

Plate 1

This Elegant Design represents History Writing Narratives of the respective Voyages and Travels contained in this Work, & the emblematical representations of the Four Quarters of the World, surrounding the Globe, point out the Extensive Nature of this Undertaking . . . . Frontispiece to William Portlock's *A New Collection of Modern Voyages and Travels* (1794).  
 Source: State Library of Victoria.

# MAIDEN VOYAGES AND INFANT COLONIES

## Two Women's Travel Narratives of the 1790s

Edited by Deirdre Coleman



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*Deirdre Coleman*  
University of Sydney  
January 1998

## CHRONOLOGY

Date	Lives of Falconbridge and Parker	Other publications	Historical events
1786		Thomas Clarkson, <i>On the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species</i>	Granville Sharp sets up 'Committee for the Relief of Black Poor' in London
1787		Oroabah Gugoano, <i>Thoughts and Sentiments on ... the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species</i>	First Fleet departs England
1788		John Matthews, <i>Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone</i>	First settlers sail to Sierra Leone
		Alexander Falconbridge, <i>An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa</i>	January: First Fleet arrives at Port Jackson
		Thomas Clarkson, <i>Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade</i>	Société des Amis des Noirs established in France for abolition of slave trade
1789		Olandah Equiano, <i>Interesting Narrative</i>	Fall of the Bastille
		<i>The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay</i>	November-December: Second Fleet preparing to sail for Botany Bay

Date	Lives of Falconbridge and Parker	Other publications	Historical events
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1789 (cont'd)

Warkin Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*

John White, *Voyage to NSW*

June: Second Fleet arrives in Port Jackson

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*  
 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Men*

Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man*

January: Third Fleet departs England

1791  
 January: Falconbridge sets out on first voyage to Sierra Leone  
 February: Falconbridge arrives in Sierra Leone  
 March: Parker departs England

John Matthews, *Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone* (2nd edn)

France abolishes slavery

April: House of Commons rejects Wilberforce's first abolition bill but approves a charter for the Sierra Leone Company

June: Falconbridge departs Sierra Leone, taking Nainbana's second son (the Black Prince) back to England for education

June: Louis XVI tries to flee France, but is arrested and forced to accept the new constitution

August: Third Fleet begins to arrive in Port Jackson

August: Large slave uprising on French-controlled St. Domingo

September: Parker arrives in Port Jackson

Date	Lives of Falconbridge and Parker	Other publications	Historical events
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1792

Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*

January: Nova Scotian blacks depart from Halifax, under command of John Clarkson

February: Falconbridge arrives in Sierra Leone

March: Nova Scotian blacks arrive in Sierra Leone

June: Parker arrives back in England

Sugar boycott in Britain

December: Alexander Falconbridge dies

August: Royal family imprisoned in Paris

1793  
 January: Falconbridge marries Isaac Dubois

Olandah Equiano, *Interesting Narrative* (6th & 7th edns)

January: Louis XVI executed

February: France declares war on Britain; black loyalists arrive in Sierra Leone

John Hunter, *Historical Journal of Port Jackson*  
 Warkin Tench, *Complete Account*

July: Terror begins in France under Robespierre

July: Falconbridge and Dubois return to England via Jamaica  
 September: Falconbridge sees Wilberforce and Paine burnt together in effigy in Kingston, Jamaica

Emancipation of slaves in St Domingo confirmed

## Chronology

Date	Lives of Falconbridge and Parker	Other publications	Historical events
1793 ( <i>cont'd</i> )			Decline in Britain of public agitation for abolition
			October: Marie-Antoinette executed
1794	August: Capt. John Parker dies	<i>Two Voyages to Sierra Leone</i>	April: Scottish martyrs sentenced to transportation
	December: Parker's last child born	William Henry Portlock, <i>A New, Complete, and Universal Collection of Voyages and Travels</i>	September: Freetown destroyed by the French
		Carl Wadstrom, <i>An Essay on Colonization</i>	October: Treason trials begin against leading reformers
		Olaudah Equiano, <i>Interesting Narrative</i> (9th edn)	
1795	Parker narrative published	<i>A Voyage Round the World</i>	Britain takes possession of the Cape of Good Hope
			Maroon uprising in Jamaica
			November: Gagging Acts introduced into British Parliament

## INTRODUCTION

*Both a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?*  
Orobah Cugano [and Olaudah Equiano] (1787)

Within two months of each other in 1791, two English women set sail with their husbands on relief missions to two recently established and far-flung British colonies, Botany Bay on the east coast of New Holland, and Sierra Leone, West Africa. Both settlements were established in the wake of the revolt of the old colonies in America, a revolt which had raised two new problems for Britain. Where would Britain now send her excess convicts, and what accommodation could be afforded to possessed loyalist refugees? As the crisis of overflowing gaols and hulks deepened through the 1780s, the British Government canvassed a range of options for the unwanted felons. These options included several sites on the West African coast (including Sierra Leone) and Botany Bay.<sup>1</sup> Initially the Government favoured an African solution to the convict problem, with Botany Bay a possible destiny for the loyalist refugees.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, several small consignments of convicts were sent to Africa from the hulks, but the mortality was terrible, and those who survived harassed the natives and disrupted established trade. In the end, with all its African options ruled out, the Government approved Botany Bay. Given the 'absolute necessity' of finding a remedy as soon as possible, the east coast of New Holland suddenly seemed the most eligible choice.<sup>3</sup> Justifications for the decision followed shortly afterwards. It was further away, for a start; the climate was believed to be more friendly to Europeans than the African coast, and the soil sufficiently fertile for the settlement to be independent of the 'mother country' after the first year. Improbably, the natives were also considered unlikely to mind, let alone resist. Finally, it was argued, should the colony thrive, it would prove a most useful market for many European commodities; and of course there was speculation about the cultivation of raw materials, such as flax, hemp and timber for the use of Britain's navy.

Africa's possible usefulness to Britain did not, however, fade from view once the surplus convicts were allocated to Botany Bay. From the 1770s onwards, there had been intermittent speculation about the possibility of a



joint philanthropic and commercial venture on the west coast of Africa, a free, sugar-growing settlement which would eventually undermine the thriving slave trade to the West Indies. Emmanuel Swedenborg, a Swedish visionary, had even claimed that, in the heart of Africa, there existed a New Jerusalem, with a race of people living according to a new spiritual revelation, a vision which spawned at least one blueprint from his followers for a 'free community' at Sierra Leone.<sup>4</sup> A more pressing, less obscure role for the west coast of Africa arose, however, from the loyalist problem generated by post-war dislocation. The most conspicuous manifestation of this was the influx into Britain of thousands of displaced blacks from America, many of whom had emancipated themselves from slavery by joining the British army and navy during the War of Independence. These loyalist ex-slaves swelled the number of 'black poor' already living in ghettos, particularly in areas of London, causing a growing mixture of concern and alarm throughout the 1780s. Such were the numbers and poverty of this group that Granville Sharp, philanthropist and abolitionist, together with other members of the 'Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor', decided that short-term charitable measures were no longer adequate to deal with the problem.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, the idea of a self-governing 'Province of Freedom' for ex-slaves, to be established at Sierra Leone, began to gain ground. No territory had been negotiated with the natives, of course, but this did not in the least deter Government from lending its financial support to the Committee's scheme. Charity payments to the blacks soon became conditional upon signed agreements to go, and in 1786 the first shipment of colonists was rounded up from the London ghettos.<sup>6</sup> Since the majority of those who sailed were men, a number of white women were also taken on board, 'chiefly women of the lowest sort, in ill health, and of bad character', according to a later report of the Sierra Leone Company.<sup>7</sup>

In 1791, both settlements, now four years old, were in extreme difficulties. In the widely used trope of the day, independence from the mother country for these 'infant' colonies was still a very dim prospect. It was the task of Mary Ann Parker's husband, commander of the *Gorgon*, to salvage what he could from the supply ship the *Guardian*, shipwrecked off Cape Town en route to the starving convict colony at Port Jackson, near Botany Bay. Captain Parker was then to proceed to the new colony, carrying much needed provisions and the first contingent of the New South Wales Corps. Also on board were Lieutenant-Governor Philip Gidley King and his wife, destined for the new penal settlement on Norfolk Island, plus 31 hand-picked young convicts, chosen for their knowledge of farming. It was essential that the colony be weaned from its dependence upon supply ships like the *Guardian* and the *Gorgon*. To this end, Parker included in her narrative her husband's report on the excellent prospects for whale fishing on the New Holland coast. If whalers could be induced to prefer this coast to the American one, the costs of transportation would come down and the colony cease its

'continually accumulating burthen to the mother-country'. In the short term, though, the *Gorgon's* mission was to stave off starvation. The fear that the colony was almost at the end of its provisions was confirmed by reports reaching the *Gorgon* at Cape Town. Six months' provisions, at full allowance, were all that remained - a cruel hardship, Mary Ann Parker reflected, on top of all the other difficulties of a colony 'in its infant state'. Nevertheless, confirmation that the colony was near desperation raised her anticipation of the joy that their arrival would bring: 'What then could afford us more heartfelt pleasure than the near event of relieving them? for it is surely happiness to succour the distressed'. Another source of anticipated delight was the greeting they would receive from the 85 members of the Royal Marines who, together with their families, would hail the arrival of the *Gorgon* as their release from the colony. William Dawes, later Governor of Sierra Leone, was one such marine officer.<sup>8</sup> His friend, Captain Warkin Tench, was another. In the book about the colony he published in 1793, Tench confessed to no 'mingled sensations' at the approach of the *Gorgon* in September 1791. Instead, he and his fellow officers 'hailed it with rapture and exultation'.<sup>9</sup>

Anna Maria Falconbridge's husband had an even more difficult mission than Captain Parker. Alexander Falconbridge's task was to re-establish at Sierra Leone the colony of free blacks begun four years earlier, a job which would involve intensive negotiations with several powerful native brokers and careful handling of the local white slave traders. Of the original 411 settlers who sailed, almost one hundred had died in the first wet season of 1787. Over the next two years, the rest either joined the slave trade or worked in the numerous factories established for that purpose; some were even kidnapped and sold into slavery. Within only the first year of its establishment, Sharp was referring ruefully to the 'Province of Freedom' as his 'poor little ill-thriven swarthy daughter', a phrase which boded ill for the colony's future prospects of political independence and self-government.<sup>10</sup>

Eventually, with his own funds exhausted, Sharp handed over the colony to the management of a group of business-minded, evangelical philanthropists, keen for abolition but also hopeful of commercial success to offset the huge expenses involved in colonization. By the time the new managers took over, the settlement was faring badly, caught between the slave traders on the coast, and the natives with whom they did business. When Falconbridge sailed early in 1791, the settlement contained barely sixty people, and this motley remnant had been burnt out of their houses and dispersed by King Jemmy, one of the local native chieftains. In order to rehabilitate Sharp's sickly off-spring and transform it into a 'thriving settlement',<sup>11</sup> the Sierra Leone Company, as the new trading body called itself, employed Falconbridge as a commercial agent. Formerly a surgeon in the slave trade, Falconbridge had no commercial background, but he knew the west coast well and knew something about dealing with the natives; he was also passionate in his detestation of slavery.<sup>12</sup> Shortly after Falconbridge set out with his young, new bride, the Company engaged John Clarkson,

younger brother of the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, to repatriate another group of loyalist Africans, many of them ex-slaves, from their first 'home' in Nova Scotia.<sup>13</sup> Their number and skills would, it was hoped, secure the vulnerable settlement.

