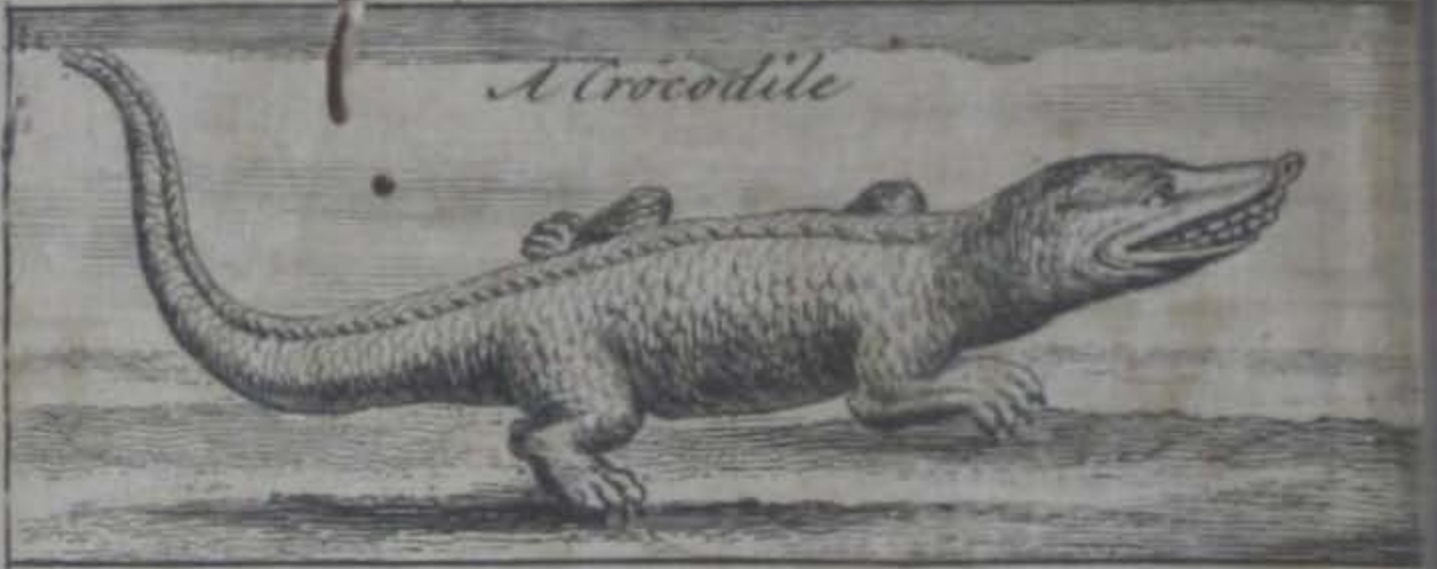


A Crocodile



A Negro playing on the Ballafoe



A Camelin



Linn. Sulp.

A NEW
VOYAGE
TO
GUINEA:

DESCRIBING

The Customs, Manners, Soil, Climate, Habits, Buildings, Education, Manual Arts, Agriculture, Trade, Employments, Languages, Ranks of Distinction, Habitations, Diversions, Marriages, and whatever else is memorable among the Inhabitants.

LIKEWISE,

An Account of their Animals, Minerals, &c. With great Variety of entertaining Incidents, worthy of Observation, that happen'd during the Author's Travels in that large Country.

Illustrated with Cutts, engrav'd from Drawings taken from the Life.

With an Alphabetical INDEX.

By *WILLIAM SMITH*, Esq;

Appointed by the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY to survey their Settlements, make Discoveries, &c.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN NOURSE, opposite Katharine-street, in the Strand. MDCCLV.

A. W. B. W.

THE
GUYANA

The Guyana Association of
Businessmen and
Professionals
has been formed
to represent the
interests of the
community and
to promote the
welfare of the
country.

G 35468

An Account of the
History of the
African Cases
in the
District of
Guyana.

BY
WILLIAM
MATHIAS

Printed and
Published by
the
Author.

PREFACE.

THE present Curiosity of the Publick for whatever may contribute to the rendering the Produce of distant Countries and the Manners of Foreign Nations, fully and certainly known, was what encourag'd the Publication of this Work at this Juncture from a Perswasion that the Merit of the Author would not fail of recommending his Performance to all, who have an Inclination for this Sort of Reading, and are competent Judges of a Work of this Kind.

A Description of the Coast of Guinea has this Advantage over most other Books of Travels, that it is at once equally curious and useful. There is no Part of the World with which we are less acquainted than the interior Part of Africa, and even with respect to the Coast such surprizing Revolutions happen there within the Compass of a few Years, that the Writers of Travels into that Country are never at a Loss for fresh Matter, which at the same time that it entertains is also of Use, since we are daily sending Numbers of People to that Coast, who cannot but wish to have the latest and best Accounts possible of the Place to which they are going.

THE Author appears to have been a Man of a comprehensive Genius, very active and diligent,

gent, and withal furnish'd with unusual Opportunities of acquiring the Knowledge he sought. He was appointed by the African Company to survey and make Draughts of their Settlements, and was furnish'd with such Powers for that Purpose as enabled him to gratify his Curiosity in every other Respect. This Work therefore may be justly said to be as compleat as any Thing of its Kind can be expected. He has regularly described the several Kingdoms and Settlements on the Coast in the State they were in at the Time he made his Survey. He is very particular as to the Nature of the Country, the Quality of the Soil, the Natural History in all its Branches of every Country through which he travell'd, and at the same Time neglects nothing that may serve to give a just Idea of the History and Politicks of these People. As he was an accurate Draughts-Man, it may be depended upon that the Cuts were taken from the Life, and the Attention requisite in drawing them, must have render'd the Author more accurate in his Descriptions than a Man of another Turn would have been. On the Whole, as this Work is new, curious and useful it was a Kind of Injury to the Publick to suffer it to remain longer in MS. the Amusement only of a few who had Access to the Library where it was deposited; it is hoped therefore that the Publick will receive kindly a Present that meries their Favour, and wants only to be read in order to be approved.

A

V O Y A G E

T O

G U I N E A.

THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY OF ENGLAND, being very desirous to have an exact Account of all their Settlements on the Coast of GUINEA, came to a Resolution in the Year 1726, to send out a Person fitly qualified for that Enterprize, on board one of their own Ships. Accordingly, they pitch'd upon me, and, after a due Examination, granted me a Commission; the Copy of which is as follows:

*African-House, Aug. 11. 1726.**Mr. William Smith,*

“ **T**HE Royal *African* Company of
 “ *England*, having entertained
 “ You in their Service, as a Person fitly
 “ qualified, to take exact Plans, Draughts,
 “ and Prospects of all their Forts and Set-
 “ tlements; as also of all the principal Ri-
 “ vers, Harbours, and other Places of
 “ Trade, on the Coast of *Africa*, from
 “ *Gambia* to *Whydah*. You are hereby re-
 “ quired and directed to embark on board
 “ their own Ship *Bonetta*, Captain *James*
 “ *Livingstone*, Commander, and to pro-
 “ ceed on her forthwith to *Gambia*; and
 “ upon your Arrival there, you are to take
 “ an exact Survey of that River, from the
 “ Entrance thereof up as high as *James-*
 “ *Island*, together with the Soundings,
 “ Bearings, and such other Particulars as
 “ You shall judge necessary towards ob-
 “ taining a compleat Knowledge of the
 “ the said River.

“ ON

“ ON your Arrival at our Fort on *James*
“ Island, you are to apply yourself without
“ Loss of Time, to take an exact Plan and
“ Dimensions of the same, together with
“ the other Views and Draughts, as you
“ shall judge proper and necessary for our
“ better Information, as to the Nature,
“ Usefulness and Strength of that Fort.

“ FROM *Gambia* you are to proceed on
“ the same Ship to *Sierraleone* River, where
“ you are to observe the same Orders and
“ Directions with respect to that River,
“ *Tasso* Island, *Bense* Island, and our Fort
“ on the same, as in the River *Gambia*
“ aforesaid.

“ FROM *Sierraleone* you are to proceed
“ to Cape *Mount*, and if Captain *Living-*
“ *ston* shall judge, that he may make the
“ River *Sherbro* in his Way, without much
“ Loss of Time, you are to take the most
“ exact Draughts, and Survey of that Ri-
“ ver and Parts adjacent, as the Time will
“ allow.

“ FROM Cape Mount to Cape Apolonia,
 “ you are to take the most exact Draughts
 “ of that Coast as possible; particularly of
 “ the Rivers, Bays, and Islands at Cape
 “ Mezurado, Junck, St. Johns, Sestos, San-
 “ guinee, Setra-Crue, Drewin, St. An-
 “ drews, Cape Laboe, Jack-Laboe, Jack
 “ Jack, Bassam, and Assinee, but most par-
 “ ticularly Sestos.

“ IN your Way down the Coast from
 “ Cape Apolonia to Cape Coast Castle, you
 “ are to endeavour to take as exact a
 “ Draught of that Part of the Coast as pos-
 “ sible, particularly you are to observe the
 “ Number, Strength and Situation of such
 “ Forts and Factories as belong to any other
 “ Nation, on that Part of the Coast, and
 “ at each of our Forts and Factories, you
 “ are to accompany Captain *Livingstone* on
 “ Shore, where you are to apply your self
 “ with all possible Expedition to take the
 “ exact Plans, Draughts and Dimensions of
 “ each of our said Forts and Factories, to-
 “ gether with the Harbours, Bays, Rivers
 “ and other Places adjacent to them.

“ ON your Arrival at *Cape Coast Castle*,
“ you are to apply yourself to take the ex-
“ act Plans, Dimensions and Draughts, al-
“ so Prospects of *Cape Coast Castle*, Fort
“ Royal, *Phipp's Tower*, and of the Road
“ and Gardens belonging to *Cape Coast*
“ *Castle*.

“ WHICH done, you are to take your
“ Passage on Board the *Bonetta* to *Whydah*,
“ and in your Way thither, and at that
“ Place you are to observe the same Orders
“ and Directions, with Regard to the seve-
“ ral Rivers, Bays, Islands, and other re-
“ markable Places of Trade, the Number,
“ Strength, and Situation of all the several
“ Forts, Factories, and Settlements on that
“ Part of the Coast as before directed, with
“ Regard to those Places lying to the
“ Windward of *Cape Coast Castle*.

“ WE wish you Health and good Success, and Remain your Loving Friends

BIBYE LAKE, Deputy Governor,	
<i>Ralph Radcliffe,</i>	<i>Thomas Bodicoate,</i>
<i>J. Floyer,</i>	<i>H. Vander Esch,</i>
<i>Peter Meyer,</i>	<i>Benjamin Wilcock,</i>
<i>William Corbet,</i>	<i>Thomas Cooke,</i>
<i>Christian Cole,</i>	<i>Edward Barker;</i>
<i>Francis Townley,</i>	<i>Charles Hayes,</i>
<i>George Barlow,</i>	<i>Henry Parsons.</i>

HAVING the foregoing Instructions from the Court of Assistants of the Royal *African* Company, I accordingly, on *Saturday* the 20th of *August* 1726, embark'd on board the *Bonetta* then lying at *Gravesend*, in Company with *Walter Charles*, Esq; Governor of *Sierraleone*. And, on *Monday* the 22d we sail'd thro' the *Downs*; but having a fair Wind down the Channel, we made no Stay any where, but on the 25th we got the Length of the Start-Point from whence we took our Departure, and had for many Days together North East Winds and fair Weather, till we got fairly
into

into the true North East Trade^d Wind, from thence we had nothing remarkable till *Friday* the 14th of *September* that we cross'd the Tropick, and paid as usual. Here we saw several Birds which are of a whitish Colour, having but one long Feather in their Tails, and fly very high, these are call'd by the Sailors *Tropick Birds*, because they are never seen any where but in the Torrid Zone between the Tropicks.

IN this Latitude, I first observed the Flying Fish which we are totally unacquainted with in *Europe*. It is about the Size of a Herring, and has two long Fins like Wings on each Side, with which it flies, as described in the Draught, Number 1. Great Numbers of them fall on board our Ships in dark Nights, when they can't see their Way. It is very diverting to see the Dolphin chase them, for they can fly no longer than while their Wings are wet, and when they light to wet them, the Dolphin (which is one of the swiftest Fishes in the Sea) generally keeps Pace with them near the Surface of the Water, and takes them as they drop; but if not the first or second Time,

the Chace continuing affords the more Diversion to the Spectators, for the Dolphin in the Water, is almost as visible as the Flying-fish in the Air, being of a clear resplendent Blue, till struck or hooked, and then turns to a bright Green, but when taken on board it changes to a Yellow, while alive, and after Death it is as pale a Silver Colour as a Mullet. Nor does the Dolphin any Way resemble what our Heralds or Sign-Painters describe! but is exactly shaped like the Draught in Number 2.

ON *Thursday* the 22d of *September*, we made the Land, bearing South East by South distant about six Leagues. It was a low level Sandy Beach, a little to the North East of *Cape Verd*. This happened to be an extraordinary good Land-fall, for we had not haul'd away to the South South East above four Hours before we made the Cape; being a very remarkable one, as having two round Hills upon it, which at a Distance appear like a Woman's Breasts, from whence they are call'd by the Sailors, *The Paps*. I took an exact Draught of this Cape, being
the

A Dolphin



A Guinea

Antelope



A Flying Fish



D^o in the Water



the first Attempt, of that Kind, I had made in the Service of the Royal *African* Company.

THE next Day we got round the Cape, and discovered a small Island call'd *Goree*, on which the *French* have a Factory; but we having no Business with 'em stood away South East for the River *Gambia*.

ON *Sunday* the 25th we got as high as *James* Island on the said River. The next Day we went a Shore, and being conducted into the Castle, found there the Emperor of *Fonia* and his Retinue; who saluted us after the *European* Manner of shaking Hands, and repeating the Word *Montanie*, which in the *Mandingo* Language signifies, *God bless you*. Being all seated, I could scarce refrain laughing at the Emperor's Grandees and Nobles, who (according to their Custom) squatted on the Floor like so many Monkeys on their Buttocks. In less than an Hour after our Arrival they all embark'd on board their Canoes, except the Emperor, whom the *English* Governor complimented with his Boat, Men, and Union Flag, and at their

their Departure saluted them with five Guns from the Fort.

A LITTLE before our Arrival in *Gambia*, there came in a *Rhode* Island built Sloop of about eighty Tons and six Guns, call'd the *Ark*, commanded by one *Edmonson*, who having at several Times communicated some pyratival Designs to his Crew, which they would by no Means consent to, they all (except three white Boys) went a Shore, and informed the Governor and Council, upon Oath, the Cause of their leaving the Vessel, and his wicked Intention. In the mean time *Edmonson* finding his Attempts to corrupt them vain; and, fearing a Discovery by their going a Shore, weigh'd Anchor and carried down the Vessel below *Lemine* Point, out of reach of the Fort Guns, and there meeting a Sea-Breeze, and Tide of Flood was obliged to come to Anchor, thinking himself safe there; at least till Morning. The Suddenness of his Departure confirm'd the Truth of the Sailors Depositions, and the Gentlemen in Council order'd one of the Sloops to be mann'd with a good Crew of white and black Men, in order to
bring

bring him back, and so prevent further Mischief. The *Gambia* Sloop was commanded by Mr. *Orfeur*, one of the Company's Factors, who had been bred partly on board a Man of War. He knowing the Channel, took the Advantage of the Midnight Ebb to carry him down the River below the *Ark*; which he effected without being discovered by any of *Edmonson's* Crew, which were in all but nine; besides himself, viz. the three white Boys beforementioned, and six ignorant new purchased Slaves. As soon as Day broke, both Sloops began to weigh their Anchors, but the Pirate seeing and knowing the *Gambia* Sloop, was resolved to force his Way out to Sea, if possible. Accordingly he arm'd some of the Slaves, and told the white Boys he would shoot them, unless they fought for him: As soon as their Anchors were up, they got under Sail, and stood towards one another, and when they came within Hale, Mr. *Orfeur* call'd to *Edmonson* to bring too; but the Pirate made no other Answer than by firing a Brace of Musket Balls at him, which, tho' it did no Damage, yet the black Men on board the *Gambia* Sloop, were so incensed at that unexpected

expected Return, that they begg'd Leave to fire upon them, but Mr. *Orfeur* having Instructions from the Council to use all the fair Means possible, to reclaim him, hinder'd his Men from their Design; and again call'd to the Pirate to strike; but he being resolute catch'd up a loaden Harquebuss, which he discharged at Mr. *Orfeur*, who not greatly liking to hear the Balls fly so close about his Ears, order'd his Men to fire, and one of the black Boys shot *Edmonson* thro' the Breast. The Sloops were now board and board, and when they saw the Pirate tumble they leap'd into the *Ark*, and took Possession of her; he being not yet dead, and seeing what was done, got up in a desperate Manner, and leaped over board, and was never seen afterwards. Mr. *Orfeur* brought up the *Ark* to *James* Island, where she lay at Anchor, when we came into the River.

WE had Reason to thank Divine Providence that his wicked Designs were so timely prevented, for if his Crew had sided with him he might not only have taken us, but also the *Byam* Gally of *Antigua*, a prime Sailer,

Sailer, which mounted twelve Guns, commanded by Captain *Hester*, who lay at *Gambia*, and was bound down the Coast a Slaving.

ON *Tuesday* the 27th of *September* I began my Survey, which held me till *Monday*, the 10th of *October*, and then not without some Difficulty I ended it; for the very first Day I went a Shore to *Gillifree*, a small Town on the *Maine*, opposite *James Island*, in order to take the Distance from thence to the Island, I fear'd I had undertaken an Impossibility, all the Shore being deep swampy Mud, so that it was hardly possible to measure, or even to get from one Station to another: At first, indeed, a Couple of stout Negroes carried me on their Shoulders, but the Mud growing so deep that they were scarce able to carry themselves, being up to their Buttocks every Step, I was obliged to dismount and wallow along between them, the best I cou'd, 'till I got to my second Station. Had I been upon the dry Land, it was so cover'd with thick Wood and Weeds, that not only my View, but even my Passage must have been intercepted; be-

fides

was a fine Compliment. They perceiv'd, by my laughing, that I was pleas'd, and attributed my Mirth to the Compliment, tho' it resulted from their Monkey-like Manner of acting it.

ABOUT Six in the Evening, we went aboard, and took our Leaves of Governor *Rogers*, &c. and the next Day being *Tuesday* the 11th of *October* we sail'd, in Company with the *Byam*, for *Sierraleone*; but before I go any farther, I shall give the Reader the best Description I can of *Gambia* in general.

I HAVE observ'd, in many Maps of *Africa*, that the great River *Niger* is laid down by the Geographers in the same Latitude that *Gambia* lies in. And, unless it went formerly by the Name of *Niger*, I am persuaded there must be a Mistake in those Maps; for *Gambia* is by far the largest River in that Part of *Africa*. I have been shewn Journals kept on board one of the Company's Sloops of 50 Tons, which sail'd more than Three Hundred Leagues, or near a Thousand Miles up the River

Gambia.

Gambia. At which Height, I have been assur'd, it is broad, spacious and navigable; nor is there any Doubt, but the Rivers of *Senegal, Rio Grande, Rio St. Domingo, Bursally, Rio Nunas, Rio Pungo, &c.* are all different Branches of this great River, which, like the *Nilus*, at the opposite Side of *Africa*, empties itself into the Sea thro' various Channels, which bear different Denominations as those just mention'd; but let that be as it will, I shall not at present contend with our Ancient Geographers.

THIS Place was first discover'd and settled by the *Portuguese*, whose Progeny are still pretty numerous up in the Inland Country, and drive a very good Trade with the *English*. Tho', to speak Truth, there is but little of the *Portuguese* to be found in them, beside the Language, being quite degenerated into Negroes, and having but very imperfect Ideas of Christianity. They think themselves sufficiently qualified for the Title of *Boon Christians*, if they distinguish themselves from the *Pagans, &c.* by wearing a little Crucifix about their Necks.

THE *Mahometan* Religion has likewise extended itself hither, as I suppose, from the South Parts of *Barbary*, which is not very far from hence. And by what I have seen, I think the *Mahometans* are, in their Way, more strict in the external Observance of their Religious Ceremonies, than the *Christians*; for like true Musselmen they all are abstemious in publick, but in private they will drink any Thing they can get, even to Excess. Again, with Respect to Polygamy, they endeavour most religiously to follow the Example of *Mahomet*, in having as many, or more Wives than they know what to do with.

THE last, and indeed the most numerous Sect are the *Pagans*, who trouble themselves about no Religion at all; yet every one of them have some Trifle or other, to which they pay a particular Respect, or Kind of Adoration, believing it can defend them from all Danger's: Some have a Lion's Tail; some a Bird's Feather, some a Pebble, a Bit of Rag, a Dog's Leg; or, in short, any Thing they fancy: And
this

this they call their *FIT T I S H*, which Word not only signifies the Thing worshipp'd, but sometimes a *Spell, Charm, or Incantment.* To take the *Fittish*, is, to take an Oath; which Ceremony is variously perform'd in several Parts of *Guinea.* In some Places, they drink a large Draught of Water, and wish their *Fittish* may kill them, if what they attest be not true: And, generally speaking, a Negro's taking the *Fittish* in *Guinea* may as sincerely be relied on as the Oath of a *Christian* in *Europe.* To make *Fittish*, is to perform Divine Worship; *Fittish-men*, are the *Pagan* Priests. In short, they all commonly wear their *Fittish* about them, which is so sacred, that they care not to let any Body touch it, but themselves. The Day, I din'd with the King of *Barra*, I observ'd, that his Musician, who play'd on the Ballafoe, had fix'd to the Top of his Cap, the Tuft or Crown of a Bird, as in the Draught, of which more hereafter; it being the largest and finest I ever saw. I went to take off the Fellow's Cap to look at it, but he, in a Surprise got up, and ran away: Some of the Gentlemen of the Castle who saw the Ac-

tion

tion smil'd, and told me, that was his *Fittish*, which ought to be handled by no Man, but himself. And so much for their Religion.

As for the Languages of *Gambia*, they are so many and so different, that the Natives, on either Side the River, cannot understand each other; which, if rightly consider'd, is no small Happiness to the *Europeans* who go thither to trade for Slaves; because the *Gambians*, who are naturally very idle and lazy, abhor Slavery, and will attempt any Thing, tho' never so desperate, to obtain Freedom. I have known some melancholy Instances of whole Ships Crews being surpriz'd, and cut off by them. But the safest Way is to trade with the different Nations, on either Side the River, and having some of every Sort on board, there will be no more Likelihood of their succeeding in a Plot, than of finishing the Tower of *Babel*.

I JUST now describ'd the *Gambians* as an indolent Sort of People, nor is it much to be wonder'd at; seeing that Nature has
afforded

afforded them all Necessaries proper for the Support of Life, without any great Art or Industry of their own; the Ground in this Part of the Earth, seems, in some Measure, to be exempt from the general Curse. As for Clothing they want none, the Beau and Belle, the Fop and Coquet, the Pests of all Society, Assemblies and Conversations in *Christendom*, have no Being here. As to their Houses, or rather Hutts, they require but very little Art in their Erection. They do not so much as know the Use of Houshould Furniture, the slothful Bed, the Chair, the Table, Pot, Spoon, &c. here are useles; for a few dry Sedges, or Reeds serve them for a Bed, and the Ground is their Seat; so that an Upholsterer, though never so good a Workman, may starve among them. Nor is there any Work for the Cooper; nevertheless they are abundantly stock'd with great Choice of extraordinary good Vessels which grow wild almost every where: I mean, the Gourd, or Callabash, whose Leaf is like that of a Pumpkin, nor is the Fruit when green unlike it. Such as grow near the Negroes Hutts generally creep up and cover the
whole

whole Roof, being of no less Use, in shading the Negroes from the Sun, than that of *Jonas* was to him. When the Callabash is ripe, they cut it from the Stalk, and set it to dry for three or four Days in the Sun, which not only hardens the Outside, but consumes every Thing within, except the Seeds, which may easily be shook out. They are shap'd like *Florence* Flasks most commonly, but they may be form'd to any Shape while young. They grow of very different Sizes, so as to contain from Half a Pint to Eight or Ten Gallons. When they are saw'd down the Middle they make very good Platters, Bowls, or Drinking-Cups, according to their Size; and those with very long Necks make good Ladles; and, lastly, when whole they are as good a Bottles to keep Liquor in. Perhaps, it may be thought, that this last Excellence of the Callabash is entirely useless to the Negroes, who are 'Strangers to the Art of Brewing or Pressing the Grape, &c. but that is a Mistake, for Nature likewise affords them two or three Sorts of pleasant strong Wines, with no other Trouble than that of boring a small Hole in a Palm-Tree,

Tree, and hanging a Callabash under the Droppings of it, which sometimes will fill one of three Quarts in a Day.

PROVISIONS of all Kinds are very plenty, and exceeding cheap here. I have seen a small Cow bought for two Bars, or two Crowns Sterling, and a fine fat Ox for four Bars; a good Fowl for three Musket-Charges of Gunpowder, or three Farthings Sterling: Also, Hogs, Sheep, and Goats in Proportion. So, that if *Mynbeer Bosman** had ever been in the River *Gambia*, he would not have said, that the Island of *Anabona* was the true *Amalthea*, or *Cornucopia*, so much taken Notice of by the Ancients, but rather have ascrib'd that Title to *Gambia*. Besides the above-mention'd Cattle, they have also a very pretty Breed of small Horses, and I have been credibly inform'd, that the King of *Bursally*, whose Dominions border upon the Kingdom of *Barra*, can, upon any Emergency, mount and arm Four Thousand Horse. This Country also abounds with various Sorts of wild

* A Dutch Historian who wrote about the Year 1696.

wild Beasts ; such as Deer of several Kinds, Elephants, Lions, Tigers, Leopards, Panthers, Jackalls, and mischievous Monkeys.

THE Trade of this Place is very beneficial for Fine Gold, Slaves, Ivory and Wax.

THE *English* have a Factory subordinate to *Gambia* Castle, at a Place called *Joar*, about Fifty Leagues up the River. Also another, about Fifty Leagues higher, at *Cuttajar*, and another near the River's Mouth, call'd *Portdendelly*. They once had a Settlement upon *Charles* Island, but having a PALLAVER * with the Natives they watch'd the Opportunity of a Midnight Low Water, and waded over from the Main ; by which Surprize they got Possession, and beat the *English* off of that Island, which has been ever since desolate. Nevertheless, they are now very well settled

* *Pallaver*, signifies a *Dispute*, also a *Contest*, or a *Law-suit* ; sometimes, a long Conference is call'd a *Pallaver*. It is a *Portuguese* Word used everywhere in *Guinea*.

tled upon *James* Island, where they have a strong regular well-built Castle, with thirty two large Pieces of Cannon, besides others which are planted near the Water-side regarding the North Channel. The old Fort was unhappily blown up, *Anno* 1725, by some unknown Accident of Fire, undoubtedly Lightning, in the Magazine, and several People lost their Lives, particularly Governor *Plunket*; but it was again expeditiously rebuilt with many Alterations for the better, by *Anthony Rogers*, Esq; the present Governor.

THIS Country is exceeding fertile, abounding with Variety of Fruits, Roots, and Sallads. Their chief Fruits are, Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Guava's, Bonana's, Plantanes, by some call'd *Indian* Figs, and there are some Reasons to believe these are the Sort of Figs mention'd in Scripture. First, because Figs are there describ'd to grow in large Clusters as these do, so large that a single Cluster is a good Weight for a Man to lift with one Hand. Secondly, their Leaves are prodigious large and broad, consequently much fitter to make Aprons

D

than

than our Fig-leaves. Here are also great Store of Papaws, of which I shall take notice in a proper Place. Their chief Roots are Yams and Potatoes. Their best Sallads are Pursley, and Cucumbers, which they have all the Year round. In short, *Gambia* is a pleasant, fruitful fine Country, but very unhealthy.

ON *Tuesday*, the 11th of *October*, as I said before, we sail'd, in Company with the *Byam*, for *Sierraleone*. That Day and the next, we steer'd away West by South, and West-South-West right off to Sea, in order to avoid the Shoals of *Grande*, which lie off, or extend themselves at least Fifty Leagues from the Shore. On *Thursday*, we shaped our Course southerly for *Sierraleone*; *Friday* Morning was usher'd in with a flat Calm, which held us many Days. However, having the *Byam* in Company, we made a Shift to pass the tedious Hours away tolerably well, by visiting each other daily: Nevertheless, our Mirth was often interrupted by Turnadoes, because neither of the Commanders would venture to leave their Ships during the Fatigue of a Turnadoe,

nadoe, which generally lasts about an Hour, and never fails to give you timely Notice of its Approach by excessive Thunder, Lightning, and dark Clouds: Which terrible Warning always obliges us to put ourselves in a Readiness, by furling our Sails, &c. to receive a Storm too fierce to be describ'd! This is succeeded by Rain, which falls as heavy and as fast as 'Water thro' a Sieve. And this may daily be expected during the rainy Seasons in *Guinea*. As this was the first Turnadoe I was in, I was horribly frighten'd, and imagin'd, that we could not possibly survive it; every Moment I thought was our last, and every Gust of Wind I expected would sink us to the Bottom of the Sea. This was succeeded by a great Calm, which was very fatiguing and troublesome to us, and which had like to have brought on us a most dreadful Calamity, for in the Space of Fourteen Days, our Water on board the *Bonetta* fell short, and we must all have inevitably perish'd had not the *Byam* been in Company, from whence we receiv'd fresh Supplies several Times. During these Calms we often tried the Current which set N. E. one Knot.

