calm[.] 4th Feb^y Departed this life Tho^s Rogers[,] Seaman Aged 23, Rest of the Crew same as I left them, found 134 Slaves on board.³¹¹

311. Until this date, Gamble had been obtaining slaves in small groups of one to five. Doubtlessly his instructions from investors or from Kennedy had specified sizes, ages, and sexes of cargo, and his agreement with Walker would have included these requirements as well. MacInnes ("Slave Trade," 266) described the selection process that normally occurred when slaves were obtained in groups. A large number of slaves were herded into a protected area where the ship's doctor inspected each slave for deficiencies or defects, perhaps requiring each to perform some physical exercise. Special care would also have been taken to ensure that none was then afflicted with a disease or fever. Those that did not pass his test would have been rejected. This selection process apparently had already taken place for those on board when Gamble arrived from Sierra Leone. Once large numbers of slaves had been placed on board, however, it would have been necessary for the ship to secure its remaining cargo as quickly as possible, for this was the time when slaves were still within easy reach of land and when insurrection was most

- [71v] Sunday 16th to Thursday 20th Feb^y 1794 Employ'd takeing in Slaves, filling water[,] and getting Fire Wood on board as fast as possible. A Cutter and the *Mary* arriv^d from Sierra Leone. Ship'd³¹² the following People[:] M^r Jm^s Griffith³¹³ 2^d Mate[,] Peter Adams Cooper, Charles Brown[,] Tho^s Hale[,] Charles Boulton, John Denrose[,] Tho^s Randall[,] & Henry Smith, Seamen. This day ends 176 Slaves on board[.] depart'd this life one Man Slave of fever. N^o 1.
- Friday 21st to Wednesday 26th Employ'd receiving Slaves, and trimming Water Casks, getting firewood, on board. ready to go to Sea Arrived the Ship *Zephyr*[,] Captⁿ Salsbury [Salisbury][,] from Liverpool with a Cargo of Salt for M^r Walker. Captⁿ Buckle³¹⁴ in the Cutter saild for Serraleone [Bance Island] (220 Slaves on board)
- Thursday 27th to March 8th 1794 Hot scorching sultry weather The whole compliment of Slaves receivd from M^r Walker Viz 250) & a Girl he made me a present of. 8th dropt down the river in order to go to sea[.] at 4 PM came to an anchor off[] Bankfeare
Departed this life 27th Feb^y 1 Man of a fever[,] 1 Woman of D^o
March 3^d 1 Man of D^o
6th March 1 Man flux & 1 of a fever N^o 6 Total on board 234.³¹⁵
- 72[r] Sunday 9th March to Saturday 15th Received information from several boats that came into the river from the Southward that there was a french snow³¹⁶ of 20 Guns waiting for us off[] the rivers mouth and that the *Zephyr* had fir'd into her boat. drop't up the river again with

likely. Each day that they remained on the coast, moreover, would mean an additional day of rations consumed, and ships normally carried only enough provisions to last a normal voyage, with some consideration given also to delays caused by natural circumstances.

312. When Gamble left England, he had a crew of twenty-two seamen and two boys. By this point in his voyage, he had lost eight of his crew through death, and others were unseaworthy. Enrolling eight new seamen would have been required; perhaps some of these came from the Freetown settlement, but others may have come from Bance Island or were already at Kacundy waiting for suitable employment.

313. Macaulay ("Diary," 7 November 1793) described Griffith as having a bad reputation at Freetown for having cheated Africans in ivory transactions and accused him of being a "kidnapper."

314. Macaulay ("Diary," 1 March 1794) wrote that Captain Lowes of the *Anna* arrived at Freetown and reported having seen Buckle in the Rio Nunez a few days earlier.

315. This listing of casualties among his cargo is instructive. Many of these slaves had been on board for nearly a month; diseases spread rapidly in such confined conditions. Gamble must have had ominous thoughts about the future of his enterprise, if slaves were already dying and he had not yet left African waters.

316. A snow was a small two-masted sailing vessel, similar to a brig.

- the Ship *Zephyr* to Cacandia in order to wait to go to Sea with her Received on board 2 Tons clean rice.³¹⁷
- Sunday 16th Hot Sultry weather. Arrived here the Schooner *Yamfamara* of 10 Guns, with the beforementioned Vessel her prize which is the *Venus* of New York[,] Captⁿ Hammond. The Slaves took possession of her[,] Kill'd the Captⁿ Mate 2^d D^o and seven Seamen. They engaged the *Yamfamara* from day break till 11 at night (they where purchas'd at Goree and are Jollofs) are all in possession of the Bagos, having swam on shore after they found them selves overpowerd[.] employ'd getting ready to go down the River Receiv'd 1 Puncheon Rum[,] 110 Gall[,] 1 B^l flour[,] 5 Kegs Crackers (Walker refuses me a pilot)
- [72v] Monday 17th to Wednesday 19th Hot sultry weather[,] all ready to go to sea waiting only a Pilot. M^r Walker refuses a Pilot till the Salt Ships ready. went up to M^r Lawrences and with much difficulty got one of his Grometas.³¹⁸ Receiv'd 5 Cheshire Cheeses, and 23 Dozen Porter from the *Zephyr*.
- Thursday 20th to Wednesday 26th March 1794 Very hot all day, and disagreeably cold in the night. Shipt the following hands[:] Robert McKin[,] Alex Jordan[,] Allan Turner[,] John Brown[,] & Robert Drummond³¹⁹ being very suspicious that the French Privateer waiting to the Westward for us. Employ'd dropping down the River The Bance Island Packet and *Thetis* from Isles de Los gone up the [Nunez] River for Slaves for the Ships *Elizabeth Anderson* & *Jimmy*. Receiv'd information from a Craft going out that M^r Walkers place was all Burn'd down but the fire proof Store. The 26th at Noon Bania point[,] EBS½S dis 4 Leag^s A Cutter in sight going into the River [NB] 22^d Buried 2 Men Slaves[,] N^o 8.
- 73[r] Representation of a Lott of Fullow's bringing their slaves for Sale to the Europeans.³²⁰ which generally commences anually in December,

317. Gamble clearly distinguished a difference here between white/polished rice that came from the interior and red/husk rice that was available from local Baga producers. When added to that received earlier, this amount of 4,000 pounds perhaps was intended only to replenish the supplies consumed while the slaves waited for the ship's departure.

318. Gamble neglected to write an explanation in his journal. Clearly, Walker had provided a pilot but only for a time of his own choosing. Perhaps Gamble's departure from Walker was less than cordial, but Lawrence appeared to have been reluctant to meddle in the dispute, whatever its character.

319. These additional seamen account for thirteen replacements to his original crew of twenty-two persons.

320. See Photo 5, "Representation of a Lott of Fullow's bringing their slaves for Sale to the Europeans," "Sandown" manuscript, page 73r. Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.



Representation of a Lott of Fullo's bringing
their slaves for Sale to the Europeans.

or early in January. being prevented from coming down sooner by the river being overflow'd and their paths impassable, from the heavy rains which end in November. They sometimes come upwards of one Thousand Miles out of the interior part of the Country[,] are Arm'd with Bows[,] Arrows[,] & Spears, one quiver of Arrows they carry are Poison'd to defend themselves with, another not so which they hunt with and are very dextrous[,] seldom missing their game. The Slaves they make fast round the Neck a long stick which is securd round the others awaist from one to another so that one Man can steer fifty and stop them at his pleasure[.] at Night their hands are tied behind their backs. [73v] Which causes them to lay down with great difficulty. The Women, Boys & Girls, are loose but a good guard over them They frequently³²¹ bring Horses for sale Their Goats follow them like Dogs[,]

321. Gamble was probably incorrect in this comment about horses being brought coastward for sale. Horses were eagerly sought by Fula for use in their cavalry. McGowan ("Development of European Relations," 82) noted that few horses were present in the Fuuta Jalloo and that, while the Fula army often used

each knows its Master[.] when they come to any clear place and near any fresh water they build hutts which serves them for the Season at which places they in general refresh, for a while for in their Journeys they suffer much by the excessive heat of the Sun, & thirst travelling several days with out any signs of a Spring or Riverlet (They use no Spirituous Liquors.) These People are by no means a Hardy race of Men, the Country they Inhabit is high and very healthy. Their Principal diet [is] Milk & rice[.] when they come down to the low swampy land and they cannot get their usual victuals, they are seiz'd with Fevers, Fluxes[,] & Agues equally as bad has us Whites. There Principal places of trade are Gambia, Rio Nunez & the Mandingo Country[.]³²² 1500 of them have been bought here in one Season, they are of[f] in May as the rains set in in June. They appear an harmless set of People but that is thro fear being so far from Home, being told that they are very despotic in their own Country. Their darling Comoditys that they get from the whites is Salt which they feed their Cattle with to prevent them from certain disorders Peculiar to the Country. Tobacco & Beads are next in demand. Guns[,] Powder[,] & Cloth not so great.³²³

NB One of their Domesticcs carries upon his back a matt with up-
w^{ds} of 2C^{wr} w[ort]^h of Salt into their own Country for load of it.

74[r] Thursday 27th March 1794 All these 24 Hours light breezes & Var^e[.] at 3 PM K^d[.] at 6 PM the SEastm^t land bore bore ESE 4½ leagues distance[.] at 1 K^d Ship. 7½ f^{ms} Water[.] mud at 4 AM[.] 16½ f^m. D^o Departed this Life a Man Slave N^o 9 I take my Departure from Cape Verga Latt 09°56'N Long 13°30'West

[later] Latt ø Obsⁿ 10°13' North

horses as a strike force against Fula enemies, horses were generally restricted in use to members of the aristocracy. Campbell (CO 2/5, "Expedition of Discovery," 294, 303, 386–387, 433) wrote in 1816 that Fula horses were small and that the Fula relied heavily upon Moors and traveling merchants for their supply of horses in the Fuuta.

322. Mandingo Country likely refers to Moria, with its capital at Forékariah on the Kissi Kissi River, a principal terminus of caravan trade along the Fuuta–Scarcies Corridor. For more on Moria, see Bruce L. Mouser, "1805 Forékariah Conference: A Case of Political Intrigue, Economic Advantage, Network Building," *History in Africa* 25 (1998): 219–262.

323. This listing of priorities in the Fula market differs from that suggested by others. Certainly salt was a principal reason for commerce between the interior and the coast, but firearms would have been an important trade commodity, especially in times of interior warfare, which was frequent. Beads and tobacco also were in high demand, but these items were not a part of Fula state policy and likely would have been regarded as luxuries.

Friday 28th D^o Light breezes all this 24 hours The latter part inclining to a Calm.

At 6 PM sounded in	10 f ^{ms} Mudd,
at 8 D ^o	12 D ^o
at 10 D ^o	13 D ^o
at Midnight	in 13 D ^o
at 8 AM	15½ D ^o

Slaves very Sea Sick[,] cannot eat their Victuals. Breach'd 8th Puncheon Water.³²⁴ Latt ø Obsⁿ 09°42'N

[74v] Saturday 29th March 1794 During these 24 Hours light breezes inclining to a Calm.