Mary Ann Parker's motive for publishing *A Voyage Round the World* (1795) is clearly stated on the title-page; naming herself as 'widow', she presents her text to the public as written 'for the advantage of a numerous family' (Plate 21). An attractively produced book, it only ever saw one edition. Presumably it answered the financial purpose for which it was published, for it is dedicated to the Princess of Wales, and boasts a 'List of Subscribers' almost as long as that achieved by the publisher John Stockdale for his *Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*, the first official account of the new settlement, an expensively produced quarto with 55 plates.<sup>14</sup> Structurally, Parker's narrative is a simple retrospect, probably written up from a journal, and incorporating selections from her husband's official papers – his letters and reports, and the ship's log. We do not have any certain biographical knowledge of the author, but the subscription list suggests that she probably came from a military family in the North of England.<sup>15</sup> Certainly, her presentation of herself conforms to the convention of the essentially private, financially embarrassed, and reluctant woman writer. The Preface apologizes in advance for the book's 'brevity and other greater demerits', faults due to her predicament 'as a nurse, and being obliged to attend so much to her domestic concerns'. The competing claims of mother, wife and author begin and end the narrative of her fifteen-month journey, during which one son dies in England, only to be replaced by another four days after arriving back. Furthermore, in a striking vignette at the close, the fatherless children of the title-page and Preface reappear at the very end of the narrative, where the author presents herself as dandling on her left arm 'an infant of seven months', whilst writing with her right. The narrative we encounter between these apologetic, domestic frames creates, however, a rather different impression – of a well-educated and well-travelled woman who leapt at the opportunity of accompanying her husband to the 'remotest parts of the globe', although (regrettably) it meant leaving behind her two young children, and her mother from whom she had never been separated for more than a fortnight.

Like the convict colony at Botany Bay, the Sierra Leone 'free' colony of (principally) black settlers had generated a good deal of public interest, not to say controversy.<sup>16</sup> 'The Eyes of England are upon you & this Infant Colony', Thomas Clarkson wrote to his younger brother John. 'No Establishment has made such a Noise as this in the Papers or been so generally admired'. He also urged his brother to keep a journal, reminding him of the vogue for 'histories of new countries', and promising to get him £500 for the manuscript when he returned.<sup>17</sup> John Clarkson kept a very full diary of his frustrating experience as Governor

of Sierra Leone but, probably out of loyalty to the Sierra Leone Company, he never published it. More importantly, he would never have done anything to hinder the anti-slavery cause he so passionately supported.<sup>18</sup> Anna Maria Falconbridge did not share her friend's scruples. Casting her *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* as a series of letters to a friend (Plate 14), she bluntly flouts the 'threadbare prevailing custom' of the reluctant 'Authoress', candidly declaring that, in penning her letters, she had in fact had some idea of publishing them. After this initial boast, she then succumbs, rather unconvincingly, to the dictates of modesty, complaining of the 'inability', indeed the 'infancy', of her pen, limitations which kept her in uncertainty about proceeding until the beginning of April 1794. Without a doubt, the date provides us with an important clue as to what precipitated her into print: the Sierra Leone Company's recent publication of its latest *Report* on the colony, in which her late husband's 'habits of intoxication, idleness, and irregularity' were held responsible for the infant colony's 'first difficulties' and 'commercial disappointments'. The *Report* also impugns the character of the Nova Scotian blacks 'repatriated' to Sierra Leone in 1792, representing them as disobedient, disrespectful and ungrateful children. Finally, the Directors blame the blacks' general unruliness and hostility to whites on Falconbridge's second husband, Isaac Dubois, recently dismissed from the Company's service.<sup>19</sup> Here was plenty of inflammable material for any woman to address, let alone such a markedly spirited woman as Falconbridge appears to have been. Accordingly, in her Preface she throws down the gauntlet, challenging the entire Court of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company 'to contradict one *title*' of what she has advanced.

Unlike Parker's *Voyage Round the World*, Falconbridge's book was reprinted twice within the space of a year, then re-issued in a new edition in 1802. It was a cheap production, with numerous typographical errors, written 'in a sprightly manner' as one commentator politely put it. The same reviewer confessed to surprise 'that the writer's success should not have induced her to present the reader with a little better paper and type' (Plate 2).<sup>20</sup> Despite evidence of hasty publication, Falconbridge's book is by no means an unsophisticated one. Like many travel writers, she works the epistolary mode for a number of advantages, not least of which is the identification of privacy with authenticity and truthfulness. Making no promises of 'elegant or modish diction', the letter writer claims to offer just 'a rigid adherence to truth ... without embellishment', a ploy which succeeded with at least one reviewer who praised Falconbridge's 'plain and artless language', and the 'credibility' generated by the letters' 'internal evidence'.<sup>21</sup> A more careful reading would, in fact, have revealed some internal inconsistencies, all of which suggest that the book was, at least in part, cobbled together shortly before publication.<sup>22</sup> Most important, though, in the creation of her authorial self, is that notion of the 'infancy' of her pen, a trope which naturalizes discourse in such a



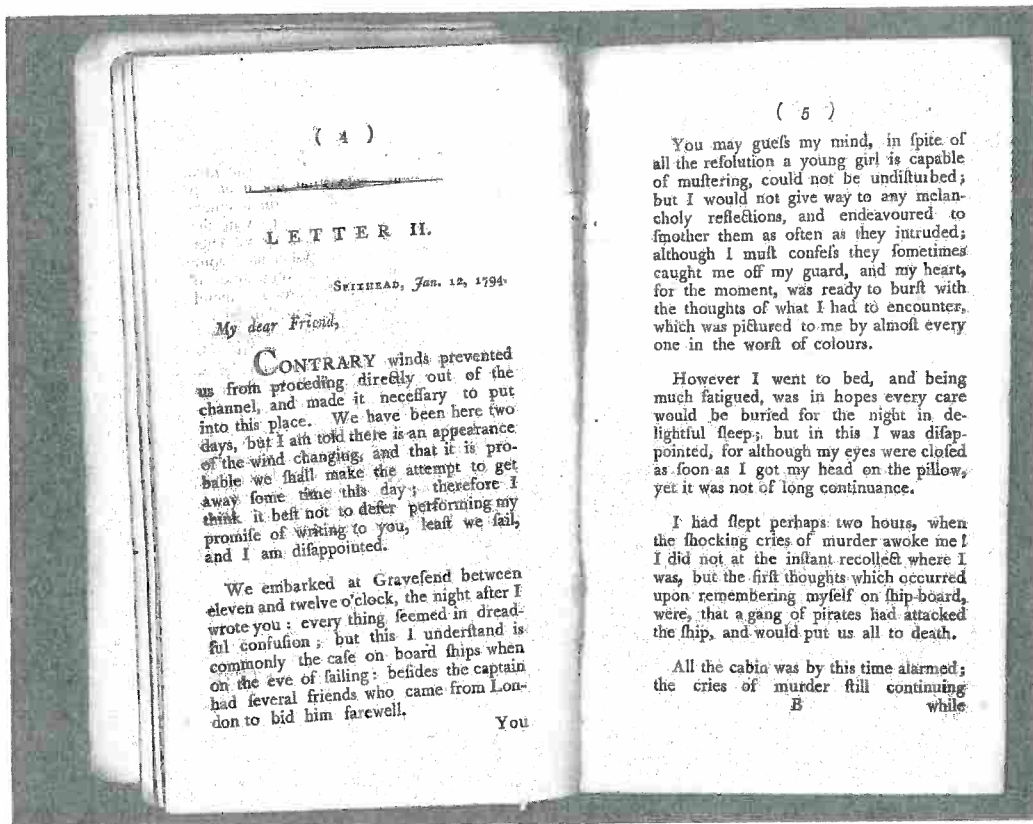


Plate 2 Sample pages of Falconbridge's narrative, showing the quality of type and lay-out, and the erroneous date at the head of the letter.  
Source: State Library of Victoria.

way that Falconbridge appears unable to do anything other than give us a truthful, spontaneous, first-hand view of history in the making. To this end, writing itself is often thematized, usually the writing performed on ship-board, a 'fatiguing job', she tells her correspondent at one point, 'being obliged to sit in bed with a book placed on my knee, which serves for a writing desk'. Furthermore, that the friend to whom she writes is a woman allows Falconbridge to be frankly autobiographical, with a particular focus upon issues to do with their sex. For instance, the first letter alludes to her voyage as a type of self-exile, penitentially performed to expiate for the wilfulness of marrying hastily, against the wishes of her friends; subsequent letters contain several highly personal allusions to the difficulties of managing her first husband.