ON *Thursday*, the Third of *November*, we saw Land, bearing East North East, about Ten Leagues distant; we sounded and had Twenty-five Fathom coarse Sand, with small Stones. The Land being very high, we suppos'd it to be the high Lands of *Sierraleone*, and therefore we crowded our Sails all that ever we could, in hopes of making Land before Night, having but a very easy Gale at East-South-East. About Eleven o'Clock, we saw a Sail in Shore, and when we drew nigher, we perceiv'd that she lay by, and was waiting for us: This gave us various Apprehensions, knowing how busy the Pirates had been the Year before, on the Coast of *Guinea*. We therefore put ourselves in the best Posture of Defence we could, and held our Course till about Five in the Afternoon when we came up and spoke with him, who prov'd to be no Pirate, but a very good Friend and Acquaintance, *viz.* Captain *Creighton* of the *Queen Elizabeth*, bound from *Sierraleone* to *Rio Nunax* trading for Gold, Ivory, and Camwood; who seeing us stand in for the Land suppos'd we were bound
for

for *Sierraleone*, and had mistaken it: He therefore lay by to let us know, that those High Lands were the *Idelos*, which are small rocky Islands about Twenty Leagues to the Northward of *Sierraleone*. We were very thankful to him for his kind Information, and parted; he held his Course to the Northward, and we steer'd away South. At Sun-set the Wind died away, but about Eleven o'Clock we had a fine Land Breeze at East came off to us, which held us till about Ten the next Day, at which Time we could plainly see the *Sausaws*, exceeding high Lands, which are Twenty Miles up in the Country. About Eleven, the Sea-Breeze came in very fresh at West upon us, and we quickly saw Cape *Sierraleone*, bearing South-East, distant Six Leagues. As soon as we got a-breast of the Cape, which was about Sun-set *, we hoisted the Union-Flag at the Main-top Mast Head, and saluted it with Seven Guns, as

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did

* In all Places between the Tropicks, the Sun rises at Six, and sets at Six, nor is there any perceivable Difference between the shortest and the longest Day there.

did also the *Byam*. All *Guinea* Governors are by Charter empower'd to wear the Union-Flag in their respective Districts. Tho' we were overtaken by Night, yet we sail'd into the River, sounding as we went, and the *Byam* follow'd us. It being pretty dark, we hung out a Light at our Ensign-Staff, and they one at their Jibbon-End, to keep clear of each other. We kept pretty close under the high Hills, and had good regular Soundings from Eight to Ten Fathom, but the *Byam*, which was someWay on the Outside of us, had at one Cast eighteen Fathom, the very next Twelve, and then again no Ground with a Twenty Fathom Line; at the next Cast Ten Fathom, and so on till they haul'd in a little closer after us; and then they had the same Sounding as we had. When we had got up as far as *Frenchman's Bay*, we discover'd two Lights close in Shore, one belong'd to a small trading Shallop, and the other to the *Friendship* Sloop of *Barbadoes*, commanded by Captain *Crocker*, who seeing our two Ships that Afternoon in the Offing hung out Lights to shew us where to come to Anchor. As soon as we had anchor'd,

chor'd, Captain *Crocker* came aboard us, our Ship being next him, to inform himself, who and what we were; and then he welcom'd us to *Sierraleone*. We told him, we could treat him with no other Drink than *Madeira Wine*, we having been so long coming from *Gambia*, that all our Limes were expended; but he immediately sent aboard his Sloop for a Handkerchief of Limes, and, whilst we drank Punch together, he gave us a short Account of the State of the Company's Affairs at *Bense Island*, then under the Direction of Mr. *Marmaduke Panwell*.

THE next Morning, we found ourselves in a small pleasant Bay, surrounded with exceeding high Hills, all cover'd with tall beautiful Trees, swarming with various Kinds of Birds, which, as soon as Day broke, made the Woods ring. Which Captain *Crocker* also did, for as soon as he saw the Union-Flag at our Mast-Head, he saluted it with Five Guns, and we return'd him three. In this Bay is extraordinary good fresh Water, which, gushing out of the Rocks on the Side of the Hill, comes

down like a Spout, so that we could fill all our Casks without the Help of a Tundish. Here we water'd. And the Bottom of the Bay being pretty clear of Rocks, we drew our Sain, or Net, and catch'd good Store of large Mulletts, and other Fish : Also an Alligator, which the Negroes devour'd greedily.

ON *Sunday*, the Sixth of *November*, we all went up to *Bense* Island, whereon stands a regular Piece of Fortification, on which are mounted twenty-two Pieces of heavy Cannon ; besides a Battery under the Fort Wall, on which are planted Eleven Pieces more. This Island is the Residence of the Governor. When we landed, *Mr. Charles* took Possession of his Government, and had our Complements on that Occasion, though mine happen'd to be unluckily spoil'd in the making, for at that Time not being able to recollect the Name of the Island of which he was Governor, I blunder'd out *Baratraria*, (which is an Island of no Repute) instead of *Bense* ; a sad Mistake indeed !

ON *Monday*, the Seventh, I began my Survey, but here I met with no such Opposition as at *Gambia*, the Inhabitants of this Country being more used to the Customs and Manners of the *Europeans*. Nevertheless, there are several Things in these Parts worth our Observation, of which I shall make Mention as I proceed. And first, I shall give a short Description of the Country in general.

SIERRALEONE was first discover'd by the *Portuguese*, but I cannot be rightly inform'd at what Time the *English* became Masters of it, nor indeed is it very material, since they have had it a Number of Years in their Possession unmolested, till *Roberts*, the famous Pirate took it in the Year 1720, when Old *Plunket*, who was blown up in *Gambia* Castle, was Governor, which he effected in the following Manner: *Roberts* having then three good stout Ships under his Command, put into *Sierraleone* for fresh Water, and finding a Trading Ship in *Frenchman's* Bay, he took her from thence and carried her into another

ther Bay, with a long narrow Enterance near the Cape, and where there was a great Depth of Water. This, in my Survey, I have call'd *Pirates-Bay*, because when *Roberts* had rifled her, he set Fire to her: Part of her Bottom was to be seen at Low Water when I was there. The next Day, he sent up a Boat well mann'd and arm'd, with his humble Service to Governor *Plunkett* desiring to know if he could spare him any Gold Dust, or Powder and Ball. Old *Plunkett* return'd him Word, that he had no Gold to spare; but as for Powder and Ball, he had some at Mr. *Roberts's* Service, if he would come for it. *Roberts*, having receiv'd this Answer, brought up his three Ships next Flood before *Bense* Island, and a smart Engagemēt soon follow'd between him and the Governor, which lasted several Hours, till *Plunkett* had fir'd away all his Shot and Iron Bars; upon which, he betook himself to his Boat, row'd up the back Channel to a small Island call'd *Tombo*; but they quickly follow'd, took him, and brought him back again to *Bense*, where *Roberts* was, who upon the first Sight of *Plunkett* swore at him like any Devil, for his
his

his *Irish* Impudence in daring to resist him. Old *Plunkett*, finding he had got into bad Company, fell a swearing and cursing as fast or faster than *Roberts*; which made the rest of the Pirates laugh heartily, desiring *Roberts* to sit down and hold his Peace, for he had no Share in the Pallaver with *Plunkett* at all. So that by meer Dint of Cursing and Damning, Old *Plunkett*, as I am told, sav'd his Life.

WHEN they had rifled the Warehouses, they went aboard their Ships, and sail'd out of the River the next Ebb, leaving Old *Plunkett* once more in the quiet Possession of his Fort, which the Pirates had not damag'd greatly.

THIS is a mountainous, barren Country, especially towards the Cape, where the Hills are exceeding high and rocky, but nevertheless they are cover'd with Trees which harbour many wild Beasts; such as Tigers, Leopards and Lions; from whence it was first call'd by the *Portuguese*, SIERRA DE LEONE; or, *The Mountain of Lions*. And the Country gives its Name to the River, which

which is very broad at the Entrance, being above Four Leagues from the Cape to *Leopards* Island, at the opposite Side of the River's Mouth. The Middle, indeed, is very shallow being dry at Low Water in some Places, for the Depth of the Channel lies close in by the Cape; and those who sail into *Sierraleone*, must keep the Starboard Shore close aboard, sailing always close under the high Hills, where they may be sure of regular Soundings, and in all the Bays extraordinary good Anchoring Ground; but near the Edge of the Shoals, the Bottom is very uneven and foul Ground, as before observ'd.

IN this River, the Company have two Islands, *viz.* TASSO, a large flat Island, near three Leagues in Circumference, on which the Company's Slaves have a good Plantation. The rest of the Island is cover'd with Wood, among which are Silk Cotton Trees of an unaccountable Size; other Cotton is also produc'd here very good and Indico. Their other Island is BENSE, on which stands the Fort I have above describ'd.

THIS River produces several Sorts of Fish, most of which are very good in their Kind, except the Oysters; of which there are vast Quantities growing to the Branches of Trees! I make no Doubt, but many will be apt at first to question the Truth of this Assertion; but the Fear of such like Objections shall, at no Time, hinder my giving a faithful Narrative of whatsoever I met with worth Notice throughout this whole Expedition. Therefore, I shall acquaint my Reader, that the Mangrove is a Tree which grows in shallow Water. The Leaf is exactly like that of an *European* Laurel, and the Branches have a natural Tendency downwards to the Water. These under Water are always stor'd with such Shellfish as in hot Climates grow even to our Ships Bottoms, the chief of which are Oysters. And I have often cut off the Branch of a Mangrove so full of Oysters, Barnacles, &c. that I could scarce lift it into the Boat.

THE next remarkable Thing here worth our Notice is the Crocodile, an amphibious
Creature,

Creature, of a dark brown Colour, fortified with Scales, large enough to make Caps, or rather Helmets, for the Negroes, who frequently wear them, being Musket-Proof, which shews how vain it is to attack a Crocodile with small Arms. This River is pester'd with them, and they do much Damage. They are generally from twenty to thirty Feet long, or thereabouts.

MR. *Bosman*, in his Description of *Guinea*, tells us *, that the Crocodile is a rapacious Creature, but in the latter End of the next Paragraph he declares, that he never heard of any Mischief they had done. As for their Crying, in Order to catch unwary People, as they pass by, I am not of his Opinion; however, some Allowance must be made for the ancient figurative Way of Writing, wherein the Treachery of the Crocodile is describ'd; and though not by Tears, yet, I declare, I have been deceiv'd by a Crocodile in the following Manner: One Evening, as I walk'd round

Bense

* Descript. of Guinea, p. 325.

Bense Island, in Company with Captain *Connell*, of the *Guinea Snow*, who had a large *English* Bear-Garden Mastiff that walk'd a little Way before us. There lay a huge Crocodile upon the Shore, which appear'd to us like the Trunk of an old Tree left there by the Tide; but we were quickly undeceiv'd, for when the Dog had got close by the Head of it, it made a Spring at him, and took him, which sudden Motion so terrified us, that we took to our Heels, and as soon as we were far enough out of his Reach, *Connell* turn'd about, and whistled for his Dog *Ball*, but had it been his Misfortune or mine to walk foremost, we should have met no better Fate than poor *Ball*. Nor was the Loss of a Dog, the only Evil we sustain'd by those voracious Animals, for whenever our Hogs or Goats happen'd to feed near the Water-side, they seldom escap'd the Crocodile, who as soon as they seize their Prey make to the River with it.

THIS River also abounds with Alligators, which are much of the same Nature with Crocodiles, and shap'd exactly like them,

them, but of a much smaller Size, the largest not exceeding eight Feet in Length, and therefore are not able to do much Mischief ashore, they prey mostly upon Fish. During our Stay in this River we took two Alligators, one of which we gave to the Negroes, who highly prize the Flesh of this Animal as dainty Food. The other, which was about five Foot long, we fastened under our Main-top, in order to bring Home.

HAVING thus far describ'd the River, let us look a little to the Shore, and here we shall find several Sorts of wild Beasts, besides those already mention'd ; such as Elephants, Jackalls, Mandrills, Apes and Deer of several Kinds. All which I shall describe in Order : And first, I shall begin with the Elephant, a very large heavy built Creature, being generally from eleven to fourteen Feet high. Some Authors tell us, they are much larger in *India*, and wonderful docible, which is nothing unlikely. It is certain, *Africa* abounds with them, as may appear by the great Number of Teeth which are yearly found in those Woods,
from

from whence most Parts of *Europe* are supplied with Ivory. And as to the shedding of their Teeth, at certain Times, I must beg Leave to give my Opinion, as well as Mr. *Bosman*, who says, * “ Nor is it, in the
“ least probable, that a solid Body, composed of such hard Substance as Elephants
“ Teeth, can in about Twenty Years Time
“ grow from One to a Hundred Pound
“ Weight, &c. ” To all which I shall venture to give this Answer: That it is very probable an Elephant’s Tooth may grow to its full Size in much less Time than Twenty Years, because the Horn of a Deer is no less hard, and a Body no less solid than the Tooth of an Elephant, yet every Body knows that the Head or Horns of a Buck are but a Three Months Growth from the Time they first sprout till they are full grown and burnish’d: Therefore, if so small an Animal as a Buck can in Three Months produce so solid a Substance, what may we expect from the largest and strongest of Beasts? Besides, there are other very persuasive Reasons to induce one to believe the

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* *Descript. of Guinea*, p. 234.

Certainty of this Argument from what I have heard several Negroes say who have search'd the Woods for Teeth, that they never found more than one in a Place, which plainly shews they have been dropp'd at different Times, in different Places, but enough of this. The Elephant feeds mostly upon a Sort of Fruit not unlike a Papaw, which grows wild in several Parts of *Guinea*. There is Abundance of it upon *Tasso* Island, which often invites Elephants to swim over thither from the Main. One of the Company's Slaves shot an Elephant one Day upon *Tasso*, who knowing the Fury of that Creature when provok'd, ran immediately into a Thicket for a Safeguard. The Elephant, at first, attempted to follow him, but whether the Pain of his Wound, or the Closeness of the Trees hinder'd his Pursuit, none can tell; for he quickly gave over the Chace, and betook himself to the Water, I suppose, to swim over to the Main, tho' he never reach'd it alive; for he died in the Water, and the Tide carried him down to *Foro* Bay, where the Negroes quickly knock'd out his Teeth, and cut up his Carcass, for they account it excellent Food.

Food. An Elephant's Motion in the Water is so very swift that no ten-oar'd Boat can row away from him, and upon Land their Speed is equal to a Hand-gallop.

THE next is the Jackall, or wild Dog, which is about the Size of a large Mastiff, the Limbs much thicker and stronger, the Head short, flat and broad between the Ears, the Nose narrow, and the Teeth very long and sharp; several White Men in this Country, who have seen 'em and described them to me, mistook them for Wolves as fierce as Tigers; having, as they own'd, never seen a Wolf in *Europe*.

I SHALL next describe a strange Sort of Animal, call'd by the White Men in this Country, a Mandrill, but why it is so called I know not, nor did I ever hear of the Name before, neither can those who call them so tell, except it be for their near Resemblance of a human Creature, though nothing at all like an Ape. Their Bodies, when full grown, are as big in Circumference as a middle-fiz'd Man's. Their Legs much shorter, and their Feet longer, their

Arms and Hands in Proportion. The Head is monstrously big, and the Face broad and flat, without any other Hair but the Eyebrows, the Nose very small, the Mouth wide, and the Lips thin. The Face, which is cover'd by a white Skin, is monstrously ugly, being all over wrinkled as with Old Age, the Teeth broad and very yellow, the Hands have no more Hair than the Face, but the same white Skin, tho' all the rest of the Body is cover'd with long black Hair like a Bear. They never go upon all Four like Apes, but cry when vex'd or teas'd, just like Children. It is said, that the Males often attack and use Violence to the Black Women whenever they meet them alone in the Woods: They are generally very snotty-nosed, and take great Delight in scraping it down from their Noses to their Mouths.

WHEN I was at *Sherbro*, one Mr. *Cumberbus*, whom I shall have Occasion hereafter to mention, made me a Present of one of these strange Animals, which are call'd by the Natives *Boggoe*: It was a She-Cub of six Months Age, but was then larger than

than a Baboon. I gave it in Charge to one of the Slaves, who knew how to feed and nurse it, being a very tender Sort of Animal, but whenever I went off of the Deck, the Sailors began to teaze it; some lov'd to see its Tears, and hear it cry; others hated its snotty Nose; one who hurt it, being check'd by the Negroe that took Care of it, told the Slave he was very fond of his Country-woman, and ask'd him, if he should not like her for a Wife? To which the Slave very readily replied, No this, no my Wife, this a white Woman, this fit Wife for you. This unlucky Wit of the Negroe's I fancy hasten'd the Death of the Beast, for the next Morning it was found dead under the Windlefs.

As for the Monkies and Deer, it will be needless to give any Description of them, they being all so well known in *Europe* already, except the small Antelope, which I shall have Occasion hereafter to take Notice of, in my Description of the *Gold Coast*. I shall therefore inform the Reader, that, during my Survey of this Place, Captain *Livingstone* lost no Time in sending a-

shore such Goods and Arms, as were for the Use of the Fort. But having done my Business here, and the Ship wanting to be careen'd, and to get in a new Mizzen Mast, I thought this a very good Opportunity to survey the River *SHERBRO*: Accordingly, I applied to the Governor for one of the Company's Sloops then lying in the River, and such Men as I should chuse; which was immediately granted, having Instructions from the Company, as the other Governors had, to aid and assist me in all Things relating to my Survey: And, on *Monday*, the *Fourteenth of November*, I sail'd from *Bense* Island, on board the *Sieraleone* Sloop, *Thomas Kirkham*, Master, for *Sherbro*, also *Captain Ridley* of the *Jacquiu* Sloop, who, being an entire Stranger to that River, went with us, in order to obtain Knowledge of it. On *Wednesday* Evening, we arriv'd at the *Bonana* Isles, the largest of which is very well inhabited. Here I found some white Inhabitants, who formerly belong'd to the *Royal African* Company, but had quitted that Service, and set up for themselves, having Shallops of their own, in which they traded to the North-

Northward at *Rio Pungo*, and *Rio Nunaxi*, for Slaves, Teeth and Camwood, by which Means they had brought a very considerable Trade to those Islands, there being few or no Ships bound down the Coast that did not touch there.

ON *Friday* the Eighteenth, we were becalm'd at the Entrance of the River *Sherbro*, and I was greatly surpriz'd at four several Water-spouts, which were then very near us. As we are Strangers to Water-spouts in these cold Climates, I believe it may not be amiss here to give the Reader a brief Account of them.

THE Power and Heat of the Sun here is so great and violent, that it not only exhales and sucks up the Damps and Moistures of low fenny Lands, but also vast Bodies of Water out of the Sea, in the following Manner. The Surface of the Water first turns round like a Whirpool, from the Centre of which a Body of Water rises, or rather plays up like a Fountain to a vast Height. Sometimes, when the Sun has not Power enough to sustain so great a Weight,

it falls down again in a Body sufficient to founder any Ship; which undoubtedly has been the Fate of many a Ship where no Man was left alive to tell. Therefore to avoid it, all Ships, when near them, endeavour to break them by firing at them, for though the Ball should not hit them, yet the Concussion of the Air seldom fails to break them, and then they come down, as before-mention'd, without any Damage to the Ship. Otherwise, as the Sun's Power draws them to and fro on the Surface of the Water, no Ship cou'd be safe near them. At a Distance, they look like huge Pillars rear'd or set up from the Sea to the Heavens, whose Tops are regularly dispers'd into dark Clouds; for tho' no Cloud was to be seen at the first Rising of the Water-spout, yet the Sky shall quickly be overcast with Clouds that are visibly form'd out of it, which seldom fail to bring good Store of Lightning and Thunder, especially when the Sun is down, which happen'd to be our Case that Night, for I never saw so much Lightning, or heard so much Thunder, before or since.

ON *Saturday*, we got up the River as far as a small Town belonging to one *Zachary Cummerbus*, a Mullatoe, who was the Son of a late *English* Agent upon *York* Island. Here I was very kindly entertain'd, but being impatient to see in what Posture the Company's Affairs were upon *York* Island, I made no Stay here, but immediately proceeded up the River, and arriv'd at the said Island next Day. When I went ashore, I found no white Man but one Mr. *Holditch*, a Factor, who was destitute of all Manner of Defence against the Natives. He told me, he had receiv'd several Visits from them, and that they always took care to carry away whatsoever they fancied of the Company's Effects. Here once stood a very good Fort, which is now a dismal Heap of Ruins.

THE King of *Sherbro*, hearing of my Arrival, came the next Day with a huge Train of Attendants, at least three Hundred Men to see me, and brought with him, by way of Present, two Kentles * of Rice,

two

* *Kentle*, is a Hundred Weight.

two Goats, and a fine wild Boar. In Return of which, I presented his Majesty with two Brass Pans, two Pewter Dishes and a Bason, a Fathom of Sletias, * and Four Bunches of Beads, a pretty Present for an *African* King, which however he very greedily receiv'd, and ty'd on his Sletias immediately about his Neck with a double Knot under his Chin, and the two Ends hung down before on his *Cape Mount* Surplice, which is a Sort of Garment made and worn by the Natives of *Cape Mount*, being of Cotton, striped with Blue and White; the Shape is justly describ'd by the Name. This done, the King pull'd out of his Bosom, the bushy End of a Lion's Tail, which he flourish'd about several Times, and made a long Harangue, after which he sate down by Mr. *Cummerbus* and said something to him: When he had done, I asked Mr. *Cummerbus* the Meaning of all that had pass'd, who told me, that the Lion's Tail was his Majesty's Fittish, and he flourish'd it round, pointing to all the Countries as far or farther then we could see

* *Sletias*, a thin Sort of Linnen Cloth,

see to shew me his Power, and the Extent of his Dominions: And, lastly, when he sat down, he desir'd that I might be spoke to for some Victuals to refresh himself and his People, from whence I concluded, I should be no great Gainer by his Majesty's Present.

THE third Day, after taking an Inventory of the Company's Effects, and appointing one *Allen*, a Writer, to be an Assistant to Mr. *Holditch*, I saluted the King with five Guns, took my Leave, and departed. It was imagin'd, upon my Departure, by *Holditch* and *Allen*; that his Majesty would have return'd to *Sherbro*, but they were mistaken, and the King's Stay they knew would be very expensive to them. Upon this they grew very uneasy, and, in a short Time, they came to this Resolution, to beg of his Majesty to return Home to his own Country, and his People with him. At which, the King fell into a great Rage, and swore by his Fittish, that all the Country was his, that he only suffer'd the *English* to reside there upon certain Conditions; that *York* Island and all the Goods upon

upon it were his, all which he would soon make them sensible of, since they had not paid him his *COLE*. * To which Mr. *Holditch* replied, that it was not three † Moons since his *Cole* had been paid, and that therefore his Majesty could not have any just Claim upon the Company. This Answer enrag'd the King to such a Degree that he struck *Holditch*, and seiz'd *Allen*, whom he dragg'd down to the Water-side, and threw him into a Canoe, ordering some of his People to follow me, and leave *Allen* with me, and to tell me, that he had sent *Allen* to me, he having no Business upon *York* Island, but no one would venture to do that, so *Allen* was permitted to walk up quietly from the Water-side. In the mean time, *Holditch* took the Opportunity of writing to me the following Letter, which he sent away privately by a single Man in a Canoe.

York

* *Cole* is a certain Tribute or Custom paid yearly by the Royal *African* Company, not only for Rent or Acknowledgment for *York* Island, but also for Liberty of trading up the River for Camwood and Teeth.

† The Negroes reckon by Moons, not by Years.

York Island, Nov. 22. 1726.

Good Sir,

“ **Y**OU was scarce out of Sight be-
“ fore there arriv’d a Canoe loa-
“ den with Camwood, being Part of an old
“ Debt due from an Inland Trader to the
“ Company. When we would have weigh-
“ ed it the King hinder’d us, and under a
“ Pretence of demanding the Cole, he has
“ seiz’d not only that but every Thing else
“ he likes: He is now loading his Canoes
“ out of the Company’s Warehouse, and
“ unless you come Time enough to pre-
“ vent it, will carry off every Thing of
“ Value from hence. I am

Your very Humble Servant,

NICH. HOLDITCH.

IT was about Half-Ebb before I could
get away from the Island, so that I could
not sail very far that Tide, but upon the first
Return

Return of the Flood I was forc'd to come to Anchor, where we had not been long before we spied a small Canoe with a single Man in it come paddling in great Haste towards us, and as soon as he came aboard he deliver'd to me the above Letter, which when I had perus'd, I call'd the two Captains *Kirkham* and *Ridley*, and read it to them. I then declar'd, that it was my Design to go immediately to the Assistance of *Holditch* and *Allen*, and that we had nothing to fear, since we had a good Sloop with eight Guns mounted, and therefore I concluded, that we ought not to stand by tamely and see our Masters robb'd before our Faces. *Kirkham* answer'd, that his Instructions from Governor *Charles* was to take Orders from me, and therefore said, that whatsoever I commanded he was ready and willing to obey to the utmost of his Power. But *Ridley* said, it was Madness with six or eight Men to attack three or four Hundred. I then laid before him the Advantages we were possess'd of, and the Probability of our Success; and this I did with some Warmth. *Ridley* made me no Reply, but hastening down into the Cabbin where the Arms lay, he

immediately return'd with a drawn Cutlafs in his Hand. At first, I thought he would have attack'd me; but I was mistaken, for when he had flourish'd it three or four times over his Head, he swore he would follow me through Fire and Water. And indeed he made his Words good, for that Evening he sav'd my Life twice, as the Reader will find in the Sequel.