At 6 PM	19½ f ^{ms}	soft bottom
At Midnight	19 f ^{ms}	D ^o

Ships Company and slaves complaining Breach'd a Puncheon N^o 9 Water Latt ø Obsⁿ 09°46'N

Sunday 30th March 1794 Light breezes during the whole of these 24 Hours.

at 6 PM sounded in	22 fathoms
at 10 PM	14½ D ^o
at 2 AM	20
at 8	21
at Maredian	20

Bent the [Small Bower cab]les³²⁵ as before. No Observation

75[r] Monday 31st March 1794 Light winds and close sultry Weather. (Caught a Mackarel)[.] unbent the small Bower Cable

At 6 PM Sounded	18 f ^{ms}
At Midnight	19
At Maredian	no bottom with 25 f ^{ms}

Slaves very sea sick. Breach'd A Puncheon Water N^o 10[,] a quarter leakd out Latt ø Obsⁿ 09°30'N

Tuesday 1st April 1794 This day an Error[.]³²⁶ see the Log for the 28th March 1794[,] instead of this 1st of April.

324. It would have been customary to expect that each slave would consume 2 quarts of water per day. Gamble's "puncheons," if they contained 112 gallons, would provide each person with approximately the expected requirement. See "Documents Relating to the Case of the Ship Zong 1783, Voucher #2," MS REC 19, The Caird Library, National Maritime Museum, London.

325. The entry for 31 March indicated that the words "Small Bower" were probably missing in the entry for 30 March.

326. This is a confusing statement, and it is not clarified by following Gamble's instruction to see the 28 March 1794 entry.

- [75v] Tuesday 1st April 1794 First part of this 24 Hours Calm Middle & latter part moderate breezes & pleasant weather. Slaves rather poorly Breach'd a Puncheon Water N^o 11 I find a Strong Current to the S^d Latt \varnothing Obsⁿ 08°46'N
- Wednesday, 2^d April 1794 All these 24 Hours light winds and Serene Pleasant weather. All Sail set to advantage Three Slaves very poorly[,] rest tollerable K^d *Harty*. A number of Albacaroes & Benetos Jumping round us. Breach'd a Puncheon Water N^o 12 Latt \varnothing Obsⁿ 09°21'N
- 76[r] Thursday 3^d April 1794 Light breezes with very hazey w^r & heavy Dews[.] a great Number of Sharks round the Vessel. At 6 PM the Doctor Amputated a Mans finger that was begun to Mortify, having been bit by another Slave.³²⁷ at 5 PM he Departed this Life, N^o 10. Breach'd 13 P. Water Slaves Poorly. I all^w a Cur^t to the Southward. No Observation
- Friday 4th D^o During these 24 Hours light winds and Variable with thick foggy w^r. A great number of Fish round us but very shy. A strong Rippling which I find to be occasion'd by a Southerly Curr^t. Slaves as yesterday, 4 Whites sick Latt \varnothing Obs^d 09°03'N
- [76v] Saturday 5th April 1794. Light breezes and pleasant weather[.] a great number of Porpoises playing round us, struck one, but he got off[f] the Harpoon. Employ'd filling up the Empty Casks with Salt water,³²⁸ found a Butt $\frac{2}{3}$ out and a Punchⁿ $\frac{1}{3}$ a out[.] 17th Cask out. Slaves as before, Whites better Latt Obsⁿ 08°34'N
- Sunday 6th D^o. Moderate breezes and variable[.] at 4 P.M. found a Man Slave stow'd away in the Hold, got him up and secur'd him likewise several others that were found could get their Hands out of Irons.³²⁹ 5 Slaves in the Doctors list. Ships Company complaining[.] 19th Cask water in breach. I find a Southerly Current. Latt Obs^d 07°52'N

327. Insurrection and illness were not the only challenges faced while in the Middle Passage. Cramped into tight quarters, slaves occasionally started fights among themselves. Captains, in that time, treated their cargo as a living commodity, an investment that needed to be nourished with sufficient food and water, treated for diseases, and contained so that the investment would not destroy itself. In this instance, internal squabbles had resulted in damage to a saleable property. See Mackenzie-Grieve, *The Last Years*, 129, 135–136

328. Once at sea, it would have been necessary to retain the proper weight and balance in the vessel, even though the consumption of drinking water was effectively reducing its own total weight. For this reason, perhaps, the empty casks were refilled, this time with sea water.

329. The term “stow” technically means to hide. Unfortunately for this slave, the *Sandown* was a small vessel, and there were no places to hide for very long. Having discovered the slave, however, Gamble ordered that chains on others be checked and corrected.

- 77[r] Monday 7th April 1794 Light winds & pleasant weather, only the trade [wind] does not come round but baffles very much. Several of the Slaves afflicted with Billious Complaints likewise with the Worms[.] filld 4 Puncheons[.] 1 Butt up with Salt Water, several Peterills [Petrels] flying about. Ships Company rather better. allow a Cur^r ESE^¾ Mile \varnothing hour from the line & rippling off [f] the Sea. Latt Obs^d 07°19'N
- Tuesday 8th D^o Moderate breezes and Hazy W^r. Employ'd filling up Salt Water Breach'd a Puncheon N^o 21[.] five Slaves in the Doctors list but in good Spirits. A great number of Porpoises & Albacores playing round the vesell. Latt Obs^d 07°26'N
- [77v] Wednesday 9th April 1794 Moderate breezes and Hazy W^r. Slaves rather better Breach'd A Puncheon water N^o 22 Have Whites & five Blacks in the Doctors list. Latt Obs. 07°30'N
- Thursday 10th April 1794 Moderate breezes and pleasant weather. Employ'd cleaning ship[.] Shaving Slaves[.] & filling up salt water Several of both Whites & Blacks in the Doctors list I find a strong Current setting to the Southward. Latt Obs^d 07°37'N
- 78[r] Friday 11th April 1794 Fresh breezes and Cloudy weather Carrying all Sail that would draw to Advantage. A heavy Swell setting to the Southward. Slaves same as before[.] complain that it is very Cold. Ships Company employ'd at Sundries[.] 24th Cask of Water Breach'd Latt Obs^d 08°03'N
- Saturday Glorious 12th April Ditto breezes and very Cold. Hasey weather. fill'd up 4 Casks Salt Water, and Breach^d N^o 25 A Puncheon of fresh water leakd 12 Inches out. Slaves as before. Latt Obs^d 08°43'N
- [78v] Sunday 13th April 1794 Fresh breezes and Cloudy w^r. Employ'd at sundry necessarys Several Slaves in the Doctors list Breach'd a Cask Water N^o 26 All hands went to $\frac{2}{3}$ ^{ds} Allow^{ce} Beef Latt Ob^d 09°16'N
- Monday 14th D^o All this 24 Hours a fresh trade carrying sail to advantage, Ships Company and Slaves as this week past. Breach'd a Puncheon Water & took a Bucket full out. Latt Obs^d 10°13'N
- 79[r] Tuesday 15th April 1794 Fresh gales with thick foggy w^r. and heavy swell from the NE^d Slaves complain that it is very Cold. Breach'd a Puncheon of Water $\frac{2}{3}$ ^{ds} leak'd out N^o 27. A number of the Women very Meagure[.] likewise Boys & Girls Men in good Spirits. 9 in Doctors list. Latt Obs^d 10°55'N
- Wednesday 16th Fresh gales and Cloudy weather. all this 24 Hours, taking in and setting Sail, as necessary for the best advantage. Breach'd a Punchⁿ Water N^o 28. at 6 PM Buried 1 Woman & 1 Girl Slaves N^o 12. Several other very weakly. 3 Whites Sickly. Latt Obs^d 11°17'N

[79v] Thursday 17th April 1794 All this 24 Hours a fresh steady Trade Carrying sail to the best advantage Steering Sails below and aloft fore and aft. Buried a Man Boy Slave N^o 13. several others very poorly. B P Water N^o 29 Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 11^o44'N

Friday 18th April 1794 The whole of this 24 Hours a fine fresh Gale with Squalls & gentle showers of Rain. takeing in and setting Sail Occasionally. Departed this Life, one Man Slave N^o 14. several others poorly, Breach'd 2 Puncheons W^r N^o 31 Latt Obs^d 11^o58'N

80[r] Saturday 19th April 1794 Steady breezes all this 24 Hours all sail set to the best Advantage[.] at 10 AM saw a dead Gull floating upon the surface of the Water. Splicd the remains of the Best and small Bower Cables, about 45 fms good Breach'd Puncheon Water N^o 32. Six Slaves in the Doctors list & five Whites. Latt Obs^d 12^o17'N

Sunday 20th April 1794 Barbadoes bears W^d 9^o N. 900 Miles Distance All this 24 Hours moderate breezes with fine clear pleasant w^r. At 10 AM counted the Slaves Viz 86 Men, 29 Mboys[.], 30 Boys, 40 Women[.], 13 Wgirls[.], & 28 Girls Total on board 226[.] 10 lost in the Insurrection & 14 Dead makes 250[.], the whole Complement Rec^d. Witness John Apsey.

Sam^l Gamble

John M Griffiths {2nd Mate}

Slaves as before.

George Kettle Surgeon

Latt Obs^d 12^o37'N[.]

[80v] Monday 21st April 1794 Throughout this 24 Hours a fine Steady breeze. Carrying all sail to advantage Cut down the upper part of the Barricado & put the Main Deck awning below at 8 AM Buried a Boy N^o 15. Breach'd A Puncheon Water N^o 33 Latt Obs^d 12^o48'N

Tuesday 22^d D^o Moderate breezes with pleasant w^r. Steering sails and Royalls³³⁰ set fore & aft At 10 AM Departed this Life John Cameron[.], chief mate Aged 27 Years[.], of the Dropsy³³¹ and a Complication of

330. A royal is a light sail located immediately above the top gallant sail.

331. Dropsy, from the word *hydrops* or water, refers to the accumulation of body fluids in the legs and body. In the eighteenth century, the absence of measurement instruments to determine heart activity made it difficult to determine whether this condition was a consequence of heart disease/dysfunction or whether other organs had been damaged or were diseased as well. In most cases, however, such a condition was likely the result of congestive heart failure. For a lengthy discussion of this condition in this period and difficulties of diagnosis, see J. Worth Estes, *Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove: Medical Practice and Research in Revolutionary America 1760–1820* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1979), chapter 4, “Changing Fashions in Heart Disease,” 141–163.