But as Falconbridge's contemporary, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, argued, the epistolary mode is 'highly fictitious', being at one and the same time 'the most natural and the least probable way of telling a story'.<sup>23</sup> Falconbridge's ready admission that she penned the letters with an eye to their possible publication alerts us to the text's double nature, a duplicity further highlighted by an editorial apparatus of dedication, preface, footnotes and appendix, all of which generate the fiction of real, private letters embedded in the heart of a published, impersonal book. Falconbridge's juxtaposition of so-called 'manuscript' and print also underscores the way in which the epistolary genre is central to the construction and definition of the categories of public and private. Falconbridge's letters may be emblematic of the private – of the intimate female body – mapping as they do a sentimental story of moving from a first, unhappy marriage through to a second, happy one. But she is also the 'citizen-critic', a member of a republic of letters determined to achieve three public ends.<sup>24</sup> The first is self-vindication; Falconbridge is 'an injured Woman' seeking redress for the shabby treatment dealt out to her (and her two husbands) by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company. The second is vindication of the Nova Scotian blacks, whose sense of betrayal she shared; by publishing their account of futile petitioning to the Directors in 1793, her book becomes the vehicle for publicizing their side of the story. The third end is public exposure; Falconbridge is determined to publicize the bungling, hypocrisy and greed of a Government-sponsored colonial venture, run entirely by white, male philanthropists.<sup>25</sup>

#### BOTANY BAY AND SIERRA LEONE

In the popular imagination of late eighteenth-century Britain, nothing seemed so terrible as the fate of transportation to Botany Bay, unless of course you were black, in which case being kidnapped into slavery was an even worse fatality. White apologists for the slave trade like Lieutenant John Mathews, whose book on Sierra Leone appeared in 1788, even argued that



there was in essence no difference between enslavement and transportation – between the African condemned for some offence against the laws of his country, to be sold to a white man, and the English felon transported to a wild uncultivated country; for such Botany Bay is represented, and whose distance for ever excludes the hope of returning.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, in the same year that Falconbridge published her narrative, a radical little book appeared with the large-gestured, gothic title, *Slavery and Famine, Punishments for Sedition; or, an Account of the Miseries and Starvation at Botany Bay* (Plate 3).<sup>27</sup> And just in case some might protest that there was indeed a difference between the slave and the transportee, apologists for slavery could always argue, as Marthews did, that by far the greater proportion of pain lay on the side of the white transportee: ‘the affliction of the African at parting from his native country, very probably may be felt with redoubled force by the more enlightened European.’<sup>28</sup> The insertion of slavery into some kind of equation with transportation is only one of several such rhetorical equivalences bandied around in the 1790s, all of which are highly unstable and open to manipulation by advocates at both ends of the political spectrum.<sup>29</sup> Another popular pro-slavery argument, which again attempts to map the exotic of slavery onto more familiar terrain, was the cliché that there really was no difference in the condition of West Indian slaves and Britain’s labouring poor, an analogy which invited the comically seditious inversion given it by Coleridge in an anti-slavery lecture of 1795, delivered in the slaving port of Bristol: ‘I appeal to common sense whether to affirm that the Slaves are as well off as our Peasantry, be not the same as to assert that our Peasantry are as bad off as Negro Slaves – and whether if the Peasantry believed it there is a man amongst them who [would] not rebel? and be justified in Rebellion?’<sup>30</sup>

Granville Sharp’s blueprint for Sierra Leone may have been drawn up along the most generous, even utopian, lines of justice, equality and self-governance,<sup>31</sup> but the horrors of slavery and transportation, and their connection with one another, shadow many of the early perceptions of this colony. Falconbridge’s narrative is no exception. At Spithead in January 1791, as she waited to set sail, full of anxiety and foreboding, she nevertheless confessed to her correspondent that she had witnessed a sight which challenged her to re-assess some of her fears regarding her voyage:

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

The destiny of such numbers of my fellow creatures has made what I expect to encounter, set lighter upon my mind than it ever did before; nay, nothing could have operated a reconciliation so effectually: for as the human heart is more susceptible of distress conveyed by the eye, than when represented by language however ingeniously pictured with misery, so the sight of those unfortunate beings, and the thoughts

# SLAVERY AND FAMINE,

PUNISHMENTS FOR SEDITION;

OR,

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

## MISERIES AND STARVATION

AT

BOTANY BAY.

By GEORGE THOMPSON,

Who fell in the ROYAL ADMIRAL, May, 1792.

WITH SOME

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

By GEORGE DYER, B. A.

LATE OF EMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

AUTHOR OF THE COMPLAINTS OF THE POOR.



PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY, YORK STREET,

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.

MDCXCIV.

Plate 3 Title-page of George Thompson's *Slavery and Famine, Punishments for Sedition* (1794).  
Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

of what they are to endure, have worked more forcibly on my feelings, than all the accounts I ever read or heard of wretchedness before.

In 1791 it is the Third Fleet which emotionally complicates Falconbridge's historical understanding of her voyage, but from the First Fleet onwards transportation had played a bedeviling part in shaping ideas about the Sierra Leone enterprise. Instead of appearing as opposites – a haven for poor blacks and a hell for white felons – Sierra Leone and Botany Bay looked troublingly similar. According to Granville Sharp, instead of the 700 (mainly) poor blacks who agreed to go out to Sierra Leone, only 439 embarked in the Royal Navy ships in February 1787, the rest scared off by the fact that the ships for Africa were fitting out at the same time as the First Fleet.<sup>32</sup> The other deterrent for black colonists was Sierra Leone itself. With its estuary, deep channels, and well-populated adjacent territories, it had long been a centre for British and other European slave traders. The distrust of Sharp's black 'orphans' was well summarized at the time by two outspoken 'Sons of Africa', Ottobah Cugoana and Olaudah Equiano. Despite their friendship with Sharp, and their initial enthusiasm for the idea of a 'Province of Freedom', these two ex-slaves came quickly to question the motives of a Government which simultaneously sanctioned slavery and sponsored an attempt to abolish it. They asked: '*Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?* ... can it be readily conceived that government would establish a free colony for them nearly on the spot, while it supports its forts and garrisons, to ensnare, merchandise, and to carry others into captivity and slavery.'<sup>33</sup> A similar scepticism could be applied to the simultaneous creation of Sierra Leone and Botany Bay – the first supposedly founded upon the noblest principles, the second so obviously an expedient, cruel and unjust measure.

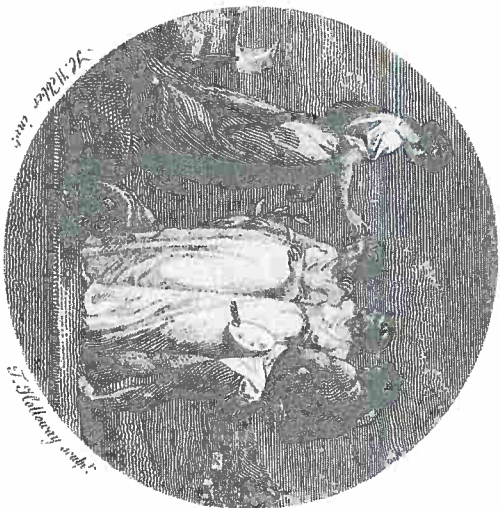
Falconbridge's shudder at the uncomfortable proximity of Botany Bay and her own destination – the haphazard, even serendipitous distinction between their fates as colonies – is very much a harbinger of the way in which her narrative destabilizes and brings into ironic conjunction notions of transportation and of repatriation, exile and return, the convict and the free. Even the ship hired by her husband's abolitionist employers to carry them to Sierra Leone belonged to a prosperous London slave trading firm, whose proprietors had only recently justified to Parliament their sale in Sierra Leone of five of Sharp's original black settlers to a French slaver.<sup>34</sup> For the moment, though, as Falconbridge looks across at the Third Fleet, she takes comfort from the contrast between her own freely chosen exile and that of the miserable felons. As it turned out, her pity for the miserable fate of the Third Fleet's transportees was to prove well-founded. Since the *Gorgon* sailed into Port Jackson at the same time as this fleet, Mary Ann Parker gives us a graphic eye-witness account of the convicts' shocking condition upon arrival. So appalling was the spectacle of the dead and dying that Captain Parker was commissioned to write a report, part of

which is inserted into his wife's narrative. According to Parker's report on the *Queen*, the explanation for the high mortality of its Irish transportees lay in the nature of the Government's contracts with private firms, such that 'the more of them that die, the more it redounds to the interest of the ship-owners and masters, who are paid so much a-head by government, for each individual, whether they arrive in the colony or not'. Although the method differed, the net result bore an uncanny resemblance to the worst excesses of the insurance claims wielded by ship-owners in the slave trade.<sup>35</sup>

The juxtaposition and interconnection of Botany Bay and Sierra Leone in this period can be seen in Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, published in 1792, which reproduced on the same page engravings of two Wedgwood cameos (*Plate 4*).<sup>36</sup> The larger of the two is an allegorical design which had also been used on the title-page of *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (1789) (*Plate 5*), where it was explicated by the legend: 'Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the employments necessary to give security and happiness to an infant settlement'. This idealized cameo was accompanied by a strikingly optimistic and visionary poem, 'Visit of Hope to Sydney-Cove, near Botany-Bay', in which Darwin imagines an illustrious civilization arising on the site of the new colony. Lulling to sleep 'the troubled air' and 'tossing deep' of this turbulent new infant colony, Hope magisterially proclaims a new birth, in a manner foreshadowing Kubla Khan's decree for reclaiming the wilderness of Xanadu. 'The new birth imagined by Darwin is one which involves a type of forgetting, a willed amnesia about the origins and grim purpose of Botany Bay:

*There* shall broad streets their stately walls extend,  
The circus widen, and the crescent bend;  
*There*, ray'd from cities o'er the cultur'd land,  
Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand –  
*There* the proud arch, Colossus-like, bestride  
Yon glittering streams, and bound the chafing tide;  
Embellish'd villas crown the landscape scene,  
Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between –  
*There* shall tall spires, and dome-capt towers ascend,  
And piers and quays their massy structures blend;  
While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,  
And northern treasures dance on every tide!<sup>37</sup>

Despite the up-to-date specificity of the location referred to in the title – Sydney Cove – Darwin's poem is happily unconstrained by personal acquaintance with the colony. Written before the First Fleet annals published their decidedly ambivalent, first-hand encounters with the colony, the allegory forms part of a long-standing fantasy about a great southern

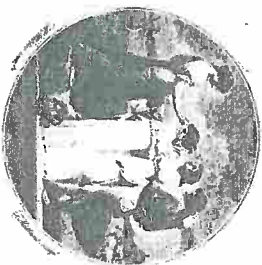


*Engraved from Capt. Phillips' Portrait  
to Batsche's Bays by permission of the Proprietors*



Plate 4 Two Wedgwood medallions from Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden* (1791),  
opp. p. 87.  
Source: Rare Book and Special Collections Library, University of Sydney.

THE  
VOYAGE  
OF  
GOVERNOR PHILLIP  
TO  
BOTANY BAY,  
with an  
Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of  
PORT JACKSON & NORFOLK ISLAND,  
compiled from Authentic Papers,  
which have been obtained from the several Departments,  
to which are added,  
*The Journals of Lieut. Broughton, Water, Trade & Capt. Macpherson,  
with an Account of their two Discoveries*



*embellished with 149 Fine Copper Plates.*  
The Maps and Charts taken from Actual Surveys,  
by the Honors & Orders drawn on the spot,  
by Capt. Hunter, Lieut. Broughton, Water, Trade, & Capt. Macpherson, &c.

LONDON  
Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-yard, Strand.  
MDCCLXXXIX.