WE immediately weigh'd Anchor, and got under Sail, and having a strong Tide of Flood, and a Sea-Breeze, we were not long getting up to *York* Island. In the mean Time we charg'd all our great Guns with a sufficient Quantity of Musket Balls. There being a bold Channel before the Island we came to Anchor within twenty Yards of the Shore, a little without Side of the King's Canoes. Our sudden Arrival was no small Surprize to the King and his People, especially when they saw me coming ashore at the Head of a Canoe with a drawn Sword in my Hand, and the two Captains, also two of the Company's Slaves, hearty young Fellows, all arm'd with drawn Cutlasses. As soon as the Canoe touch'd the Shore, I
leap'd

leap'd out, and the others after. We march-
 ed up to the old Gate of the Parade, which
 was then standing, where there were about
 One Hundred Negroes left, as I suppose, to
 guard the Gate-way, all being arm'd with
 either Guns, Javelins, Scimitars, Stilletoes
 or Cutlasses. I perceiv'd they were a little
 terrified at our Approach, for they open'd
 to the Right and Left, and made Way for
 us to march in. From thence we proceed-
 ed directly to the Factory-house, where the
 King was with the rest of his Guards be-
 fore the Door. These were bolder than
 the other, nor would they make Way for
 us, till I had dealt among them several
 shrewd Blows, and forc'd my Way through
 into the Factory-house with *Ridley* at my
 Heels. When I was in, I was agreeably
 surpriz'd to see a third white Man with
Holditch and *Allen*, one *Simon Wild*, a Sol-
 dier, belonging to the Company who came
 down the River that Day, in the aforesaid
 Canoe, with the Camwood. When I found
 we were six white Men in Number, I
 thought it a sufficient Force to rescue our
 Goods from six Hundred Negroes, that is,
 with the Help of our Sloop. I therefore
 address'd

address'd his Majesty, who understood *English*, and could speak a little) in a very stern Manner, and ask'd him, where all the Canoes, which were loaded with the Company's Camwood were bound? He made me no Reply; however, *Holditch* and *Allen* pour'd forth their Complaints, and told me how they were abused; beaten and dragg'd down to the Water, &c. I ask'd his Majesty, if these Allegations were true, but I receiv'd no Answer. I then told him, I had given him a Rope to hang himself, and without any further Ceremony, seiz'd him by his new Neckcloth, (which I believe had never been taken off from the first Minute he ty'd it on) and dragg'd him by it, out of the House, to the Middle of the Parade, where, before all his Guards, I dusted his Cape *Mount* Surplice heartily with my Sword. This Action very much terrified his Guards, who seeing their King so roughly handled knew not what to expect: However, they were sensible he had but his Desert, there being a Law at *Sherbro* that whosoever struck a white Man, should, if he was merchantable, be sold for a Slave, but if old, or unmerchantable,

that he should be put to Death. We knowing this were the more embolden'd to do as we did. I dragg'd his Majesty by the Throat, as he before had serv'd *Allen*, down to the Water-side, and put him into a Canoe with Orders to *Ridley* and *Wild* to carry him aboard the Sloop, and put him in Irons. His Subjects, to whom his Person was sacred, could not bear to see their King taken away from them in that Manner, therefore seem'd resolv'd to venture their Lives to rescue him: Accordingly they laid hold of the Canoe, nor would they let her go off, till we, by cutting and wounding several of them that held her, made Way for her to launch out. That done, we had a harder Task to prevent them from running into the Water again to pull her ashore; for they press'd so upon us that we were Knee deep in the Water, and one of them full of Revenge, and regardless of his Life, got out into the Water behind me, resolving to cleave my Skull with a *Turkish* Scimitar, which *Ridley* perceiving, leap'd out of the Canoe, and just came time enough to give him a Back-Stroke, which took the Fellow's Wrist as
it

was coming down upon my Head, and cut his Hand off almost. *Ridley* with the violent Force of the Blow at once snap'd his Cutlafs and difarm'd the Negroe, whose Scimitar falling into the Water, *Ridley* laid hold of, and us'd instead of his Cutlafs.--- The Natives were now grown desperate at seeing their King fitting in the Canoe guarded by *Wild* with a Cutlafs, and *Ridley* with his Scimitar who stood at my Back to guard me, holding the Head of the Canoe with one Hand. This Sight was so disagreeable to them, that they attack'd us very closely, and in such a furious Manner that I was scarce able to defend myself; but as Fortune would have it, I receiv'd their Blows with my Sword, which often striking Fire, greatly alarm'd the People aboard the Sloop and caus'd them often to call out to know whether they should fire upon the Natives, but we being next the Shot I would by no Means permit them. It was now very duskish, and one of the Natives thinking this a proper Opportunity, was coming round in Order to stab me in the Back, but *Ridley*, guessing at the Intentions of the Fellow, advanc'd a Step or two forwards, and

with a little *Portuguese* Stiletto made a full Stroke at his Face, which laid his Mouth open almost from Ear to Ear, and though it was too dark for his Comrades at Five Yards Distance to see his Wound, yet they were very much dismay'd at his terrible Bellowing, he not being able to speak one intelligible Word. This so alarm'd the Natives, that it gave me a favourable Opportunity of making a Home Thrust at one who had bore very hard on me, and I ran him into the Thigh, and cut an Artery, out of which the Blood gush'd violently, which soon made him quit his Sword, clap his Hand upon the Wound, and run away. He was follow'd by the rest, whom we closely pursu'd into the Woods, where we left them, for Fear of meeting with an Ambuscade of the Enemy. *Ridley* indeed remain'd with his Royal Prisoner, and carried him safe off to the Sloop; but when they came along Side her, whilst *Ridley* was busied in making the Canoe fast with a Rope to the Sloop, the King slipp'd off his Surplice and Hat, and without being perceiv'd stole into the Water, and swam ashore. Hav-

ving

ving fasten'd the Canoe, *Ridley* order'd two of the Ship's Crew, to come and hand his Majesty into the Sloop, but they found no more of him than his Outside Case. Enraged at this Disappointment, they came directly ashore, and gave me the above Account of the sly and courageous Trick the King of *Sherbro* had put upon them, and brought me his Hat and Cape *Mount* Surplice.

HIS Majesty's Escape was a Matter of no small Concern to me, well knowing what a Number of arm'd Men he had upon the Island, who were all grown desperate at the Treatment they receiv'd from us that Evening. I therefore immediately call'd, as I may say, a Council of War, to consult proper Measures for our future Security, and to prevent our Enemies surprising the Factory-House;

THE Council being assembl'd in a large Canoe which lay under the Protection of a lofty Mangrove, I told them, " That
" since the King had unfortunately for us
" made his Escape, the Consequences to

“ us I apprehended would be fatal, unless
“ by a timely Courage on our Part they
“ were prevented; that, as the King had
“ then upon the Island three or four Hun-
“ dred of his People arm'd, that un-
“ doubtedly he would rally his Subjects,
“ and in Order to revenge the Affront put
“ upon him by our Imprisonment of his
“ Person, they would surprize and take
“ the Factory-House, and that by that
“ Means the Company would greatly suf-
“ fer; that I was of Opinion, that it was
“ absolutely necessary that *Holditch*, *Allen*
“ and *Wild* should immediately repair to
“ to the Factory-House, put our Black
“ People that were there into a proper
“ Posture of Defence, that they themselves
“ should walk all that Night upon the Pa-
“ rade, and if they saw any Black Man
“ whatsoever that they should directly fire
“ at him; that, as for my own Part, I
“ would with the two Captains and the
“ two Slaves take Care of the Company's
“ Effects aboard the Canoes. And then
“ I concluded with wishing Success to the
“ Undertaking.”

THE Council immediately resolv'd to put in Execution what I had recommend- ed, and *Holditch*, *Allen* and *Wild* arm'd with Muskatoons loaden with Swan-shot, went directly to the Factory-House. I ap- plied myself to secure such Canoes as had any of the Company's Effects in them. I order'd each Man to get into a loaden Ca- noe, and take another and tow it after him to the Sloop, and there make them fast, and then to return, and do the like. This was perform'd with the utmost Expedition. All being safe, and the two Captains and Slaves aboard, whom I had order'd to stay there, and hold themselves in Readiness to fire upon a proper Signal, I walk'd up by myself from the Water-side, intending to add myself to the Number of those that were in the Factory-House, when a Shot from the Woods graz'd by my Left Ear, and sing'd my full-bottom'd Peruke. This put me into a horrid Fright. I expected nothing less than immediate Death, for I imagin'd that the King had rallied his scat- ter'd Troops, and was return'd to rescue his Canoes from us, and to sacrifice me. I

wish'd myself aboard one of the Canoes, but they were gone off: To stand gazing after them was not safe, least the next Shot should bring upon me that dreadful Dilemma which the Hand of Providence had so lately and so mercifully deliver'd me from: I therefore took to my Heels, and ran as fast as ever I could towards the Factory-House, which the Enemy perceiving, levell'd several Shot at me, all which miss'd me. I got safe within the Parade-Gate, which is distant from the Water-side about three Furlongs, where being pretty secure from their Shot, I peep'd out, and could plainly discern a large Body of Black Men rallied under a great Silk Cotton Tree near the Shore. When I first saw them, I was ready to sink into the Earth on reflecting on the Danger I had so lately escap'd. *Holditch*, who had seen from the Factory-House the Hazards I had run, came very opportunely to my Assistance, and brought with him something to refresh me. After I had drank a good Swig of Flip, and eaten a Sea-bisket soak'd, I recover'd my Surprise and Faintness. I then look'd out to see the Situation of the Enemy, who still,

I found, remain'd under the Cotton Tree. I immediately applied my Speaking-Trumpet to my Mouth, and call'd to *Ridley* in the Sloop to fire two of his Guns as near as he could to the Root of the said Tree; which he did, with such Success as to kill and mortally wound Eleven of them, as I learnt the next Day by a Messenger that was sent to me, with Offers of Peace, from the King of *Sherbro*.

THIS fatal and unexpected Stroke quickly dispers'd the Enemy, who carried off their Dead into the Woods; all which we could easily perceive with the naked Eye. I then gave Orders to the White Men to fire from the Parade, if any Number of Negroes should approach the Factory-House. I then repos'd myself for an Hour or two, and when I awoke, and found all Things quiet, I ventur'd to go down again to the Water-side, between two Slaves, where *Ridley* in a Canoe met me, and convey'd me safe aboard the Sloop, where I walk'd all that Night upon Deck.

ABOUT One o'Clock, *Holditch* call'd to me, and said, that he saw a Body of them marching up toward the Parade Gate, I order'd him to fire upon them, which he did, and kill'd one, and wounded another in the Thigh, which prov'd to be the Company's Linguist, one *Antonio*.

ABOUT Three o'Clock, we heard the Rustling of a Canoe near the Shore. Upon which I sent two Slaves in a Canoe to bring whomsoever they should find aboard to me. They immediately obey'd my Orders, and on their Approach discover'd three Men, who seeing the Slaves leap'd directly over-board, and swam ashore thro' the Mangroves: However, they took the Canoe, and brought her aboard. As soon as Day broke, one of the Men brought a Lion's Tail to me, which he found in the Canoe he had taken. I knew it to be the King's Fittish, and from thence I concluded his Majesty would have made his Escape from us, in the Night, had we not intercepted him.

ABOUT

ABOUT Sun-rise I went ashore with Mr. *Cummerbus*, *Ridley* and two others, in Order to consult with *Holditch*, *Allen* and *Wild*, about removing the Company's Effects from *York* Island. As soon as I enter'd the Factory-house, the first Object that presented itself to my View, was *Antonio*, who lay on the Floor groaning with the Anguish of his Wounds. At first I was surpriz'd, and ask'd, what was the Matter? *Holditch* told me, that he was among the Cabal of Men whom I order'd to fire at about One o'Clock. *Antonio* then said :
" 'Tis very true, Master! I have two
" Tongues; Tongue for white Man and
" and Tongue for Black Man, I deserve to
" die, but I came that White Men should
" not kill Black but be Friends." I then ask'd him, why he came in a hostile Manner? He said, They were Seven, and that one of them, who was kill'd, was a Messenger from the King of *Sherbro* with Overtures of Peace, and that the other Five return'd back. From what *Antonio* said, I thought proper to order his Wounds to be dress'd, and his Life preserv'd. And I told him,

him, that he should live, if what he had said was Truth. *Antonio* thank'd me, his Wounds was dress'd with some excellent Salve for the Cure of Gun-shot Wounds I had brought from *England* with me, and in about Half an Hour's Time began to laugh, who just before what I said to him, was, as it were, expiring; for the Natives of these Parts, on such Accidents, die more through Fear than any Thing else.

ABOUT Ten o'Clock, we went into Council, where I propos'd the Removal of the Company's Effects from thence down to a Town call'd *Jamaica*, in the Possession of Mr. *Cummerbus*, I urg'd, that the Place we were now in, was of little or no Defence; that it was impossible for us to subsist long in continual Enmity with the Natives. Mr. *Holditch* was of Opinion, that such a Removal must be of Prejudice to the Royal *African* Company, but declined giving his Reasons, and propos'd that *Antonio* should be brought before Us, and examin'd in Relation to what he had said about a Messenger that was sent with Overtures of Peace to them from the King of *Sherbro*,

Sherbro. This Propofal, at first, was object-
ed to by *Allen*, upon the Prefumption, that
little or no Credit was to be given to any
Thing *Antonio* had faid, fince as he was a
Servant to the Company, and yet had taken
Part with its Enemies. To this, it was re-
plied by *Holditch*, that tho' *Antonio* had in
a great Meafure forfeited his Right to our
Favour, yet that it was to be observ'd of
the Natives, that they generally were faith-
ful as to what Account they gave of Things,
and as to the Office he fill'd, there had
been no Occafion for removing him, thro'
Breach of his Duty till now; and that tho'
Antonio was no *Englishman*, yet as he was
in the Service, he ought not to be condem-
ned unheard. He concluded, with observ-
ing, that the very Condition upon which
Antonio had his Life, was that what he
had faid, and confequently what he fhould
fay, was the Truth.

UPON all which Confiderations, it was
refolv'd, That *Antonio* fhould be examin'd,
before it was determin'd, whether the Ef-
fects fhould be remov'd from *York* Island.
And, upon this Occafion, *Holditch* was na-
med

med Chairman, and *Antonio* was order'd to be brought in.

ANTONIO obey'd the Summons, and soon appear'd before us, with all the antick Signs of Joy and Submission he was capable of. From his Examination we learnt, that the King of *Sherbro* had been impos'd upon, by his Treasurer, in Relation to his Cole, of which his Majesty was now sensible; that, upon this Discovery, the King sent six of his Subjects and *Antonio* to acquaint us of the Error, and to negotiate a Peace; that the King had order'd all his Subjects to lay down their Arms and not to shoot at or offend a White Man, upon Pain of Death; and that both his Majesty and his Subjects were in great Want of Provisions.

WE had scarce finish'd this Examination, when one of the Lookers-out came, and acquainted us, That one Black Man unarm'd was coming from the Woods, and that as he walk'd, at certain Distances, he threw himself prostrate on the Ground. *Antonio* had not left us, and though his
Thigh

Thigh was far from being well, yet he leap'd and cry'd out, " That be the Messenger from the King of *Sherbro*, now the Truth, that save my Life."

WE continu'd in Council, and requestest Mr. *Cummerbus*, that he would meet the Messenger, and introduce him to us. Which he accordingly did, and then sat himself down in his Place. After the Envoy had prostrated himself three Times, he told us, " That his Master, the King of *Sherbro*, was sorry that he had offended the White Men, in demanding of them Cole which was not due to him, as he had since found from the Confession of his Treasurer, whom he had put to Death, as a Rogue and the Occasion of Difference between White Men and Black Men, when there should never be any; that his Majesty was desirous to be at Peace with White Men, had caus'd all his Subjects to lay down their Arms, and had order'd that no Black Man should offend White Man, under Pain of Death; and that His Majesty and Subjects being short of Provisions

“ fions desir'd our Assistance, which should
 “ be repay'd us when he return'd to *Sher-*
 “ *bro.*”

THIS tallied very well with what *Antonio* had said, and sav'd his Life; but then as the Envoy had made no Mention of the preceding Embassy, I ask'd him concerning it, and found it as *Antonio* had said, with this Addition only, that it was thro' *Antonio*, that the Discovery concerning the Cole was made.

THE Envoy was order'd to withdraw, and then we immediately took into our Consideration the King of *Sherbro's* Message. We were of Opinion, that it was for the Interest of the Company not to remove their Effects from *York* Island, if we could be quiet in the Possession of it; that Peace with the Natives must be the most desirable Thing, and a good Understanding between Parties, the only probable Method to carry on a Trade that should be advantageous to the Royal *African* Company: And lastly, that we would send sufficient Provisions to the King of *Sherbro*, for
 him

him and his Subjects ; that it was now proper for us to take the Opportunity of his Majesty's Want of Provisions to procure certain Privileges from him, which might both now and hereafter be very serviceable to the Company, and their Dependents. We came to the following Resolution to send Mr. *Cummerbus* as our Embassador to the King of *Sherbro*, and acquaint him, that we were desirous of living in Peace and good Understanding with his Majesty and his Subjects, but that as his Majesty had, through the evil Counsel of his Ministers, committed Hostilities on the *English*, and had actually put them in Danger of their Lives, by seizing the Goods of the Royal *African* Company ; that we were determin'd for our better Security to remove the Company's Effects from *York* Island down to *Jamaica* Town, in Case his Majesty would not grant us the following Privileges:

1. That his Majesty would swear by his Fittish, that he would not for the future visit *York* Island accompanied with more than twenty-four Attendants, and them to be unarm'd.
2. That if any Negroe or Negroes should attempt to land on the

G Island

Island in an hostile Manner, he or they should be put to Death. 3. That when his Majesty's Cole became due, that no more than Six Persons should come to receive it. 4. That those Christians, or White Men that inhabited in *Sherbro* should have the free Exercise of their Religion without Molestation.

UPON all which Resolutions the Council broke up, and Mr. *Cummerbus* departed with his Majesty's Envoy, for the Woods, in Order to treat with the King and his People relating thereto. We sent by Mr. *Cummerbus* the King's Fittish, which we had found in a Canoe, two Days before. Our Embassador found his Majesty surrounded by a Crowd of his Subjects, who on his Approach open'd to Right and Left, and gave him a free Passage to their King, who was sitting, attended by his Nobles, on the Root of a large Silk Cotton Tree. As soon as his Majesty saw the *English* Embassador, he arose, and came to meet him: Mr. *Cummerbus* having paid his Complements to his Majesty, acquainted him with the above Resolutions of the Council,

Council,

Council, their Desire of Peace, and the Privileges they expected. To all which his Majesty replied, “ That he was not
“ willing to be at Enmity with White
“ Men, and that when he was return’d to
“ *Sherbro*, he would hold a Syndic, and
“ decree those Privileges we desir’d ; beg-
“ ged that the Company’s Effects might
“ not be remov’d from *York* Island, and
“ offer’d us Slaves, Camwood and Ivory
“ to a considerable Value.”

MR. *Cummerbus* return’d, and we immediately going into Council, consider’d the Contents of the King of *Sherbro*’s Message, and in about Half-an-Hour we came to a fix’d Resolution to remove the Company’s Effects from *York*-Island down to *Jamaica* Town, upon the following Considerations : 1. That the King of *Sherbro* was a Man whose Word was not to be relied on, and who had many times before disturb’d the Quiet of the *English* Factory on that Island. 2. That the Place was unfortified, whereas *Jamaica* Town was a Place of Strength. 3. That our Provisions were very much exhausted by the Enemy
G 2 already,

already, and that the Slaves that were offer'd us, might through Treachery be the utter Ruin of us, at least they must be an additional Weight upon the Company. 4. That our Removal would be of some Service to the Company, by saving the Cole which was paid to the King of *Sherbro*.

UPON which, the Management of the Removal of the Company's Effects was left to Me and *Holditch*, and we thought proper to intreat Mr. *Cummerbus* to return to the King of *Sherbro*, and hold a Pallaver with him, whilst we accomplish'd the Design. He did so. And a Signal being given to *Cummerbus*, by the Firing off of a Gun, he concluded the Pallaver, with telling his Majesty, in an angry Tone, that he had been very impolitick in treating the *English* in the Manner he had done by attempting to rob the Factory; that we had already put the Company's Effects on board the Canoes, in order to be carried out of his Kingdom down to *Jamaica*, of which that Gun he had heard was a Signal. His Majesty seem'd very uneasy at the Relation, and his Subjects began to mutiny. Mr. *Cummerbus*

Cummerbus, who was attended by *Antonio*, immediately repair'd to a Point of Land, where one of the Canoes receiv'd him, but he order'd *Antonio* to stay behind, and observe the Motions of the Enemy. He had not got far from Land, before he was follow'd by several of the Natives, who from the Shoar flung Javelins and shot Arrows at him, one or two of which narrowly miss'd doing Execution; he could perceive their Numbers increase, but he was soon out of their Reach.

THE next Day towards Evening, *Antonio* and six others found Means in the Hollow of a Tree, to paddle down with the Tide to *Jamaica* Town. By him we learnt, That a Pallaver, on the Departure of Mr. *Cummerbus*, soon arose between the King and his Subjects; that his Majesty, to avoid their Resentment, and its fatal Consequences, diverted their Fury, by commanding them to pursue our Embassador, alledging, that he must be the Author of the Project for removing the Company's Effects, since, as he himself had confess'd, they were convey'd to his Town of *Jamaica*;

maica ; with Orders to bring him dead or alive. This Political Scheme had its desired Effect: His Subjects to a Man pursu'd Mr. *Cummerbus* without seeing through his Majesty's Design, who took this Opportunity to elope, fearing that his enrag'd Subjects, who through his Means had lost the Benefit and Advantages of that *English* Settlement from among them, if he should return to *Sherbro*, should poison or otherwise destroy him ; so he fled to some other Place and was never heard of any more.

THE Natives finding it was in vain any longer to stand gaping, on the Shoar, after the *English* Embassador, return'd to the Place of Rendezvous, and, finding that their King had absconded himself, they immediately proceeded to elect another to fill the Vacancy, perceiving, when it was too late, that he was a Traitor to his Country. Tho' the Dignity of King descends generally in the Hereditary Line, yet when a Man has betray'd his Trust, and is either put to Death, or abdicated ; in such Case his Family is rejected for his Perfidy, and the People have the Choice of another.

IN the Case before us, the Natives proceeded to the Election, in the following Manner: The Nobles having nam'd the Senior Captain to succeed; the People open'd to Right and Left, forming a Lane, through which the Candidate was carried, by two Men, standing upon their Shoulders: And this is done with great Dexterity. As he passes along, his Subjects view him, bow before him, and halloo: In all Cases of this Kind, the King is expos'd to the View of all his Subjects, and carried through his Territories, and the whole Affair terminates in one merry Day; so that the Inauguration of their Kings is not very pompous, expensive, nor ceremonious, they being equally Strangers to Coronations and Coronation-Oaths.

THE new King, whose Name was MAXIMO having dispatch'd a Slave in a small Canoe, to *Sherbro*, with Orders that the Caboceroes * should send him a Number of

G 4

Canoes

* *Caboceroes*, are the principal Men, and commonly limited to a set Number, who, in case of Death, they

Canoes directly, in Order to convey him and his People, immediately order'd them to repair to the Factory-house for that Night. The next Morning, the Canoes arriv'd from *Sberbro*, and the King soon after embark'd his Troops, after having rejected the Proposal of some of his Nobles, of burning the Factory-House. But to return from this seeming Digression.

WE had got every Thing on board Time enough to sail next Ebb, and tho' we had so many Canoes in tow after us, yet we reach'd *Jamaica* that Tide. I went ashore with Mr. *Cummerbus*, and pitch'd upon two good Houses, which I bought for a Trifle of him, for the Company's Use, and the same Afternoon we unloaded some of the Canoes, and stow'd the Goods in one of the Houses, the next Day we brought all

they chose out of the Commonalty, Persons advanc'd in Years, (for young Men are seldom admitted into this Venerable Assembly) who are oblig'd to express their Gratitude to their Electing Brethren by a Present of a Cow, and some Drink; after which they are lawfully admitted and confirmed.

all the rest ashore. During our Stay here I was very kindly treated by Mr. *Cummerbus*, who did all he cou'd to make his Town agreeable to me. At our first Landing we were receiv'd by a Number of People at the Water-side, and when we got out of the Canoe, Mr. *Cummerbus* spoke to his two chief Captains to bid the People pay me their highest Compliments, which they did in the following Manner: They first surrounded me, and then two of them catch'd me up in their Arms, and tofs'd me from thence cleverly on Top of their Shoulders; which done, away they ran with me to the Town roaring, squalling, and making such Noises, as if they were possess'd; some leaping and skipping about like mad Men, others charging and discharging their Muskets as fast as they could. At first I was a little afraid they intended to play me some Trick, but I was soon convinc'd that they designed to play nothing but the Fool; for they ran about with me to every Creek and Corner of the Town, and the Women and Children gather'd about their Doors, all clapping their Hands as a Token of their Joy. During this Ceremony, (which lasted
about

about a quarter of an Hour*) Mr. *Cummerbus* had a Drum beating and a Trumpet sounding at his Door, where they at last brought and set me down having ran themselves and me quite out of Breath. This done Mr. *Cummerbus* order'd one of his Captains to fire the Guns, being seven small ones which were planted near his House. When I had receiv'd this last Salute, I was conducted into a large open Room where a Cloath was laid for Dinner, or rather Supper, being past 4 o'Clock. Presently came upon Table several Dishes of boil'd and fried Fish with Roots, such as Yams and Potatoes; after which we had a second Course of roasted Meats, *viz.* a Fore-quarter of Caberita, or young Kid, which eats as well as Venison, and in another Dish four large Fowls. In short, we never wanted for Plenty of good Victuals there, and tolerably well dress'd. As for Liquors I always found them, and when my Sugar was all spent, we than drank Madeira Wine. Having settled

* Their Towns are not large, rarely exceed fifty Houses, Huts or Hovels, so that all the Inhabitants might easily see this Rary-show, in the Time mentioned.

settled the Factory here, on the twenty-ninth of *November*, we took our Departure, saluting the Town with Seven Guns, which they returned in Order: When we were under Sail Captain *Kirkham* told me there were but Eight Bottles of Madeira left. This was no good News to us, for in these excessive hot Climes where we have so violent and continual a Perspiration, that Quantity of Liquor which is scarce sufficient to support our Spirits may make us very drunk in *Europe*; however we made the best of it, and at Low Water anchor'd near a Place where one of our * *Gromettas* told us, that Sugar Canes grew wild. I therefore sent him and the two Slaves in a Canoe ashore to cut some, and in less than two Hoars they return'd with a good Bundle, being all they could find. These being cut and press'd, we steep'd in Water, till it was sweet enough to make Punch, having good Store of Rum and Limes aboard. The next Day we got to the River's Mouth, and anchor'd
near

* A *Grometta*, is a Black Freeman who hires himself by the Week, to work for any one, but chiefly for White Men, by whom many here are employ'd.

near the *Plantane* Islands where two white Men lived, *viz.* Mr. *Pearce* and Mr. *Sanderson*. *Kirkham* being very well acquainted with them, I took him ashore with me, in Hopes of learning some further Knowledge of the Countries up the River where the Camwood grows, having hitherto but an imperfect Account of those Places from the Negroes, who tell me, that when they sail a great Way up the River *Sherbro* they come into a very hilly Country where the River is mighty crooked, with many Turnings and Windings among the Hills like a Snake, but not at all rapid, except at two or three Cataracts, or Water-falls, one of which is very large, the Water falling over the Rocks about twenty Foot perpendicular, with a great Noise. Here they are oblig'd to go ashore, and drag their Canoes over the Land till they get beyond the Cataract; they must likewise unload, and do the same when coming down. The two other Falls are but small and inconsiderable; nevertheless they sometimes have their Canoes overset when shooting down loaden, but the Camwood being heavy sinks, and in the dry Season they come and take it up, there

there being not one Drop of Water to be seen so high up among the Mountains in the dry Times; therefore they always carry up their Canoes in the latter End of the rainy Seasons, which generally last about five Months of the Twelve, where they cut Wood, and search for Teeth. The next Rains bring them down. They often see many Sorts of wild Beasts among those Mountains, whose *Negroe* Names I can't understand, but suppose them to be Lions, Tigers, Leopards, &c. from whom they seldom receive any Damage. I am likewise inform'd, that a large Branch of the River *Sherbro* empties itself into the Sea near *Cape Monte*, but is not navigable for any Vessel by Reason of a great Bar near the Mouth of it, call'd *Sea-Bar*, otherwise it wou'd be a very short Cut from *Sierraleone*, &c. to *Cape Monte*.

THIS is the best Account I can give of *Sherbro*, except that it is a very plentiful Place, and supplies *Sierraleone* mostly with fresh Provisions, therefore in Hopes of better Informations I went ashore, as aforesaid, with *Kirkham*, but was disappointed, for

Pearce

Pearce and *Sanderfon* were gone in their Shallops trading to the Northward for Slaves, &c. at *Rio Pungo*. When we went into *Pearce's* House we found his Wife like a good Housewife with all her Women Slaves about her stringing Beads and counting * Booges. She treated us very handsomly and sent out some of her Slaves to gather Cocoa-Nutts for us. And tho' her Husband had left her no Sugar at his going abroad, yet she made us extraordinary good Punch with fine Honey; and *Kirkbam*, unknown to me, begg'd a Pot of it to carry aboard.

THERE is a Ledge of sunken Rocks which run off into the Sea, about a League West from these Islands, which may easily be discover'd and avoided by the Breakers, †
on

* *Booges*, or *Cowerys*, are small *East-India* Shells, which are Current Money in all Parts of *Guinea*.

† *Breakers* are the Waves that roll or tumble sometimes on the Shore, sometimes over sunken Rocks, or Sand Banks. They are call'd by the *Dutch*, *Burners*, because in the Night those Breakers appear like a Flame of Fire.

on the Outside of which the Sloop lay about four Miles distant from the Shore. It was duskish when we left the Island, and before we got a Mile from the Shore it was so dark we could not see Land, much less the Sloop, nor was there a Star to be seen in the Firmament; however we row'd up and down for a long while, not knowing which Way we went. At last, I began to grow very uneasy, and desired *Kirkham* to lye by all Night for fear of rowing so far off to Sea, as to be out of Sight of Land in the Morning, so that having no Compass on board, we shou'd not know which Way to steer for the Land when Day broke, but run the Hazard of perishing for Want of Sustenance, having nothing aboard but a few Cocoa-nuts, and a Pot of Honey. *Kirkham* allow'd my Objections to be very just, but then assur'd me there was a greater and more certain Danger on the other Hand, in as much as that the rainy Seasons were then pretty far advanced, there was all the Reason in the World to fear a Turnadoe's coming down upon us in the Night, and we being in a little open Canoe on the wide Ocean, could have no Chance to avoid foundering.

foundering. All this being very true we agreed to row on a little longer in Hopes of seeing either the Land, or the Sloop. About an Hour after, we found ourselves near some small Breakers, which we supposed to have been the aforesaid Ledge of sunken Rocks that lay from the Shore almost to the Sloop. They being upon our Right Hand we row'd along by the Side of them, not doubting but they would be a sure Guide to us, either to the Shore or the Vessel. When we had row'd a little Way we came to the End of them, but could see no Light from the Sloop; then we row'd a little farther upon the same Course as near as we could guess, but were still in the Drak. This gave us various Apprehensions, nor could we tell what to do; 'tis certain *Kirkham* was entirely in the Fault, for he stay'd so long bargaining about a Man-Slave he bought ashore, that Night stole upon us unawares; however, I would not upbraid him with it in this Extremity.