- other Disorders, not haveing had Six Weeks good Health since we left London. Several Slaves sickly. Caught a Serpent fish 4 feet Long Breach'd a Puncheon Water N^o 34. Latt Obs^d 13^o08'N
- 81[r] Wednesday 23^d April 1794 Throughout this 24 Hours a fine steady breeze with Pleasant weather[,] carrying all sail fore & Aft, below & aloft to the best advantage. At 7 AM struck a large Dolphin with the grains. after being hove in upon Deck the grains came out and in springing went thro the gun port & we lost him.³³² Slaves & People rather sickly Breach'd P Water N^o 35 Latt Obs^d 12^o55'N
- Thursday 24th D^o First part of these 24 Hours a fresh breeze Middle & latter more moderate all sail set[,] at 5 PM Buried a Man Slave N^o 16.D,D,D. Ships Company rather Sickly[,] 5 in the D. list[,] several Slaves poorly[,] the rest in good Spirits Owing to the Suns be^g Vertical This day lost an Observation it being gone in an Instant. Ships Company making platts for the Cables.³³³ Breach'd a Puncheon Water N^o 36
- [81v] Friday 25th April 1794 Moderate Breezes, with Cloudy W^r. Slaves very Sickly Buried 1 Boy & 1 Girl[,] Slaves N^o 17 & 18. Ships Company Sickly[,] 5 in the Doctors list. Disorders amongst both Whites & Blacks. Flux and Scurvy with Slight Fevers. came [to] a resolution of calling at Barbadoes to fill up our Water and get some Vegetables[,] fruit[,] &c to refresh the Slaves & Crew.³³⁴ At Maredian Barbadoes bears by my Acc^t West 105 Leagues Distance. Breach'd A Puncheon Water N^o 37. Latt Obs^d 13^o18'N

332. Coughtry (*Notorious Triangle*, 145–161) described the tedium associated with the Middle Passage, in addition to the risks of disease to cargo as well as to crew. Few live animals for slaughter were on board at this point in the voyage, with the consequence that both crew and cargo would have welcomed the spearing of a fish as a change in diet and perhaps as a bit of excitement or diversion during an otherwise boring crossing.

333. Certainly boredom was a constant problem facing the crew during this part of the voyage. The challenge that confronted the captain was to find tasks that could be done without those duties reducing the crew's alertness to potential rebellion among the cargo, especially once the barricado had been removed. The vessel still required maintenance, even if it meant inspecting or reweaving cables.

334. Gamble's decision to reroute his voyage to Barbados represented a recognition that his venture was in serious distress. The slaves were ill, too many were dying, and he was short on supplies. Many of his crew were also on the verge of mutiny because of illness. Clearly, Gamble was taking a risk by stopping at Barbados because this would give his crew an opportunity to "jump ship." Indeed, that is exactly what occurred. Eleven members of the crew left "without permission" within twenty-four hours of reaching shore. For flux and scurvy, see Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 291–292.

82[r] Saturday 26th April 1794 Throughout these 24 Hours moderate breezes with Cloudy weather. saw several Tropic Birds & a great number of flying fish. Ships Company sickly. Slaves are better. Bent the Cables. Buried two Men Slaves N^o 20 Barbadoes bears by Ac^t bears W^d82 Leagues Latt Obs^d 13^o22'N

Sunday 27th D^o Moderate breezes & pleasant w^r. at 8 PM shortn'd Sail looking out for the land[.] at 4 AM set all sail to advantage. Ships Crew very Sickly & Slaves too. Breach'd A Puncheon Water N^o 38 Barbadoes bears West 49 Leagues. Latt Obs^d 13^o17'N

[82v] Monday 28th April 1794 Moderate breezes & pleasant w^r. Carrying all sail to the best advantage[.] at 3 PM saw a Ship to the SE^d steering to the W^d[.] at Day light she came up with us[.] cleared Ship ready for Action[.]³³⁵ bore up and Spoke her[.] the *Hall of Liverpool*[.] 62 Days from Cork for Jamaica Ships Crew and Slaves no better. Latt Obsⁿ 13^o10'N. Barbadoes bears West 21 leagues distance.

Tuesday 29th April 1794 Ditto breezes with Cloudy weather Squalls & Showers of rain[.] at 1 AM Spoke the Ship *Hall*[.] at 2 both ships Hove to with our Heads to the N^d[.] at ½ past 5 made Sail and at ½ past 6 saw the Island of Barbadoes[.] bearing NBN 7 leag^s Distance at Mare-dian Came too in Carlisle Bay in 3½ fathoms. Sundry people left the Ship with out leave[.] see tomorrows remark.³³⁶

83[r] Wednesday 30th April 1794 Fresh breezes & clear weather. Absconded at 5 last night without leave, Charles Boulton, Alexander Jordan[.] Robert McKin[.] Tho^s Randall[.] & Charles Brown Receiv'd 1 Cask sugar 2^d [one undeciphered word] and 6 Punⁿ Water. Absconded from the ships with out leave James Atkins Cook[.] Allan Turner[.] Joseph Grant[.] Jm^s Brown[.] Henry Smith[.] & Thomas Hale.³³⁷

335. In wartime, it was always prudent to be prepared for trickery; the art of carrying false papers and flags was practiced widely during those years. Gamble could never be certain that a vessel represented who or what it claimed. He would be prepared to defend himself, and perhaps his demonstration of weapons would convince the other vessel's captain to abandon any aggressive intention.

336. For placement of islands and sites mentioned in the journal, see Map 9, "West Indies."

337. Of this group of eleven persons, nine had been shipped at the Rio Nunez, one was mentioned for the first time in the record, and one had been shipped in England before the voyage began. Indeed, Gamble may have agreed to employ these seamen from West Africa only until they reached land or may have employed them with the understanding that they would be permitted to leave his employ once they reached America. Thirteen had joined the crew in Africa; therefore, there were four seamen unaccounted for. Kay (*The Shameful Trade*, 97) noted that there were advantages for a ship's master when seamen left without permission. Ac-

Buried two Women Girl Slaves N^o 21 & 22. Receive'd an Attorneys note that several of the People had made application for them to recover their Wages. 13 Sail of Merchant Vessels in the Bay[.] am informd that Martinique[,] S^t Lucia[,] & Guadalupe looking to us.³³⁸

Thursday 1st May 1794 Made application to M^r Barton[,]³³⁹ Merchant in Bridgetown[,] for to Advance Cash for Bills either upon London or Jamaica likewise to the Collectors to be permitted to dispose of two or three Slaves to clear the Disbursements[,] none of which could be procur'd & the Proctors threatning to enter an action against the Ship in the Court of Admiralty,³⁴⁰ M^r Barton supplied the Ship with 4 Half Barrels Pork[,] 3 B^{ls} Flour[,] 1 B^l Potatoes[,] 1 Keg Butter[,] 2 Kegs split pears & 1 Dozⁿ Madeira Rum Peter Alton,³⁴¹ Arrived here the

cording to Kay, the captain, if fortunate, could retain wages owed them. Seamen also considered it advantageous to abscond in the West Indies, where employment on privateers was probable and where it was unlikely that captains would pursue deserting seamen. Parliament, 33 Geo. 3rd, cap. 73, "Shipping and Carrying Slaves," enacted 17 June 1793, stipulated that wages due "run men" were to be forfeited, however, with half going to Greenwich Hospital and half to the merchants' hospital in the vessel's port of registry. In effect, this law specified that the captain could retain no part of the forfeited wages. That these seamen left the ship without permission as soon as the *Sandown* made landfall is instructive. Perhaps they believed that Gamble would refuse them permission; that they would leave without collecting their pay is sufficient reason to think that this may have been the circumstance. And perhaps they believed themselves legally justified in leaving his service. As noted in this and the next few entries, these seamen immediately engaged legal counsel at Barbados to represent their interests vis-à-vis the *Sandown* and its captain. Certainly neither they nor their counsel would have brought legal action without sufficient cause, at least enough to encourage Court of Admiralty intervention as noted in Gamble's entry dated 2 May.

338. Essentially, this meant that Gamble was stranded at Barbados; and, nearby, privateers from French island possessions were scouting the Caribbean for likely prey.

339. Barton, Higginson, and Company were listed as a Barbadian merchant firm in 1803. See Donnan, *Documents*, vol. II, 652.

340. Within twenty-four hours of landing at Barbados, Gamble had received official notice that his absconded seamen had secured counsel, and the latter were prepared to hold his vessel in the harbor until wages were paid. Gamble quickly sought to obtain cash by drawing a promise-to-pay (writing a check) on the voyage's investors or parties at Jamaica who were anticipated buyers. Although Mr. Barton of Barbados was unwilling or unable (cash money was scarce) to give him cash for the "promise-to-pay," he was willing to provision the vessel with food stuffs. Gamble also sought permission to sell two or three slaves; with the cash generated by these sales, he would pay the seamen's wages.

341. This is the only reference to Peter Alton in this document. His signature may have referred to the list of goods brought on board from Mr. Barton. He may have been in Barton's employ.

*Vanguard*³⁴² of 74 & *Swan* Sloop of war from England with the London fleet[,] about 50 Sail. Buried a Woman Girl & a Boy N^o 23 & 24. 8 in the Doctors List.

[83v] 1794 Friday 2^d May. Fresh breezes and Hazey weather. Absconded from the Ship with out leave David Richardson[,] Robert Finlater, Arthur Jones, Jm^s Carroll, & Antonia Drummond[,] all of which have employ'd Attorneys to recover their wages³⁴³ Went on board H.M.S. *Vanguard* to beg Captⁿ Stanhope to take me under his protection. he not being on board went on Shore, where I was inform'd that the Ship would be put into the Court of Admiralty to morrow. & they would unship her rudder and carry her Sails on shore.³⁴⁴ Rec'd 4 Punch^s Water on board, five White men on board.³⁴⁵

Saturday 3^d Apr^l [*sic*] finding Money so scarce[,] none could be procurd upon any security[,] M^r Barton beg'd that I would make the best of my way to Jamaica[.]³⁴⁶ at 1 AM with the Assistance of the Ship *Harriot of Liverpools* Crew, got underway[.] at 5 AM Needham Post house EBS 4 or 5 leagues[.] our Ship in great Distress[.] only Myself[,] M^r

342. *Steel's List* . . . 1794, 16.

343. The *Sandown* was indeed in serious distress. The desertion of these five brought the total for those leaving the ship to sixteen, out of a listed crew of twenty-one.

344. Gamble knew, by this point, that lawyers attached to his absconded seamen were acting rapidly. The lawyers understood that if the *Sandown* was able to leave the harbor, it would be unlikely that the seamen would be able to collect their wages or that their lawyers would be paid. The lawyers, therefore, had requested the court to disable the vessel by removing its rudder and sails. Gamble even sought protection of a Royal Navy vessel; this process may have involved certain payments or shares to be given to the *Vanguard's* captain.