Plate 5 Title-page of *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (1789) depicting the  
Wedgwood medallion: 'Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to  
pursue the employments necessary to give security and happiness to an infant settlement'.  
Source: Rare Book and Special Collections Library, University of Sydney.



land mass, a place of the future 'call'd the *South-Sea*' in Daniel Defoe's fictional *A New Voyage round the World: 'new Worlds, new Nations, and new inexhaustible Funds of Wealth and Commerce, such as never were yet known to the Merchants of Europe'*.<sup>38</sup> Mary Ann Parker's own flattering account of the colony is not untouched by this legend; for instance, of the new settlement at Parramatta she records that she was 'surprised to find that so great a progress had been made', but the description she gives us puts into more modest perspective Darwin's vision of the colony's promising commercial, agricultural and architectural prospects. 'There is a very good level road,' she writes, 'of great breadth, that runs nearly a mile in a straight direction from the landing place to the Governor's house, which is a small convenient building, placed upon a gentle ascent, and surrounded by about a couple of acres of garden ground: this spot is called Rose-Hill. On both sides of the road are small thatched huts, at an equal distance from each other' (Plate 6). Watkin Tench, weary of the colony and eager to be home, joked that Parramatta's main street was 'of such breadth as will make Pall-Mall and Portland-Place "hide their diminished heads"'.<sup>39</sup>

The second cameo, 'the poor fetter'd SLAVE on bended knee/ From Britain's sons imploring to be free', needed little introduction or explanation from Darwin.<sup>40</sup> As the emblem of the abolitionist movement, the kneeling slave had adorned thousands of seals and cameos throughout the late 1780s; women wore the design on pins in their hair, men sported it on rings, on shirt-pins, or as coat-buttons. It is, of course, a problematic image; the manacled and supplicating slave seems doubly captured by chains and by discourse, the ventriloquized Christian motto floating above his head: 'Am I not a man and a brother'. Carl Wadstrom's enthusiastic *Essay on Colonization*,<sup>41</sup> the first volume of which was published the same year as Falconbridge's *Two Voyages*, reproduces the image of the kneeling slave in his book, suggesting that the Wedgwood cameo would make a good seal for the Bulama colony, the rival West African 'free' settlement going forward at the same time as Sierra Leone (Plate 7). However, in the 'Nautical Map' Wadstrom designed for his *Essay*, he frees up the slave's kneeling posture, and his hands are no longer joined together in prayer but extended towards Europe (Plate 8). But if Europe resembles Wedgwood's Hope, by 1794 she has been re-conceived as a revolutionary Liberty, offering the slave freedom via the symbols of civilization (the small temple) and agriculture (the horse and spade).<sup>42</sup> A less conditional promise of liberation to blacks can be seen in the engraving 'La Nature' (c. 1790), where a bountiful maternal France devotes one breast each to her black and white infants, whose fraternal, twinned, bonds are reinforced by their tiny hand-shake across her abdomens (Plate 9).

Wadstrom's 'Nautical Map' thus brings together Wedgwood's kneeling slave and his figure of Hope, with Liberty as the bridge spanning the gulf



Plate 6 'A view of the Governor's House at Rose-Hill, in the Township of Parramatta', from David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (1798), opp. p. 125. According to Collins, the thatched huts, made of wattle and plaster, were placed at a distance of sixty feet from each other as a 'useful precaution against fire' (p. 126).

Source: Rare Book and Special Collections Library, University of Sydney.



Plate 7 'Representation of the Coin introduced into the Sierra Leona Colony', from Carl Wadstrom, *An Essay on Colonization* (1794). The illustration also shows the seal made use of by the Company, and the Wedgwood kneeling slave as a possible seal for Bulama.  
 Source: Social Sciences and Humanities Library, University of New South Wales.

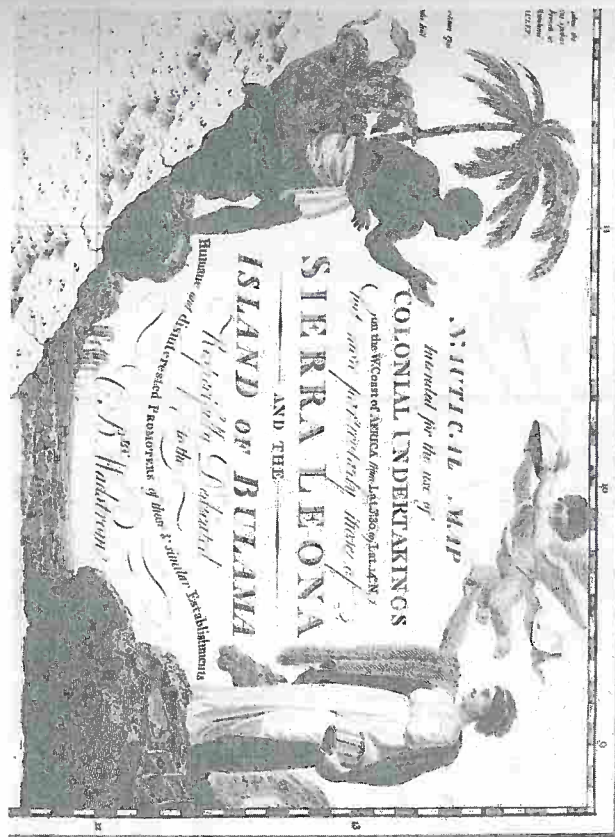


Plate 8 'Nautical Map', from Carl Wadstrom, *An Essay on Colonization* (1794).  
 Source: Cambridge University Library; by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



between the two continents of Africa and Europe. The map exemplifies the central argument of Wadstrom's *Essay*, that liberty and civilization in Africa could only be achieved through colonization and 'legitimate' trade; not the trade in human flesh, that wicked 'illegitimate' off-spring of white and black contact on the coast, but a new trade, fuelled by fanciful speculation as to the viability and export potential of African produce, and the vision of ship-loads of European manufactures, Darwin's 'northern treasures', dancing on every tide. For passionate abolitionists like Wadstrom the argument was a simple one, and it was exemplified by the design of the Sierra Leone coins – a black hand clasping a white one (Plate 7). This hand-shake was indeed a symbol of fraternity, but it was also a symbol of commercial transaction. British traders would make more money if they treated Africans as fellow traders and customers rather than as merchandise – instead of selling them, the idea was to buy their native produce, and sell them goods,<sup>43</sup> an argument which reflected Britain's new interest in importing raw materials and exporting domestic manufactures. Such a mutually beneficial exchange of raw materials and domestic manufacture was also envisaged for Botany Bay. The Wedgwood medallion of Hope at Sydney-Cove neatly exemplified the process: fashioned from Botany Bay clay sent home by Governor Phillip for analysis, copies of the porcelain medallion were sent out to the colony 'to shew the inhabitants what their materials would do'.<sup>44</sup>

Wadstrom's fantasy of brotherhood, colonization and trade can be seen in his utopian sketch of the stately avenues of trees and orderly warehouses on an imaginary pier at Bulama (Plate 10). The settlement was actually planned as a much more sordid affair, grasped at eagerly by 'half-pay officers, decayed gentlemen and dissolute adventurers',<sup>45</sup> many of whom had applied (unsuccessfully) to go out to Sierra Leone. Subscriptions for funding the cost of the settlement were called for in 1791, with the island auctioned off in a London coffee-house at the rate of 500 acres for each £30 subscribed. As one sceptical commentator noted, with £9000 eagerly paid in within a month, the trustees 'were to grant to the subscribers *one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land* in a country of which they had not obtained *one inch of territory*'.<sup>46</sup> If this was a bad beginning, matters were only to get worse, for unlike the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company who at least employed some personnel familiar with Africa, the leaders of the Bulama expedition had no such qualifications. In the end, 275 would-be colonists set sail, some of whom imprudently went ashore on the beautiful island, 'strolling about night and day, wherever they chose; some seeking crabs and muscles, others taking oysters from the mangrove branches; while many were inland botanizing, or hunting after lizards; and others chasing butterflies, and some elephants'.<sup>47</sup> Inevitably they were attacked. Six were killed, four badly injured, seven women and children kidnapped, and the rest dispersed. The almost laughable absurdity of this badly planned venture did not go unremarked in



Plate 9 'La Nature' (Anonymous, c. 1790), Musée Carnavalet, Paris.  
Source: Photographiques des Musées de la Ville de Paris; photographer Lyliane Degraes.



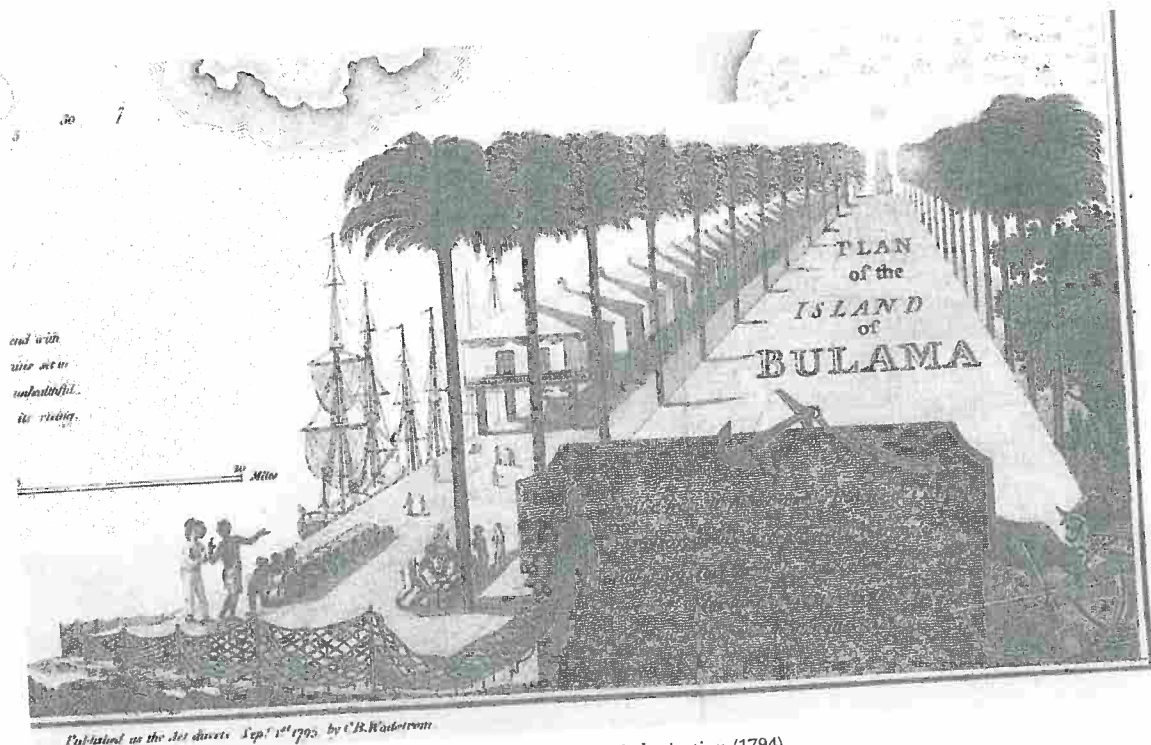


Plate 10 'Plan of the Island of Bulama', from Carl Wadstrom, *An Essay on Colonization* (1794).  
Source: Cambridge University Library; by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