WHILE we were thus surrounded with dismal Thoughts, we on a sudden were surpris'd by the roaring of some wild Beast,

I suppose it was a Lion which seemed not to be very far off. We immediately row'd towards the Noise, and soon saw the Land, having a bright sandy Beach with a few Rocks upon it. We haul'd our Canoe ashore just behind one of the Rocks, which in some Measure, help'd to break off the Swell, but the Noise of the wild Beasts increasing ashore, none of us would venture to leave the Canoe. We guess'd it now to be about Two or Three o'Clock, nor had we been there long before it fell a thundering and lightening, as if the Elements were all a-fire. This was the Forerunner of a mighty Turnadoe *, which whistled so very loud through the Trees, that we could no longer hear the Roaring of the wild Beasts, probably the Turnadoe might have drove them into Dens, but when the Wind was over, the Rain began to fall vehemently. We had no Shelter in the Canoe, nor dare we go ashore to seek any under the Trees, lest the wild Beasts should return and devour us: However, we thought our-

H selves

* *Bosman*, p. 112. calls it a *Travadoe*, though by what Authority, I could not learn. The Natives call these Storms by this Name.

selves happy, to have so narrow an Escape from the Dangers of the Sea; therefore we sat still contentedly, and took the Rain as it fell. About Day-break it gave over, and by that Time we were pretty well soak'd, having nothing on but thin white Waist-coats. When it was clear Day, we found ourselves in *Yawry Bay*, about Two Leagues Northward to the *Plantane* Islands, which we could see plain enough, but as for our Sloop she was gone, and no Sign of her to be seen. This last Misfortune was more intolerable than any of the preceding, and though my Life was at Stake, there was no Possibility immediately to get dry Cloaths. In this deplorable Condition, we agreed to make the best of our Way to the *Bonana* Islands, which were then in Sight of us, about Four Leagues distant, there to refresh ourselves at one Mr. *Bonnerman's*, and if we should hear nothing of our Sloop to prosecute our Voyage along Shore in the Canoe to *Sierraleone*. Accordingly we put off, and though it was a long Stretch for our poor hungry fatigu'd Grometta's, we could not help it, Necessity had no Law: The poor Fellows did the best

best they could, but about Ten o'Clock the Sea-Breeze began to set in pretty strong in our Teeth: This increas'd their Labour and our Sorrow, tho' neither lasted long; for we soon spied a Sail standing in for the Land right before the Wind, and shap'd our Course toward her. She happen'd to be our own Sloop that was drove off to Sea, by the violent Turnadoe that happened about Three o'Clock that Morning, and was going in again to the *Plantanes*, to enquire after us, being very much afraid we were, either * panyar'd, or something worse had happen'd to us. As soon as we got aboard, we steer'd away, North-North West, for the Wind being West-South-West, we could not weather the *Bonanas*, but ran between them and Cape *Shelling*, on the Main, and so continu'd our Course for *Sierraleone*. I quickly shifted my Cloaths, and refresh'd myself, after which I went to Bed. The next Day we got into the River *Sierraleone*, and, I finding myself a little out of Order, fear'd I had

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an

* To *Panyar* is to kidnap, or steal Men. It is a Word us'd all over the Coast of *Guinea*.

an Ague coming on me ; therefore I went ashore in *Maria's Bay*, in Hopes that a little Exercise might do me Good. The next Morning, being the Third of *December*, we arriv'd at *Bense Island*, and Governor *Charles* din'd that Day aboard the *Bonetta*, but I grew so much out of Order that I could eat nothing, and at Night discover'd all the Symptoms of a Malignant Fever, which confin'd me to my Bed, till the twenty-ninth, nor was I able to get upon Deck till *Wednesday* the Fourth of *January* 1726-7, that we arriv'd at *Cape Mezurado*.*

IN

* *Cape Mezurado* is a high Hill. The Natives of the adjoining Country have fine large Houses, in one of which are commonly lodg'd fifty, or sixty Men, Women and Children, all which confusedly intermix in their Lodging: The Women are handsome, and are permitted to grant Favours for Gain. They are a civil, good-natur'd People. The Men do not care greatly to work, but leave it rather to their Wives. Their Religion principally consists in reverencing and obeying their King and the Governour set over them, without concerning themselves about what is above them, being very sollicitous about nothing but Eating and Drinking, and making merry. They live in Peace with all their Neighbours, and account the *Europeans* their only Enemies, who many times make Inroads

IN the mean time, our Ship sail'd from thence on the Eighteenth, and on the Twenty-fifth anchor'd at *Gallinas*, where lay the *Queen Elizabeth*, Captain *Creighton* beforemention'd, who invited Captain *Livingstone* to take a *Christmas* Dinner with him, and shew'd him a Letter from one *Benjamin Cross*, Third Mate of the *Expedition*, Captain *Malltisse*, who was panyar'd by the Natives of *Cape Monte* *, about

H 3

three

Inroads upon them, seize some of them, and sell them for Slaves, which they retalliate when it is in their Power. The River, which discharges itself into the Sea, takes its Course westwards three Miles, and directly to *Rio Sestre* eastwards, whither the Natives daily pass in their Canoes, and trade either in the natural Produce of the Country, or Elephants Teeth, by Reason a much greater Number of Ships come to *Rio Sestre* than here.

* This Cape is a Hill somewhat higher than that of *Cape Mezurado*, and is distant about Ten Miles from it. It is furnish'd with numerous Villages. The Natives of this Cape are industrious to the last Degree; in Planting of Rice and Boiling of Salt they are indefatigable, both for the King and themselves, whose Slaves they are accounted. They are not well stor'd with Cattle, also not many Fowl, but they are
very

three Weeks before, and detain'd there to make Reprisals for some of their Men that had been formerly panyar'd by some *English* Ship, as she traded down the Coast: A Custom too often used, especially by *Bristol* or *Liverpool* Men, which is very pernicious to the Slave Trade on the Windward Coast. *Cross*, hearing of the *Queen Elizabeth's*

very good. They have great Numbers of Elephants, Tigers, Buffles, Harts, and other wild Beasts. They have great Plenty of Fish, which they catch with large Nets. A Man marry as many Wives as he can maintain, who work hard, and provide thereby, in a great Measure for themselves. They live contentedly with their Wives, and seem not much concern'd if they bestow their Favours sometimes on other Men. Their Cloathing is white, and resembles an Alba, or Surplice. But the Women go almost naked, having only a narrow Cloth wound about their Middles, and some go quite naked, not in the least asham'd of what Nature has bestow'd on them. As to their Religion it is much the same with that of the Natives of *Mezurado*, only that they are not so much addicted to Gluttony and Jollity. Their Military Weapons, which are only Bows and Arrows, are kept rather for Ornament than Use, for they never go to War, ending their Differences amicably by Treaty. The Country hereabouts is very pleasant, and also exceeding fertile.

Elizabeth's Arrival at *Gallinas*, and being left by his own Ship, wrote the said Letter to Captain *Creighton*, begging that he would redeem him, which *Livingstone* agreed to do, upon his Arrival at *Cape Monte*, he being bound down the Coast after the Expedition, for *Creighton* was bound for *Sherbro*.

THAT Day came into the Road, the *Friendship Brig*, of *Bristol*, one *Barry* Commander, who likewise din'd aboard the *Queen Elizabeth*, and towards Night, having drank pretty freely, insulted the two Captains, who not being able to bear it, return'd him proper Marks of their Repentment; which so enrag'd him, that he immediately went aboard his own Ship, and in a Piratical Manner fir'd a Shot at the *Queen Elizabeth*, which had like to have carried away her Fore Stay, and having, at his Departure, threaten'd *Livingstone*, in a particular Manner, to come aboard and whip him, *Livingstone* therefore hasten'd aboard his own Ship, and put himself in the best Posture of Defence he could. Accordingly, when he came aboard, and per-

ceived the *Brig* standing towards him, he fired several Shot at her, which made her sheer off.

THE next Day we sail'd from thence, and on the Twenty-ninth arrived at *Cape Monte* where we staid Four Days, during which Time Captain *Livingstone* redeem'd Mr. *Cross* at the Expence of about Fifty Pounds Sterling, and brought him aboard the *Bonetta*, where he staid till the Twentieth-sixth of *January*, when we arriv'd at *St. Andrews*, where we found several *English* and *French* Ships, among whom was the *Expedition*, Captain *Malltisse* who thankfully repaid *Livingstone*, and took *Cross* again. I observed that the Natives who came off to trade with us were mighty timorous of coming aboard, for fear of being panyar'd; and even those who were bold enough to venture, if they chanc'd to spy any Arms about the Ship, immediately they leap'd over the Side into their Canoes, and make the best of their Way ashore from us. These Negroes seem to be very industrious, for they all go clad with their own Manufactures.

ON *Monday, January* the Second, we sail'd alone from thence to *Cape Mezurado*, where we arrived on the Fourth, and anchor'd in Eight Fathom Water, just behind the Cape, about Two Leagues distant from the Mouth of *St. Paul's River*, where we lay till Noon next Day; but being loth to venture ashore, and finding that none of the Natives would presume to come off to us, we took our Departure from thence for the *River Junck*, sailing always as close by the Shoar as we could well venture, in Order to make the true Survey, which indeed very much retarded our Voyage, as being oblig'd to come every Night to Anchor. At Two o'Clock the next Day we anchor'd at Five Fathom before the said River, into which I went with our Long-Boat to take the Soundings and Bearings of it. The Entrance is so very rocky that it is impossible for any small Ship to get in, however on the Inside it is navigable and comes away with a fine smooth Current from the Eastward. About Six in the Evening, we return'd aboard without having any Discourse with the
Natives,

Natives, tho' we saw many of them on the Shoar. The next Morning we weigh'd from thence, and I went on with my Survey down the Coast. On *Monday* the Ninth we anchor'd off of the River *Sestos*, where we staid Six Days, having in Company the *Providence Brigantine* of *London*, Captain *Cuttler*. During our Abode here, I took the Soundings and Bearings of this River. The Entrance of which is likewise rocky and very shoal; so that it is navigable for nothing larger than a good Long-Boat tho' a broad spacious Bason. On the Inside, on the Right Hand as you go in, is situate a large handsome Village which takes its Name from the River. There we took in what Wood and Water we had Occasion for, paying nothing but a small Present, by Way of Acknowledgment to the King. The People of this Country are courteous enough to Strangers, tho' somewhat shy of the *English*. Provisions are not very dear, tho' very scarce here, except Rice, of which we bought a good Quantity, also some Fowls. On the Fourteenth, we had a very hard Gale of Wind at East-South-East, which obliged us to
let

let go our best Bower Anchor, and lower our Yards and Top-Masts. The Fifteenth being fair Weather we sail'd, and on the Twentieth arriv'd at *Cetra-Crue*, where we anchor'd before the Town in Sixteen Fathom Water. We had scarce lain there an Hour before a Canoe came off to us, and we ask'd one of the Fellows, who spoke a little *English*, if they had any Goats, Hogs, or Hens ashoar? And he answer'd us after his Way, that they had too much Goats, too much Hogs and Hens. This gave us some Reason to hope that fresh Provisions were cheap, and plenty here. The next Day the Chief Mate and I, (after taking the Soundings and Bearings) went ashoar, where we were received at the Water-side by a great Number of the Natives, who conducted us into the Town, which at first Sight appeared very odd to me, all the Houses being built upon Piles at least Five Foot high from the Ground; whether to preserve them from the unwholesome Damps of the Earth in the rainy Seasons, or from the Fierceness of wild Beasts in the Night, I know not; but it is certain that this Country abounds with many Sorts
of

of wild Beasts, and I believe it is not much frequented by White Men, because that as we walk'd thro' the Town all the People ran down out of their Houses to gaze at us, following us where ever we went, but Mr. *Carse* our Chief Mate, being desirous to buy some of their fresh Provisions which the Man told us they had so great a Plenty of, went to the Head Man of the Town, who is a Kind of Petty King, to obtain a Liberty of Trade with his Subjects, because hitherto they had produced nothing to us for Sale. His Majesty immediately granted his Royal Licence, and being at Dinner, desired Mr. *Carse* to sit down and feed with him, which Mr. *Carse* did: Their Dinner was boil'd Rice and Palm Oil; and one of the Lords then in waiting gave Mr. *Carse* a Shell instead of a Spoon. And when they had din'd, the King desir'd him to put his Spoon in his Pocket, which he did, but when he was coming away, the King told him he must not stir till he had return'd him a Present in Lieu of the fine Shell, and Mr. *Carse* did give him some Trifle or other, out of his Pocket, which he greedily took, and then dismiss'd him.

We

We were under some Concern to find ourselves so grossly misinform'd by the Negroe, for here was nothing to be got but some *Malagetta* Pepper and a few Pine Apples; the most delicious Fruit in the whole World. They are from Six to Ten Inches in Length when ripe.

ABOUT Three Leagues and an Half, South-East of *Cetra Crue* are two funken Rocks about seven or eight Miles from the Shore, and within two Hundred Yards of each other. The Northermost is a flat Rock above fifty Yards in Length, the other a steep Rock, on which a Ship belonging to Mr. *Harris* of *London* was lost, in the Year 1719, having nine Foot Water on one Side, and five Fathom on the other.

ON *Sunday*, the twenty-second, we left *Cetra Crue*, and on the twenty-fourth we doubled *Cape Palmas*. About Seven Leagues North-East of the Cape is a Town call'd *Ostend*, where we were inform'd that the People of *St. Andrews*, the next Town, having a Pallaver with those of *Drewin*,
had

had lately made War upon them, and burnt *Drewin* to Ashes, taking all the Men, Women and Children, whom they sold very cheap to the Ships then lying at *St. Andrews*. We therefore pass'd by *Drewin*, and, on the twenty-sixth arriv'd at *St. Andrews*, where we found the *Expedition*, &c. This is an extraordinary good Road for Ships, and, of late, is become a Place of very good Trade, especially since the Demolition of *Drewin*. We staid no longer than was necessary for taking a Survey of this Bay, and then went on to the rest of the *Quaqua* Coast, which extends itself from *Cape Palmas* * East by North about One Hundred Leagues to the River *Mancha*, by some call'd *Rio Cobre*, but by others the *Golden River*. This Coast is not near so well inhabited as the *Grain* Coast, which extends itself from *Cape Monte*, South-East, One Hundred and fifteen Leagues, or thereabouts

* The Inhabitants of this Place are Savages, exceeding covetous, and delight in Human Flesh, when they can come at it. They are possess'd of a Country which affords them great Plenty of Provisions, and indeed they want nothing that is necessary for the Support of Life.

about to Cape *Palmas*: Nor are the Natives so civil as the former, for we have very often lain by before a Town, and fir'd a Gun for the Natives to come off, and inform us what Town or Place it was, but were never the wiser, for no Soul came near us. But at length we learnt by some Ships that were trading down the Coast, that the Natives seldom ventur'd aboard an *English* Ship, for Fear of being panyar'd; but that they would readily come off to a *French* Vessel. This Knowledge was of no small Service to us, for afterwards we display'd nothing but *French* Colours, and traded with them in the *French* Language. By which Stratagem, we daily gain'd good Information, and had besides the Advantage of buying fresh Provisions from them; of which their Country affords great Plenty; but such notorious Thieves and Brutes are no where else in the World to be found. When they come aboard to us, if they see any thing they like, if they have an Opportunity they are sure to steal, otherwise they never fail to beg it: And if we deny them, they will immediately go ashore in Dudgeon, and will let no Body else come off

off to us; so that we are obliged to hide every Thing, but what we are willing to sacrifice to them. Whenever our Boat went to trade with them for fresh Provisions, they always took good Store of Arms and Ammunition with them for Fear of the Natives, nor dare they land, but come to Anchor within Forty or Fifty Yards of the Shoar, and there wait for the trading Canoes to come off to them. The Natives will make no Bargain with us till they receive a Present, after which we must give every Man in the Canoe a large Dram of Rum, or *English* Spirits.

IF any of them shou'd chance to spy our Arms, they all immediately take to their Canoes, and make the best of their Way ashoar from us; but will neither come any more near us themselves nor suffer others to come: So that we are always oblig'd to hide our Arms in the Stern of the Boat. And thus were we forc'd all along to deal with that cursed Race of *Cannibals*: For tho' I believe as much by many other Nations in *Guinea*, whom I have seen eat dead Dogs, Allegators, stinking
Fish

Fish, and worse Food, yet none besides these will confess the least Liking to a Meal of Human Flesh.

THIS, as well as the *Grain Coast* is divided into many little Kingdoms and Countries, which having but few Pallavers, or Disputes among them, is the Reason why the Slave Trade is not so good here, as on the *Gold* and *Slave Coasts*. Mr. *Bosman* seems mightily puzzl'd to know, why this is call'd the *Quaqua Coasts*, for, says he, * I could perceive nothing in their Language that sounded like the Quaking of a Duck: Truly, I am therein of his Opinion; but the Truth of this mighty Mystery is, that the Word *Quaqua* in their Language signifies a *Tooth*; from whence it is in *English* call'd the *Tooth*, or *Ivory Coast*.

ON *Saturday*, the Fourth of *February*, we anchor'd in thirteen Fathom of Water, about five Miles to the Westward of *Axim* Castle, which is the hithermost *Dutch* Fort on the *Gold Coast*. It is a pretty little triangular

* *Descript. of Guinea*, p. 491.

angular Fortification, which mounts Eleven Pieces of Cannon, having on each Angle a Battery; the two regarding the Land mount three Cannon each, and that next the Sea, five. Here is also a large populous Negroe Town built under Shelter of the Fort Guns, as indeed all the *European* Forts on the *Gold Coast* have.

THE Inhabitants of *Axim*, and these Parts, * are generally very rich, driving a great

* The *Gold Coast* is extended about Sixty Miles, beginning with the *Gold River* three Miles West of *Affine*, or twelve above *Axim*, and ending with the Village *Ponni*, seven or eight Miles East of *Acra*.
 * The *Gold Coast* comprehends all the Countries from the *Ancober'sian* River to the Village *Ponni*, eleven in Number, viz. *Axim*, *Ante*, *Adom*, *Jabi*, *Commani*, *Fetu*, *Saboe*, *Fantyn*, *Acrin*, *Agonna*, and *Aquamboe*; each containing one, two, or three Towns or Villages, lying upon the Sea-shore; their greatest and most populous Towns being generally farther on the Land. Seven of these are Kingdoms, governed by their respective Kings; and the rest being govern'd by some of the principal Men amongst them, seem to approach nearer to Commonwealths. But this Order of Government has been very much broken since the Coming of the *Brandenburgers*.

great Trade with the *Europeans* for Gold, which they chiefly vend to the *English* or *Dutch*. The Natives of *Axim* industriously employ themselves either in Trade, Fishing or Agriculture, and that is chiefly exercised in the Culture of Rice, which grows here above all other Places in an incredible Abundance, and is transported hence all the *Gold Coast* over. The Inhabitants in lieu returning full fraught with Millet, Jammes, Potatoes, and Palm Oil; all which are very rare here, for the Soil is generally moist, and though fit to produce Rice and Fruit-Trees, doth not kindly yield other Fruits. *Axim* is six Miles in Length, computed from the *Rio Cobre*, (*Ancober*, or the Serpentine River, so call'd by the *Portuguese*, from its intricate Windings and in-land Course of twenty Miles) to the Village *Boeswa*, a Mile West of the *Dutch* Fort, near the Village of *Boutry*.

THE River *Ancober* is worthy Observation: Its Banks are adorn'd with fine lofty Trees, which afford the most agreeable Shade in the World, defending the Traveller from the scorching Beams of the Sun.

It is very pleasant to observe the beautiful variegated Birds, and the sportive Apes, diverting themselves on the Boughs of the Trees. And as though Art had contriv'd to illustrate Nature, and render it more charming and delightful, about a Mile from the Mouth of the River, is situate a fine populous Village, extending about a Quarter of a Mile on the Western Shore, and affords a most agreeable Prospect.

ABOUT seven or eight Leagues South-East of *Axim* is another large beautiful Fort built by the *Brandenburghers*, whose Elector is King of *Prussia*; but is now in the
 ✕ Hands of the *Dutch*, and is well known by the Name of *Conny's Castle*, for when the *Prussians*, who had it last in Possession, left the Coast of *Guinea*, they left the Government of this Fort to one *John Conny*, a Black * *Caboceroe*, with strict Orders not to deliver it up to any Nation but the
Prussians.

* A *Caboceroe* is the Master of a Town, or Head of a Clan, who, in Military Affairs, acts as General, and in Civil as a Judge, making up all Pallavers, or deciding all Controversies among the poorer Sort.

Prussians. Soon after their Arrival in *Europe*, the King of *Prussia* sold all his Interest on the Coast of *Guinea*, to the *Dutch West-India Company*, there being another Fort belonging to him, situate upon *Cape Three Points*. When the *Dutch* came to demand this Fort, *John Conny* refus'd to deliver it to them. Upon which a War ensu'd, which lasted some Years, and cost the *Dutch* a great deal of Blood and Money. On the other Hand, *Conny*, flush'd with many Victories over the *Dutch*, became a mortal Enemy to them, having pav'd a little Path from the Outside Gate to the Inner Apartments of his Castle, with *Dutchmens* Skulls, slain in his Engagements with them: He had a large *Dutchman's* Skull tipp'd with Silver, which he us'd as a Punch Bowl. However, in the Year 1724, he was beaten out of his Castle, and fled up into the *Fantyn* Country from the incens'd *Dutch*.

ON *Monday*, the Sixth of *February*, we anchor'd near this famous Castle in six Fathom Water. Towards Night, a Canoe came off to us, from the *Dutch* Chief, to

let us know, that if we wanted Wood or Water we might there be supplied: But, I suppose, at a very dear Rate, for I had heard that all the *Dutch* Chiefs, at the Out-Ports, were order'd to supply no *English* Ship whatsoever with either Wood or Water, except the Ships belonging to a certain worthy and eminent Merchant of *London* *. However, we wanted neither Wood nor Water at that Time. The Fellow told us, that the *Dutch* had dug up several Places about the Fort, to find a Firkin of Gold Dust, said to be left behind there by *John Conny*, when he ran away, but all to no Purpose.

THE next Day, about Three in the Afternoon, we arriv'd at *Dixcove*, and that Night I went ashore with Mr. *Hall*, the Chief; who came off to us. We staid here four Days, during which Time I made a proper Survey, according to my Instructions from the Company. This is a handsome regular Fortification, having four good Batteries, on which are mounted twenty

Pieces

* Mr. HUMPHREY MORRICE.

Pieces of Ordnance. This and all the other *English* Forts are subordinate to Cape Coast Castle: The Chiefs of them being allow'd to hoist no other than a *St. George's* Flag, White, with a Red Cross; whereas those who are Governors, or Generals, hoist the Union-Flag by Permission; as at *Gambia*, *Sierraleone*, Cape Coast, and *Whydah*. * Here are two Villages commanded by one and the same Caboceroe, who always hoists the *St. George's* Flag at his House, whenever that at the Fort is display'd, being done in Honour to the *English*, and thereby declaring who he is for. Here is an extraordinary safe Cove, or Landing-Place. The Gardens, which belong to the Fort, are both pleasant and profitable.

ON *Saturday*, the Eleventh, we sail'd from thence to *Secondee*, where we anchored, the next Day, in seven Fathom Water. I staid three Days here to fulfill my Orders, as I had done before at *Dixcove*. This is a much larger and stronger Fort

I 4

than

* The *Dutch* call the Kingdom and Country, on which this Fort stands, *Fida*.

that, tho' it mounts the same Number of Cannon, *viz.* Twenty Pieces. Here is as good, if not a better Landing-place and Gardens than at *Dixcove*. The Country indeed is much the same all along the *Gold Coast*. However this Fort has the Advantage of the other in a good Neighbourhood, I mean that of a little *Dutch* Fort, which is built on the Top of the next Hill, about a Musket Shot from it, where the Gentlemen of both Forts may have the Advantage of visiting each other, whenever they please.

ON *Wednesday* the Fifteenth, we sail'd thence about Four in the Morning, and at Eleven, we anchor'd at *Commenda*, in Nine Fathom of Water. About Noon, we went ashore as formerly, and staid Three Days here about the Company's Business. This is the largest and strongest of any Fort belonging to the *English*, on the *Gold Coast* except *Cape Coast Castle*. There is at present mounted upon it but Twenty-one Pieces of Cannon, tho' there are Port for almost as many more. They may be happy here in the Neighbourhood of a good
Dutch

Dutch Fort within Musket Shot of them, however that Happiness has not always subsisted here amongst them, for a late *English* Chief of my Acquaintance having had some Words of Dispute with the *Dutch* Chief, was unhandsomely and unwarily attack'd by him under a great Tree between the Two Forts, where he bravely defended his own at the Expence of the unhappy *Dutchman's* Life. The Landing-place here is pretty tolerable. The Gardens very good, and there are large *Negroe* Villages belonging to both Forts.

WE sail'd from thence on *Friday* Evening, and on *Saturday* the Eighteenth of *February*, we arriv'd in *Cape Coast* Road, where we found several other Ships. Here our Business detain'd us till *Thursday* the Twenty-third of *March* following.

THIS being a Place of the greatest Consequence belonging to the *English* on the Coast of *Guinea*, I shall endeavour to give a true Description of it.

THE *Portuguese*, who were formerly very famous for making Discoveries, first settled here, about the Year 1610, and founded this Castle upon a large Rock which butts out into the Sea forming a Cape, or Head-land, which they call'd *Cabo Corso*. In a few Years Time they were dispossessed by the *Dutch* who enlarg'd and beautify'd it, who have very much added to its Strength and Grandeur.

THE Parade, which is Twenty Foot perpendicular above the Surface of the Rock, forms a Kind of Quadrangle being open on the East Side towards the Sea which renders it very cool, airy and pleasant, affording a delightful Prospect of *Queen Anne's Point*, and the Ships in *Anamaboe Road*, &c. on which is a Platform of Thirteen Pieces of heavy Cannon. The other Three Sides are curiously built up, containing many beautiful spacious neat Apartments and Offices, particularly on the Southside a large well built Chapple, the back Part of which joins to the Castle Wall, having the great Body of the Rock call'd *Tabora* on the Outside of it, which not only serves to break

break off the Violence of the Sea, but is also a very good Defence from the Annoyance of any Ship.

✓ THE Negroe Town of *Cape Coast* is very large and populous. The Inhabitants, tho' Pagans, are a very civiliz'd Sort of People, for which they are beholding to their frequent Conversation with the *Europeans*. They are of a warlike Disposition, tho' in Time of Peace, their chief Employment is fishing, at which they are very dexterous, especially with a Cast-Net, wherewith they take all Sorts of Surface Fish, nor are they less acquainted with the Hook and Line for the Ground Fish. It is very pleasant to see a Fleet, consisting of Eighty or a Hundred Canoes, going out a Fishing from *Cape Coast* in a Morning, and returning in from Sea well freighted in the Evening, which may be seen every Day during the dry Seasons, except *Tuesday* ✓ which is their Fittish Day, or Day of Rest. They frequently venture abroad in the Rains, tho' they are sometimes drove in again, at the Approach of a Turnadoe, before they have been two Hours abroad.

THE

THE Grand Caboceroe of this Town, is a Christian, nam'd *Thomas Ofiat*. He was carried when young to *Ireland*, where his Master dying, left him in Care with a Widow, whose Name was *Pennington*, who kept the *Crown* or *Faulcon* Tavern near the *Change* in *Cork*. She took Care of his Education, and had him baptiz'd by the Reverend *Dr. Maul*, now Lord Bishop of *Cloyne*. After having obtain'd his Freedom, in this Manner, he in Time return'd home to *Cape Coast*, where he now lives in very great Grandeur, and is of the utmost Service to the *English*, both for the carrying on their Trade in the Inland Country, and preserving Peace with all the neighbouring Powers, especially the Town of *Elmina*, where stands that great and strong *Dutch* Fort, which is the Residence of their General, and is but Three Leagues distant from *Cape Coast*. There has seldom been a good Understanding between those two Places, either among the White Men or the Blacks. A little before I arriv'd here, there happen'd to be a War between the Two Towns of *Cape Coast*, and *St. George's de Elmina*, at
which

which Time the great *Dutch* Caboceroe, nam'd *Abbocon*, in a deriding Manner sent a Cartouch Box of Ammunition to *Tom Osiat*, thereby signifying that he believed *Tom Osiat* wanted a sufficient Force of Arms to attack him, which however *Tom* very thankfully received; and desir'd the Messenger to tell *Abbocon*, that he hop'd in a little Time he shou'd be able to return him as good a Present. The next Day they set the Battle in Array, which happen'd to be a very bloody one, no Body being able to judge which Party had the better of it, for the Space of Four Hours, till at last the *Elminians* began to break, and give Way to the *Cape Coasters*, who soon routed them, and took a great many Prisoners, among whom were Nine of the Petty Caboceroes of *Elmina*, whose Heads *Tom Osiat* (tho' a Christian) caus'd to be cut off, and sent them next Day in a Bag to *Abbocon*, assuring him that his Powder and Ball where very good, as did appear by the Execution they had done.