345. This number did not include the captain, but it did include John Apsey and James Griffith from Sierra Leone; Doctor George Kettle and Alexander Chisholm, who had shipped in England; and George Drummond, whose name appeared for the first time in this record. It is likely that Griffith and Kettle remained with the crew because British law required their continued presence until the voyage's termination. As second mate and surgeon, in customary practice, Griffith and Kettle would have received a bonus of one slave-value apiece when the voyage reached its destination. Kettle would also have received head money of one shilling per slave delivered. By this point in the voyage, deaths on board among slaves had exceeded the condoned 2–3 percent rate, and neither captain nor surgeon would receive the additional bonuses stipulated in the 1788 Act regulating the slave trade. For the Act, see Donnan, *Documents*, 579, 582–589; Kay, *The Shameful Trade*, 93.

346. Once the Admiralty Court became involved by being able to serve papers upon him, his venture would be doomed, or nearly so. At this point, all parties recognized that Gamble's only opportunity to salvage whatever success remained involved leaving port before daybreak and taking his chances on the high seas.

- Apsey[.], M^r Griffith[.], Doctor [Kettle], Alex Chisholm[.] & Geo Drummond to look after Ship & Slaves[.] at Maredian Barbadoes bore EBS 12 Leagues Latt Obs^d 13°23'N
- 84[r] Sunday 4th May 1794. Fresh breezes and cloudy weather. at 11 PM Saw lights on the SW end of S^t. Lucia. up Fore sail in top G^t sails & hauld to the N^d At ½ past 5 AM Wove Ship and made Sail. At 9 the Body of S^t. Lucia bore SSE and Diamond Point Martinique N½E. Distance each about 3 Leagues. At Maredian Diamond point bore EBN dis 6 Leag^s from which I take my departure being in Latt 14°24'N. Long 61°01'W^d Buried 1 Man Slave N^o 25. Latt Obs^d 14°18'N
- Monday 5th May 1794 All these 24 Hours fine breezes with Pleasant weather. Several Slaves very Sickly Employ'd Carrying sail to the best Advantage. Latt Obs^d 15°13'N
- [84v] Tuesday 6th May 1794 Throughout these 24 Hours a fresh breeze[.] cannot carry Steering sails for want of hands to take in Sail. Slaves rather sickly. Buried Woman Slave N^o 26. The fourth Puncheon of Water is breachd. Latt Obs^d 15°47'N
- Wednesday 7th D^o Fresh breezes throughout these 24 Hours with hazey weather. Slaves very sickly Buried 1 Man & 1 Woman Slave N^o 27 & 28. A great number of flying fish Land Winds all round us. Latt Obs^d 16°26'N
- 85[r] Thursday 8th May 1794 All these 24 Hours a fresh breeze Slaves complain very much of the Gripes and Looseness. at 1 PM saw a Sloop to the Southward steering to the NEastward. at 8 PM bucketed MGRoyal [main top gallant sail][.] at Day light set D^o again[.] at Maredian Allteriallo bore W10°N Dis 130 Miles[.] several Dolphin about. Latt Obs^d 16°59'N
- Friday 9th D^o Moderate breezes and pleasant weather but north Hazey. at 6 AM saw 2 Ships to the NW^d. Steering to the Westward. And at Maredian saw Allteriallo bearing WNW 4 Leagues distance. Slaves still complains of the Gripes I allow 1½ Miles ø hour for a Current. Latt Obs^d 17°19'N
- [85v] Saturday 10th May 1794 Fresh breezes and Cloudy weather. At 4 PM Allteriallo bore EN Dis 5 or 6 Leagues from which I take a fresh departure it being in latitude 17°23'N & 71°33' West Longitude Slaves still complains very much of the Gripes[.] 7 in the Doctors list[.] tried every thing on board boat[.] fear nothing gives them relief The Sun this day within one Mile of true Vertical. Latt Obs^d 17°44'N
- 86[r] Sunday 11th May 1794 Moderate breezes with very pleasant W^t. at 2 PM Point Abacio bore N½W 6 leagues distance & at 6 NEBN 5 Leagues. Caught a fine Dolphin. Var ø Amplitude 08°57' pt At 6 AM

Cape Tiberon bore NE½N Dis 10 Leagues, a Sail in sight steering after us. at Maredian she passed us I shew'd English Colours. The East end of Jamaica bears at 3°W42' Distance Several Slaves very poorly. Latt Obs^d 17°56'North

[86v] Monday 12th May 1794 Moderate breezes and Hazey weather for the first part of these 24 Hours, at 4 PM saw the Island of Jamaica bearing WBS 5 Leagues Distance[,] at 8 close in with the East end. got a Pilot on board who informd me the Ship that pass'd us was a Packet from England. Very squalling dirty rainy w^r all Night[,] Shortened sail & hove too, Ships head to the SE. At 5 AM Bore away, and at 10 came too with the Small Bower in Port Royal[,] found there HMS *Powerful*³⁴⁷ of 74 Guns who had buried half her Crew[,] the *Anetbusa*³⁴⁸ Frigate[,] *Fly*³⁴⁹ 20 Gun Ship[,] 2 Brigs with several English & Dutch Merchants Vessels waiting for Convoy[,] at Maredian I went up to Kingstone to Mess^{rs} [Joseph and Angus] Kennedys to where I was consignd[,] at 7 Return'd. 9 Slaves in the Doctors list

NB this Day is 36 Hours long.

Tuesday 13th Moderate Breezes. got 4 Negroes from the Pilot to help to Work the Ship up to Kingston. At Maredian got under way and at 2 PM came too below Greenwich Arrive'd here to Day the Ship *Nancy of Liverpool* from Angola with 328 Slaves & the Ship *Hornet of Bristol* from Bonny with 400 D°[,] am informd that theres upwards of 3000 Slaves in the Harbour for Sale and in the course of this last twelve months there [h]as been 60,000 Sold. 9 Slaves sickly onboard.

87[r] 1794 Wednesday 14th May First & latter part light land Winds[,] Middle part Strong sea breeze[,] at 4 AM got under way & at ½ past 10 Came too opposite Beef Market Warf. Rec'd on board 12^{lb} fresh Beef & some Vegetables. Buried a Girl, N^o 29. dischargd the Pilot & 4 Negroes.

Thursday 15th D° Weather. Several Vessels going down to join Convoy Receive'd on board 10^{lb} fresh Beef & the Offill for Slaves.

Friday 16th D° Weather[,] a great Number of Slaves complaining Deliver'd to Mess^{rs} Kennedy One Man Slave. London & Cork fleets both arrived, Rec'd 12^{lbs} Beef.

Saturday 17th D° D° Weather, 5 Sick Slaves sent on shore. several complaining. Employ'd looking after them[,] receiv'd an Offill for them.

Sunday 18th D° Light land winds with a Strong Sea breeze. Discharg'd

347. *Steel's List* . . . 1794, 12.

348. *Steel's List* . . . 1794 (3) described the *Anetbusa* as a Frigate of 38 guns.

349. In *ibid.* (8), the *Fly* was described as a sloop of 16 guns.

Robert Drummond. Received a Boat from M^r M^cCale till our own was repair'd Came on board Henry Poulson & Jm^s Jarvis.³⁵⁰ Jm^s Brown[,] Allan Turner[,] & R Drummond Receive'd their Wages. several Slaves poorly.

Monday 19th D^o D^o Weather[,] at 10 AM Mess^{rs} Kennedys and several Spaniards came on board to look at the Cargo.³⁵¹ Deliverd One Woman Slave N^o 2 as \emptyset order[,] 3 Caulkers at Work Buried a Woman Slave N^o 30 The fleet getting ready to sail for Europe.

[87v] Tuesday 20th May 1794 Fresh breezes with Dark cloudy weather and Showers of Rain. The Fleet saild for Europe under Convoy of HM Ships *Powerfull* of 74 Guns[,] *Iphigenia*³⁵² Frigate & *Fly* 20 Gun Ship. Employ'd striking top G^t Yards & Masts. two Men Slaves sold, N^o 4[,] several Slaves sickly

Wednesday 21st May Very Dirty rainy weather. which makes the Slaves very uncomfortable[,] several Complain very much & no Medicine for them[,] am very ill of the Gout³⁵³ & Rheumatism myself & cannot go about any duty.

Thursday 22th D^o Weather rather better The Ships dropt down abreast of the Kings Wharf for conveniency of landing the Slaves, & takeing in a Cargo. Was peremptorily orderd by Angus Kennedy to go on shore to sick lodgings[,] having previously declar'd in dropping the Ship down that if I did not go he would make me.³⁵⁴ Several Slaves very sickly & little attendance given them.

350. Poulson and Jarvis may have been buyers or employees sent by the Kennedys to assist Gamble with his cargo.

351. Yellow Fever was now raging in the Americas, and these buyers were no doubt concerned that Gamble's cargo was infected. In any case, it was common for potential buyers to visit slave ships upon their arrival in the Americas. The Kennedys, who had an investment, of sorts, in the voyage and who maintained an office in Kingston, also would have been interested in dispatching the cargo as quickly as possible. The port was then clogged with slaves; prices obviously were depressed. See Gamble's page 89r for a list of ships then in port, the number of slaves per ship, and the merchandiser who received them for sale at Kingston.

352. *Steel's List*. . . 1794 (9) listed the *Iphigenia* as a frigate of 32 guns.

353. According to McGrew (*Encyclopedia of Medical History*, 116–118), gout is a metabolic disease resulting from excessive amounts of uric acid in blood. It is also associated with excessive consumption of red meats and alcohol and with stress, overwork, and dissipation. This results in sore joints, much like rheumatism. It is likely that Gamble used the terms "gout" and "rheumatism" interchangeably to refer to the same condition. Roy Porter and G. S. Rousseau (*Gout: The Patrician Malady* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998]) reached similar conclusions, assuming that eighteenth-century surgeons diagnosed rheumatism as gout when it was present in a person of the upper or privileged classes.

354. Until he secured the *Sandown* at the dock or until the Kennedys officially took possession of the cargo, Gamble would have been responsible to the owners

88[r] Friday 23^d D^o 1794 At 6 this Morning went on shore in the Boat to the Watering place at the Eastend to M^{rs} Norris sick lodgings At 7 in the Evening Receiv'd a Letter from A[ngus] Kennedy Wondering as Commander of the Ship *Sandown* that I should go on shore without him or his Brothers knowledge and to send an answer in writing immediately. (the Gout rather better)

Saturday 24th D^o Hot sultry W^r[.] at 7 AM hobbled down to the store and gave them my reason. went on board the Ship to look after, and see that the Slaves where attended.³⁵⁵ John M Griffith Mate, from various Cringing, under hand work carried only certain Merchants on board, wish'd to be discharg'd Which I gave him. Brig *Betty*[,] Captⁿ Gardner of Liverpool[,] & the *Elizabeth Anderson*[,] Captⁿ Bowie, arrived here with Slaves. latter of London.

Sunday 25th Disagreeable W^r Slaves complaining of pains in their Bowells. Those on shore at sick quarters the doct^r says are better.