England, with one commentator writing sarcastically of the colonists' taking possession 'by hoisting the British flag': 'The natives, not understanding *this mode* by which their property was conveyed to strangers, made an unexpected attack on the newcomers'.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to an economy of commodity exchange, Wadstrom shared many abolitionists' hopes of extensive agricultural cultivation in Africa, undertaken by 'free' or wage labour. Natives and colonists could together cultivate the sugar-cane and other crops, he argued, thus undermining the plantation system of the West Indies. At several points in his *Essay*, Wadstrom imagines West Africa as a giant plantation, with black labourers (free natives and black settlers) ruled over by white overseers. In many ways this was essentially the vision underpinning the Sierra Leone Company's so-called 'mutual interchange of commodities'.<sup>49</sup> To the dismay of the 'free' Nova Scotians who sailed in the belief that they would own their own land, the Company imposed annual quit-rents on their allotments, thus effectively owning their labour.<sup>50</sup> Instead of finding the independence and equality with whites which had eluded them in Nova Scotia, the loyalist blacks soon saw themselves as utterly dependent upon the whims and prejudices of their paternalist employers. The bitter experience of betrayed promises in Nova Scotia was to be re-played in Sierra Leone. It might also be argued that the Company's policy in West Africa was and large in the choice of Clarkson's two successors, William Dawes and Zachary Macaulay. Dawes had just served three voluntary years in Botany Bay; Macaulay had recently returned from overseeing a slave plantation in Jamaica.<sup>51</sup> Of the latter appointment Anna Maria Falconbridge wrote sarcastically: 'Tis not to be questioned that the prejudices of such an education must impress him with sentiments favorable to the slave trade, and consequently I should not suppose him qualified for a member of Administration in a colony, formed mostly of blacks, founded on principles of *freedom*, and for the *express purpose* of abolishing the slave Trade'. In effect Falconbridge is asking the same question as Cugoana and Equiano: can a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? By the end of 1794, some of the more disaffected Nova Scotians were answering this question emphatically in the negative. Freetown was re-named 'A Town of Slavery', and when the French destroyed the settlement some of the black settlers welcomed the attack as a liberation.<sup>52</sup> For this group of settlers Falconbridge's *Two Voyages* was to become a 'favourite book'. Isaac Anderson, one of the black petitioners to London in 1793, made himself obnoxious to the authorities in Freetown by reading aloud relevant passages during arguments over the quit-rents in 1797. He was later executed for his part in the uprising of 1800.<sup>53</sup>

ANNA MARIA FALCONBRIDGE, TWO VOYAGES  
TO SIERRA LEONE

for the Authoress is open to conviction, and if convicted on this occasion, she will with all due deference kiss the rod of correction.

As her narrative makes plain, Anna Maria Falconbridge had no intention whatsoever of venting her rage by kissing the rod which had punished her. Indeed, the image of such a double chastisement, dealt out by patriarchal authority to children and other subordinates, is ironically positioned at the opening of a text in which the author's 'infant pen' rises up rebelliously against a misguided and oppressive paternalism. If the infant colony of Sierra Leone was growing up to be a refractory child rather than a docile and obedient one, then the responsibility for that lay wholly, she argues, at the feet of its absentee 'father' in London, the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company. It could even be argued that, from the start, this particular colonial infant was destined to be a turbulent and dissatisfied child. Sharp's trope of the 'ill-driven swarthy daughter' reminds us of the inequality built into the paternalist, colonial relationship – the inequality of his unquestioned authority as a wealthy white male, and the disenfranchised, dependent condition of women and blacks in the late eighteenth century. Falconbridge was acutely aware of her relative insignificance, her subordinated 'child' status vis-à-vis the prestigious Company, with its board of prominent, wealthy abolitionists, several of whom, like Wilberforce, were amongst the most powerful men in the land. Realistically, she chose irony as the best weapon to brandish at the outset, whilst prudently seeking 'protection' for her 'infant pen' from her native, slave-trading port of Bristol.<sup>54</sup>

John Clarkson, who brought the loyalist blacks from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, is the good father figure of Falconbridge's story, a mild and kindly first governor who did his best, in unpromising circumstances, to fulfil the promises which he in good faith believed had been made to the loyalists by the Company's Directors. His rule in Sierra Leone did not go unchallenged by the blacks,<sup>55</sup> and there is more than a hint of arrogance in his belief, reported by Falconbridge, that by lifting up his finger he could do what he pleased with them. Nevertheless, he prized the settlers as potentially first-rate colonists, and despaired when they grew disaffected by the mismanagement and corruption of the petty white officers placed over them.<sup>56</sup> Surviving letters from the Nova Scotians often refer to his sweet and gentle behaviour, 'as kind and tender to us as if he was our Father'.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, Botany Bay's William Dawes was the bad father figure, both for Falconbridge and for the black settlers. His severe demeanour and remote, autocratic behaviour, whilst suitable, Falconbridge wrote, 'for a Colony formed wholly of Convicts, and governed by the iron rod of despotism, should be scrupulously guarded against in our

like this, whose basis is Liberty and Equality'. Clarkson held similar reservations about Dawes's appointment, noting in his journal that the 'arbitrary proceedings' of a penal colony would never do as a model for Sierra Leone because the Nova Scotians required careful handling, having been 'deceived through life' by whites.<sup>58</sup> Later, incensed by the news that the Company had dismissed Clarkson, and that Dawes was to be their new governor, the Nova Scotians lost no time in capitalizing on the recent sensational news from France. With some glee, Falconbridge tells us they intimidated their new ruler by 'reminding him of the recent melancholy fate of Louis XVI. and threaten[ing] something similar to him, if he did not instantly acquiesce with some demand they made relating to provisions'.

If bad, despotic fathers abound in this tale, we also have in Alexander Falconbridge the tyrannical, capricious husband. This marriage seems to have been a mistake from the start, with Falconbridge unsympathetically presenting her new husband as a hot-tempered and argumentative zealot in the anti-slavery cause. There is no doubt that he was a courageous man, an invaluable ally in Thomas Clarkson's campaign to lay first-hand evidence of the slave trade's barbarity before the House of Commons. But he had a weakness for drink, and by all accounts was brutal to his wife.<sup>59</sup> Thus, when he obligingly killed himself with drink on the second trip out, Falconbridge bluntly informs her correspondent that she has no regrets, and promptly re-marries another Company employee – Isaac Dubois, a cotton-planter and prosperous American loyalist from a southern slave-holding family.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, her two marriages, the first in 1791, the second in 1793, reflect the waning popularity of abolitionism as it became more closely associated with radicalism. Towards the end of 1793, after leaving Sierra Leone for the last time, Falconbridge hears that Wilberforce and Tom Paine have been burnt together in effigy at Kingston, Jamaica. Although ostensibly offended by the bracketing of Wilberforce with that 'incendiary' Paine, she nevertheless couples them as extremists. Wilberforce's abolitionist zealotry springs, she writes, from 'too keen notions of humanity, and too zealous a desire of doing good.'

While the Company's Report of 1794 may have provided the immediate provocation for Falconbridge's *Two Voyages*, there is no doubt that her book seeks to undermine the authoritative moral position of her first husband's well-known *Account of the Slave Trade*, published in 1788.<sup>61</sup> Certainly one reviewer of *Two Voyages* made the connection between husband and wife, cross-referencing her book with his horrifically detailed and explicit description of the sufferings of the middle passage.<sup>62</sup> Clearly, six years later, the *Account* still had currency in any discussion of Africa or of the slave trade. On the first of her two journeys to Sierra Leone, Falconbridge begins to complicate her first husband's anti-slavery case by dramatically positioning herself between the English slave traders on Bance Island and an abolitionist husband who, in refusing to fraternize with those



'diabolical' traders, imprisons her on board the Company's trading vessel. Placing herself in the position of the captive slave, she describes herself as 'pent up in a floating cage, without room, to walk about, stand erect, or even to lay at length'. Ironically, socializing with the 'genteel' slave traders on Bance Island seems like freedom compared to the coarse slavery of her marriage to an abolitionist.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, by the time of her happy second marriage she has won through, she says, to a new independence of mind, one which argues that slavery is the only efficient and rational economy for the present (in this she proves herself to be a true daughter of Bristol). Two years later, with second husband in tow, she leaves Sierra Leone for good on the *Nassau*, a Bristol slave ship commanded by her brother, Captain Morley.<sup>64</sup> Complete with human cargo en route to England via Jamaica, the *Nassau* sounds like the eighteenth-century equivalent of a luxury liner. Although Falconbridge is apprehensive of being 'exposed to indelicacies, too offensive for the eye of an English woman' she is 'agreeably disappointed' by the excellent food, accommodation and care given to the slaves. Yet again the aim is to subvert her first husband's well-known description of the slaves' appallingly cramped conditions and inedible food.<sup>65</sup>

Falconbridge's encounter with Africa is relatively unique in offering us the story of a woman's attempt to find her feet in an infant, rather than settled, colonial venture. Unlike later wives who accompanied their husbands to far-flung places where the hierarchies of gender, race and class appeared to be rigidly in place, and where racial segregation and the public/private spheres were more clearly delineated, Falconbridge finds herself in a more fluid and unformed environment. Motivated primarily by an appetite for new and exciting adventure, she does not view herself as the standard-bearer of civilization to a benighted world. Quite the contrary: if anything, she is something of a rogue, conspicuously lacking in the stricter codes of propriety familiar to us in English women travellers of a later period. Adultery, polygamy, male gullibility and female wit, the difficulties of reading other cultures: all these topics crop up humorously in the narrative. One of the funniest incidents begins with a self-parodying moment of reversal, when the female spectator is suddenly transformed into the spectacle: 'The people on the island crowded to see me; they gazed with apparent astonishment—I suppose at my dress, for white women could not be a novelty to them, as there were several among the unhappy people sent out here by government. While the people on the island stare at Falconbridge's attire, she stares back at their 'native garbs'. The offence against 'delicacy' caused by their nakedness gives way, she writes, to the supposedly more comforting sight of other black women apparently 'of superior rank; at least I concluded so from the preferable way in which they were clad; nor was I wrong in my conjecture, for upon enquiring who they were, was informed one was the *woman or mistress* of Mr. —, another of Mr. B —, and so on: I then understood that every gentleman on the island had his *lady*'. Falconbridge's

satirical play here with notions of delicacy and indelicacy, non-dress and European dress, the white lady and the black lady: all this is part of a sharp-eyed narrative which enjoys exposing the arbitrariness and unreliability of codes, such as those associated with dress and manners.