THE Government of *Cape Coast* Castle, &c. has at sometimes been invested in one
Man,

Man, whose Title is Captain-General of all the *English* Settlements on the *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*. It has at other Times been govern'd, as it now is, by a *Triumvirate*. As for the Council, which ought to be added to both, I look upon it as a *Cypher*, because the Chiefs always act as they please, by the seeming Consent of a Council that dare not oppose them, as being invested with a Power by the Company, either to depose or depute whom they please to be Chiefs of any of the other Forts.

THE Gardens of *Cape Coast* are very pleasant and large, being near Eight Miles in Circumference; they are no where circumscrib'd, by any Bounds or Hedges except on the South Side next the Town, but all in general is call'd the Garden as far as any regular Walks are planted. They are very fertile, and produce every Thing that grows within the *Torrid Zone*: Such as, Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Citrons, Guavas, Papaws, Plantanse, Bonanas, Cocoa-Nuts, Cinnamon, Tamarinds, Pine-Apples, *Indian* Cabbage; also *European*, and many Sorts of *European* Sallads, such as Cucumbers,

bers, Pumpkins, Water-Mellons and Purflin. Their best Roots are Yams and Potatoes, and sometimes they can raise Turnips out of good *English* Seed. By the Side of these Gardens, on the Top of a steep Hill, is a little round Tower which mounts Seven Guns, built by General *Phipps*, from whom it takes the Name of *Phipps's* Tower; it is exactly Three Quarters of a Mile North-West from Cape *Coast* Castle. At the same Distance East by North is another *English* Fort, call'd *Fort Royal*, which formerly belong'd to the King of *Denmark*. In the Year 1698, the *English* began to fortify and rebuild this Fort, and had they gone on as they began, it would certainly have been the strongest Castle in all *Guinea*, being every Way inaccessible (thro' the Steepness of the Hill) but by one narrow Path, which a single Gun may defend, and even now, tho' ruinous, 'tis capable of levelling Cape *Coast* Castle to the Ground. Here are mounted and dismounted Twenty-one Pieces of Ordnance, wherewith they take up, or answer all the Salutes of Ships that come into the Road, which is very convenient in Case of any Body's being sick at
Cape

Cape Coast, that they may not be disturb'd by the daily firing of Guns, seeing that this Road is so much frequented by Ships, who always salute the Fort both at their Arrival and Departure.

MR. *Bosman*, in his Description of Cape Coast, is very concise, tho' what he says of the Place is very true; but (as if he was sorry for speaking well of any Thing that belong'd to the *English*) he immediately quits his Subject, and falls upon an unedifying Description of the Infirmities of the *English* there. He tells us, that the whole Garrison looks as if it was famish'd or Hag-ridden, which he imputes to the Debauchery of their drinking an unwholesome Mixture of Limes, Water, Brandy and Sugar, which, says he, they call Punch. Now, indeed, I will say this for the *Dutch* in *Guinea*, that they seldom adulterate their Rum or Brandy with any such unwholesome Mixtures, as we call them, but drink it plain to Excess, and surely, that can't be accounted Debauchery. But to leave the *Dutchmen*, as he does the *English*, to themselves for a-while, and to conclude my History

istory or Description of *Cape Coast*. The Landing-Place here is so very dangerous that no Boat can venture ashore, but must wait for a Canoe to come off and fetch either Goods or Passengers ashore, and even the Canoes are often over-set and the Gentlemen well washed; nevertheless when safe ashore, this Place is the wholesomest and most comfortable of any in all *Guinea*. The Castle also which mounts forty Pieces of heavy Cannon is the largest and strongest, except that of *St. George de Elmina*, of which I shall here give a short Description.

WHEN we were in *Gambia*, we found there a Letter, which was left by an *English* Ship from *Holland*, directed to the *Dutch* General at *Elmina*; we brought it with us to *Cape Coast*, and this being a good Excuse for me to take a View of that Castle, I accordingly went one Day with Captain *Livingstone* in a large Canoe from *Cape Coast* up to *Elmina*, where he deliver'd the Letter to the General, who it seems had very good Intelligence of me; for not thinking I was known, or taken Notice of by any bo-

dy, I very innocently walked out a little to look about me, but was immediately follow'd by the General, who catch'd me by the Sleeve, and in a sort of an abrupt Manner led me back again into the great Hall, having my Name very pat, and assuring me, that tho' I came abroad to carry home all *Guinea* in my Pocket, yet I shou'd not carry home *Elmina* Castle with me. This unexpected Reprimand at first surpris'd me, but when I had recover'd myself a little, I told his Honour, that I thought he was a Man of much more Knowledge than to imagine it was possible for any one to take the Dimensions, or Survey of a Place without proper Instruments, and as he saw I had none I wonder'd, how he could suspect me of coming to *Elmina* on any such Account. He paus'd a while, and then seem'd a little concern'd at his unjust Suspicion and Treatment of me, and very civilly desired us to stay and dine with him, which we consented to. He then shew'd us some unfinish'd Draughts left by the last *Dutch* Surveyors, who were sent out by that Company to the *Gold Coast*, on the same Kind of Survey that the Royal *African* Company had order'd
me

me to take of all *Guinea*. Indeed, the Work was very prettily began; but alas! these unfortunate Gentlemen, like many others before them, (on the same Expedition) lost their Lives before they had half finish'd their Work. After Dinner the General sent the Captain of the Guard to shew us the Castle, which is much larger and stronger than that at *Cape Coast*, tho' not so airy, cool or pleasant. Here they land upon a fine Key, which is built at the Entrance of a small River near the Castle, over which is placed a beautiful Draw-Bridge, after the *Dutch* Fashion. As we walk'd round this great Castle, I perceiv'd that most of their heavy Cannon were Brasses, and the Garrison extraordinarily well mann'd, there being above thirty Gentlemen who din'd that Day at the General's Table, besides all the other Factors, Writers, and Soldiers, above one Hundred and Fifty White Men. The Town also is very large and populous, having good Markets, wherein many Sorts of Provisions, especially Fish are daily exhibited to Sale. In short, every thing here (only what I have already excepted) seem'd to me by far to exceed *Cape*
K 2 *Coast,*

Coast, where we return'd in the Evening, being extraordinary well pleas'd with every thing, only that unluckly Pull by the Sleeve aforefaid, which I have not yet forgot, because it put me in a Sort of a Surprise: However, I made the Gentlemen at *Cape Coast* laugh heartily about that odd Passage.

HAVING finish'd our Business at *Cape Coast*, we took our Departure from thence on *Thursday*, the Twenty-third of *March*. This being the latter End of the dry Seasons here, which do not happen at the same Time every where in *Guinea*, the Garrison was so scarce of Water that they could spare us none for our Ship's Use, there being none within Eight Miles of *Cape Coast* but what they preserve during the rainy Seasons in a great vaulted Tank, or Cistern, under Ground, whereto all the Rain is convey'd from the Tops of the Buildings, by leaden Pipes, &c. And thus all the Forts on the *Gold Coast* are supplied. The next Day at Noon, we anchor'd at *Tantumquery* in Nine Fathom Water. I went ashore, and finding their Tank pretty low, could get but

Four

Four Casks of Water, which I sent off in our Yaul. This is a pretty little regular Fort, having Four small Flankers, on which are mounted twelve Pieces of Ordnance. It is pleasantly situated near the Sea Side: The Landing-place, indeed, is but very indifferent, I have seen Eight fishing Canoes out of Fifteen overfet at their Landing here, by which unlucky Accident they lost all their Fish.

HAVING but little to do here, we sail'd hence on the 26th, and the next Day anchor'd at *Winneba* in Five Fathom Water. Here we were supplied with pure fresh Water out of their Tank, and tho' we had drawn several Tons out of it, I could not perceive that we had lower'd it Six Inches, from whence I concluded that the Tank at *Winneba* has a Spring in it, the Bottom being all a Rock. This Fort is exactly the same Plan and Dimensions as that at *Tantumquery*, nor is the Landing-Place any better. The Fort stands on a rising Ground about Fourteen Yards from the Sea Side, having a handsome Avenue of Trees up to the Outer Gate. Here is also a large Spurr, which

contributes very much to the Strength and Usefulness of the Fort, being a safe Place to secure their Cattle by Night from the Wild Beasts. Here are also very good Gardens; all which together render the Place pleasant and comfortable enough.

ON *Tuesday* the Twenty-eighth, we weigh'd from thence about Midnight, and on the Thirtieth arrived at *Acera*, where we anchor'd in Six Fathom Water. This being foul rocky Ground we bent our Sheet Cable to be ready to let go in Case of parting either of the others. After saluting the Fort with Seven Guns, according to Custom, we went ashore. This Landing-place is pretty safe by Reason of some small Rocks, which lie a little Way off in the Sea before it, so as to obstruct the Violence of the great Waves from breaking on the Shore. The Fort, which is very large, strong and beautiful, is built on the Top of a Steep rocky Clift, hanging over the Sea, having a Battery just under the Castle-wall, next the Water, where may be planted Twenty Pieces of heavy Cannon, besides which the Fort has Four large strong Flankers, on which
are

are mounted Twenty-seven Pieces of Ordnance. There is a neat *Dutch* Fort within Muskett Shot of it, and a very large and strong *Danish* Fort within two small Miles of it. This delightful Champaign Country of *Acera*, being not so woody as any of the others, is by far the most pleasant on the *Gold Coast*. Here are Salt Ponds belonging to the Fort, which yield vast Quantities of Salt sufficient to supply, not only the whole *Gold Coast*, but also all the Ships that trade there. Here are large Negro Towns belonging to all the Forts, and tho' the Natives are the most courteous and civil to Strangers of any on the *Gold Coast*, yet the Inhabitants of two of these Towns (which almost join together) can never well agree, each distinguishing themselves by the Titles of either *English Men*, or *Dutch Men*. This Place seldom fails of an extraordinary good Trade from the Inland Countries, especially for Slaves; whereof several are supposed to come from very remote Parts, because it is not uncommon to find a *Malayan*, and sometimes two among a Parcel of other Slaves. The *Malay* People were originally Natives of *Mallacca*, a

huge Promontory in *Asia*, which lies between the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Borneo*. The chief City of this Place takes its Name from the Country. It was first discover'd by the *Portuguese*, who built not only the City of *Mallacca*, but also several Fortifications, out of all which the *Dutch*, assisted by the Natives, quickly expell'd them. The *Malayans* being of a rambling Nature, have settled upon many other Places, particularly *Sumatra*, and many of the Spice Islands. All which are now in the Possession of those Monopolists the *Dutch*, who punish with Death whomsoever they can find trading with any other Nation but themselves; to avoid which Oppression, many of those People, who have tasted the Sweets of Trade, go away from thence, and settle in remote Parts, especially about Cape *Guardesuer* on the *African* Shore, at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, from whence they take such surprizing long Journies over the vast Continent of *Africa* into *Guinea*, where they buy or rather exchange Slaves with the *Caboceroes*; by which means the *Malayans* are now and then exposed to Sale at the *European* Forts. They differ very much from the *Guinea*
Negroes;

Negroes, being right *East Indians*, of a tawny Complexion, with long black Hair. They all go clad with long Trowsers and Jackets, and can write and read, and speak the *Malayan Language*.

DURING my Stay at *Acera*, I one Evening walk'd by the Gate of the *Dutch* Fort, in Company with an *English* Factor, who seeing, and knowing some of the *Dutch* Gentlemen that stood at the Gate, talk'd a-while with them, but they, contrary to Custom, never ask'd either of them to come in: I suppose, they guess'd who I was, and undoubtedly had Orders from the General at *Elmina*, not to admit me for fear of taking an Account of the Strength of their Garrison, neither did they give to, or receive any Visit from the *English*, while I was in that Country.

ON *Monday*, the Third of *April* 1727, we embark'd, and as we were weighing our best Bower Anchor, the Cable parted, but we immediately let go our Sheet Anchor, which brought the Ship up, and then we sent both Boats to drag for our best Bower

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er Anchor, which they in less than two Hours weigh'd, and brought aboard; after which we set Sail for *Whydab*, designing to take Leave of the *Gold Coast*; of which, by the Way, I shall give a general Description, from my own Observation.

* WHY this is call'd the *Gold Coast* I know not? Seeing, that other Countries in *Guinea*, produce as much or more and better Gold, especially about *Gambia*. Undoubtedly, all the Inland Countries in *Guinea* abound with Gold Mines, and though the Natives are not Artists enough to know where or how to follow a Vein, yet they find great Quantities of Gold in several of their Mines, which are all so sacred to them that they will not permit any *European Miner*, either to see their Mines, or to search for others; nevertheless, they bring down good Store of what they find down to the Sea Coast to traffick withal. Besides which, the Natives near the Sea have another Way of finding Gold; as thus: In the rainy Seasons, after a wet Night, the Sea-shore is generally cover'd with People, mostly Women, each having a Couple of Bowls

or Platters made of Callabashes; the largest of which they fill with Earth and Sand, such as is drove down from the Mountains by violent Floods in the Rivers and Brooks, &c. This they wash with many Waters, by often turning the Bowl round, till it washes over the Brims; the Gold, if any, sinks to the Bottom, by Reason of its Weight: And thus they continue till they have wash'd it all away, except two or three Spoonfuls of the Bottom, which they carefully take out and lay by in the small Bowl, then they fill their Platter again, and so wash on till about Noon; by that Time the small Bowl is pretty well fill'd with the Dregs which they carry Home, and search diligently: Sometimes they find a Shilling's Worth, sometimes but two Pennyworth, sometimes two Crowns Worth, and very often no Gold at all. These are all the Ways, I can possibly learn, that the Negroes in *Guinea* ever found their Gold. The Case is quite different with the *Portuguese* in *Brasile*, who are good Artists, and have all the Mines in their own Hands. But enough of this,

WE learn from *Bosman's* Description of the *Gold Coast*, that it is but Sixty Miles long. 'Tis certain, that a great many know the Difference between *Dutch* and *English* Miles, yet every one that reads that Book may not; therefore it is a Fault in the Translation to call them Miles which are one Third more than Leagues. However, I find by my Survey, that the aforesaid Historian was not always right in computing Distances. Therefore to clear up all which to the *English* Reader, let it be sufficient to tell, that the *Gold Coast* begins at the River *Mancha*, and extends itself South-East twenty Leagues to *Cape Three Points*, from thence East-North-East ninety Leagues to the River *Volta*, in all One Hundred and Ten Leagues, or Three Hundred and Thirty Miles in Length. The Breadth cannot be very much, for that only may properly be call'd a Coast, which is the Border of any Country. There are, indeed, Ten or Eleven little Kingdoms or Commonwealths whose Borders on the Sea Coast are contained within the said Extent, and are said to reach a considerable Way up the Inland Country;

Country; however, I can't think it worth the Reader's while to be detain'd with an unprofitable Description, as *Bosman* gives of the Bounds and Limits of those Countries, which are every Day so liable to be chang'd by their Wars with each other. Besides, I cannot think it fair, in any Historian, to pretend to relate Things he is not certain of, either from his own Knowledge, or such Authority as he may venture to quote; otherwise he will now and then be liable to make such a Trip as happens in the Case of the abovemention'd *Dutch* Historian, who talking of *John Visier*, once Chief of the *Brandenburgh* Fort, now call'd *Connys-Castle*, says, * "That he was
" seiz'd by the Negroes, and carried up
" to the Inland Country, where they mi-
" serably broke his Limbs, and tied Abun-
" dance of Stones about his Body, and
" drown'd him in the Sea." Alas! what can he mean by *Sea* in an Inland Country? Why that's worse than *Robinson Crusoe's* swimming aboard the Wreck, and fill-
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* Descript. of Guinea, p. 9.

ing his Pockets, when naked, with Biscuit. But begging the Reader's Pardon for this Digression, I shall again return to the *Gold Coast*, and first take Notice of the Country about *Axim*, which is exceeding fertile, producing many Sorts of Grain, especially Rice in Abundance, wherewith they are able to supply most of the *Gold Coast*, and give it in Exchange for Palm-Oyl, of which there is little or none in all the Country of *Axim*.

THE Countries about *Dixcove*, *Secondee*, and *Commenda*, by *Bosman* call'd *Commany*, do not produce such fine Crops of Rice, nevertheless they abound with pleasant fertile Vallies, and beautiful woody Hills. The Countries about *Elmina* and *Cape Coast* are much the same for Beauty and Goodness, but more populous, and the nearer we come down towards the *Slave Coast* the more delightful and rich all the Countries are, producing all Sorts of Trees, Fruits, Roots and Herbs that grow within the *Torrid Zone*, of all which I shall take Notice in their proper Places. But before I describe the Vegetables, I shall take Notice

tice of the Animals of this Country ; beginning with the Natives, who are generally speaking a lusty strong-bodied People, but are mostly of a lazy idle Disposition, except that they will now and then go abroad a-fishing. Their Religion is altogether *Pagan*, yet very many of them have Notions of a Supreme Being, who made and governs all Things. They likewise believe the Immortality of the Soul, as may be seen by the Ceremonies used at their Funerals, especially in such Places as are most remote from the *European* Forts, where they kill several of their eldest Slaves belonging to the Deceased, in Order to attend him in the other World. If a Rich Man dies, they also kill his favourite Wife, which had been dedicated to his false God, to accompany him ; but that horrible Practice of sacrificing human Creatures is not permitted among those who live in Subjection to *Europeans*, or near their Forts. When a rich Caboceroe dies, he is succeeded in his Office by his Son, (if he leaves one) who is likewise Heir to all his Armour, but nothing else ; for the rest of his worldly Substance descends to
the

the Children of the Caboceroe's Sister, or other nearest She-Relation, which must certainly be of his Blood, whereas those who pass for his own may be the Offspring of other Men, but even this Custom has been pretty much over-rul'd latterly near the Sea Coast, where the *Europeans* sit with the Caboceroes to make up Pallavers, to judge Causes, and give out Laws.

THEIR Manner of Worshipping their false Gods is variously perform'd by every one as their Inclinations lead them.

AT the Birth of a Child, they give it a Name, which is generally that of the Day it is born upon, except it be the Seventh Child of the same Mother, and then it is the Seventh, if more, the Eighth or Ninth, &c. Besides which they give them several other Names, whereby they are distinguished.

THEIR Marriages here admit of little or no Ceremony, but when a Man takes a Liking to a young Woman, he tells her Parents, or nearest Relations, who never
refuse

refuse any Match that offers, but immediately lead her Home to his House, where he willingly accepts of her, I wont say in her Smock, but what is yet more generous without one, or any other Dowry than her Body, nor has he Occasion for any more, seeing that she never puts him to any other Expence than that of the Wedding-Day, which (among the common Sort) is seldom more than an Ounce of Gold among the Relations, two Suits of New Cloaths for the Bride, also a fat Goat, some Palm Wine and Brandy for the Entertainment. Most of them have from Ten to Twenty Wives apiece; and those who have more account themselves the richer, being naturally of a lazy idle Disposition, insomuch that they seldom care to put their Hands to any Thing, but make their Wives do all Manner of Work for them, not only within Doors, but also in the Field, except the Rich Men, who always exempt two of their Wives from any Sort of Business. The first is generally his Eldest, or she who has born most Children to him; the other is always one of his youngest Favourites whom he dedicates to his false God.

As for all the rest, they may be accounted little better than his Slaves, nevertheless they live in Peace together without envying each other's Happiness, and he (in their Turns) renders to them all, if able, due Benevolence: But if that be not sufficient for those hot constitution'd Ladies, they very well know how to supply such Defects elsewhere, without fearing any Check from the Husband, who generally makes himself easy in those Cases, provided he duly receives such Profits as arise by his Wives so prostituting themselves to Strangers: Some of the poorer Sort compel their Wives to do so, by which Means they get Money. And thus much for the People.

I NOW come to the Quadrupedes; of which there are various Sorts in this Country: Such as Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Wild Boars, Stags and Hinds, about the Size of our Fallow Deer, Bucks and Does, much less, and of a Mouse Colour, Antelopes, and Hares; all which are edible. The others are Elephants, Lions, Tigers, Leopards, Panthers, Jackalls, Dogs, Cats, Civet-

A Sheep



A Mangrove



A Mandrill



Civet-Cats, Rats, Mice, and unlucky Apes, of which there are at least Fifty Sorts here, and capable of doing Five Thousand different Sorts of Mischiefs, and that is all they are good for several of these Animals being well known in *Europe* need no Description. Some I have already describ'd, and the rest I shall now take Notice of. And first,

THE Sheep in *Guinea* have so little the Resemblance of our's in *Europe* that a Stranger to those hot Climates, unless he heard them bleat, could hardly tell what Animals they were being cover'd only with Light Brown, and black like a Dog; and thus the Course of Nature in this Country seems to be inverted, for the Sheep are hairy, and the Men woolly.

NEXT, is the little beautiful Antelope, so swift of Foot that the pretty Creature seems rather to vanish than run by us among the Bushes; they are nevertheless often catch'd and shot by the Natives, and are, when young, pretty sweet Venison. A Brace of those Bucks may very well be

eaten at a Meal by a Man of a good Stomach, being no larger than Rabbits. The *Europeans* often tip their Feet with Gold to make Tobacco-stoppers of them. They are so very tender that it is not possible to bring them to *Europe* with us. We attempted to bring Home a Brace, which we kept with the utmost Care in Cotton; but all to no Purpose, for we could bring Home no more than their Skins stuff'd. I therefore can't describe it any better to my Reader, than by adding to what I have said the Figure of it as in the Frontispiece.

THE last Quadrupede I am to describe is the Civet-Cat, which is about the Size and Colour of a common, dark, tabby Cat. They are very fierce Animals, and the Muck of the Male is far better than that of the Female. They are not altogether shap'd like our *European* Cats. I have therefore describ'd their exact Shape in the Draught.

HAVING done with the Quadrupedes, I now come to the feather'd Kind of this Country, which are Hens, Ducks, call'd here

A Civett Cat



P. 109.

A Pine Apple



P. 155.

A Scorpion



Part Sculpt

here in *England*, *Muscovy* Ducks; Pigeons, Turtle-Doves, and Partridges, which are edible. The others are Parrots, Parrochites, *Royston* Crows, (which differ only from our's as being White where our's are Grey) Eagles, Kites, Green Birds, and two Sorts of Crown Birds. The first is green about the Head and Neck, a fine Purple on the Body, the Wings and Tail are Scarlet tipped with Black. It is about the Size of a Parrot.

THE other is shap'd like a Heron, being about three Foot high, and preys or feeds like one upon Fish. Its Colour is Black and White, and has a Crown like the Bristles of a Hog, which very much resembles the Brush, or Tossil, of a Coach Horse, as appears by the Negroe's Cap in the Frontispiece.

HERE are also vast Quantities of Swallows and Martins all the Year round. We often find them twenty Leagues from the Land, and at Night great Flocks of them rest aboard our Ships; but at Day-Break take their Flight, in Pursuit of small In-

fects, on which they feed. Undoubtedly, they follow the Sun, from those hot Climates to *Europe*, and return again with it in Autumn, as may be suppos'd of Woodcocks from Cold Climes.

As for the other Birds before-mention'd, they are all so well known in *Europe* that it would be needless to give any Description of them. I shall therefore have done with this Subject, and now come to the Reptiles.

THOSE which I have taken most Notice of on the *Gold Coast* are Ants, Snakes, Scorpions, Centipees, Guanoes, Lizards, Cockroches, Spiders, Frogs and Toads. The last being at perpetual War with the Snakes; as are also the Porcupines, not yet mention'd, which shoot sharp Quills at them, being about Eight or Ten Inches long, and sharp at both Ends, also of a horny Substance, not unlike Tortoise-shell.

THE Ants, call'd by *Solomon* an exceeding wise People, deserve the first Place among

A Crown bird



An Ant



A Jack-all



An Elephant



mong the others before-mention'd. In *Guinea*, we find three different Sorts, *viz.* the Red, the White, and the Black. The first are exactly like those in *Europe*, and the two last are much larger being above half an Inch long. They build sometimes in great hollow Trees, and sometimes in the Ground, throwing up little Hills of seven or eight Foot high; so very full of Holes that they rather seem like Honey Combs than Burrows. These Ant-hills are of a very small Circumference in Proportion to their Height, being sharp at Top, so as to look at them one would think the Wind could blow them down. I one Day attempted to knock off the Top of one of them with my Cane, but the Stroke had no other Effect than to bring some Thousands of them out of Doors, to see what was the Matter. Upon which I took to my Heels, and ran away as fast as I could, well-knowing that they have often attacked our Hens, and sometimes our Sheep, (if lame or wounded) in the Night, with such Success that before Morning there was nothing to be seen of them but the Skeleton, so very clean that the most curious A-

natomist upon Earth could not do the like; nor can even the nimble Rats escape them: However, tho' I did not fear being anatomised by them, yet I dreaded the Bite of one of them being inexpressibly painful, tho' not dangerous. This I speak feelingly, for except the Bite of a Black Ant, I felt no Bite, or Sting, of any other venomous Creature, during my Survey of *Guinea*, till I came to the *West-Indies*, and there the Musketoos used me very unhand-somely: But to return to the Ants. They have generally about thirty or forty stout Leaders, who always march abreast, and the rest are sure to follow where-ever they lead. Their Marches are mostly by Night, and they very often visit us in our Beds, when we in good Manners are oblig'd to turn out for them, whenever they favour us with their Company; if we do not, yet they never fail to make themselves welcome at the Expence of such Provisions of our's, as they can come at, and when they have ran-sack'd and devour'd every Thing they like, then they march away regularly, but none without a Burthen of some Kind or other. During my Stay at *Cape Coast*, there
came

came a huge Republick of these Black Gentry to pay their Respects to us in the Castle. It was Day-Break before the Van had gain'd the Chapel, where some of the Black Boys lay on the Floor, perhaps the Rear was then a Quarter of a Mile off, though they march'd thirty or forty abreast. It was always my Custom to rise at the first Appearance of Day-light, in Order to be abroad early about my Survey, and that Morning I was surpris'd when I found the Black Ants had taken Possession of the Chapel, and put the Boys in an Uproar; One of them soon got a Cartouch of Gunpowder, and laid a Trail all along the Path of the Ants, (who will not easily be put out of their Road) he then set Fire to it, and blew them all up, being several Thousands that had already got into the Chapel. The rest who were bringing up the Rear, having smelt what was done to the Van turn'd, and march'd off to their own Homes. If the Ants have not a Language, (as many People believe they have) yet they certainly have some Method or other, whereby they easily make themselves to be understood, as I have often experimented

perimented in the following Manner. When I have seen two or three straggling Ants upon the Hunt, I have kill'd a Cockroch, and thrown it down before them. As soon as they have found what it was, they have sent one away for Help, while the others have staid and watch'd the dead Body till he return'd, at the Head of a large Posse, and if they have not been able to carry off the Cockroch, another has been detach'd and sent away, who has soon return'd with a fresh Supply sufficient to carry away their Prey.

THE Snakes in *Guinea* are of different Kinds and Sizes, some being no bigger than what we commonly meet in *Europe*, others are large enough to swallow a *Cabrita* whole; some there are that have no Venom, and such are worshipp'd at *Whydab*; of this Sort, I shall anon take Notice. And lastly, the Rattle-Snake, so well known and justly describ'd by many Historians, that I need say nothing here of them.

SCORPIONS

SCORPIONS are here in Abundance, some very small, and others as large as a Cray-fish; the Bite of either Sort is of a deadly poisonous Nature, and too often proves mortal, I ought to have said there Sting is so dangerous; for there is a small white Bag of Poison as big as a Dwarf-Pea close by their Sting, and when they strike the Bag breaks, and communicates the Poison to the Wound. This being little known in *England*, I have made a Draught of one. See the Frontispiece.

NEXT are the Centepees, so call'd by the *Portuguese*, and by the *English* Forty Legs, having twenty on each Side. Their Bite is very intolerable, but not mortal.

THE Guanoe is an inoffensive Kind of Animal, not unlike a Lizard in Shape, tho' much larger. 'Tis certain, that *Guinea* produces many Sorts of Lizards, which are distinguish'd by different Names; such as Sallamanders, Camelions, &c. The Sallamanders are said to live in Fire, but for what Reason I know not, except it be that they

that they are of so very cold a Nature, I have seen them basking in the Sun upon a Stone too hot to bear one's Hand on, when at the same Time if you handle them they shall feel as cold as Frogs.