Monday 26th Employ'd getting empty water Casks on shore and sending all the fire wood into the fore castle to clear the after hold ready to take in a Cargo.³⁵⁶ Slaves as before, they go off very slow (Market glutted)³⁵⁷

[88v] Tuesday 27th Deliver'd up the Ships papers, and a Copy of the Ship Disbursements &c.³⁵⁸ to Mess^{rs} Jos^p & Angus Kennedy[,] Past Charterers of the Said Ship *Sandown*.

At Maredian return'd to M^{rs} Norris, very sickly.³⁵⁹

and investors for his ship and cargo. When Kennedy ordered him to sick quarters on land, this act demonstrated, at least for Gamble, that the Kennedys considered the voyage to be officially completed and that Gamble could then leave the vessel.

355. It is clear that Gamble had misinterpreted circumstances; he had been given permission to seek medical attention, but only once the cargo had been discharged from the vessel.

356. It is likely that the return cargo consisted of rum and sugar.

357. It was common that slaves, especially if markets were full, would be sold from on board ship. Buyers would board the vessel and negotiate with the Kennedys for price and persons.

358. Of these papers, the only manuscript to survive is the journal.

359. Once formal papers were transferred, Gamble was discharged and returned to the coast for medical treatment. It is clear that the Kennedys were concerned to make sure that they had met each test of the 1788 Act regulating the slave trade and that papers were correctly submitted so that, as investors in the voyage, they could legally present claims before British courts for losses incurred during the voyage. It is not clearly stated in this journal that the Kennedys were the current charterers. See the 1788 Act in Donnan, *Documents*, 582–589. Insurance rates were heavy on slave ships and varied greatly, depending on several factors that included whether the voyage would place the vessel on the African coast during the tornado season or on the Atlantic during the hurricane season; the vessel's destination on the African coast; and international circumstances at the moment. In 1793, before war broke out between England and France, Bristol rates

from Wednesday 28th to Sunday 1st June 1794 greatest part of this time have been confin'd to my bed. with a Complication of the Gout, Cramp, and Rheumatism, in my legs & thighs. This place very Sickly The Yellow fever rages to a severe degree especially amongst the Seafaring men. The Ship *Jimmy*[,] Captⁿ Pearson from the Isles de Los, with 237 Negroes who had had an Insurrection on their passage, had kill'd four, and wounded several. his arrive'd here, last from St. Vincents. Flour here £13 Curr^y ϕ Barr^l, Breads 14^{lb} ϕ 7^d $\frac{1}{2}$, flesh meat 10^d to 1/. ϕ ^{lb}[,] Butter 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d ϕ ^{lb} Cheese 2/6 ϕ ^{lb}. Vegetables &c in proportion.

This place is entirely overrun with French Emigrants,³⁶⁰ both from old France and the Island of Hispaniola, Martinique, Guadalupe & St. Lucia &c which no doubt greatly contributed to the great dearness, and scarcity, of all sorts of Provisions. (Fresh and Salt.)³⁶¹

89[r] from Monday 2^d June to Tuesday 10th D^o This place continues very sickly especially amongst the Europeans just come out. having every Symptom of that dreadful Callamity at Philladelphia.³⁶² likewise Provisions are

were set at 3.5 percent of the value of the ship and cargo; by 1794, the rate for a Liverpool ship reached 20 percent. For these rates, see Rawley, *Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 259–260. Insurance on a cargo of slaves, however, only applied to losses resulting from capture, natural disaster, or acts of God, none of which accounted for disease or normal attrition during the Middle Passage. See Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 97, for special insurance surcharges added to voyages that had touched upon either the Rio Nunez or Rio Pongo.

360. A revolution in Haiti had overthrown French rule and established a republican government. French planters, even in wartime, were able to obtain refuge in British Jamaica. The combination of Yellow Fever and an influx of French settlers increased prices for consumables at Kingston. For detail on French planter attempts to involve Britain in the Haitian revolution, see Vincent B. Thompson, *The Making of the African Diaspora* (New York: Longmans, 1987), chapter 10, "Haitian Revolution: First Phase"; Frank Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (1926/Hamdon, Conn.: Anchor Books, 1968), chapter 4.

361. Lucy Frances Horsfall ("The West Indian Trade," in *Trade Winds*, 159, 164, 171) noted that the collapse of French rule in the Caribbean led to significant shortages of sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, dyewoods, pimento, ginger, and other goods in demand in Europe. This circumstance resulted in increased demand and rising prices for British-produced provisions, especially at a time when fevers were curtailing harvests on Jamaica's plantations. At least for the moment, sugar prices would remain high, although they would continue to fall toward the end of the century. Horsfall (183) wrote that the best time to "return cargo" in the West Indies was in May or June, once the harvest season had ended. This would enable a ship to avoid the hurricane season and permit it to reach its port in Britain in sufficient time for re-transport of goods to the Baltic before ice closed those harbors. Insurance rates also changed in August because of the dangers of losing a ship mid-voyage.

362. Bayrd Still, *Mirror for Gotham* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 57–58; John B. Blake, "Yellow Fever in Eighteenth Century America," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 44 (1968): 677; Claude Heaton, "Yel-

very scarce and dear. Planters & others complain that they cannot purchase what Negroes they want having nothing for them to subsist upon[.] a great number of Guiney Men in this Harbour at Present not sold. See a list of them. (Acct^s are come that Port au Prince has surrend[er]d)³⁶³

Ships Names	Comm ^d s	Where belonging	N ^{os} Slaves	Where Slav'd	By whom taken up
<i>Union</i>	Capt ⁿ Thompson	London	530	Annamabou	Hibbert & Foster
<i>Elizabeth Anderson</i>	" Bowie	D ^o	369	Serraleone	Taylor Ballantine
<i>Golden Grove</i>	" Proudfoot	D ^o	400	Annamabou	Going to Old Harbour
<i>Countes Galvez</i>	" Hoskins	D ^o	330	D ^o	Lind & Lemkee
<i>Express</i>	" Chester	D ^o	137	D ^o	M ^r Donnald
<i>Spy</i>	" Willson	D ^o	400	Angola	Gone to Market
<i>Sandown</i>	" Gamble	D ^o	212	Rio Nunez	J & A Kennedy
<i>Hornett</i>	" Carson	Bristol	400	Bannas	Taylor B & C ^o
<i>Robust</i>	" Shaw	Liverpool	160	Old Callabar	Linda & Lake
<i>Nancy</i>	" Merritt	D ^o	328	Angola	Taylor B & C ^o
<i>Molly</i>	" Grier	D ^o	418	D ^o	Linda & Lake
<i>Diana</i>	" Evans	D ^o	390	D ^o	Aspinall & Mandy
<i>Jimmy</i>	" Pearson	D ^o	237	Isles de Los	Rainford & C ^o
<i>Bolton</i>	" Lee	D ^o	418	Angola	Linda & Lake
<i>Mary & Ann</i>	" Lang	D ^o	163	D ^o	Taylor B & C ^o
<i>Ranger</i>	" Gardner	D ^o	181	D ^o	Rainford & C ^o
<i>Bridget</i>	Trelfall	D ^o	360	D ^o	Aspinall & Mandy

5432 Negroes

[89v] Wednesday 11th to Sunday 15th June 1794 Very Hot sultry weather Mornings & Evenings with fresh Sea breezes all day This place still continues very sickly[.] a great number of Whites Daily die, especially those lately from Europe. Provisions here very scarce & extremely dear The Surrender of Port au Prince is confirm'd[.] on the 4th June last the British troops & fleet storm'd it and carried it with the loss of only 20 Men They took 29 Ships loaden ready to sail for France & produce that

low Fever in New York City," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 34 (1946): 68; Rush, *Account of the Bilius remitting Yellow Fever*, passim.

363. David Patrick Geggus (*Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793–1798* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982], 121) wrote that when British forces occupied Port au Prince, nearly 40 percent became ill with Yellow Fever, and nearly 20 percent died in the first month. By November 1794 more than one thousand troops had been buried at Port au Prince.

would load as many more[,] besides a great deal of treasure, &c. in the town with a great number of Coasters, & small Craft; the Governor[,] Commissaries, & Inhabitans, refus'd to Cappitulate upon any terms what ever to the very last. The Sale of Negroes here very indifferent at present.

from 16th June to the 1st July. First part immoderate Rains which overflow'd the low lands, caus'd the loss of a great number of lives. likewise did a great deal of damage in Kingston amongst the Stores Blowing excessivel[y] hard in squalls. Theres still a great Complaint of the scarcity and want of every article in the Provision line. am still very Sickly and no appearance of getting better.

90[r] to the 24th July 1794.

Excessive hot sultry weather. and exceeding[ly] sickly[.] very few that are taken ill Recover again. especially strangers that are not seasond to the Climate. few Patients surviving 24 Hours after they are taken to the Hospital. A great number of Americans arrived here with a supply of all sort of dry Provisions. Flour drop't from the enormous price of £13 to fifty shillings, and other articles in proportion. The *Sandown's* Slaves all sold but four. am very ill my self of a Fever[,] sometimes delirious and an utter loss of Appetite. The Bark will not stay on my Stomach, 17th had a Violent Bleeding at the Nose[.] after that got better fast and continued to do so. The Fleet preparing to sail for Home on the 25th. 21st got a Passage from Captⁿ Atkinson[,] Ship *Benson* for Liverpool.³⁶⁴ 23^d Call'd upon M^r Kennedy[.] found that he was gone home in the Packet[.] 24th p^d Doctors bill &c and went down to Port Royale on board the Ship[,] she leaving to sail in the Morning I find my self a great deal better & a good appetite[.] only weak.

[90v] THE OLD WIFE

This Fish is an Inhabitant of all Tropical Climates Seldom exceeds 4 or 5^{lb} Weight. Nature seems to have been very liberal in arming it for its own defence. having Sharp barb'd horns on both back & Belley and a Skin equally has tough & rough as Shaggareen. It is tollerable good eating when Skind & fried. It is ravenous for its size, and has a set of teeth resembling an Otters.

91[r] Journal of a Passage from Jamaica towards England in the Good Ship *Benson*. Captⁿ Atkinson[,] commencing 24th July 1794.

364. ADM 7/782, Register of Convoys 1793–1797, “A list of Vessels from Jamaica which sail'd on the 26th July 1794 under convoy of his Majestys Ships *Irrisistible*, *Sceptre* & *Alligator*” mentioned 143 vessels comprising the convoy and among them the *Benson*, commanded by Atkinson, from Jamaica and bound for Liverpool.

At 5 AM got underway from Port Royale in order to join the Convoy in Long Bay which consist of H.M.S. *Irris(i)s(t)ible*³⁶⁵ of 74 Guns[,] Commodore Henry[,] & the *Sceptre*³⁶⁶ of 64 Guns, with a 28 gun Frigate [*Alligator*³⁶⁷.] at 9 abreast of Old Harbour[,] at 11 of Portland Point[,] at 2 PM off[f] Pedros Bluff[,] at 4 off[f] Blewfields Bay³⁶⁸ and at sun set the West end of Jamaica bore NBN 2 or 3 Leagues 3 Sail in sight. Laying off & in all night.