Dress figures largely in Falconbridge's narrative, as it does throughout many of the late eighteenth-century records of cross-cultural encounters on this part of the coast. One of the reasons for this was the need to keep up appearances in situations fraught with racial and political tension. Throughout his journal, John Clarkson stressed the importance of appearing confident and in command of the situation, even when there was reason to feel quite otherwise.<sup>66</sup> For instance, he went to great lengths to prepare for his first meeting with the local head-man, Naimbana, whom he regarded as an 'absolute' ruler,<sup>67</sup> ordering the Company's ships to fire off their cannons upon his approach, and placing the whole colony under arms to salute him upon landing. His purpose was twofold: to pay due deference to Naimbana, but also (nervously) to impress upon him some idea of the colony's fire-power.<sup>68</sup> Both men decked themselves out in ceremonial dress: Clarkson 'in a full-dress Windsor uniform, with a brilliant star, etc., etc.', Naimbana with

a sky-blue silk jacket with silver lace, striped cotton trowsers, ruffled shirt, green morocco slippers, a cocked-hat with gold lace, and a white cotton cap, for which a large old judge's wig was afterwards substituted. He had a belt round his neck from which hung the figure of a lamb bearing a cross set with rays formed of paste.<sup>69</sup>

If Clarkson thought the king cut a comical figure, he kept his thoughts to himself, which was more than could be said for Naimbana who could barely restrain himself from laughing out loud at the sight of his counterpart, exclaiming: 'That he had never seen so young a king before.'<sup>70</sup> That Naimbana was an experienced and clever negotiator, well-accustomed to making the whites dance to his tune, is evident in this and all the other records which survive of him. Clarkson noted, for instance, that although Naimbana spoke and understood a little English, 'on matters of business, he always spoke through his interpreter', a process drawn out to such fatiguing length and complexity 'as to occasion strong hysterics' in Clarkson as soon as he got away. Alexander Falconbridge also found the palavers protracted and stressful, believing at one point that Naimbana and the other chiefs were only 'bamboozling' him. Naimbana spelt out his position bluntly to Falconbridge, saying 'he liked the English in preference to all white men, tho' he considered every white man as a *rogue*, and consequently saw them with a jealous eye'. Like other prosperous coastal chiefs he prized education as the essential key to his people's ability to trade equally with the Europeans, but he also believed in keeping his options open: one son he sent to France, another to





*A Representation of my first Conference with the Natives.*

Plate 11 'A Representation of my first Conference with the Natives', from John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone* (2nd edn, 1791). 'Imagine to yourself the shore of a little sandy bay covered with black men, women, and children. Under the shade of a tree sat the king in an arm-chair, dressed in a suit of blue silk, trimmed with silver lace, with a laced hat and ruffled shirt, and shoes and stockings. On each side sat his principal people, and behind him two or three of his wives' (p. 4).

Source: Cambridge University Library; by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

England, a third he entrusted to Muslim clerics. In the lore of a coastal people who had dealt with Europeans for centuries: '“Read book, and learn to be *rogue* so well as white man;” for they say, if white men could not read, or wanted education, they would be no better rogues than *black gentlemen*’.

Falconbridge’s first encounter with Naimbana resembles Clarkson’s in its theatricality, and in its highly wrought, even dangerous comedy. Unlike Clarkson, though, she did not have to conduct serious business with the old king, so her account is more satirical. At first, when they arrive in Robana town, they catch Naimbana in undress, ‘in a loose white frock and trowsers’. Half an hour later he re-appears, attired for the occasion ‘in a purple embroidered coat, white sartin waistcoat and breeches, *thread stockings*, and his left side emblazoned with a flaming star; his legs to be sure were *harliquined*, by a number of holes in the stockings, through which his black skin appeared’ (Plate 11). Naimbana’s real self, anything but regal in Falconbridge’s eyes, peeps clownishly through the worn-out stockings, puncturing all illusion of ceremony and reducing the scene to the level of pantomime. Naimbana appears before her as just another of Robana town’s ‘rare-shows’, a term evocative of the world of popular fairs where freaks and oddities, such as hermaphrodites, dwarfs, giants and other ‘curiosities’, were displayed, including, of course, Horrentots and American Indians.<sup>71</sup>

The parti-coloured, ‘harliquined’ stockings are the one constant feature of what are to be no less than three costume changes in a single afternoon; at one point, when he reappears in a black velvet suit, Falconbridge writes:

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

Naimbana may be a figure of fun for Falconbridge, but as the stockings remind us, he is a harlequin too, with a mischievous, dangerous edge to his performance.<sup>72</sup> In some ways her description of him fits Bakhtin’s notion of the carnival-grotesque: buffoon-like and comic, this ‘King of Kings’ is also formless and a bit terrifying, an unfinished body whose apertures cannot be closed.<sup>73</sup> The parti-coloured appearance of his lower body, part black skin, part pale fabric, also reflects his mixed-blood ancestry: ‘the features of his face resemble a European more than any black I have seen’, comments Falconbridge: ‘he was seldom without a smile on his countenance, but I think his smiles were suspicious’. So convinced did Falconbridge become of Naimbana’s malign intentions towards the settlement that she ‘swooned into hystericks’ at one of the natives’ initial, lengthy palavers. The inadvertent revelation of her fear and suspicions

severely impeded the course of negotiations, as her husband was quick to point out to her.

Falconbridge's *Two Voyages* is relatively unmarked by the commonplace of racist hostility so often applied by travellers to African natives: that they were lazy, treacherous and revengeful.<sup>74</sup> On the contrary, it is a point of pride in her narrative that she enjoyed such friendly, even flirtatious, relations with the local chiefs. King Jemmy, for instance, in some respects the settlement's greatest enemy, she regarded as a man of his word, and a man of sensibility. That he always came to see her before anyone else exposed the bogus authority of the men supposedly in charge. She even agreed to stand hostage for him when he stipulated that this was the only condition on which he would consent to go on board one of the Company's ships.<sup>75</sup> With Naimbana she is on less certain ground, as we have seen, but in one of her early 'courtly encounters' with him she triumphs in the knowledge that she is the only woman ever to sit down and eat with him.<sup>76</sup> They are also the only ones to eat dinner with silver forks, and this flattering notice is further enhanced by Naimbana's gift of 'two beautiful pines'.

Falconbridge was not shy of emphasizing the sensational and unprecedented nature of her voyage to the 'inhospitable Coast of Africa'. This was her maiden voyage, she tells us, and her story is chequered throughout 'with such a complication of disasters as I may venture to affirm have never yet attended any of my *dear Country Women*, and such as I sincerely hope they never may experience'. In some ways, though, because her authorship is proof of her survival, we are less impressed by the physical dangers she encounters than by those moments of psychological danger, when inadvertently and unexpectedly she is ensnared by some twist or complication in the threads of her narrative. One of these disconcerting moments occurs at Bance Island House, where she is about to dine with her new friends, the slave traders. Happening to stroll to one of the windows, she looks out only to find herself confronted by the Dantesque vision of the slave yard, with 'between two and three hundred wretched victims, chained and parcelled out in circles, just satisfying the cravings of nature from a trough of rice placed in the centre of each circle'. So horrible is the sight, and yet so insatiable her 'female curiosity', that she assures her correspondent that she 'avoided the prospects from this side of the house ever after'.<sup>77</sup>

### MARY ANN PARKER, A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

Nothing very extraordinary is related, for nothing extraordinary happened: but, if the particulars do not fill us with astonishment, neither do they excite our incredulity by the marvellous, with which travellers are so apt to embellish their relations.

(*Monthly Review*, May–August, 1796, p. 112)

It is not at all true that nothing extraordinary happened on Mary Ann Parker's voyage round the world. The return journey alone was remarkable for a number of incidents, not least of which was the captured shark with the First Fleet convict's prayer book in its belly. Another serendipitous connection with First Fleet convicts occurred at the Cape where the *Gorgon* took on board the escaped convict Mary Bryant and some of her surviving fellow fugitives, all of whom had sailed from Port Jackson in an open boat to Timor. Tench, for one, was simply astounded by these escapees' heroic struggle for liberty'. Also, having travelled out with these convicts to the colony four years earlier, he reflected as well on the strange combination of circumstances which had brought them together once again, circumstances which could only 'baffle human foresight, and confound human speculation'.<sup>78</sup> Parker makes little of these and other incidents, but despite her best intentions of maintaining a smooth, uninterrupted surface, full of witty accounts of pleasant excursions, dinner parties and picnics, her travel narrative is, like Falconbridge's, occasionally troubled by 'female curiosity'. For instance, on the journey out, after arriving safely at the Cape, and having had a good night's sleep on shore, Parker arises in the morning 'particularly thankful to Providence for His protection'. Her prayers of gratitude are, however, immediately greeted by the disturbing sight of the *Gorgon's* ship-wrecked predecessor:

Curiosity then directed my steps to a window, whence I beheld the small remains of his Majesty's ship the *Guardian* ... To avoid as much as possible any disagreeable reflections which might arise from the idea of a probability of our sharing the fate of the above vessel ... I hastened to my companions, and was, for the first time, surprised with a Cape breakfast ...

Similarly, near the Falkland Islands on its return journey, the *Gorgon* encountered numerous ice-islands, whose 'pleasing and grotesque' shapes would have been more thoroughly enjoyed, she tells us, had she been able to divert her mind of the 'horror' occasioned by reflections on the number of navigators 'arrested and frozen to death in the midst of these tremendous masses'.

Having found her sea-legs on earlier travels in France, Spain and Italy, Parker is much more low-keyed than Falconbridge about her journey, even though she describes it as one 'to the remotest parts of the globe'. Of course, unlike Falconbridge, who had only Matthew's book to precede her, Parker was writing amidst a spate of recent publications on the colony at Botany Bay.<sup>79</sup> There were, however, aspects of her book she might have capitalized on, such as its being the first account of the colony written by a woman; there was also the 'rare circumstance', as one reviewer put it, of seeing 'a female name in the list of circumnavigators'.<sup>80</sup> But bolstered by her ample and distinguished list of subscribers, Parker no