THE Camelion is another Kind of Lizard said to live upon Air. It is an undeniable Truth, that they can for a long Time, *viz.* some Months, live upon that pure Element only, nevertheless they have oftentimes been seen to dart out their long sharp Tongues at the Flies, and catch them. See the Frontispiece.

HERE is also another Kind of Animal call'd a Cockroch, of a dark brown Colour, and shap'd somewhat like a Beetle. The largest Size is about two Inches long. They are said to be mortal Enemies to Bugs, which I am the more apt to believe upon the Account, that our Ship which swarm'd with Cockroches, never had a Bug aboard all the Voyage, when other Ships without them were pester'd with Bugs.

MOST Parts of *Guinea* produce monstrous large Spiders; their Legs are about the Length of a Man's Finger, and proportionably thick. The first of these Creatures I ever saw was at *Gambia* Castle. One Night going to Bed, I happen'd to see a huge Spider run a-crofs the Floor, which I at first took to be a Land Crab, till it ran a good Way up the Wall, and then stoped, while I view'd it with the Candle, I perceiv'd it was one of the female Kind by a large white Bag, which hung under its Belly full of Eggs, being at least four Inches in Circumference. The Back and Legs were cover'd with a fine Mouse colour'd Hair, which shone like Velvet. These monstrous Creatures are said to be venomous.

I HAVE now describ'd all the Animals of any Note that came within my Knowledge on the *Gold Coast*. As for Horses, they have no Breed of them there, so that the White Men travel in Canoes along the Coast from Fort to Fort, having little or no Business up to the Inland Country, except

cept that now and then they go abroad for Recreation Sake, and are carried in a Network Hammock, fasten'd at each End to a Pole, call'd a Bamboe, about the Thickness of a Man's Leg, which a Couple of stout Negroes can easily carry with a white Man in it. At *Wbydab* it is customary to put a Pillow in our Hammocks, and lie along at full Length; so that we may either read or sleep as we travel, being cover'd with a large Piece of Silk or Callicoe thrown over the Bamboe. But on the *Gold Coast* when they ride abroad for an Airing, they always sit up in the Hammock, with their Legs and Feet hanging over one Side, and leaning their Breasts over the Bamboe, while the Slaves run along by their Hammocks holding Umbrella's over their Heads, to guard them from the Sun.

HAVING so far describ'd the Animals on the *Gold Coast*, I come in the last Place to take Notice of the Vegetables, all which (that are worth Notice) I have already nam'd in my Account of *Cape Coast Gardens*, except the Red Wood and Silk Cotton Tree, which

which grows to such an incredible Height, that *Bosman*, who calls it a Capot Tree, tells us, that a Musket can scarce sling a Ball to the Top of it. As for the Ball, I shall say nothing, but this I will attest for a Truth, that there is upon *Tasso* Island in the River *Sierraleone*, a Silk Cotton Tree, almost thirteen Fathom, or above twenty-five Yards in Circumference at the Surface of the Ground. The Bark of this Tree is very tough, and produces large strong Thorns. It bears a Cod like that of a *Windsor* Bean, in which grows a fine short filky Sort of Cotton of little other Use than for stuffing of Quilts, &c. When the Cods are ripe, they fall off the Tree, and burst with Cotton. The youngest and smallest Trees always bear most Cotton, the Wood of a Silk Cotton Tree being of a spongy Substance is not good to make Canoes, but the Negroes dig or scoop out other Trees much smaller, and of a harder Grain, and which make Canoes large enough for their Uses, *viz.* those of forty-five Foot long, and five broad, which must be row'd or paddled by thirteen Men. From all which it is easy to perceive, how much larger the
Growth

Growth of some *African* Trees are than any in *Europe*.

THE Redwood Tree, so call'd by the *Europeans*, is also very large, the Timber very hard, and is to my thinking a Kind of Mohogany nothing inferior to that we have from the *American* Plantations. As for the *European* Trees, I shall pass them by in Silence, *viz.* Oranges, Lemons, Limes and Citrons, and go on to the

GUAVAS, which are small shrubby Trees. The Fruit is no bigger than a Golden Pippin, and tastes very agreeably. The Inside is of a reddish Colour, being full of small Stones, not unlike a Pomegranate.

THE Papaw Tree grows up in a strait Stalk about seven or eight Foot high, at the Top of which sprouts out several small green Branches, which bear large Leaves shap'd like a Vine Leaf, and at the Bottom of those Branches near the Trunk grows the Fruit. This Fruit when slic'd and boil'd eats tolerably well with Salt Meat,
if

if pepper'd and butter'd, having little or no Taste of itself; therefore as it boils softer than any Turnip, the *Europeans* often squeeze Limes, and put Sugar to it. After which they bake it on a Pewter-dish, within a good Crust, and then it exactly resembles an Apple-pye, both in Taste and Colour. It is also used instead of Apple-Sauce when relish'd as aforesaid with Limes and Sugar.

I HAVE already describ'd Plantanes and Bonanas in my History of *Gambia*, I therefore come next to the Cocoa-Nut-Tree, which nearly resembles a Kind of Palm-Tree. The Leaves, or rather Branches, are about eighteen or twenty Foot long: I know not what better to compare its Shape to, than that of a Feather, having a strait Stalk in the Middle like the Quill, and equally feather'd on each Side with long sharp Leaves like Flag-leaves, when they are stripp'd off the Pole. When unstrip'd, the small Top Parts of them are very good for thatching Houses, being like Palm-leaves or Branches, and are then call'd Cocoa-leaves. The Fruit grows at the Bottom of

these Stalks near the main Trunk of the Tree like the Papaw, which it resembles both in Shape and Size, being as big as a Man's Head and stringy Substance, which must be pared or chipp'd off, as from a Walnut, before one can come at the Shell, some of which contain about a Pint, and the Fruit is accounted exceeding wholesome.

THE Cinnamon is not unlike a Bay-Tree. The Inside Bark is strongest and fittest for Use. One Day, at *Cape Coast*, I try'd the Bark of a Cinnamon Tree, which to me seem'd flat and almost tasteless; however, I put some of the Leaves in my Pocket, which, by Accident, I brought home to *Europe*, they being dry smelt, and tasted much stronger of Cinnamon than the Bark when green.

THE Tamarind is a Middle-siz'd Tree with a very small Leaf, not unlike a Jessamine. The Fruit grows in long narrow Pods or Cods, like that of a Bean.

THE Palm Trees are of various Sorts, and differ much in their Natures, though very little in Appearance. There are four Sorts which produce four different Kinds of Wines. There is another Sort that yields nothing but Nuts, from whence the Palm Oil is press'd, whose extraordinary Virtues are so well known in *Europe*, that it would be almost impossible to escape the Knowledge of those most skilful Botanists, the Negroes, who know well the Use of every Herb and Plant, and always apply them with such Success that the Cures wrought by them seem, at some times, to be little less than miraculous. They tell us, that Palm Oil is good both for the Back and Belly. And to prove that Assertion, they not only eat it with every Thing, but also daily anoint themselves with it, which mightily invigorates their Nerves, &c. The last Sort of Palm Tree is that which grows to about sixty Foot high, the very Top of it gathers to a thick Head or Bunch, which tastes exactly like a Cabbage, but otherwise has no Resemblance of one; however from thence 'tis call'd a Cabbage Tree.

WHAT occurs next is their Corn; of which there are three Sorts on the *Gold Coast*. The first is Rice. The second is the large Millet; by some call'd *Indian Wheat*, being a large flat Grain, which grows on a Stalk of about ten Foot high, out of which sprouts two and often three other Stalks, each bearing three or four Hundred Grains a-piece. Of this Sort they have two Harvests in a Year, and with so little Trouble that two People here can do more at it in a Day than a good Plough in *Europe*. This Sort of Corn is sold by the Thousand, *viz.* the Thousand Ears, which when stripp'd or thresh'd, makes above five Bushels, and is worth about a Crown Sterling.

THE other Sort is a small Millet, by the *Portuguese* call'd Maize. The Grain is like Coriander-Seed. The Ear of this as much resembles an Ear of Oats, as the other does an Ear of Wheat, either of them, if well clear'd from the Bran, make very good Bread.

HERE

HERE is also another very good Grain call'd Callivances, of the same Shape and Size with a Kidney Bean: It eats extraordinary well with any Sort of Meat, either green or dry. The Callivances taste like Grey Pease when dry. Besides which there are several other Sorts of Beans produc'd on the *Gold Coast*, but none is so good as them.

THEIR chief Roots are Yams and Potatoes. The Yam is shap'd like a Parsnip, only thicker in Proportion to its Length, being commonly about twelve Inches long, and as many more in Circumference at the Top. It tastes when roasted like an *English* Potatoe, but their Potatoes only resemble our's in Shape, being of a sweet maulish Taste, not half so agreeable as the Yam.

I SHALL pass by in Silence all the other Animals and Vegetables on the *Gold Coast* and elsewhere, which have been before-mention'd, as being so well known in *Europe* that they need no Description, and

next proceed to the *Slave Coast*, a Place well worth our Observation.

I HAVE already said, that we sail'd from *Acera*, on *Monday* the third of *April* 1727. On the fifth, we cross'd the Mouth of the great River *Volta*, call'd so by the *Portuguese*, I suppose, from its Rapidity; for it disembogues itself into the Sea with such Violence that it causes a Rippling, and changes the Colour of the Water, at least eight Leagues from the Shore. This famous River divides the *Gold Coast* from the *Slave Coast*.

ON *Friday* the seventh of *April*, we arriv'd in *Whydah* Road, and found lying here, three *French* and two *Portuguese* Ships. We came to Anchor about Day-Break in seven Fathom Water, and saluted the Fort, which is more than a League from the Shore. This of all other Places in *Guinea* is most difficult to land at. The Sea breaks and rolls at such a vast Distance from the Shore, that no *European* Boat can come within two Hundred Yards of it, but must come to Anchor a good Way off and
wait

wait for a Canoe to come and carry the Passengers or Goods ashore, which the dexterous Canoe-men generally do with Safety; however, the contrary too often happens, for the Canoes overfet, Mens Lives are lost, and Goods spoil'd. Upon Notice of our Arrival, there were Hammocks sent down to the Water-side for us, and a large Canoe came off to our Boat to carry us ashore, which it did without any other Damage than a little washing. I was amaz'd when we came among the Breakers, (which to me seem'd large enough to founder our Ship) to see with what wondrous Dexterity carried us through them, and ran their Canoe on the Top of one of those rolling Waves a good Way upon the Shore. Which done, they all leap'd out, and dragg'd the Canoe up the Beach several Yards, from the Power of the next returning Wave. It is barely possible, that a Man may, if overfet here, save his Life by swimming, but it is not very probable, for there are such Numbers of Sharks here, that they follow a Canoe to the dry Land in Hopes of Prey.

SHIPS trading here have always Tents close by the Sea-side, by Way of Warehouses, in which they put their Goods. I walk'd up to one of the *French* Tents, and the Mate who had the Charge of the Goods there, happening to be a Native of *Ireland*, desir'd me (in the *English* Language) to accept of a Dram, which I the more readily consented to, because I had been a little wetted coming ashore. There were a great many Ankers of Brandy piled up in the Tent, which seem'd wet on the Outside. I therefore ask'd the Reason of that? The Mate told me, they had been wafted ashore that Morning from their Long-boat, which then lay off at her Moorings, and that one of his Men, who help'd to rowl them up to the Tent, venturing a little too far into the Sea, after an Anker which was wafted ashore, happen'd to be seiz'd by a small Shark, whom he encounter'd with his Knife, and had fairly disengag'd himself, but the Return of the next Wave, which set the *Frenchman* afloat, brought in two other Sharks that immediately tore the poor Man to Pieces, and in an Instant devour'd

your'd him before their Faces. This ugly Story made me a little out of Conceit with the Place; however, the Hammocks being ready to carry us up to the Fort, we got in and were carried over three Rivers, or rather three different Branches of the same River. When we arriv'd at the other Side we chose to walk; the Country here being the most pleasant I ever yet beheld. The *English* and *French* have Forts here within Musket Shot of each other, being composed of a thick Mud-Wall with deep Moats round them. The *English* Fort, which is very large, has four strong Batteries, on which are mounted seventeen Pieces of heavy Cannon.

SUBORDINATE to this Government is the Factory of *Jacquin*, about sixteen or eighteen Miles to the Eastward of that Fort, also that at *Sabee* about five Miles to the Northward of it, which is now reduc'd to Ashes, by the great and powerful King of *Dahomey*, who has lately made so much Noise even in *Europe*. His first Conquest was that of Great *Ardab*, about fifty Miles to the North-West of *Sabee*, in the Year

1724. The King of *Ardab* having some Dealings, about that Time, with Governor BALDWIN of *Whydab*, and Accounts not being settled between them, his Majesty detain'd one Mr. *Lamb*, an *English* Factor at *Ardab*, in Hopes thereby to expedite their Accounts. During which Time, the City of *Ardab* happen'd to be besieg'd by the aforesaid King of *Dahomey's* Army. The People of *Ardab*, for some Time, made a stout Resistance, till their King was slain before his Palace-Gate, and then they submitted to the Conquerors, who took them all Prisoners, and among the rest the aforesaid unfortunate Mr. *Lamb*. The King of *Dahomey's* General, admiring so strange a Figure as a White Man, spar'd him, and carried him as a Rarity to the King his Master, who was then two Hundred Miles up in the Inland Country, where a White Man never was before. During his Stay there, he wrote a very long Letter to Governor TINKER, who succeeded *Baldwin* at *Whydab*, wherein he gives a Description of the Country, of the King, of the Taking of *Ardab*, and of his Sufferings. This being the very best Account that could be had

had of those remote Inland Countries, I have been favour'd by the Governor with a Copy of it, which is as follows:

*From the Great King TRUDO AUDA-
TI's Palace of Abomey, in the
Kingdom of Dahomey.*

Nov. 27. 1724.

S I R,

“ **A** BOUT five Days ago, the King
“ of this Country gave me Your's
“ of the first Instant, and immediately re-
“ quir'd me to answer it in his Presence,
“ which I did, though in a very indiffe-
“ rent Manner; so that if I do not recall
“ it, I hope you will excuse that as well as
“ this.

“ As to the late Conference I had with
“ His Majesty, on receiving your Letter, I
“ think he does not want to make a Price
“ to let me go; for when I press'd him
“ much to tell me, on what Terms he
“ would

“ would send me away; his Answer still
 “ was, that he did not want to sell me, I
 “ was not a Black Man: But, upon my
 “ again pressing him, he made a Sort of a
 “ jesting Demand to the Sum of, I think,
 “ seven Hundred Slaves, about ten Thou-
 “ sand Pound Sterling, or fourteen Pound
 “ a-head. Which strange ironical Way of
 “ Talking, as I told him, made my Blood
 “ run cold in my Veins; and upon reco-
 “ vering myself I ask'd him, if he thought
 “ me King of my Country, and that you
 “ and the Company would think both he
 “ and I had lost our Senses should I have
 “ writ any Thing like what he had said.
 “ Upon which he laugh'd, and told me
 “ not to put any Thing of that in the Let-
 “ ter; for that he would order his Head-
 “ Captain of Trade to treat with you up-
 “ on that Subject, and that if you had not
 “ something very fine for him at *Whydak*,
 “ you must write to the Company. Upon
 “ which I told him, I found I must die in
 “ his Country, and that I would only send
 “ for a few Cloaths and Necessaries, which
 “ I desir'd he would let his People bring
 “ for me, and he agreed to it; so that I
 “ dont

“ dont find there is any other Way of
“ redeeming me, than by the Company’s
“ sending him a Present of a Crown and
“ Sceptre, which must be paid for out of
“ what remains due to the late King of
“ *Ardab*. I know nothing else but what
“ he will think mean, being stock’d with
“ great Quantities of Plate, wrought Gold,
“ and other rich Things; also all Sorts of
“ fine Gowns, Cloaths, Hats, Caps, &c.
“ He has likewise all Sorts of common
“ Goods beyond Measure, and gives away
“ Booges like Dirt, and Brandy like Wa-
“ ter, for he is prodigious vain and proud,
“ but he is withall, I believe, the richest
“ King and greatest Warrior in this Part
“ of the World; and you may depend up-
“ on it, in Time, will subdue most of the
“ Countries round him. He has already
“ set his two Chief Palaces round with
“ Mens Sculls, as thick as they can lie on
“ the Walls one by another, and are such
“ as he has kill’d in War; each of which
“ Palaces are in Circumference larger than
“ St. *James’s* Park, about a Mile and an
“ half round.

“ HE talks much of settling a Corre-
 “ spondence with the Company, and of
 “ having White Men come here, which
 “ you must encourage him in, and tell
 “ him that the Way to do it, will be to
 “ send me away; for he says he wants
 “ Ships to come to some Place only for
 “ his Slaves, and bring such Things as are
 “ only fit for such a King as he: To all
 “ which I give him the Hearing, and
 “ which if you humour may be a great
 “ Means to help me out of this wretched
 “ State. I hope my Royal Masters will
 “ take my Case into Consideration, and
 “ think of the long and many Sufferings
 “ I have had in their Service, and what a
 “ miserable Condition I am still in, as it
 “ were banish'd all the Pleasures of this
 “ Life, not only from my Wife and other
 “ Friends, but all Conversation in general;
 “ so that I am like one buried alive from
 “ the World, and think nothing can come
 “ near my unhappy Fate, to lose my Time,
 “ and spend my Youth as it were for no-
 “ thing in such a cursed Place as this, and
 “ not see a Likelihood of getting out of it,
 but

“ but that I must end my Days here. To
“ prevent all which, I hope, that they and
“ you, in their Behalf, will use your ut-
“ most Endeavours, by such Means as are
“ requisite for my Deliverance, which I
“ shall very impatiently pray to God to
“ bring to pass.

“ GOVERNOR *Baldwin* promis'd me
“ in his last, upon his Arrival in *London*,
“ he would lay my Case before our Royal
“ Masters. Therefore when you write, I
“ beg you will remind him and them
“ thereof, and note the Contents of what
“ I now write. If any Letters come from
“ *England* for me, I believe either them,
“ or any Thing else, will come safe to my
“ Hands by this King's People. He is ve-
“ ry willing I should have Letters come to
“ me, or any Thing else, nor will he be
“ guilty of any mean Action in keeping a-
“ ny Thing from me, if it were Twenty
“ Slaves: Neither do I believe he would
“ detain any White Man that should come
“ here, but me whom he deems a Captive
“ taken in his Wars. He sets a great Va-
“ lue upon me, he never having had a
“ White

self same
X
 “ White Man here before, only an old
 “ *Mullatto Portuguese*, which he bought
 “ of the *Popo* People, at the Rate of about
 “ five Hundred Pound, as near as I could
 “ compute. And tho’ this White Man is
 “ his Slave, yet the King keeps him like
 “ a great *Caboceroe*, and has given him
 “ two Houses, and an Heap of Wives and
 “ Servants. It may be, that once in two
 “ or three Months he mends (he being a
 “ Taylor by Trade) some Trifle or other
 “ for his Majesty, but after the Devil of a
 “ Manner. So that if any Taylor, Car-
 “ penter, Smith, or any Sort of White
 “ Man that is free be willing to come here
 “ he will find very good Encouragement,
 “ and be much carefs’d, and get Money,
 “ if he can be contented with this Life
 “ for a Time; his Majesty paying every
 “ Body extravagantly that works for him.
 “ And then it might be one Means of let-
 “ ting me go, with a Promise of return-
 “ ing to trade with him; but he now says,
 “ if I go, he does not know, whether he
 “ shall see any more White Men, think-
 “ ing they add to his Grandeur; so that if
 “ any Fellow whatsoever comes up and
 “ goes

“ goes down again, it will possess him
“ with a Notion that more White Men
“ will come, and so let me go, in Order
“ to encourage their Coming. Or, if my
“ little Servant *Henry Tench* be at *Whydah*,
“ and is willing to come to me, it may in
“ Time be much for his Interest, as now
“ being a Boy, the King will be entirely
“ fond of him; for though I do nothing
“ for him, he has put me into a House,
“ and given me Half a Dozen Men and
“ Women Servants; also a constant Sup-
“ ply to maintain myself and them. If I
“ lov'd Brandy, I might soon kill myself,
“ having enough of that; also of Sugar,
“ Flower, and the like: And when he
“ kills Oxen, which is often, I am sure of
“ a Quarter, and sometimes a live Hog,
“ Sheep, or Goat; so that I shall not
“ starve, (but all this is nothing, I still
“ want Content) and when he comes out
“ in Publick, the *Portuguese* and I are
“ call'd to sit all Day in the Sun, only
“ our Boys are permitted to hold our Ki-
“ deysfolls, or Umbrellas, over our Heads,
“ but then he pays us pretty well for
“ it; sometimes giving us two, some-

“ times three or four Grand Cabefs * a-
 “ piece, and a large Flask of Brandy to
 “ drink there, besides one or two more for
 “ each to carry Home; so that the *Portu-*
 “ *guese* and I endeavour to live as well as
 “ I can; and think it enough if we can
 “ keep up our Hearts, and ourselves in
 “ Health: But I being weary of this
 “ wretched Life, some Time ago request-
 “ ed his Majesty to put me into the Hands
 “ of his great Captain of War, or Gene-
 “ ral, and give me a Horse, and let me
 “ go to War: To which he would by no
 “ Means agree, saying, he did not want
 “ me to be kill’d, for that he should anon
 “ find other Business for me; wherefore
 “ he would have me be easy, and sit and
 “ see what he does; the Meaning, of which
 “ I do not at present understand. My go-
 “ ing to War was likewise much oppos’d
 “ by the aforesaid General, who alledg’d,
 “ that if I should be kill’d, it might bring
 “ a Pallaver upon his Head, and make the
 “ King

* Forty Booges make one Tokey; five Tokeys
 one Gallina; and twenty Gallinas, one Grand Ca-
 befs, equal in Value to One Pound Sterling.

“ King angry with him, as thinking him
“ to be the Occasion of it. However, his
“ Majesty order'd me a Horse, and told
“ me, whenever he went out, I should go
“ with him, which he often does for his
“ Pleasure, in a fine Hammock with gild-
“ ed Awnings and Curtains. He likewise
“ very often adjourns to some other of his
“ Palaces, which are some Miles distant
“ from hence; and, as I am told, in Num-
“ ber Eleven. In this Labyrinth, I am
“ willing to make Life as comfortable as
“ possible, but as it is very uneasy to ride
“ a bare Horse, I pray you will not fail to
“ send me an old Furniture with Spurs and
“ Whip. The King has likewise desir'd
“ me to write to you for the best Horse-
“ Furniture that is to be got at *Whydah*,
“ and he will pay what you shall demand
“ for it; likewise a little *English* Dog, and
“ a Pair of Shoe-buckles, and if you think
“ well of it, you may charge them to me
“ with the following Things both for the
“ King and myself, being assur'd that even
“ a trifling Present, will not only be accep-
“ table from me, but very much encrease
“ my Interest whether I stay or go, which

“ at the shortest must be very long. I
 “ therefore beg you will not fail to send
 “ me what is to be got of them, which
 “ may not only make my unhappy State a
 “ little the better, but may make his Ma-
 “ jesty conclude there is no Thought of
 “ Ransoming me; and so send me Home
 “ in some of his Majesty’s Whims.

“ IF my two Chests left at *Jacquin* are
 “ yet come to *Whydah*, I pray they may
 “ be sent to me with every Thing in them
 “ good and bad; also the following Things
 “ if to be got on any reasonable Terms,
 “ viz. &c. &c. of no Use to the Reader,
 “ and too tedious to be inserted.

“ I HOPE you will not scruple send-
 “ ing any Thing I write for, as not hav-
 “ ing receiv’d any Salary, or Diet-money
 “ since I have been in *Guinea*. Nor would
 “ I have you admire at my sending for so
 “ many Things, seeing his Majesty has or-
 “ der’d another House to be built for me,
 “ at a Town he mostly resorts to when
 “ he is preparing for War, which fills me
 “ with melancholy Thoughts, and looks

“ no

“ no Way like my going out of this Cap-
“ tivity speedily.

“ IF you think well of my agreeing for
“ any Slaves with the King, you must
“ talk with his Servants thereon, and send
“ me a Mark, * for while I am here, I
“ am willing to do the Company some
“ Service if possible, their Interest being
“ always what I shall study to promote to
“ the utmost of my Power; but then I
“ must have a Specie of all Sorts of Goods,
“ mark'd and number'd with the Rates, to
“ prevent Mistakes. Most of the Ink you
“ sent me being unfortunately spilt, I beg
“ you will send me a Paper of Ink-pow-
“ der: His Majesty has likewise got from
“ me the greatest Part of the Paper, hav-
“ ing a Notion in his Head of a Kite,
“ which, tho' I told him was only fit for
“ Boys to play with, yet he says, I must
“ make one for him and I to play with. So
“ I beg you will send me two Quire of Or-
“ dinary Paper, and some Twine for that
“ Use, and a Scane of Match; his Majesty
“ requiring me sometimes to fire his great

N 3

“ Guns,

* Thirty-two Pounds.

“ Guns, and I am much in fear of having
“ my Eyes put out with the Splinters. He
“ hastwenty-five Cannon, some of which are
“ upwards of a Thousand Weight, so that
“ a Man would think the Devil help'd to
“ bring them here, this Place being above
“ two Hundred Miles distant from *Whydab*,
“ and at least an Hundred and sixty from
“ *Ardab*. His Majesty takes great Delight
“ in firing them twice round every Market
“ Day, only now that his People are ma-
“ king Carriages for them; and though he
“ seems to be a Man of great natural Parts
“ and Sense as any of his Colour, yet he
“ takes great Delight in trifling Toys and
“ Whims; so that if you have any Thing
“ of that Kind, I pray you will send them
“ to me, or any Prints or Pictures, he
“ much loving to look in a Book, and
“ commonly carries a *Latin* Mass-Book in
“ his Pocket, which he had from the
“ Mulatto, and when he has a Mind to
“ banter any Body out of their Requests,
“ he looks in his Book as studiously as if
“ he understood it, and could employ his
“ Thought on no other Subject, and much
“ affects scrawling on Paper, often sending
“ me

“ me his Letters, but then he sends an In-
“ terpreter with a good Flask of Brandy
“ and a Grand Cabefs or two. If there is
“ any Cast-off Whore, either White or
“ Mullattoe, that can be persuaded to come
“ to this Country, either to be his Wife or
“ else practice her old Trade; I should
“ gain his Majesty’s Heart entirely by it,
“ and he would believe any Thing I say,
“ about my going and returning again
“ with more White Men from the Com-
“ pany. I pray you’ll comply with as
“ much of this Letter as possible, which
“ may be much for my Interest. As to
“ any one’s coming, they need not fear his
“ using any Compulsions, having at least
“ two Thousand Wives, which he main-
“ tains beyond any Black King; and suf-
“ fers them to do nothing but for his own
“ Use in his own House, or Palace, which
“ is as big as a small Town. And when
“ one Hundred and Sixty, or two Hun-
“ dred of them goes with little Pots for
“ Water, they one Day wear rich Silk
“ Waist-cloaths, call’d *Arse-Clouts*; ano-
“ ther Day they all wear Scarlet Cloaths
“ with three or four large Strings of Coral

“ about their Necks, and their Leaders
 “ sometimes in Crimson, sometimes in
 “ Green, and sometimes Blue Velvet
 “ Cloaths with Silver-gilt Staffs in their
 “ Hands, like Golden Canes.

“ WHEN I came here first, the *Portu-*
 “ *guese* had a Mullattoe Whore, who his
 “ Majesty used with Abundance of good
 “ Manners, continually giving her Presents.
 “ He gave her two Women and a Girl to
 “ wait on her, but she dying of the Small
 “ Pox, he wants mightily more to come,
 “ and says, that no white Body shall ever
 “ want any Thing he can purchase for
 “ Gold: He likewise gives great Encou-
 “ ragement to all Black Strangers, and is
 “ extremely kind to some *Mallay* People
 “ who are now here.

“ THIS Country is mighty healthful,
 “ lying so very high, and is daily refresh-
 “ ed with fine cool Breezes: It is likewise
 “ extremely pleasant, having all *Great Po-*
 “ *po* in View, tho' at a vast Distance, nei-
 “ ther are we pester'd with Musketoes.