Friday 25th July 1794. At day break saw the Commodore and a number of Merchantmen standing off and on in order to wait for the rest of the fleet to join him Very rainy squally w^r. Ships much squandr.

Saturday 26th July. Light winds and Cloudy weather. The *Irrisistible* Impress'd all the Runners³⁶⁹ and put hands in their stead. The fleet mustering very fast 78 Sail in sight this day and at noon in order to begin a Sea Log.

[91v] Sunday 27th July 1794 All these 24 Hours moderate breezes with thick hazey weather[,] at 6 PM the West end of Jamaica bore ENE 7 Leag^s dis. at same time the Commodore made a Signal, bore away under Single reef'd Topsails 126 Sail in sight, great number of which appear to be heavy Sailers. Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 18^o21'North

92[r] Monday 28th July 94 First and latter part of this 24 Hours a moderate breeze Middle part light airs inclining to a Calm. greatest part of the Fleet a long way astern of the Commodore, & carrying a press of sail to come up with him who has been under base Poles all morning. No Observation

[92v] Tuesday 29th July 1794 Moderate breezes with Pleasant weather, some of the Fleet along way astern Carrying a press of Sail. The Commodore under bare poles. *Benson* single reef'd topsails[,] at 6 AM made

365. According to *Steel's List . . . 1794* (9), the only man-of-war was the *Irrisistible*, a vessel of 74 guns.

366. *Ibid.*, 14.

367. See also *Steel's List . . . 1794*, 4.

368. Horsfall ("West Indian Trade," 190–191) noted that ships bound for England from Jamaica as members of escorted convoys generally met at Blewfields Bay, which was located on Jamaica's west coast. The danger of seizure by privateers from Cuba's southern coast was great. This was a significant problem since it was not uncommon for convoys to be large and for it to take perhaps six weeks for a convoy to be organized.

369. The implication here is that the *Irrisistible* had boarded the *Benson* and impressed seamen thought to be fugitives from naval service. These runners indeed may have claimed to be American citizens, a status unrecognized in British law. Britain's failure to recognize American citizenship would eventually bring war between Britain and its former colonies.

- sail ahead of the fleet[,] in order to make the Grand Caymans to get some Turtle & Yams[.] at Noon greatest part of the fleet out of sight Astern. Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 19°12'N
- 93[r] Wednesday 30th D^o Moderate breezes & Cloudy w^r. with Thunder & Showers of Rain[.] at 1 PM saw the Grand Cayman[.] run along shore under easy Sail but got no boats off[.] at 7 PM Hove to to wait for the fleet. at 8 AM Captⁿ Lees of the *Bolton* inform'd us that he had buried three of his People since he came out & his Doctor & Clerk. some of the Fleet along way astern The *Sceptre* waiting to bring up the rear The Frigate upon the Larboard quarter. Latt Obs^d 19°25'N
- [93v] Thursday 31st July 1794 Moderate breezes and pleas^t weather. some of the fleet a long way astern The *Benson* under single reef'd Topsails lower'd down upon the Cap Major part of the Ships under a great press of Sail. The *Sceptre* & Frigate have each a Vesell in tow. at 10 AM a Ship alongside of us hoisted her Ensign half mast high, several Boats crossing and repassing from her. Latt Obs^d 20°17'N
- 94[r] Friday 1st August 1794 Fresh breezes at times[,] with Showers of Rain[,] Thunder & Lightning, the sternmost Vessels carrying a press of sail[.] at day break made sail in order to get in with Cape Antonia before night[,] to try to get some Turtle The *Bolton* and *Agustus Caezar* in Company The Commodore & fleet a long way astern[.] at Maredian Obs^d in Latt 21°30'N
- [94v] Saturday 2^d Aug^t 1794 All these 24 Hours light winds and Hazy weather[.] at 1 PM saw the high land over Phillipia Bay[.] at sun set close in with Cape Antonio[.] only two Canoes came off[.] with Turtle to the *Bolton* & *Agustus Caezar*. which they sold at 8 Dollars each. Captⁿ Lee spar'd [*Benson*] Captⁿ Atkinson 5[,] about 1 Cw^t ea. great part of the fleet out of sight astern. Latt Obs^d 22°36'N
- 95[r] Sunday 3^d Aug^t 1794 Moderate breezes this 24 Hours with Hazy weather. The Commodore gives the Collorades a good offing. several of the Fleet, and the *Sceptre* of 64 guns[,] *Alligator* of 28 guns, out of sight astern. Ships in sight very much scatter'd. Carrying easy sail for the others to come up. The Havanna is appointed our Rendezvous. Latt Obs^d 23°36'N
- [95v] Monday 4th Aug^t 1794 Light breezes with Squalls[,] at times attended with light Showers of Rain. employ'd beating up to the Havanna[.] 105 sails in sight, the *Sceptre* and Frigate [*Alligator*] in company with the missing Vessells The Fleet in general very much squanderd[,] not paying much attention to the Commodore. Latt Obs^d 23°25'N

- 96[r] Tuesday 5th Aug^t 1794 Ditto breezes and weather. Ships crew employ'd attending sails as necessary. several of the People complaining of Headachs, & Slight Fevers. 100 Sail in sight scatterd very muc[h.] a small land bird flying and lighting up and down the Vessel all day. Latt Obs^d 23°46'N
- [96v] Wednesday 6th Aug^t 1794 Fresh breezes, and Cloudy weather. greatest part of the fleet out of sight to the Westward. at 6 PM Saddle Hill bore South about 12 Leagues distance[.] at Maredian Dolphin head South 6 or 7 Leagues. Winds variable NE to East and SE.
- Thursday 7th D^o All this 24 Hours very Squally dirty rainey weather The fleet very much disperst. The Commodore in 7° NE q^t[.] at Maredian the Havanna bore SE 8 or 9 Leagues distance Wind from the NEast^d[.] at 8 AM a Ship close in shore carried away her Foretopmast. could clear the land on neither tack so they run into one of the Bays to refit again. The *Cagin Sealine of London*.
- Friday 8th D^o D^o Weather, this fleet very much squander'd about[.] a very cross Sea running causes the Vessel to labour hard and ship a deal of Water upon deck[.] at Noon the Pan of Mattanzas bore SSE 8 Leagues distance[.] 50 Sail in sight. Winds Variable between North & West
- Saturday 9th D^o Fresh gales with Cloudy hazey weather[.] at 6 PM the Pan of Mattanzas bore SEBS 9 or 10 Leagues distance[.] at Noon it bore SE½S 7 or 8 Leag^s. The Commodore out of sight[.] waiting to be joint by the Ships from the Havanna
- 97[r] Sunday 10th Aug^t 1794 Lying too in Expectation of seeing the fleet bear up. This 24 Hours moderate breezes and Cloudy weather. at Sun set the Pan of Mattanzas bore South 9 or 10 Leagues. a Ship in shore of us firing distress guns, & a Signal to speak the Commodore (which we take to be the *Hall of Liverpool*)[.] at 8 the fleet coming down fast[.] at 9 made Sail in Company with the Men of War[.] counted 138 Sail[.] at Maredian the Florida shore bore NW about 7 Leagues distance. Latt Obs^d 24°41'N
- [97v] Monday 11th Aug^t 1794 All these 24 Hours moderate Breezes, and Cloudy weather. At 8 AM the Florida shore in sight from the Mast head bearing West 8 to 10 Leagues dis The Fleet consists of about 140 Sail[.] at 10 the Commodore joint us. The *Jack Tar*³⁷⁰[.] Sloop of War[.] join^d us at the Havanna[.] a great part of the Fleet a long way astern Carrying a press of Sail. Latt Obs^d 26°36'N We had a totale Eclipse of the Moon but not Vissible in Europe

370. This vessel was not listed in *Steel's List* for 1793, 1794, or 1795.

- 98[r] Tuesday 12th Aug^r 1794 Moderate breezes and Cloudy w^r. The Fleet in general carrying Sail to the best advantage. at 10 AM spoke the Ship *Nolly* [*Molly* or *Polly*] of *Liverpool*, who had buried five Hands since she left Jamaica. Sickness by all accounts rages very much amongst the Fleet. The Shore of Cape Canaveral by acct^s bears S82°W 37 Leagues from which I take a departure from, being in Latt 28°20' and Long 80°46'W (136 sail in Sight.) Latt \emptyset Obs^d 28°30'N
- [98v] Wednesday 13th Aug^r 94 All this 24 Hours moderate breezes & Hazey weather. Spoke the *Barbara of Lancaster*[,] Captⁿ Corless[,] who has buried two People since he sail'd Spoke another Vessel that gave Information of one of the fleet being lost upon the Collorades the 7th Ins^t.
The Men of War begin to be very Strict with the Merchantmen[,] Keeping them in their Stations. Latt Obs^d 28°50'N
- 99[r] Thursday 14th Aug^r 1794 Moderate breezes and Cloudy Weather. at 2 AM the *Aurora of Bristol* ran foul of the Ship *Bridget* of *Liverpool*, and carried her own head away & Bowsprit, like wise the *Bridget* Mizen mast about 5 feet above deck. The Commodore saw 3 fine Ships on Shore on Cape Florida. The Men of War, have each a Vessel in tow. Latt Obs^d 28°25'N
- [99v] Friday 15th Aug^r 1794. Light breezes and Hazey weather. The two before mentiond Vessels repairing their damages Spoke the *Mono of Bristol* who inform'd us that the Frigate had been 3 Days in the Havana & that an English Sloop of War had brought in there a french Privateer[,] man'd by Americans who are on board the Frigate[,] likewise a Ship that the Privateer had taken, from Jamaica about to *Liverpool*[,] had saild 14 days before the fleet. Latt Obs^d 28°10'N
- 100[r] Saturday 16th Aug^r 1794 All these 24 Hours a fresh breeze with Cloudy weather[,] several of the Fleet a long way astern. The french Privateer, gave information that there was 20 Sail fitted out of Charlestown³⁷¹ to cruize for this fleet. at 2 AM a very heavy Squall with Thunder & Lightning, saw a Pelican which appear'd young & blown of[f] from the Land. The Commodore has the *Aurora* in tow. Latt Obs^d 29°00'N
- [100v] Sunday 17th Aug^r 1794 All this 24 Hours fresh breezes with Hazey weather[,] the Fleet very much squandred. The *Sceptre* having a Ship

371. This was a common complaint among British shippers, that American ports, especially Charleston, took advantage of Britain's hostility with France by providing open sanctuary to French privateers but claimed neutrality at the same time. These privateers, some of whom were believed to be official naval vessels, whittled away at crucial commerce between Britain and its Caribbean possessions.