## NOTES

1. For Sierra Leone as a possible destination for convicts, see Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: Putnam, 1976), pp. 141–42.
2. Mollie Gillen gives a very persuasive account of Government's muddled policy and lack of foresight at this time in 'The Botany Bay Decision, 1786: Convicts, not Empire', *English Historical Review*, vol. 47, no. 385 (October, 1982), pp. 740–66; and see also G. J. Abbott, 'The Botany Bay Decision', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 16 (May, 1985), pp. 21–45.
3. In both Houses of Parliament the choice of Botany Bay was defended as 'a measure of absolute necessity, arising from the crowded state of the jails ... the only remedy for an evil, which required immediate redress' (Gillen, 'The Botany Bay Decision, 1786', pp. 755–56).
4. In London, a small and learned band of Swedenborgians published their utopian *Plan for a Free Community upon the Coast of Africa, under the Protection of Great Britain; but entirely independent of all European Laws and Governments* (London: R. Hindmarsh, 1789). Its authors included two Swedes, Carl Wadstrom (see notes 7, 41) and August Nordenskiöld, who died in Sierra Leone after a botched expedition into the interior looking for gold.
5. Granville Sharp (1735–1813). Although I disagree with many of its conclusions, the most detailed account of London's black poor, and the formation of the Sierra Leone colony, is Stephen Braidwood's *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement, 1786–1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994). Braidwood's study is unusual in arguing that the Committee and the Government acted at all times with the very best of intentions. Some consideration of the colony's development after 1791 might have led to a rather different reading of the available evidence.
6. Most commentators agree that coercion was used, especially when the time for sailing came round and Government grew impatient with the high number of defections (Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, pp. 144–51; and Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), pp. 196–203). Even Braidwood concedes that the Government lost patience and planned some harsh measures (*Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, pp. 139–40).
7. Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court, held at London on Wednesday the 19th of October, 1791* (London: James Phillips, 1792), p. 2 (hereafter *Substance of the Report, 1791*). Carl Wadstrom (see note 41) described these white women as 'chiefly strumpets'; of the 'indigent, unemployed, despoiled and forlorn' black males he wrote: 'it was necessary they should be sent somewhere, and be no longer suffered to infest the streets of London' in his *An Essay on Colonization, particularly applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with some free thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce; also Brief Descriptions of the colonies already formed, or attempted, in Africa, including those of Sierra Leona and Balama* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794–1795), p. 220. It was Anna Maria

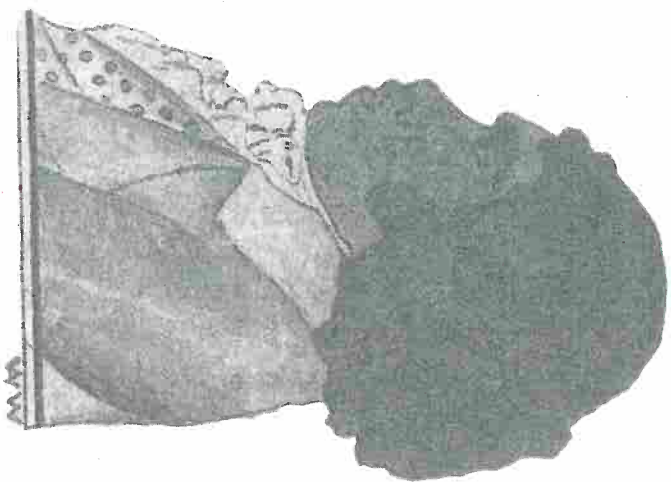


Plate 13 Portrait of Bennelong, with his hair dressed in European style, wearing a fashionable frock coat with a high-standing collar (c. 1795).

Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

collections and for learned societies, and for gentlemen like Sir Joseph Banks who subscribed to Mrs Parker's book. Like the clay from Botany Bay which had been sent by Phillip in 1788, scientific analysis of New Holland's productions might possibly yield directions for the colony's future prosperity, including, it was hoped, the colony's eventual financial independence from the mother country. The Parker narrative itself participates in this circular economy of reciprocity and exchange. The very act of writing her narrative, with its naming of all those who had extended their hospitality to her during the long voyage, was to be, in Parker's own pun, the only 'return' she, as a widow, could ever now make.



- Falconbridge's account of an interview with one of the surviving seven of these women that started the controversy over how they came to be included amongst the original settlers. Braidwood devotes an appendix to the issue, but gives no credibility to Falconbridge's version, or to Oludah Equiano's complaint about 'unauthorised' persons being taken on board (Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, pp. 280–88).
8. William Dawes (1762–1836), officer of marines, scientist, astronomer and administrator.
  9. Watkin Tench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales* (London: G. Nicol, 1793), p. 139 (hereafter *Complete Account*). Tench (1758?–1833) was an officer of marines and author of two important books on the Port Jackson colony.
  10. Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (London: Henry Colburn, 1820), p. 313 (hereafter *Memoirs*). The letter in which this expression appears is dated 31 October, 1787.
  11. Hoare, *Memoirs*, p. 313.
  12. Everyone who met Falconbridge commented on his extreme, even violent, temperament. He referred to the slave trade as that 'lump of deformity' (Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, p. 185).
  13. For the history of these black loyalists, see James W. St. G. Walker, 'The Establishment of a Free Black Community in Nova Scotia', in *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays*, ed. M. Kilson and R. Rothenberg (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 205–36; also Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, passim.
  14. *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island; compiled from authentic papers* (London: John Stockdale, 1789). Where Stockdale had 458 subscribers, Parker had 400; interestingly, 65 of Parker's subscribers were women compared to Stockdale's 12.
  15. For these biographical speculations I am indebted to Gavin Fry's introduction to the Australian National Maritime Museum's limited facsimile edition of Parker's *Voyage Round the World* (Potts Point: Horden House, 1991).
  16. Peter Fryer gives a lively account of the controversy in *Staying Power*, pp. 196–203. See also Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, pp. 144–53, and Braidwood's *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, pp. 129–61.
  17. Ellen Gibson Wilson, *John Clarkson and the African Adventure* (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 58, 79.
  18. Stung by the Company's dismissal of him in April 1793, Clarkson admitted to Falconbridge's second husband, Isaac Dubois, that he had 'almost been ready to expose People who are deserving of blame'. But because the colony had so many enemies, he felt 'obliged to be silent' (British Library, Clarkson Papers, MS Add. 41263, vol. 3).
  19. *Substance of the Report delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, to the General Court of Proprietors, on Thursday the 27th March, 1794* (London: James Phillips, 1794), pp. 10, 18, 25–27 (hereafter *Substance of the Report, 1794*).
  20. *The British Critic, a New Review*, vol. 4 (July–August, 1794), p. 555.
  21. The same reviewer started his second paragraph: 'If the letters deserve that credit which their internal evidence seems to demand . . .', *The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal*, vol. 16 (January–April, 1795), pp. 102–3.
  22. Some clues are the two slips in dating 1794 for 1791 (see *Plate 2*). For the journal section of her narrative, beginning Jan. 1793, Falconbridge dipped into the journal Isaac Dubois began writing the day after Clarkson left the colony. The addressee of this journal is Clarkson, who had asked Dubois to keep a record (British Library, Clarkson Papers, MS Add. 41263, vol. 3).
  23. Anna Laetitia Barbauld, *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, 6 vols (London: Richard Phillips, 1804), vol. 1, p. xxvii.
  24. For an excellent study of public and private spheres, and the notion of the 'citizen-critic', see Elizabeth Cook, *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth-Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).
  25. Mary Louise Pratt suggests that Falconbridge's book may have been 'sponsored' by a pro-slavery faction, but the cheap production somewhat counts against this theory; see Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 238. For further discussion of Falconbridge's *Two Voyages*, see my *Sierra Leone, Slavery, and Sexual Politics: Anna Maria Falconbridge and the "Swartthy Daughter" of Late 18th Century Abolitionism*, in *Women's Writing*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1995), pp. 3–23. Other recent commentators on Falconbridge include Moira Ferguson, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834* (London: Routledge, 1992) and Felicity Nussbaum, 'The Other Woman: Polygamy, Pamela, and the Prerogative of Empire', in *Women, 'Race', and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. M. Hendricks and P. Parker (London: Routledge, 1994).
  26. John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone, on the Coast of Africa; containing an Account of the Trade and Productions of the Country, and of the Civil and Religious Customs and Manners of the People; in a series of Letters to a Friend in England, during his Residence in that Country in the Years 1785, 1786 and 1787. With an additional letter on the African Slave Trade* (London: B. White and Son, 1788), p. 157 (hereafter *Voyage*).
  27. Edited by the radical George Dyer, the book is a plea on behalf of the Scottish martyrs. Two editions appeared in 1794, with a slightly different title-page for the second edition.
  28. Matthews, *Voyage*, p. 157.
  29. Of course, the equivalence was not just rhetorical. The heavy iron shackles and collars of the convicts at Botany Bay prompted one of the soldiers to say, 'they are the same as Slaves all the time they are in this country', quoted by Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), vol. 1, p. 98.
  30. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*, ed. L. Patton and P. Mann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 250–51. For an analysis of Coleridge and the rhetoric of abolitionism, see my 'Conspicuous

Consumption: White Abolitionism and English Women's Protest Writing in the 1790s', *English Literary History*, 61 (Summer, 1994), pp. 341-62.

31. One of the best accounts of Granville Sharp's abolitionist philosophy and politics is to be found in David Briton Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 386-406.
32. According to Sharp, the blacks were 'deterred by a jealousy which prevailed among them that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay' (Hoare, *Memoirs*, pp. 315-16).
33. Orobah Cugoano (born c. 1757) and Olaudah Equiano (c. 1745-1797), prominent abolitionist activists in the 1780s and 1790s. Cugoano is named as the author of *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (London, 1787), but Equiano, best known for his *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789), was almost certainly Cugoano's co-author. Paul Edwards outlines the evidence for this in 'Three West African Writers of the 1780s' in *The Slave's Narrative*, ed. C. T. Davis and H. L. Gates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 183-87. The Navy Board appointed Equiano 'Commissary on the part of Government' to Sierra Leone, a senior position which would have involved him in land negotiations with the local chiefs. He was dismissed before the ships sailed; for his account of this episode see the excerpts and editor's notes in *Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-speaking World of the 18th Century*, ed. Vincent Carretta (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), pp. 283-86, 313-17.
34. See Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, pp. 164-65.
35. In the infamous 1781 case of the slave ship *Zong*, sick slaves were thrown overboard so that the shipping company could claim their loss as insurance. See James Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 16-22.
36. Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden; A Poem, in Two Parts. Part I. Containing The Economy of Vegetation. Part II. The Loves of the Plants. With Philosophical Notes* (London: J. Johnson, 1791). The first edition was published in June 1792, its 1791 title-page notwithstanding.
37. See Stockdale's *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (1789), p. v.
38. Daniel Defoe, *A New Voyage round the World by a Course never sailed before* (London: A. Bettesworth, 1725), Part 1, p. 178.
39. Tench, *Complete Account*, p. 78.
40. Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, Part I, Canto II, ll. 315-16.
41. Wadstrom was a Swedenborgian and abolitionist who, together with some like-minded colleagues, had dreamt of founding the Church of New Jerusalem on the west coast of Africa.
42. For a revolutionary inflection given to this cameo by a French manufactory at Serres c. 1796, see Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1989), pp. 178-79.
43. This was an economic argument widely used by abolitionists, both English and African. Olaudah Equiano appealed for his fellow Africans to be treated as customers rather than merchandise in his letter to the Privy Council, 1788, reprinted in *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, ed. C. Fyfe (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 109-111.
44. *The Botanic Garden*, note to l. 315, p. 87.
45. This was how John Clarkson described them in his journal; see *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, ed. E. G. Ingham (London: Frank Cass & Co, 1968), p. 85 (hereafter Ingham, *Sierra Leone*). When the dispersed colonists sought refuge in Freetown, Clarkson thought so badly of them that he remarked 'the progress of the Colony is put back at least one week for every day they remain amongst us'; see 'Diary of Lieutenant Clarkson, R. N.; *Sierra Leone Studies*, n. s., vol. 8 (March 1927), p. 13.
46. *Monthly Review*, vol. 16 (January-April, 1795), p. 102.
47. W. H. Smyth, *The Life and Services of Captain Philip Beaver* (London: John Murray, 1829), pp. 59-60.
48. *Monthly Review*, vol. 16 (January-April, 1795), p. 102.
49. The phrase comes from the Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report, 1791*, p. 28.
50. A feudal relic, quit-rent was originally levied as a payment from peasant to lord in lieu of services.
51. After a quarrel with Governor Phillip, Dawes had returned to England at the end of 1791 on the *Gorgon*. Macaulay went to Jamaica in 1784 as a sixteen-year-old. From 1793 until its dissolution in 1808, he was closely associated with the Sierra Leone Company. For an account of these two men, see Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, passim.
52. 'Our Children Free and Happy': *Letters from Black Settlers in Africa in the 1790s*, ed. C. Fyfe (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 43-44.
53. Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, pp. 330, 395.
54. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, three-fifths of Bristol's commerce was represented by the African and West Indian trades.
55. Thomas Peters, ex-slave and spokesman for the Nova Scotians, resented Clarkson's governorship. Had he not died suddenly in the colony, he might have led a rebellion against the whites (Clarkson's journal in Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, pp. 38-44, and Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, pp. 248-56). An overview of the documents relating to his life is given by C. Fyfe in 'Thomas Peters: History and Legend', *Sierra Leone Studies*, vol. 9 (1953), pp. 4-13.
56. 'Great dissatisfaction appears amongst the settlers, and many of them begin to be very troublesome. The bad example set them by the Europeans when they first landed, the unfeeling manner in which they are often addressed ... may in a great degree account for the irritability of temper, and peevish disposition which it is painful for me to observe amongst them ...' (Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, pp. 26-27). He also noted new habits, like their consumption of rum; see 'Diary', *Sierra Leone Studies* (1927), p. 98.
57. This phrase occurs in the settlers' petition to the Directors (Fyfe, 'Our Children Free and Happy', p. 36).
58. Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, p. 144, and 'Diary', *Sierra Leone Studies* (1927), p. 31.