“ I HOPE I shall have a better Oppor-
“ tunity to describe the Power and Gran-
“ deur of this conquering King, which
“ has often surpriz'd me, not thinking ever
“ to see any Thing like it in this Part of
“ the World. I shall therefore conclude
“ my Letter with a short Account of that
“ War, whereto I was an unfortunate Eye-
“ witness, and from whence I sav'd no-
“ thing in the World but what I had on
“ my Back; and narrowly escap'd perish-
“ ing in the Flames, being the Fate of
“ many Hundreds, which I had shar'd,
“ had not a Man haul'd me over the Wall
“ of old *Blanco's* House, in which I was
“ suddenly shut up as soon as the Cry of
“ War came. And were it not for that
“ Misfortune, I might had a Chance to
“ make my Escape, which, I suppose,
“ the King and old *Blanco* were afraid of,
“ for which Reason they sent to secure me.
“ However, that House being the first
“ they set Fire to in Town, I got soon
“ enough out to be a melancholy Specta-
“ tor of the ensuing Desolation, and De-
“ struction. Some Time after I was haul-
“ ed

“ ed out, they carried me through the
 “ Town to the King’s House, where this
 “ King’s General was; and though he was
 “ in a great Hurry, and flush’d with Vic-
 “ tory, he took me very kindly by the
 “ Hand, and gave me a Dram; which
 “ was some Comfort to me, tho’ I knew
 “ not who he was: At first, I took him
 “ him to be the King of *Ardab*’s Brother,
 “ but then I admir’d at his Face being *
 “ cut, and the House being in Flames;
 “ but I soon understood who he was.---
 “ When we went out, there was scarce a-
 “ ny stirring for Bodies without Heads;
 “ and had it rain’d Blood, it could not
 “ have lain thicker on the Ground. Night
 “ being come, I walk’d among Crowds
 “ of People with the General to the Camp,
 “ who after giving me two or three Drams
 “ gave me in Charge to one of the petty
 “ Captains of War, who was extremely
 “ kind to, and careful of me. The next
 “ Day, they brought one of my Boys to
 “ me, who was Captain *Blanco*’s Son, but
 “ he

* Some Inland Countries do cut and scarify their Faces for Ornament Sake.

“ he being mortally wounded in the Head,
“ so that his Brains might be seen, was not
“ able to let me know what they said.
“ Two Days after, the General call'd me
“ to come and sit with him and the Petty
“ Captains of War, while they counted the
“ Captive Slaves, which they did by giv-
“ ing a Booge to every one: The whole
“ amounted to upwards of two Grand Ca-
“ bels, or above Eight Thousand in Num-
“ ber, among whom I saw two more of
“ my Boys, one of which was wounded
“ in the Thigh, and the other in the
“ Knee. This Accident gave me an Op-
“ portunity of a little more Talk with the
“ General, who endeavour'd to hearten
“ me up, calling for a Flask of Brandy,
“ he drank to me, and bid me keep the
“ rest: He likewise offer'd me some Pieces
“ of Chints, Sletias, &c. which I having
“ no Use for refus'd, telling them, if they
“ found among their Plunder any Shirts, or
“ Cloaths, I should be thankful for them,
“ being, as you may suppose, very dirty.

“ THE People to whom my Servants
“ were Captives would never permit them
“ to

“ to come to me, without coming with
 “ them ; however the General bid me not
 “ be uneasy at that, in the least, for no-
 “ thing should hurt me till I saw the King,
 “ his Master, who would receive me ex-
 “ tremely well and kindly, which indeed
 “ he afterwards did. The General gave me
 “ a Kideyfol and Hammock, to carry me
 “ up in the Country, which I gladly ac-
 “ cepted of.

“ HAVING seen so many Cruelties
 “ committed on the Bodies of old Men
 “ and Women, also on such as were not
 “ able to travel by Reason of their Wounds
 “ and Burns, &c. I could not chuse but
 “ labour under dismal Apprehensions, par-
 “ ticularly the first Morning when they led
 “ me out, as I imagin'd, to sacrifice me,
 “ with a Drum beating a Sort of a dead
 “ March before me, and many Hundreds
 “ gather'd about me jumping and tearing
 “ enough to rend the very Skies, with such
 “ a Noise as would fright the Devil him-
 “ self. Many had drawn Swords and
 “ Knives in their Hands, which they flou-
 “ rished about me as if ready for Execu-
 “ tion.

“ tion. While I was calling upon God to
“ have Mercy upon me, the General sent
“ Orders to the Petty Captain of War to
“ bring me to him, being retir'd about two
“ Miles out of the Camp. His Orders were
“ quickly obey'd, and I brought to him,
“ which put an End to my Fears.

“ I SHOULD have given you an Ac-
“ count of my Introduction to the King,
“ had not his Majesty sent this Minute in
“ a Hurry to me for this Letter, which I
“ cannot have Time either to copy or cor-
“ rect as I intended; I therefore beg you
“ will pardon Tautology, and all other
“ Faults, being with hearty Service to all
“ the Gentlemen, Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

BULFINCH LAMB.

MR. *Lamb* continu'd here about two
Years, and at last his Majesty, upon a Pro-
mise of his returning again with more
White Men, sent him away very well en-
rich'd,

rich'd, being worth a Hundred Slaves. He made but a short Stay at *Whydab*, before he embark'd for *America*. I saw him afterwards at *Barbadoes*. The King, finding himself disappointed in *Lamb*, and having an insatiable Thirst after Blood and Conquest, made a Descent upon *Sabee*, in the Kingdom of *Whydab*, about the Beginning of *February* 1726-7, and laid Siege to that great Town, or rather City, being the Metropolis, where the King's Palace stood, and where the *English*, *French* and *Portuguese* had Factory Houses. In a few Hours Time, he serv'd it exactly in the same Manner, as he before had done to *Ardab*; only with this Difference, that his Majesty of *Whydab*, who is the largest and fattest Man I ever saw, thinking himself a little too bulky to fight, was, upon the first Alarm, privately convey'd away by the main Strength of a Couple of stout lusty Negroes in a Hammock, by which Means he sav'd his Life. The Factories were rifled, and the White Men were taken Prisoners, and carried up to the Camp at *Ardab*, where the King of *Dabomey* then was. When Governor *Tinker* was admitted to an Audience,

dience, he told his Majesty, that his molesting the White Men could be of no Manner of Service to that Country, which was become his by Conquest: On the contrary, it would be a Means to deter all Ships from coming there any more, and then what must become of his Grandeur? The King said, It was very true, and with-all assur'd the Governor, that he had given no such Orders to his General, but that he and the rest of the White Men were at Liberty to return to their Forts when they pleas'd. Accordingly, a few Days after, when the *English* and *French* Governors were on their March through *Sabee* to *Whydab*, the General took Occasion to set Fire to their Factory-houses, which had escap'd the Fire during the Siege, before their Faces, without the King's Order. This Misfortune was a Heart-breaking to them, especially to the *French* Governor, who had no Design or Thoughts of returning speedily to *Europe*, as Governor *Tinker* had, but rather hop'd to see *Sabee*, or at least some Part of it again rebuilt, and some small Trade carried on there, that so his Factory-house might be serviceable as formerly,

merly, but that Curfed General soon put them out of all Hopes of fo great a Bleffing, and let them march on to feek Shelter in their Forts, and in order to train up the Youth of his Army to a Notion that they ought to fpare no Blood for the Sake of Plunder; he order'd all the Boys in the Camp; fome of which were not above Seven or Eight Years of Age, to cut off the Heads of all the Aged and Wounded among the Captives that were unmerchable.

THE City of *Sabee* was above Four Miles in Circumference. The Houfes neatly built, though only Mud-wall covered with Thatch, having no Stone in all that Country, not even a Pebble as big as a Walnut; nevertheless all the Factory-houfes were built after the *European* Faftion, being lofty, fpacious and very airy; containing many neat commodious Apartments; alfo to each a fine large open Hall with cool Balconies, &c. all thefe upon the Firft Floor. Underneath upon the Ground Floor were their Warehoufes. Thefe delightful Dwellings contributed very much,
not

not only to the Comfort and Satisfaction, but also to the Health of the *Europeans*. The Town was so exceeding populous that it was with Difficulty one pass'd along the Streets, tho' they were very broad. Here were daily Markets wherein many Sorts of *European*, as well as *African* Commodities, were exhibited to publick Sale, also great Variety of Provisions. Near the *European* Factories was a spacious Place where grew a Parcel of fine, tall, shady Trees, under which the *English*, *French* and *Portuguese* Governors, Factors and Sea-Captains walk-ed, and transacted Business every Day as on a Change.

ALL these fine Places were reduc'd to Ashes a few Days before I arriv'd there, so that I am oblig'd to the Gentlemen at *Whydah* for the above Description of *Sabee*, as for the rest of the Country in general, I shall give the Reader my own Remarks upon it.

I FIND that this Country is call'd FIDA by the *Dutch*, JUDA by the *French*, and WHYDAH by the *English*, *Portuguese* and
O Natives.

Natives. All who have ever been here, allow this to be one of the most delightful Countries in the World. The great Number and Variety of tall, beautiful and shady Trees, which seem as if planted in fine Groves for Ornament, being without any Underwood, or Weeds, as in any other Parts of *Guinea*; also the verdant Fields are every-where cultivated, and no otherwise divided, than by those Groves, and in some Places a small Foot-path; together with a great Number of pretty little Villages, encompass'd by a low Mud-Wall, and regularly plac'd over the Face of the whole Country. All these contribute to afford the most delightful Prospect that Imagination can form. There is neither Mountain or Hillock to hinder one's Prospect, the whole Country being a fine, easy, and almost imperceptible Ascent, for the Space of forty or fifty Miles from the Sea; so that from any Part of this Kingdom, a Body may have a Prospect of the Ocean, and the farther you go from it, the more beautiful and populous the Country; infomuch that by endeavouring to describe it, I have undertaken a Task I cannot perform,

form, I shall therefore drop the Subject, with this one Assurance to my Reader, that the imaginary Beauty of *Elysian* Fields cannot surpass the real Beauty of this Country, which nevertheless yields no Gold, but what they have here is brought from *Brafile* by the *Portuguese*, to purchase Slaves. ✓

THE Natives here seem to be the most Gentleman-like Negroes in *Guinea*, abounding with Good Manners and Ceremony to each other. The Inferior pays the utmost Deference and Respect to the Superior, as do Wives to their Husbands, and Children to their Parents. All here are naturally industrious, and find constant Employment, the Men in Agriculture and the Women in Spinning and Weaving Cotton, of which they make Cloaths. The Men, whose chief Talent is HUSBANDRY, are unacquainted with Arms, otherwise (being a numerous People) they could have made a better Defence or Resistance against the King of *Dabomey*, who subdu'd them without much Trouble, and has now laid heavy Taxes upon them. They are all *Pagans*, and worship three Sorts of Deities. The

first is a large beautiful Kind of Snake, which is inoffensive in its Nature. These are kept in Fittish-houses, or Churches, built for that Purpose in a Grove, to whom they sacrifice great Store of Hogs, Sheep, Fowls, and Goats, &c. and if not devour'd by the Snake, are sure to be taken Care of by the Fittish-men, or *Pagan* Priests, who are as great Impostors as any belonging to the Church of ROME. The Laity all go in a large Body by Night with Drums beating, and Trumpets of Elephants Teeth sounding, in Order to perform Divine Worship, and implore either a prosperous Journey, fair Weather, a good Crop, or whatsoever else they want. To obtain which from the Snake, they then present their Offerings, and afterwards return Home. They are all so bigotted to this Animal, that if any Negroe should touch one of them with a Stick, or otherwise hurt it, he would be immediately sentenc'd to the Flames. One Day, as I walk'd abroad with the *English* Governor, I spied one of them lying in the Middle of the Path before us, which indeed I would have kill'd had he not prevented me, for he ran and
took

took it up in his Arms, telling me, that it was the Kind of Snake which was worshipp'd by the Natives, and that if I had kill'd it, all the Goods in his Fort, and our Ship would not be sufficient to ransom my Life, the Country being so very populous that I could not stir without being seen by some of the Natives; of whom there were several looking at us that happen'd to be upon their March home from their Captivity at *Adrab*. They came, and begg'd their God, which he readily deliver'd to them, and they as thankfully receiv'd and carried it away to their Fittish-house, with very great Tokens of Joy.

THEIR Second-rate Gods are the tall Trees, for which they have a great Veneration. And their last God is the Sea, which they firmly believe, and not without just Cause, is able to do as much for them as the Snake, or the Trees: But because that no Share of the Offerings thrown in here, can ever revolve to the Priests, they teach the People to pay it a small Kind of distant Adoration, which, as I before observ'd, may be seen, and consequently wor-

shipp'd in that Manner, at any Part of the Kingdom, but all their Offerings must be made to the Snakes and Trees.

THE Priesthood here is not altogether confin'd to the Male Sex, for there are more Priestesses than Priests; both being held in such Veneration that they are liable to no Punishment for any Capital Crime whatsoever. The Priestesses are accountable to their Husbands for no Action either of Disobedience or Whoredom, on the contrary they are uncontrollable and must be serv'd by the Husband upon his Knee, with the same Respect that other Women pay their Husbands. If the Case be bad with those of the *Romish* Church who are Priest-ridden; how much worse must it be with these unhappy Men who are Priestess-ridden by their own Wives! So much for their Religion. As for the Country in general, tho' I allow it to be the finest I ever saw, yet I should never like it because it is so very unwholsome, and by my last Accounts from thence, I am inform'd, it is more so now than when I was there, the Country being through the King of *Dabomey's*

me's Means left uncultivated, is now overgrown with poisonous stinking Weeds. The same Accounts inform me, that an Accident of Fire happen'd, soon after my Departure, to the *French* Fort which burnt all the Houses in it, and dismounted the Great Guns. The King of *Dahomey*, hearing of this Accident, sent a Part of his Army, who were then encamp'd at *Sabee*, down to take the *French* Fort; but the *English*, seeing them besieg'd in so defenceless a Heap of Confusion, and dreading the evil Consequences that might happen, if the *Dahomites* should once become Masters of that Fort, without farther Hesitation fir'd upon them, and with the first Shot kill'd the aforefaid wicked General and his Son, &c. the second kill'd two of the petty Captains of War and others, the third likewise did Execution: At which they broke up the Siege, and ran confusedly away.

BEFORE the King of *Dahomey* conquer'd this Place, the Natives were so industrious that no Place which was thought fertile could escape being planted, though

even within the Hedges that enclose their Villages and Dwelling-places, and they were so very anxious in this Particular, that the next Day after they had reap'd they always sow'd again, without allowing the Land any Time for Rest.

HERE a Man may have from forty to fifty Wives and their Captains three or four Hundred, some One Thousand, and the King four or five Thousand; most of whom serve to till the Ground for their Husbands only, but the most beautiful stay at home, and do the Work relating to the Family, and there to wait on them. The Rich will not suffer any Man to come where their Wives are. They are so jealous of them that on the slightest Suspicion of Incontinence they sell them to the *Europeans*; and should a Person here presume to debauch another Man's Wife, if the injur'd Person be a rich Man, the Offender will surely be put to Death, and his Family made Slaves. If any Man should, though undesignedly, touch one of the King's Wives, he is in Danger of losing his Head, or he is doomed to perpetual Slavery. Upon which Account,

count, if any Man is oblig'd to go near the King's Palace, Notice is given of his Coming, that so the Women may retire to a remote Part out of Sight. When the King's Wives go into the Field to work, as they do daily by Drovers, they cry out, if they see a Man, *Stand clear*: Upon which the Man falls flat on the Ground till they have pass'd him.

THE King is so absolute, that all the Virgins in his Dominions is look'd on as his Property; and his Chief Captains, to whom the Government of his Seraglio is entrusted, whenever they hear of or see a Beauty, seize her for his Use, which no one dare contradict. When a young Lady is presented to the King he lies with her twice or thrice, after which she is oblig'd to live a Nun; so that the Women are so far from desiring to enjoy this Honour that they prefer Death to it; and I have heard that some Years ago, these Captains seiz'd a young beautiful Maid, who rather than live a Nun's Life, made her Escape, and threw herself into a deep Well, and there died.

FROM

FROM the Multiplicity of Wives it is frequent in these Parts to see Fathers who have two Hundred Children living at once. It is customary here for a Man sometimes in one Day to have Half a Dozen Children born to him; for they never cohabit with any of their Wives when pregnant or menstruous, which indeed are potent Reasons for *Polygamy*. Besides, as the Riches of a Man is the Number of his Children, and which he can dispose of at Pleasure, except his Eldest Son, and the Males being frequently sold into Slavery, and this small Spot of Ground furnishes One Thousand Slaves every Month for the Market, Women must be Plenty, and each Man must have a Number. Upon the Father's Death the Eldest Son inherits all his Goods and Cattle, and also his Wives, his own Mother only excepted. They use Circumcision, which many postpone till the Child is four, five, and eight Years old.

THE Natives here are cloath'd, but that of the Women is so very loose, that the Wind often discloses their natural Beauties, which

which the Men here say was a Fashion invented by the Women for a certain Convenience they found in it. Both Men and Women go with their Heads shorn, and uncover'd, though the Sun is so scorching hot. They are so fearful of Death that when they are sick they are very diligent in the Use of Medicines, and no one dares to speak of Death in the King's Presence, on Penalty of undergoing the Punishment immediately. They live as to Time by Guess, having no Festivals, no Division of Hours, Days, Weeks, Months or Years, save only that they go by Moonshines, which are so regular that they compute their Sowing-time thereby. They are most accurate at Accounts, and they easily reckon without the Assistance of Pen and Ink, tho' the Sum amounts to many Thousands, which makes it very easy to trade with them. They are great Gamesters, and very often stake Wife and Children, and Land and Body.

THE Government is vested in the King and the principal Men; but in Criminal Cases the King assembles a Council, where
he

he opens the Indictment, and requires every Person to declare his Opinion what Punishment the Offender deserves, and according to the Verdict, Execution ensues. Capital Crimes are but two, Murther and Adultery committed with the King's or the Grandees Wives. Very few Instances of this happen, but History hath recorded two for Murther: The Offenders were upon Conviction cut open alive, and their Intraills burnt, and their Corps fix'd on a Pole erected in the Market-place. A young Man in Womens Cloaths shut himself up among the King's Wives, and enjoy'd several of them; but at last being discovered, he and the offending Lady was brought forth, and sentenc'd to be burnt. The Youth seeing several of the Ladies, with whom he had pass'd many a Night very agreeably, forward to bring Wood to make his Funeral Pile, laugh'd heartily, declaring that several other Ladies were likewise guilty, but he would not accuse them particularly, and so no more than he and the unhappy Lady that were taken in the Offence were burnt. Most other Crimes are judg'd by the Vice-roys, and some trifling Penance,

Penance, or pecuniary Mulct set upon the Offender.

THE King's Retinue are his Wives only, and when he goes a Progress, which he does once or twice a-year, he is accompanied by a Thousand of the most beautiful. His Grandees go not with him, but meet him at the Place where he appoints to divert himself. The King has a Cup which no Man but himself drinks out of. Under him he has several Vice-roys whom he appoints at Pleasure, and who in his Absence act arbitrarily, and have each their Vice-royalty. He has also Grand Captains who likewise are Vice-roys over some District or other. Another Sort of Captains are such as are entrusted with the Market, Slaves, Prisons and the Shore. Besides all which, there are a great Number of Honorary Captains. His Revenue is very large; for there is no Commodity but what pays Toll, and the Collectors, of which there are One Thousand, disperse themselves throughout the whole Land, in order thereto.

ON the King's Death they have a villainous Custom of stealing from one another, and this they do openly without being liable to Punishment, which publick Violence and Robbery continue till the new King is install'd, when he immediately prohibits it, and is directly obey'd. If the Grandees cannot agree about the Succession, as sometimes it happens when the King dies without Issue Male, or when they are for advancing his Youngest Son, they publish the Order, and tell the People they have a New King; but generally the Old King is succeeded by his Eldest Son, who on his Father's Demise gets into his Palace, and takes Possession of his Wives. The King's Wives are the Executors of his Sentences, and 'tis merry enough when a Grandee has offended the King, three or four Hundred of them are sent to the Offender's House, which they immediately strip and level with the Ground.

As to their Religion, it is very superstitious. Some Years ago, it is said, a Priest of the *Augustine* Order came hither to
convert

convert them to Christianity. *Polygamy* is an Obstacle which they cannot get over, if Christianity could allow this, there is no other Point insuperable. The King attended Mass, which was perform'd by the said *Augustine*, and seem'd pleas'd therewith.

ADJOINING to the Kingdom of *Whydab*, or *Fida*, are several Royalties, viz. *Coto*, *Little* and *Great Popo*, *Quaboe*, and *Adrab*, all situate on the *Slave Coast*, which are govern'd by their respective Kings, and follow much the same Customs with those of *Whydab*, only that they chiefly live on Plunder, and the *Slave-Trade*. It is their common Practice to assure the Merchant, that they have a Number of Slaves in order to draw him on Shore; which done they fleece him, and detain him several Months. Some Years ago, they dealt fraudulently with an *English Ship*, and besides cheated the Captain of his Goods; but coming thither some Time after, he recover'd his Damages in the following Manner. As soon as he had dropt Anchor before *Popo*, some of the Great Men

Men, amongst whom was the King's Son, came on board him; all whom he clapp'd in the Bilboes, from which he would not discharge them till he was first re-imbursed, and had oblig'd them to pay him a Sum besides.

BEFORE I leave this Country, I shall give a brief Account of some of the most remarkable Customs, &c. practis'd by the Natives of GUINEA, worthy Observation, and which may be of some Use and Entertainment to the Reader.

IN *Agonna*, a Kingdom on the *Gold Coast*, a Custom prevails for a Woman to govern, who executes that High Office with as much Courage and Conduct as other Countries are rul'd by Men. I dont know any other Kingdom in all *Guinea* where the Supremacy descends to either Sex. This Governess is so wise, that to keep the Government in her own Hands, she lives unmarried. But that she may not remain a perfect Stranger to the soft and pleasing Passion, she generally buys a brisk jolly Slave, with whom she diverts herself; prohi-

prohibiting him on Penalty of losing his Head to intrigue with any other Woman. And when the Youth has lost his Charms, or her Majesty's Passion palls, he is exchanged for another; such is her Chastity and Virtue, since check'd by no Religion or Law she is so perfect a Mistress of her Favours that she may confer them on whom she pleases, without Fear or Scandal. The next Heir to the Crown, is her Eldest Daughter, her Sons are sold for Slaves, or otherwise disposed of, so as not to interrupt the Succession in the Female Line. The Daughter is taught by the Mother the same political Method of Government mention'd above, which the young Princess is tutor'd in very early, and likewise, when Nature dictates, a beautiful Slave is purchas'd for her amorous Amusement. It is a pleasant fertile Country, and under which Government the Inhabitants live peaceably, seldom or never going to War. The *English* had a small Fort here for some Time.

THE Negroes of the *Gold Coast* when they go to War, if they beat their Enemy re-

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joice;

joice; and if they are beaten they still do the same: And they are so very indifferent about the Events of Things, that they seem unmov'd at their greatest Misfortunes. As to their Dress, that of the Men is generally very poor and mean, but Pride among these People as well as the *Europeans* has chiefly establish'd its Throne amongst the Female Sex, who here adorn themselves with a Veil, or Shift of Silk, over which they wear a Garment of Red Cloth, and adorn themselves with Rings of Gold, Silver and Ivory, and so well skill'd are they in their Fashions, that they know how to dress themselves up sufficiently tempting to allure the *Christians*, especially when there is no White Female to be found.

As to the Education of their Children, the Mother gives the Infant suck for two or three Years, which over, and the Child can walk alone, than it is, *Turn out Brutes*: When hungry, she gives it a Piece of dry Bread, and sends it abroad, and then it wanders either to the Market, or the Sea-side to learn to swim, or it goes any-where else; no Care is taken of it,
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nor does any Person regard its Progress. In *Europe* when our Children can go alone, how many Cares and Anxieties continually perplex us, nor do we think that we can ever take enough Care of them; but here they have none of this Trouble. Child-bearing, in this Part of the World, is attended with no Expence of long Lying-in, Gossiping, &c. A Negroe Woman, I have been told, has been deliver'd of a Child in less than a Quarter of an Hour, and in their Labour they use no Shrieks or Cries; nay, the very same Day it is customary for the Lying-in Woman to go to the Sea-side and bathe herself, without ever thinking of returning to her Bed. Here are no Provision of any Necessaries for the new-born Infant, and yet all its Limbs grow vigorous and proportionate, and I must deliver it as my Opinion, that the contrary Practice in *Europe* makes so many crooked People. The Children generally follow that Way of Life their Parents do, so that they very early shift for themselves. They are not extravagant in their Eating, faring hard, by Choice, tho' they have Money and Plenty of Provisions, but are intemperate

in their Thirst after Liquor, drinking Brandy and Palm-Wine in Abundance, and to Excess. The Women also are addicted to Drinking. They live together in a civil Manner, and pay Respect to each other. When they meet, they salute each other by pulling off the Hat, and then next they enquire after each other's Health by this Question, How did you sleep? The other replies, Very well. By which we may observe, that these People think good sound Sleep to be the most necessary Preservative of Health. They visit one another with great Civility, and the great Men with much Show, Formality, Ceremony and Ostentation. The Languages of the Natives of the several Kingdoms on the *Gold-Coast* differ so widely, that they are unintelligible to any but their respective Inhabitants. They cannot read nor write, by which Means as to the Knowledge of their Antiquity, History, &c. little is to be learnt, every Thing here being uncertain and traditional. There is one Thing that deserves Commendation, which is, that there are no Poor amongst them that beg, the Reason of which is, that when a Negroe finds he cannot

cannot subsist, he binds himself for a certain Sum of Money, and the Master to whom he is oblig'd finds him in all Necessaries.

UPON this Coast are a Sort of People call'd MULLATOES, a Race begotten by the *Europeans* upon *Negroe* Women. This Bastard Brood is a Parcel of the most profligate Villains, neither true to the *Negroes*, nor to one another, yet they assume the Name of Christians, but are indeed as great Idolaters as any on the Coast. Most of the Women are publick Whores to the *Europeans*, and private ones to the *Negroes*. In short, whatever is bad among the *Europeans*, or *Negroes*, is united in them; so that they are the Sink of both. They are frightfully ugly, when they grow in Years, especially the Women.

ALL the Natives of this Coast believe there is one true God, the Author of them and all Things: They say, that in the Beginning God created Black as well as White Men; that he having created these two Sorts of Men, offer'd two Kinds of Gifts,

viz. Gold, and the Knowledge of Art, Reading, and Writing, giving the Blacks the first Election, who chose Gold, and the Whites was oblig'd to take the Knowledge of Letters; that God granted their Request, but being incens'd at their Avarice, resolv'd, that the Whites should for ever be their Masters, and they their Slaves. Others affirm, that Man was not at first shap'd as he is at present, but the Parts design'd for Propagation were plac'd more in View for its better Convenience, and that God has since alter'd it for Modesty Sake. Almost every Village has a Grove or publick Place of Worship, to which the principal Inhabitants on a set Day resort to make their Offerings, &c. They have Notions of a future Life, and imagine that after Death they go to another World, where they shall live in the same State they do here, and that they who have liv'd regularly, and have inviolably kept their Oaths, are gently wafted over a River to a Land abounding with all Kinds of Happiness; but on the other Hand, if he has behav'd amiss, that they are drown'd as they are passing the River. Some imagine, that af-
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ter Death, their Souls will animate White Men, in order to their farther Attainment in Knowledge. They give Credit to Conjurers and Miracle-mongers, and stedfastly believe the Apparitions of Spirits and Ghosts, which makes them fearful and timorous. They have a Custom here of banishing the Devil, which they perform annually with Abundance of Ceremony at a Time appointed for that End. This is done with great Joy and Mirth, and Lampoon on their Superiors for eight Days, at the Conclusion of which, they hunt out the Devil with a horrid Cry, all running one after another, throwing of Excrements, Stones, Wood, or any Thing they can come at, as thick as Hail at Satan's Posteriors. This done, they return to their Houses, and the Women wash and scour all their Wooden and Earthen Vessels very neat, to free them from all Pollution and the Devil. They have but one other Festival, which is their Harvest-time, call'd by the Christians, their *Fair*. On their Sabbath they are forbid to fish, but as to all other Works they are allowed, and all exercise them according to Discretion.

As to the Government of these Territories some are Monarchies, and two are Republicks; which as to their Customs are much the same, differing only in the Form of their Government.

AXIM is govern'd by a Body of the Caboceroes, who are the Chief Men, and by the Manceroes, or young Men, elected thereto. The publick Affairs are chiefly under the Conduct of the former, but what concerns the whole Land, as War and Peace, the raising of Taxes, &c. which seldom happen, fall under the Cognizance of both Assemblies. The Caboceroes are the Judges of all Causes, who often take Bribes, and pervert Justice. They have no Lawyers, tho' they hold Courts and examine Witnesses, &c. Murther, and Adultery are severely punish'd, if the Offender be poor, but if rich, he may fine. Robbery is commonly punish'd with the Restoration of the stolen Goods, and paying a Fine, which is proportion'd according to the Penalty of the Person offending. In Cases of Debt, the Creditor may seize
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the Debtor's Goods though to double the Value, but this is look'd on as an oppressive Custom, but ample Restitution is adjudg'd by the Judges themselves, according to an old *Roman Law*, by which, if the injur'd Person has receiv'd Damage in his Honour and Reputation, full Satisfaction should be made by the Aggressor.