- in tow that appears to have lost her main top mast by Lightning and her main mast damag'd[.] The Commodore repeating several Signals to the Frigate and *Jacketar* who are upon the look out. Latt Obs^d 30°03'N
- 101[r] Monday 18th Aug^t 1794 Moderate breezes with very Hazy W^r. at 3 PM the Commodores Cutter came alongside with the *Martin*[,] being employ'd taking out People from the distress'd Vessels, they had suppl'd previously[.] at same time a Snow³⁷² Spoke the Commodore informing him that he had buried greatest part of his Crew, 1 Man had leap'd over board & was drowned, that he was in great distress. The Commodore reliev'd him. Latt Obs^d 30°52'N
- [101v] Tuesday 19th Aug^t 1794 All these 24 Hours light breezes and variable with thick Hazy weather. Fleet much Squanderd about, am inform'd that the Ship lost upon the Collorades is the *Collumbus of Bristol*. Ships Company all but one Boy continue healthy A Squall to the WNW^{Westward}. Latt Obs^d 31°12'N
- 102[r] Wednesday 20th D^o During this 24 Hours moderate breezes and Cloudy weather. The fleet in general pays little attention to the Commodore. some of them Hull down to Leeward: so that with bad winds & this conduct we have every appearance of a Long Passage home. 136 Sail in sight. saw some Dolphin. Latt \emptyset Obsⁿ 32°12'N
- [102v] Thursday 21st Aug^t. All this 24 Hours light breezes and Calms[.] at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 PM saw a large Vessel on fire to the South westward[.] at 5 the Commodore made a Signal for the Frigate to bear down to her assistance, am doubtful if they would get up in time to save the Crew. she burnd 19 Hours & then disapeard. See her at Sun set. I find a southerly Current. Latt Obs^d 32°08'N
- 103[r] Friday 22^d Aug^t 1794 Light winds and Variable The Fleet very much disperst Several Vessels left the fleet bound to different parts of America[.] counted only 106 Sail.
- Spoke the Ship *Trelawney* WarShip, Captⁿ Harrison[,], who thinks the before mentiond Vessel on fire to be the *Pallas*³⁷³ Transport. I allow 18 Miles for a Cur^t WSW. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 32°08'N
- [103v] Saturday 23^d Aug^t First and middle part of this 24 Hours moderate breezes, and Cloudy weather. Latter part squalley with a great deal of heavy rain, Counted 130 Sail in the Fleet; all thats Remarkable. No Observation
- 104[r] Sunday 24th Aug^t 1794 Moderate winds and pleasant, weather.

372. This likely was a reference to a type of vessel rather than to a ship's name.

373. *Steel's List*. . . 1794 (11) described the *Pallas* as a vessel of 32 guns.

- great part of the fleet a long way astern. carrying sail to the best advantage to keep up with the Commodore. Saw a Couple of Land Birds, flying about. Cape Hatteras bears by acc^t in N65°W 290 Miles distance Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 33°02'N
- [104v] Monday 25th Aug^t 1794 Light winds and Variable The Fleet much disperst. very little appearance of a better breeze Counted 134 Sail. find theres a Current setting to the Southward & I suspect a little to the Westward. say 36°SSW. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 32°50'N
- Tuesday 26th Aug^t 1794 Ditto weather. the Commodore sails very heavy in light winds like wise[,] about thirty Sail of Merchant Vessels. am afraid of continuing my remarks as usual for fear that this Book will not last to Liverpool. 134 Sail in sight. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 33°05'N
- 105[r] Wednesday 27th Aug^t 1794 Moderate breezes with Cloudy Weather & Showers of Rain. The Fleet much squanderd[,] some a long way astern[.] at 10 AM the Commodore fir'd a Gun and hove out a Signal for the Fleet to heave to Caught a Dolphin. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 33°49'N
- Thursday 28th Aug^t 1794 Ditto Weather[.] at 6 PM bore away[.] at 8 AM hove too[.] at 10 bore away[.] an American Brig pass'd through the Fleet. Caught a Dolphin, and a great number of small Fish. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 34°21'N
- [105v] Friday 29th Aug^t 1794 First part of this 24 Hours moderate breezes with Cloudy weather. Middle & latter part Variable with Showers of rain. The Commodore in the SW quarter 130 sail in sight. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 35°08'N
- Saturday 30th D^o First part of this 24 Hours a moderate breeze with Cloudy W^t. Rest of D^o light winds inclining to a Calm. Fleet much Squandered, Commodore in the NE Quarter. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 35°27'N
- 106[r] Sunday 31st Aug^t 1794 All this 24 Hours light breezes and Cloudy weather. under very easy Sail some of the fleet a long way to leew^d All the Spaniards that joind us at the Havanna, have left us[,] being tir'd with detention. Lat Obs^d 35°18'N
- Monday 1st September 1794 All this 24 Hours light airs of wind and Calm[,] with little appearance of any Alteration.
- Am inform'd some of the fleet begin[nin]g to be scarce of provisions & Water. I find we have had a Southerly Current this 24 Hours. Lat Obs^d 35°01'N
- [106v] Tuesday 2^d Sept^r 1794 First and middle part of this 24 Hours Calm, with clear w^t. Latter part light breezes & Cloudy Commodore in the NE quarter ½ Mile distance, 125 Sail in sight & allow for a Southerly current. No Observation

Wednesday 3^d Sept^r Moderate breezes and Cloudy Weather. At 6 AM saw a Strange sail to the N^d The *Alligator* Frigate gave Chase[.] at 9 AM hoisted an English flag[.] at 10 the Man of War Spoke her. Some of the fleet a long way astern. Lat Obs^d 35°25'N

107[r] Thursday 4th Sept^r AE 32 ³⁷⁴

Throughout this 24 Hours a fine Steady breeze with Cloudy weather.

Some of the Fleet a long way astern[,] we are under the disagreeable necessity of having the Topsails close'd down upon the Cap in order to keep Company Latt Obs^d 36°15'N

Friday 5th September 94 All this 24 Hours a fresh breeze with Cloudy weather. a great many Dolphins about & Albacores. Several of the fleet carrying a press of sail to keep up[.] we have the Main & foretopsails double reefd & down upon the Cap. Latt Obs^d 37°13'N

[107v] Saturday 6th Sept^r 1794 Fresh gales and Cloudy w^r. with Thunder[,], Lightning[,], and Rain. Some of the fleet a long way astern[.] 125 Sail in sight. Lat Obs^d 37°45'N

Sunday 7th Sept^r Ditto gales and weather. Reefing, takeing in, and setting sail as necessary to keep with the fleet. Commodore in the NW Quarter 1 Mile dis. Lat Obs^d 37°32'N

108[r] Monday 8th Sept^r 1794 First and latter part of this 24 Hours fresh Gales and Cloudy w^r. Middle part Squally, with rain[.] 120 Sail in sight. Lat Obs^d 37°50'N

Tuesday 9th Sept^r 1794 First and middle part of these 24 Hours fresh Gales and Cloudy w^r. Latter part rather squally with rain. Commodore in 7°SE quarter[,], fleet much Squanderd. No Observation

[108v] Wednesday 10th Sept^r All this 24 Hours fresh Gales with Cloudy weather. Shipping a deal of water upon deck. Employ'd reefing[,], takeing in[,], & setting sail[,], so as to keep astern with the fleet. Latt Obs^d 37°45'N

Thursday 11th Sep Ditto Weather. Caught two Dolphins. At Maredian the Commodore in the NW Quarter about 2 Miles distance[.] 120 Sail in sight Lat Obs^d 37°06'N

109[r] Friday 12th Sept^r 1794 Fresh Gales and very dark Cloudy weather, which begins to be rather Cold. Caught a Dolphin. Commodore in the NW Quarter, Struck our Top Gallant Mast. Lat Obs^d 38°19'N

Saturday 13th Fresh Gales and Rainey Cloudy weather[,], with a heavy Sea

374. AE was a third-class wooden ship unfit to carry cargo easily injured or perishable. This reference may indicate that thirty-two vessels in the convoy were of this description.

running from the Eastward Causes the Vessel to Labour hard & Ship a great deal of Water upon deck. Reef't the Courses. takeing in[,] setting Sail & bearing down upon the Commodore. Occasionally so as to keep with the Fleet. Caught a Dolphin Latt Obs^d 39°23'N

[109v] Sunday 14th Sept^r 1794 First part of this 24 Hours fresh Gales and Cloudy weather, with Rain. Middle part d^o Gales & Cloudy. Latter part d^o Weather. at Maredian close to the Commodore who fir'd two Guns and made a Signal for the fleet to come under the Stern[.] 115 Sail in sight. Spoke the Ship *Molly* Captⁿ Grier of Liverpool. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 40°11'N

110[r] Monday 15th Sept^r 1794 Fresh Gales, with dark Cloudy, Rainey weather. Under close reef't Sails. The fleet squanderd very much Commodore in the NW Quarter. No Observation

Tuesday 16th D^o All this 24 Hours blowing a hard Gale, with a great deal of rain[.] at 6 PM reef'd the fore sail The Ship Labours much and takes in a deal of Water upon deck. at Maredian 50 Sail in sight but no appearance of the Commodore. Latt Obs^d 40°21'N

[110v] Wednesday 17th Sept^r 94 First and Middle part of this 24 Hours blowing a fresh Gale with Rain. Latter part more moderate[.] at 4 PM joint the Commodore again The *Sceptre* of 64 Guns and part of the fleet not in sight. A heavy sea running from the E^d causes the Vessel to ship a deal of Water upon deck. Lat Obs^d 39°39'N

Thursday 18th Sept^r 1794 Moderate breezes and hazey w^r. at 4 PM the *Sceptre* and about 20 Sails joint the fleet. 90 Sail in sight We are under the double reef'd fore topsail & S^ail. The sea much fallen, sternmost Vessels all sail set. Lat \emptyset Obsⁿ 39°40'N

111[r] Friday 19th September 1794 Moderate breezes and Pleasant Weather. Jog[g]ing under easy sail so as to keep with the Fleet. The fleet for this several days past have been much disperst but are in good order to day, 25 Sail missing.