- Clarkson's view of Dawes hardened; in July 1793 he wrote to Isaac DuBois that 'his manners are disgusting' and that he was not 'a fit or proper Person to be at the Head of a Colony founded upon the Principles of the Constitution of Free Town' (British Library, Clarkson Papers, MS Add. 41263, vol. 3).
59. Clarkson described him as 'extremely unkind & violent' to his wife (Wilson, *John Clarkson*, p. 126).
60. For information about DuBois, see his journal (Clarkson Papers, MS Add. 41263, vol. 3). John Clarkson was astonished at the Company's dismissal of DuBois in Sept. 1793, protesting to Thornton, Chairman of the Directors: 'His behaviour was so exemplary, his Manners so engaging, and his Zeal and Industry to promote the Happiness and Comfort of the Colony so conspicuous that I ... attribute the first foundation of the Colony in a great part to him' (Clarkson Papers, MS Add. 41263, vol. 3).
61. Alexander Falconbridge, *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London: J. Phillips, 1788). The book was often quoted by abolitionists; see *An Abstract of the Evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the years 1790, and 1791; on the part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade* (London: J. Phillips, 1791).
62. See *Monthly Review*, vol. 16 (January–April, 1795), p. 103.
63. Falconbridge's story appears to bear out a certain strand of contemporary feminist complaint: that anti-slavery enthusiasts were often the greatest slavers when it came to their own domestic relations. See, for instance, Hannah More's essay 'The White Slave Trade', *The Works of Hannah More*, 11 vols (London: T. Cadell, 1830), vol. 3, pp. 384ff. For the view that slave trading was 'a general employment' see John Newton's *An Authentic Narrative of some Remarkable and Interesting Particulars in the Life of \*\*\*\*\* Communicated in a Series of Letters to the Reverend Mr Hawes* (London: J. Johnson, 5th edn, 1782), p. 148.
64. 'The Nassau Capt. Morley arrived from the Isles De loss—he seems to be a good honest fellow & I am rather gratified by his being highly pleased at his sisters Marriage' (Isaac DuBois's Journal, Jan. 20, 1793; British Library, Clarkson Papers, MS Add. 41263, vol. 3).
65. Cf. Letter XIII of *Two Voyages*, pp. 133–34 below, with her husband's *Account of the Slave Trade*, pp. 19–32.
66. 'It is my constant practice, when I visit any of the native chiefs, or go into their villages, for myself and those who attend me, to be unarmed' (Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, p. 98).
67. Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, p. 132.
68. Similarly, in Botany Bay in 1788, during the first contact period with the aboriginals, Warkin Tench wrote of how the colonists' first object was 'to win their affections', the second, 'to convince them of the superiority we possessed' (Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay* (London: J. Debrett, 1789), p. 57).
69. See Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, p. 24. Writing of the influence of Portuguese Roman Catholicism on the coastal Africans, Matthews claimed: 'Their religion
- principally consists in repeating a *Pater Noster*, or an *Ave Maria*, and in wearing a large string of beads round their neck, with a cross, or crucifix, suspended' (Matthews, *Voyage*, p. 14).
70. Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, pp. 23–26.
71. A spotted negro boy was one of the freaks on display at Bartholomew Fair in the late eighteenth century; see P. Edwards and J. Walvin, *Black Personalities in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Macmillan, 1983), and R. D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978).
72. Harlequin was the name of a 'white-negro' woman displayed at travelling shows in the late eighteenth century; see Paul Edwards and James Walvin, 'Africans in Britain' in *The African Diaspora*, p. 193.
73. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 29, 43.
74. For instance, Matthews, *Voyage*, pp. 23–24, 96, 159. Matthews was influenced by Edward Long's racist theories in his *History of Jamaica*, 3 vols (London, 1774).
75. Hostage taking, or pawning, was central to slavery transactions on the coast, operating as security between payment and receipt of slaves from the interior. Matthews gives a full account of how the system worked; see Matthews, *Voyage*, pp. 155–56. This form of bartering was well documented by other travellers too; see Thomas Wintehottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to which is added An Account of the Present State of Medicine among them*, 2 vols (London, 1803), p. 126, and John Newton, in Fyfe (ed.), *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p. 75.
76. The term 'courtly encounter' is taken from Mary Louise Pratt's 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (Autumn, 1985), pp. 131–32.
77. For thought-provoking analysis of the concept of curiosity in travel literature, see Harriet Guest, 'The Great Distinction: Figures of the Exotic in the work of William Hodges', in *New Feminist Discourses: Critical Essays on Theories and Texts*, ed. I. Armstrong (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 296–41, esp. pp. 320–22; more recently, see her essay 'Looking at Women: Forster's Observations in the South Pacific', in J. R. Forster, *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, ed. N. Thomas, H. Guest and M. Dettelbach (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), pp. xli–liv.
78. Tench, *Complete Account*, p. 108.
79. To name only the best known: John White, *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales* (London: J. Debrett, 1790), John Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (London: John Stockdale, 1793), and Tench's two books, *Narrative of the Expedition* (1789) and *Complete Account* (1793).
80. *Monthly Review*, vol. 20 (May–August, 1796), p. 112.
81. *The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark, 1787–1792* (Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1981), p. 234. See also James Scott, *Remarks on a Passage to Botany Bay, 1787–1792* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963).



82. Lieutenant Gardner, quoted by Gavin Fry in his introduction to Parker's *Voyage Round the World*, n. p.
83. One reviewer pounced with delight on this detail; see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 65 (1795), p. 941.
84. The reconstruction of the Crown within Phillip's Government has recently been described by Alan Atkinson as one of the most remarkable and complex features of his benevolent paternalism; see Atkinson, *Europeans in Australia*, pp. 108–10.
85. Elizabeth Macarthur, *The Journal and Letters of Elizabeth Macarthur, 1789–1798*, ed. Joy N. Hughes (Glebe: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1984), p. 24 (hereafter *Journal and Letters*).
86. Macarthur, *Journal and Letters*, pp. 34, 31.
87. Tench, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p. 79; *Complete Account*, p. 163.
88. David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales: with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners &c. of the native inhabitants of that country* (London: T. Cadell, 1798), p. 103.
89. Macarthur, *Journal and Letters*, p. 22.
90. Such as the description of the natives' huts in Chapter 8; for other debts, see my notes to the text.
91. Bennelong (c. 1764–1813) is the most common form of his name. Kidnapped by Governor Phillip in 1789 in order to interrogate him about the new land Bennelong travelled to England in 1792 and was presented to King George III.
92. Tench, *Complete Account*, p. 188.
93. One of Tench's reviewers in 1793 castigated him for excessive pessimism about the colony, citing Bennelong's presence in the metropolis as counter-argument. Instead of displaying the 'ferocious and intractable manners' described by Tench, Banaloug was 'delighted with every thing he sees, and courteous to those who know him' (*British Critic*, vol. 2 (1793), pp. 62–67).
94. A live kangaroo in 1791 was worth £500, but only £30 by the end of the decade.

## NOTE ON TEXTS

### ANNA MARIA FALCONBRIDGE, TWO VOYAGES TO SIERRA LEONE (1794)

The copy-text reproduced here is the first edition of Falconbridge's *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone*, published in 1794, probably around August. Apart from silently incorporating the errata listed at the end of that edition, I have reproduced faithfully the first edition's orthography, and its (many) typographical errors. I have also preserved the paragraphing of the original, but not the large spaces between paragraphs; nor have I attempted to reproduce the text's invariable practice of inserting spaces before and after colons, semi-colons, exclamation marks and question marks.

Falconbridge's book was reprinted twice, once almost immediately in 1794, the second time in 1795 (described, respectively, as second and third 'editions' on the title-pages). All three of these early 'editions' are described as 'printed for the author' in London. Longman and J. Parsons are named as booksellers on two 1795 title-pages I have seen. The second edition (rather than reprint) of 1802 is a much more correct and tidy work, but in most other respects it follows closely the first edition of 1794; any significant changes have been noted in the explanatory notes. The chief difference between the two editions of 1794 and 1802 lies, perhaps, in their title-pages (see Bibliography, 'Writings by Anna Maria Falconbridge').

In 1967, Cass & Co. published a facsimile of the 1802 edition.

### MARY ANN PARKER, A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD (1795)

The copy-text reproduced here is the first (and only) edition of *A Voyage Round the World*, published in 1795. The only subsequent edition has been a facsimile edition, with an introduction by Gavin Fry (see Bibliography, 'Writings by Mary Ann Parker').

Once again, I have reproduced the text faithfully, but have not preserved the spacing between paragraphs.

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