At 6 PM Spoke the Ship *Hornett of Bristol* who inform'd us that Adm Howe had taken 4 more french Men of Battle Ships. news from an American. Latt Obs^d 39°32'N

[111v] Saturday 20th Sept^r 1794 First and Middle part of this 24 Hours fresh breezes and Cloudy w^r. Latter part Squally with Thunder[,] Lightning[,] and Rain. Commodore in the SE Quarter[.] 100 Sail in sight. Lat Obs^d 40°00'N

112[r] Sunday 21st Sept^r 1794 Moderate breezes and Hazey Weather. At 6 AM the *Jack Tar*[,] Sloop of War Spoke a Strange Sail At Maredian the *Alligator* Frigate in Chase to the NWestward. Caught two Dolphins. Lat Obs^d 40°34'N

- [112v] Monday 22^d Sept^r 1794 All this 24 Hours moderate breezes and Clear weather. The Men of War Spoke two strangers Sail in the NW quarter. The fleet consists of 100 Sail Lat Obs^d 41°02'N
- Tuesday 23^d Sept^r 1794 During this 24 Hours variable winds, with Cloudy Hazy weather. At 10 AM the Men of War Spoke two American Ships. At Maredian the Commodore in the NW Quarter. Lat Obs^d 42°00'N
- 113[r] Wednesday 24th Sep First part of this 24 Hours light breezes & Cloudy weather. Middle and latter part a fresh Gale with Hazy weather & rain. at 8 AM Spoke the *Hector of Bristol* who inform'd us that the Ships that pass'd yesterday where from Petersburg[.] out 8 Weeks[.] no news only that Lord Howes fleet was out Cruizing. Latt Obs^d 43°21'N
- Thursday 25th Sept^r 1794 First part of these 24 Hours a fresh Gale Middle and latter part more moderate with thick Hazy weather. The Commodore under base poles[.] waiting for the sternmost Vessels. 62 Sail in sight. Lat Obs^d 45°18'N
- [113v] Friday 26th Sept^r 1794. All these 24 Hours, Moderate Breezes with Hazy weather and Showers of Rain. Got up Top G^r Masts & Yards. Spoke the *Hornett of Bristol* who complains of being Short of Provisions The Fleet consists of 82 Sail. Lat Obs^d 46°40'N
- Saturday 27th D^o First part of this 24 Hours moderate breezes and thick Hazy weather. Middle and latter part a fresh gale with d^o W^d. At Maredian the Commodore in the SE Quarter ½ Mile dis 84 Sail in sight Lat Obs^d 47°28'N
- 114[r] Sunday 28th Sept^r 1794 Fresh Gales and Hazy Weather with Rain. a high sea running causes the Vessel to Ship a great deal of water upon deck. under a reef^t fore Sail, and close Reef^t M[ain] & F[ore] Topsail. low'ere^d reef. At Maredian the Commodore & five sail in sight. I find a Strong Northerly current this 3 days past Lat Obs^d 48°30'N
- [114v] Monday 29th Sept^r 1794 First part of this 24 Hours a brisk Gale with Hazy w^r. & Rain Middle and latter part moderate[.] at 10 AM the Commodore hoisted A Signal for the fleet to heave to for the Sternmost Vessels to come up 87 Sail in sight.
- NB Yesterday made a mistake[.] the Lat Obs^d being 48°08' for which I correct in this days work. The Captains of the Men of War all on board the Commodore. Lat Obs^d 48°23'N
- 115[r] Tuesday 30th Sept^r 1794 First and Middle part of this 24 Hours moderate breezes and Cloudy Weather. Latter part a fine fresh breeze. No Observation
- Wednesday 1st Oct^r 1794 First and Middle part of these 24 Hours, a fresh breeze & hazy Weather. Latter part light winds and d^o Weather[.] at

- 8 AM Hove too, for the Sternmost Ships to come up. Lat Obs^d
48°56'N
- [115v] Thursday 2^d October 1794 First and Middle part of this 24 Hours
Moderate breezes and Cloudy weather. Latter part fresh gales, with
drizzling Rain. A Sail in sight which appears to be a Cruizer, the *Jack
Tar* in Chase. N° Obsⁿ
- Friday 3^d D° All this 24 Hours a fine breeze with Hazy weather & fol-
lowing sea[.] at 10 AM Brig under American Couolors ran through the
Fleet. at same time the *Alligator* in chase to the Northward Lat Obs^d
49°00'N
- 116[r] Saturday 4th October 1794 All this 24 Hours a fresh breeze with
fine weather. at 10 AM an American Ship pass'd the fleet Steering to
the Sw^d The *Jacktar* Spoke her. at Maredian Spoke the brig. Captⁿ
Nicholson who reckoned in 16° West Longitude he had heard that the
Commodores reckoning was out & that our Cruizers had taken 19 of
the fleet from America bound to France. Lat Obs^d 49°53'N
- Sunday 5th October 1794 First and Middle part of this 24 Hours a fresh
breeze. Latter part a Heavy Gale. at 8 the Commodore hove out a Sig-
nal for the fleet to heave too, at same time under a reef't Foresail. 44
Sail in sight. scatterd very much Latt Obs^d 51°05'N
- [116v] [picture] the Ship at 4 PM.
*These seas where Storms, at various seasons blow,
No reigning Winds, no certain ominous show;
Surrounding Evils, do we Ponder oer;
A storm, a Dangerous sea, a leeward Shore.*³⁷⁵
- Monday 6th October 1794. First part of these 24 Hours blowing & heavy
Gales with Cloudy weather as ∅ representation.
Middle & latter part a fresh gale with D° W^r Sway'd up the Main
T[op] G[allan]^r Mast[.] at 10 AM Brig pass'd through the fleet, bound
to the W^d By Connection. The 18th Aug^r there is 1° D. over added as
the Cape Clear bears E6°S Distance 60 Miles. Latt Obs^d 51°16'N
- 117[r] Tuesday 7th October 1794 All this 24 Hours fresh gales The Com-
modore lying too as ∅ Log for the Sternmost Vessels. 60 Sails in sight.
At 10 AM the *Irrestible* of 74 guns hove out a Signal that he had got
Soundings. ends thick Hazy w^r Cape Clear bears E8°N 34 Miles dist^c
No Observation
- Wednesday 8th D° First part of these 24 Hours blowing a fresh gale with

375. It was customary practice that a poem appear in a journal, generally at New Year.

thick weather & rain. The fleet all lying too. at 5 AM up Helm and run away The *Alligator* Frigate gave chase but could not come up with us. at 7 Saw the land[,] show'd him our Ensign to repeat to the Commodore[.] at 8 out of sight of the fleet[,] Cape Clear bearing NEbN 8 Leagues distance. that I find my reckoning to be a very just one. Ends a fine breeze[.] 1 Sail in sight.

[117v] Thursday 9th October 1794. At 1 PM two Kinsale boats came alongside who inform'd us that a fleet of English Men of War were Cruizing to the Westward expecting to fall in with us[.] at 6 PM close in with Cork harbour Spoke the Ship *Ranger of Liverpool*. two of his Majestys Frigates[,] *Diana* and *Santa Ma(r)garita*[,] cruizing in the Offing in order to impress out of the Homeward bound Ships Hove too till dark, then made sail & got clear of them[.] at Daybreak abreast of the Salties[.] at Maredian Tusker bore NE. 3 Miles distance[,] wind at SW.

Wednesday 10th. Fresh Gales from the Sw^d[.] at day break abreast of Holyhead[.] at 9 AM N^o.3 Pilot boat boarded us finding that we could not save tide to get in. Wove ship to the Westward[.] at Maredian Wove Ship in order to Stem the Ebb[,] at same time abreast of Point Linas

NB instead of Wednesday read Friday.

Saturday 11th October 1794 Blowing a fresh gale from the SW^d. at 11 AM got round the Rock and at Maredian into the Old Dock.

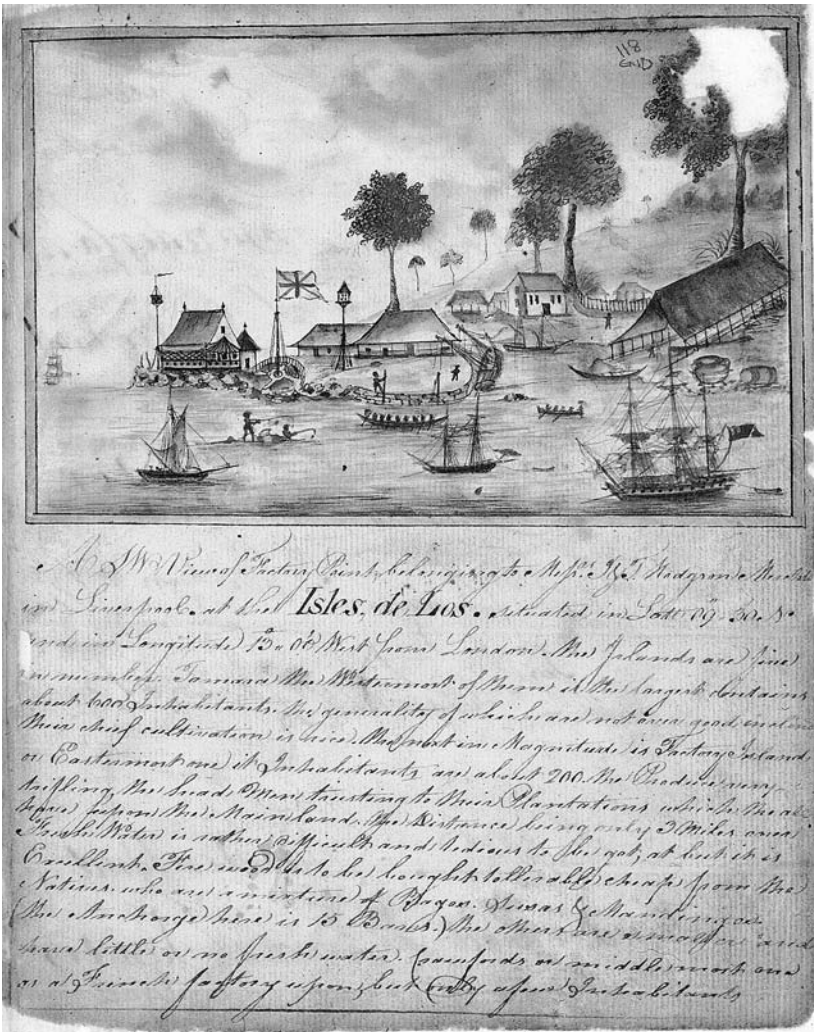
FINIS

118[r] [Picture: View of Factory Point at Isles de Los]³⁷⁶

A SW View of Factory Point, belonging to Mess^s J & T Hodgson Merchants in Liverpool. at the ISLES DE LOS situated in Latt 09°30'N and in Longitude 13°00' West from London. The Islands are five in number. Tamara the Westernmost of them is the largest[,] contains about 600 Inhabitants. The generality of which are not very good inclind their chief cultivation is rice. The next in Magnitude is Factory Island or Eastermost one[,] it[s] Inhabitants are about 200 The Produce vary trifling, the head Men trusting to their Plantations which the[y] all have upon the Mainland.³⁷⁷ The Distance being only

376. See Photo 6, "View of Factory Point at Isles de Los," "Sandown" manuscript, page 118r. Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.

377. This statement suggests that African authorities on Factory Island also governed lands, plantations, and *lugars* on the neighboring peninsula that supplied them with food produce. Tamara Island, in contrast, held five villages and grew sufficient food for its own consumption.



View of Factory Point at Isles de Los.

3 Miles over Fresh Water is rather difficult and tedious to be got, at but it is Excellent. Fire wood is to be bought tollerable cheap from the Natives who are a mixture of Bagos, Susus[,] & Mandingos (The Anchorage here is 15 Barrs.) The others are smaller and have little or no fresh water. Crawford or middle most one [h]as a French factory upon, but only a few Inhabitants.

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