WHEN they go to War, which is always deliberated by the General Council, no Man is press'd or compell'd; the Manceroes being young run into it for the Sake of Plunder, and every one prepares for it as soon as War is concluded on, which is many times resolved for this Reason, that a neighbouring Nation grows rich, and cuts a better Figure than they. Going to War is very cheap, a neighbouring Nation may be hir'd to assist another for a less Sum than Two Thousand Pounds, which is divided between the Caboceroes and Manceroes. As for the Plunder that is to bear the Expence of the War, but the Soldiers generally serve themselves first. In Fight, each Commander hath his Men close together in a Sort of a Crowd, in the Midst of which he is generally

nerally to be found; so that the Attack is Man to Man, or one Heap of Men against another. In Case one is shot, the rest are sure to fly, being very great Cowards, unless entangl'd among the Enemy. They do not stand upright in Battle but stooping, and listening that the Bullets may fly over their Heads; others creep towards the Enemy as close as they can, then let fly, and run away as though the Devil drove them. Wars, betwixt two despotic Kings, who have their Subjects entirely at their Command, last long, frequently several Years, and sometimes the Dispute ends in the Ruin of one of them. Their Military Arms are, Muskets or Carabines, Guns, and Swords shap'd like Chopping-knives; they wear Caps on their Heads made of a Crocodile's Skin, with a heavy Iron Chain girt round their Head. They use Bows and Arrows, Shields, and an Instrument call'd Assagay. Some likewise have great Cannon.

THE Kings do not distinguish themselves by any State; there is no Guard at their Palace Gates, nor any Body to wait
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on them, and when abroad in the Town two Boys attend them only, one carries the Sabre, and the other the Stool or Chair; but when they go to visit some considerable Man, several Shields are carried before them, and an Umbrella above their Heads, and are attended by the most beautiful of their Wives finely dress'd with Gold and other rich Ornaments. The Riches of these Kings, (who are hardly to be compar'd to the Bailiff or Mayor of a Corporation Town in *Cornwal*) are his Slaves, and he that has many of them is consequently rich and potent. The Grand Officers of the State are, Braffoes, or Ensigns; Tie-Tie's, Criers and Attendants on the King's Wives; Hornblowers or Trumpeters, and Drummers. The Office of Braffoe is to carry the King's Messages to the neighbouring Courts, the Tie-Tie's Office is to cry out, *Hearken*, in the publick Council, when the Voices run too high, and to cry lost or stolen Goods; the Attendants on the King's Wives have the Care of their Master's Orchards, and of his Treasury, of which they keep the Keys. Besides these, they have no other Officers,

OF the Marriages of the Natives of *Guinea* Mention has been made. Some make great Gain of their Wives, and 'tis with this View that they marry many; who are so faithful that when they have admitted a Spark, they immediately acquaint their Husbands, who directly fleeces him: Some pretend they are not married, and so impose upon the Stranger, who as soon as the Affair is over is undeceiv'd by the Appearance of the Husband, in the same Manner claiming his Wife as the Bullies in *Europe* do. The usual Sum for lying with another Man's Wife is about four, five, or six Pounds Sterling, but when the injur'd Person is of Quality, 100 *l*; but in Case the offending Party denies the Fact, then the Cause is brought into Court. The Evidence of the Woman is sufficient, who relates all the Circumstances of the Action in its most natural Terms; the Accused always denies the Fact strenuously. In this Difficulty the Court, or rather Council of old Men, are perplex'd what Sentence to give, and therefore they put the Man to his Oath, which if he refuses, the Verdict goes

goes against him. Some, besides Wives, have Concubines, whose Children are esteem'd legitimate: And if he has a Child by his Slave, he can make it legitimate, which if he does not do before his Death, his Heir will look on it as a Slave, and treat it as such.

IN the Inland Countries the Punishment of Adultery extends to the Woman as well as the Man, yet this deters not the Woman from the Practice thereof. They miss no Opportunity, and are continually contriving Stratagems how to gain a Lover. If they meet with a Man they immediately strip his lower Parts, and throw themselves upon him, protesting that if he will not gratify their Desires, they will accuse him to their Husbands, as *Joseph's* Mistress did to *Pharaoh*, for nothing is more revengeful than a disappointed Woman, who here are like so many *Samsons* pulling down Mischiefs upon their own Heads as well as others. If they can come to the Place the Man sleeps in, they lay themselves softly down by him, soon wake him, and use all their little Arts to move the darling Passion,

Passion, and if he prove refractory they assure him, they will make such a Noise as shall occasion their being taken together; after which his Death will be inevitable. The Youth is oblig'd to comply, and the Repetition hereof causes Discovery, and consequently the Punishment follows. Indeed, the Case is very hard with the Woman, especially one of the King's Wives, who seldom lie with the King above three times, and afterwards are strictly forbid the Intercourse of Men for the rest of their Lives, which is so unreasonable, that I dare say those Ladies who are subject to the Gospel could not comply with; for here, in a proper Sense, the Lady is tantaliz'd, tastes of Pleasures she has the greatest Delight in, and then when all her Passions are afloat, her Gratification of them is prohibited by Death. I have often pitied these unhappy Ladies, and reflected what greater Privileges those of *Christendom* enjoy'd. It is true, Criminal Conversation is a pecuniary Crime among Christians, but then the Woman is so far from suffering for her Part of the Crime, that she receives the greatest Benefit, the Indulgence of her tender

der Passion, her sole Delight, and with the Man she loves, under no Apprehensions of Death, and if a Divorce ensues, her Jointure is unalienable, and therefore that renders her Happiness compleat. However, these *Negroe* Royal Ladies do their utmost to gratify this Passion, and often twenty of them seize a lusty Youth, and detain him till his Strength is quite exhausted, and then they send him away, making him promise to return to them again at a Set Time, of which he always fails, for he is sure to sell himself for a Slave.

IN *Ante*, if a Woman has born Ten Children she is separated from her Husband, and the rest of Mankind for a Year, after which she returns, which is a very particular Custom, the Reason of which I could not learn. They have a Custom of holding Women unclean, and of circumcising Children, which they probably learnt from the *Jews* or *Mahometans*. Here several Marriages are made as soon as the Parties are born, by their Parents, in order for a stricter Alliance of their Families.---- Women here live long unmarried, because they

because whilst single they are quite free, being at Liberty to admit the Embraces of several Men, if they please. The Number of Women much exceed the Men, which obliges the Women to remain the longer unask'd in Marriage, though this is not at all irksome, for they may indulge the soft Passion without the least Scandal, nor are they therefore rudely accounted Whores, and stand the same Chance as others of having Husbands.

IN the Countries of *Eguira*, *Abocroë*, *Ancober*, *Axim*, *Ante* and *Adom* are several Women, who are bought for the Service of the Publick, and most Towns have one, two or more, according to their Largeness. This is a Privilege granted the Manceroes on their petitioning the Caboceroes. The Reason which they assign for such a Provision is, that those Men who have no Wives, will be prompted, when they are desirous to gratify Nature, to run the Danger of lying with other Mens Wives. So that these People count it prevents Confusion, Adultery and Death, to allow publick Whores. These Women have Dwellings
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for themselves set apart by the Magistrates, and having us'd their Pleasure reward them according to Custom.

IN *Commany, Elmina, Fetu, Saboe, or Sabee, and Fantyn,* they have none of these publick Women, and yet a Man is not much put to it, for here the Women are very kind before Marriage, but they are not oblig'd to bestow their Favours on any but who they like, and seldom without Reward. There are likewise old Matrons who breed up whole Schools full of the handsomest Girls they can find for the Use the Rakes.

IN Sickness, as I have already observ'd, they use the utmost Diligence for a Recovery, and make Use of Physicians, who are, many of them, as great Cheats as any in *Europe.* I must however say, that the Medicaments, Plants, Herbs, &c. have such Virtues here, that they really perform very surprizing Cures. After all Endeavours us'd to recover the sick Party are found ineffectual, and the Patient expires, Enquiry is made into the Cause of his

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Death.

Death. As, whether he is poison'd, or died through the Neglect of his Wives, Children, or other Persons about him? If they find nothing, then the Priest says, he has been deficient in his Religious Rites, and therefore died. This done, they set up a dismal Crying and Lamentation, and running about fill the whole Town with it, and the Youth, who knew the Deceased, generally pay their Respects by firing off a Musket several times, to give Notice of his Death, as we do by the Ringing of a Bell. His Wives also run about the Streets in a mad Manner for several Days lamenting till the Corps is buried. Whilst these are abroad lamenting, his nearest Relations sit by the Corps making a dismal Noise. The Deceased is put into a Coffin, with divers rich Things, according to his Degree, and when they carry him to the Ground, several young Soldiers precede and running continually load and discharge their Muskets, and so continue to do till he is buried. Many of both Sexes follow without the least Order, and the Corps being deposited, a Festival ensues for eight Days, at the Deceased's House.

ON the Death of the King, publick Notice is given, not only to his own Subjects, but also to those of the neighbouring Princes, which occasions a vast Concourse. And indeed the Solemnity is worth seeing, for, on this Occasion, every one is richly habited, and the whole is perform'd with great Pomp and Ceremony. In such Funerals, several of the Deceased's Slaves are sacrific'd in order to attend on and serve him in the other World, as also one of his principal Wives, and one of his principal Servants. But this barbarous Custom is much difused since the Coming of the *Europeans*. The Natives are very fond of being buried in their own Country, inso-much that if any one dies out of it, if his Circumstances will afford it, he is remov'd in order to be interr'd in the Place of his Nativity.

THE greatest Kingdom in *Guinea* is that of BENIN, by some call'd GREAT BENIN. Here is the famous River of *Formosa*, which sprouts itself into innumerable Branches; some whereof are so wide that

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they deserve the Name of Rivers, and the Banks of each of them are inhabited by a particular Nation, govern'd by their respective Kings, who all, except the King of *AWERRI*, are Slaves to the King of *Great Benin*. At the Mouth of *Formosa* certain Pirates inhabit, who live by Robbery only, whatever they seize, Men, Beasts or Goods, they sell to the first that come hither for Victuals, for they have none of their own. The River is very pleasant, and also very unwholsome, and much pester'd with Musketoës, which Unwholsomeness is fatal to many of the *Europeans* who come hither. The Natives are all Freed-Men, tho' treated as Slaves by their King: None but Foreigners can be bought and sold here. The Vice-roys of Towns have the Power of deciding Civil Causes, and raising the public Taxes; but in Criminal Cases they must send to Court, which is at the Village or City of *Great Benin*, the Residence of the King, and wait the Orders thereof. The Inhabitants are generally very good-natur'd and exceedingly civil and courteous. When the *Europeans* make them Presents, which on their coming hither to trade they always
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do, they endeavour to return them doubly. They are very tedious in their Dealings, but this is manag'd with so many Civilities that one cannot be angry. The Mercadors, Fiadors or Merchants, who are Factors for the Natives in their Trade with the *Europeans*, are appointed by the Government, and we pay a small Custom not worth mentioning.

IN the State is first, the King, and next him three Persons, who are stil'd LORDS, who are always about his Majesty's Person, and to whom all are oblig'd to address themselves who sue to the Crown for Favours, or other Business. These Lords are the King of *Great Benin's* Prime Ministers. Subordinate to these are the Vice-roys or Governors of the Countries subject to the Crown, who are advanc'd thereto by the Recommendation of the three great Lords. To the Persons so recommended, as fit and proper to be entrusted with the Office of Vice-roy, the King gives a String of Coral, which is the Badge or Ensign of their Power and Authority: It is continually wore about their Necks, in

the Manner of an Alderman's Chain, for if they should lose it they are irreparably condemn'd to die. Whoever counterfeits these Strings of Coral, is punished with Death. Next to these in Degree, are the Commonalty, out of whom the former are chosen, very few of which are laborious and industrious, unless their Poverty obliges them to it; the others lay the Burthen upon their Wives, whilst they, if they have the least Stock, apply themselves to Merchandize, in which they are assiduous and careful.

As to their Manner of Living, in regard to Eatables, it is much the same with that of the *Europeans*. They frequently treat one another, and impart a Portion of their Superfluity to the Necessitous: They are exceeding charitable, so that there are no Beggars among them. Their Cloathing is neat, and more elegant than that of the Natives of the *Gold Coast*, yet the upper Parts of their Bodies are naked, and they habit themselves according to their several Circumstances. The Women are cloath'd all over, and they adorn their Necks with
Coral,

Coral, &c. Almost all their Children go naked; the Boys till they are ten or twelve Years of Age, and the Girls till Nature discovers their Maturity. Here likewise, as in other Parts of *Guinea*, they marry as many Wives as their Circumstances will admit. If a Man likes a Virgin, he discovers his Passion to her Parents, or nearest Relations, who, if she is not promis'd to another, seldom denies his Request. They are jealous of their Wives with their own Country-men, but they are not so with the *Europeans*. When they receive Visits, the Women always withdraw, but if the Visitants are *Europeans* they make Part of the Conversation. They punish Adultery, if the Parties are taken in the Act, all the Man's Effects is forfeited to the Person injur'd, and the Woman is turn'd out of Doors, who removes to a Place where she is not known, there passes for a Widow, or lives by her Favours; but Money amongst the Rich heals the Breach and reconciles the Difference, and the offending Lady is treated with the same Endearments as before. The Governours, if they surprize the Adulterers, kill both, and then

throw their Bodies as a Prey to wild Beasts. They are so strict in the Execution of these Punishments that these Crimes are seldom or never committed, or at least they are done with so much Secrecy that they are not easily discover'd; for it is to be observed, that the Adulterers must be found in the very Act, and by the Husband, Suspicion and Circumstances are not regarded, they have no Weight in this Affair. Amours are not manag'd here in that delicate Manner as in *Europe*, if they have but the Opportunity, it is done at once; whereas a Man must sigh a long Time when he sues for the first Favour of a *European* Lady, by which Delay, the Plot is always discover'd. Presents, Plays, Ridotto's, &c. pave the Path to Love and Enjoyment; but here pure Nature, and the immediate Glances and Desires of both Sexes; there is no Occasion for a Volume of Words on the Man's Part, because there is not the least Coyness on that of the Woman. So that this Part of the World is not pester'd with Coquets or Prudes. They do not talk of Procreation in obscene Terms, but they who can express this Subject in well-meaning

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ing Hints is accounted a Wit. Pregnant and menstruous Women they abstain from, and circumcise both Male and Female, and make little Incisions in the Bodies of their Infants. Twin-bearing Women are counted a good Omen, all this Country over, except at *Arebo*, where they kill both Mother and Offspring.

THE Natives pay no Duties for Goods imported or exported, but every one pays a certain Sum annually for the Liberty of Trading. The Vice-roys in every District take Care of the Collection, which is with great Ease done, and send Part of it to the King. No Foreigners are permitted to live in the Metropolis, or near the King's Palace. The Handicrafts keep to their Work, and regard neither Court nor Trade. The Women here manage Business, and are as industrious as those of *Holland*, but much more obliging. The Son succeeds the Father in his Trade, and all his Possessions.

As this is the most potent Kingdom of *Guinea*, and more nearly resembles an *European*

ropean Monarchy, I shall give the Reader some Account of its Metropolis, the King's Court and Grandeur.

BENIN, a City about Sixty Miles from *Agatton*, a Town situated at the Entrance of the River *Formosa*, near the Sea, is the Residence of the King, and gives its Name to the whole Empire. The Country hereabouts is flat, as is also the City itself; the Streets are prodigious long and broad, in which continual Markets are kept, either of Kine, Cotton, Elephants-Teeth, or *European* Wares; and notwithstanding, they are kept very clean. The Houses are large and handsome, with Clay Walls, and cover'd on Top with Reed, Straw, or Leaves. It is pleasantly situated on a River bearing its own Name. It was once a very populous Place, but some Years since, the King causing two Street-Kings, (who are like our Aldermen, or Common-Council-men) to be kill'd, under Pretence of attempting his Life, tho' the Contrary evidently appear'd to the whole World, and that he did it only to get their Wealth, which he did. This led the King to seek
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for a third, but this Street-King, or Alderman, was so well-belov'd by his Fellow-Citizens, that he had timely Notice given him of his Prince's Intentions, and accordingly took his Flight, accompanied with three Fourths of the Inhabitants of the City. Upon which the King caus'd the Militia of the Country to pursue them, and oblige them to return; but they met with a Repulse, and was thereupon forc'd to retire. The King made a second Attempt, in which likewise he fail'd; whereupon the Alderman incens'd and flush'd with Victory, came directly to the City, where he plunder'd and pilfer'd, sparing no Place but the King's Palace. After which he retir'd, but continu'd for Ten Years to rob the Inhabitants of *Benin*, till, at length, at the Intercession of some *Europeans* a Peace was concluded between him and the King, by which he was pardon'd, and entreated to return to his former Habitation, but the Alderman would not trust him, but lives about Three Day's Journey from *Benin*, where he has as great a Court and State as the King. However, the returning Citizens were friendly receiv'd, and many of them
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preferr'd to honourable Offices, in order to induce the rest to return, but that was of no Force, for they who were with the Alderman thought themselves as well off, and so this City has continu'd long depopulated.

THE King's Court is situated in a very large Plain. The first Place we come into, is, a very long Gallery which is sustained by fifty-eight strong Planks, which are only hack'd out rough. At the End of which we come to the Mud-wall with three Gates, at each Corner one, and another in the Middle. At the Top of all is fix'd a large Copper Snake, which is well cast and carved. Entering one of these Gates we next come into a Plain, which is about a Quarter of a Mile Square, and encompass'd with a low Mud-wall; then we come to another Gallery, which has a Gate leading to the third Gallery, which is supported by Human Figures. Going through a Gate we come to the fourth Gallery, beyond which is the King's House. Here is another Snake. In his Anti-chamber his three Great Lords attend, who acquaint

quaint the King with the Desires of his Subjects and report his Answers, for no other Person dare to come nearer to him than the Distance of Thirty Paces. The King appears publickly but once a Year, and that is at the CORAL-FEAST, as they call it, when he comes to the Plain most magnificently dress'd, attended by his Wives, Prime Ministers of State, and all the Gentry, or Vice-roys, where His Majesty sacrifices to his Gods in the open Air, which begins the Feast; the Nobles and Gentry follow his Example, and the Day proceeds with all Manner of Drinking, &c. and concludes with great Mirth and Gladness. It is call'd the Coral-Feast, because at this Time the King bestows the Strings of Coral on those, whom he advances to any Preferment, or Post of Honour, which he never does, but on this Festival, unless a particular Urgency of State requires it.

As to Religion, they believe there is a God, the efficient Cause of all Things, but like the rest of the *Guineans* they are superstitiously and idolatrously inclin'd.

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ON *Thursday*, the Twentieth of *April*, 1727, we took the Advantage of a calm Day, and embark'd, from *Whydab*, in the following Manner: Our Canoe lay ashore upon the Beach, with her Head towards the Sea, and those who were Passengers stepp'd in, and sat down snug in the Fore-Part of her, because the After-Part is for the Canoe-men to stand to their Paddles, being thirteen, commonly eleven, in Number. When we were fix'd in our Places, the Negroes took hold of the Canoe, and having watch'd a convenient Opportunity, they run her off upon the Back of a Wave, and all leap'd in, and handled their Paddles with such Expedition and Dexterity, that before the Return of the next Wave, they had push'd her out of Danger of the Shore Breakers, but that was not all; for about Thirty Yards off lies a Bar, where the Sea breaks with greater Violence than on the Shore. However, they got her soon over there likewise; and about Forty Yards on the Outside of which, lies another Bar which is the most dangerous of all: Between these two Rows of Breakers,
which

which roar'd like Thunder, we laid by on our Paddles near a Quarter of an Hour; and at last the Men, seeing a monstrous great Wave break, they, on a sudden, made a Push towards it, and darted their Canoe quite through the succeeding Wave, which was pretty small, as they always are, and only wet us a little, thereby disappointing the huge Train of our Attendants, I mean the Sharks, who swarm'd about us, and waited with Impatience to see the Bottom of our Canoe turn'd upwards. These voracious Animals often follow the Canoes, thro' the Breakers, quite ashore, in Hopes of Prey. And whenever the Dead are committed to the Sea, which happens almost every Day, while Ships are in this Road, the Sharks give such due Attendance that the Corps can no sooner touch the Water, than it is immediately torn to Pieces, and devour'd before our Faces, nevertheless we got safe to our Ship: And at Break of Day next Morning weigh'd, and set Sail from thence, designing for the Island of *Princess*, where we intended to take in Wood, Water, and Provisions for our Voyage home. Accordingly, after
some

some contrary Winds and bad Weather, we arriv'd there on *Monday* the Eighth of *May*.

THIS is a small Island belonging to the King of *Portugal*, and lies in the Latitude of 1 *deg.* 30 *min.* N. It is very mountainous and woody, except where the *Portuguese* Lugars, or Plantations are. This Island is pester'd with several Sorts of Apes, and I have been assur'd by a *Portuguese* Factor here, who is a Native of *England*, that a lusty young Slave of his was one Day attack'd by a Posse of these Monkies, who soon overpower'd and tore him to Pieces; but before they had quite devour'd him, one of the Town's Men, coming Home that Way with a Gun, fir'd among them, and dispers'd them; by which Means the Manner of his Death was discover'd.

HERE is extraordinary good fresh Water, with which we stor'd ourselves, also Wood enough for the Cutting. But fresh Provisions were very dear, we knew they were much cheaper at *St. Thome*, another *Portuguese*

Portuguese Island, lying directly under the Line, but then their Water is not good, because they have but one Spring upon the Island, in which the Negroes are continually washing themselves with Soap; so that by the Time this Water runs from the Top of the Hill down to the Sea-side, 'tis nothing but Sudds, enough to poison our Men, for which Reason we did not touch there.

THE Houses here are two Story high, neatly built of Wood, and surrounded with handsome Balconies, after the *Portuguese* Fashion. Here is also a Monastery having more Black Friars and Nuns, than White ones.

DURING our Stay here we bought up what fresh Provisions we could get, though at a very dear Rate; we also took in Wood and Water, sufficient for our Voyage home, and hove down our Ship, and careen'd her. Being thus fit for the Sea, we took our Departure from thence for LONDON, on *Tuesday*, the Sixteenth of *May*, and on the Twentieth, we cross'd

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the Equinoctial Line, and paid as usual. On the Twenty-third about Seven in the Morning we had a distant View of Cape *Lopez*, which lies in one Degree South Latitude, being the last Sight we had of the *African* Shore. It was there, that memorable Battle was fought between Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and *Roberts* the famous Pirate, whom he took, and was knighted for so doing. The *Weymouth* and *Swallow* Men of War carried the Pirates to Cape *Coast*, where they were tried and condemn'd, several of whom were hanging in Chains when I was there; others who upon Trial appear'd less criminal had the Favour of the Court to indent with the Company's Agents for Ten Years Servitude; one of whom I saw at *Commenda*, and was told he behaved very quietly and well.

Now we are enter'd upon a long and tedious Voyage, not hoping to see any Land for the Space of a Quarter of a Year, nor had we any Ship in Company with us: However, we resolv'd to divert ourselves the best we could; and what contributed in a great Measure to my Satisfaction, was the Com-
pany

pany of Mr. *Charles Wheeler*, who had been a Factor to the Royal *African* Company for Ten Years in *Guinea*, and was now returning Home in our Ship.

THIS Gentleman, having resided in *Guinea* a long Time, was undoubtedly acquainted with the several Customs of the *Guineans*, and likewise with their Passions, Inclinations, and Dispositions, which render'd his Company diverting; and as the Substance of our several Conversations cannot, I believe, be displeasing to the Reader, I shall here give his Remarks thereon.

I HAVE liv'd in *Guinea*, said he, upwards of Ten Years, and if my innate Desire of seeing *Old England*, and *London* the Place of my Nativity, did not urge my Departure, I might continue here, live quietly, and die in Peace. When I first came here, I was, as all others are, quite unacquainted with the Nature and Dispositions of the Inhabitants, and of the several Customs of the Country; but Time and Observation soon disclos'd them to

me. I thought, for Instance, that Polygamy, or the having a Multiplicity of Wives at one Time, was a very bad Custom, but I soon found that my Aversion to it was only the Prejudice of a different Education; for when I was a little habited to this Custom, I found it resembled the Method practised by the Patriarchs of the *Old Testament*. However, it may be observ'd, that a Man is not oblig'd to have more Wives than he pleases; and 'tis common for the most prudent of the Natives, who live by Merchandise, to have no more than two, or four at most: The Reasons they assign for this Practice are the following; first, That it was handed down to them by their Fathers; secondly, That they never cohabit with a Woman when she is pregnant or menstruous; thirdly, That two or more being Rivals for the Affections of the Man, they study and endeavour to please him; and fourthly, That as a Man may have Variety at Home, he is not so prone to seek it Abroad. I know several who live chastely and soberly in this Method, and have often thought that the Practice of too many *Europeans* was more
liable

liable to Censure, who besides a Wife keep two or three Harlots. Nay, the *European* is really in a very dangerous Fault, for he is taught, that such an Action is contrary to the Religion he professes, and for which he is liable to Damnation; nothing of which the *Negroes* believes, or is taught to believe; so far from which, that he herein follows the Example of his Ancestors, and treads in the Path of *Abraham* the Patriarch, which undoubtedly was right. Different Nations have different Customs, and consequently different Ideas of one and the same Thing: In *Guinea*, 'tis Chastity not to have Commerce with a Woman during her Pregnancy, but what *European* thinks it vicious to have? Is such an Abstinence for the Good, Long Life, and Health of Posterity? Of this the *Christian*, though he were convinc'd, his Religion permits and necessitates a contrary Way of Action. For I cannot act always as I would, being impell'd by Custom, Education and popular Error, to act contrary to the Sentiments of my own Mind. Nature is the best School, her Lessons are true, and her Dictates are universal.

IN *Guinea* you never hear of a Rape, and the Reason is plain, the young Ladies are not taught by the Priests, that the Gratification of their darling Passion is a damnable Crime, as they are by the Christian Apostles in *Europe*, which occasions many religious Girls of tender Consciences to remain refractory to the incessant and passionate Addresses of their Suitors, who sometimes through Deceit and Force seize the long wish'd-for Prize: But here the Youth who addresses the Fair proceeds not on the same Principles; his Suit is urg'd by no other Motives than those which arise from pure Nature; whereas there, Ambition, Pride, Fancy, Avarice, Spite, Malice, Revenge and Hatred, are too generally and almost always the governing Motives: In *Europe*, a Man often takes a Fancy to a Girl for her Gait, or Affectation in Walking, the Method of her Smiling, the Fixing of her Patches, the Ornaments of her Head and Person, the Largeness of her Hoop, or some other trifling Thing of the like Nature; or, for the Manner of her Speaking, Lispering, Singing, Dancing, Jest-

ing,

ing, or Talking; or for Interest, Honours, Trade, Family, Wealth, Riches and Land. In *Guinea*, the Youth, when arriv'd to Maturity, lie under none of those Inconveniencies from the Dictates of Nature, those of *Europe* do, for the Caboceroes (or Magistrates) provide publick Women in every Town, or the young Man may purchase in the Market a Woman-Slave, cohabit with her as long as he pleases, and then sell her again: So that in this Part of the World, in the Nature of the Thing itself there can be no Temptation to commit a Rape; especially if this one Thing be consider'd, that the Women of this Country make no Scruple, if they have but the Opportunity to meet the Embraces of the Man: And on the other Hand, the Man, if he finds his Fair not in the Humour, leaves her for the present, and retires to another; it is much the same to him, who it is, so be his Ends are answer'd. But in *Europe* we are so besotted, that we often dance Days, Months, Years, ay Ages, spend our Prime, ruin our Fortunes, Health, Vigour, &c. in the Pursuit of one Woman, and frequently miss the

Prize, or if gain'd, generally Contention, Hatred and Misery ensue. Suppose in *Europe*, when a young Man sets out in the World, he could purchase a Concubine, and cohabit with her during Pleasure, and then either give her her Liberty, or sell her again, would it not be better than, as the common Practice is, to cuckold their Neighbours, debauch their Daughters, and get with Child their own Maid-servants, which inevitably brings on the Parties, Ruin and Destruction?

ALL the Time I liv'd here, I never once heard of those detestable and unnatural Crimes of Sodomy and Bestiality, so much practic'd among Christians. Whether it is better to be Negroe in Morality, or an *European*, is with me easily decided. A *Guinean* by treading in the Paths prescrib'd him by his Ancestors, Paths natural, pleasant and diverting, is in the plain Road to be a good and happy Man; but the *European* has sought so many Inventions, and has endeavour'd to put so many Restrictions upon Nature, that it would be next to a Miracle if he were either happy
or

or good. Tell the *Guinean* of Chastity, and of living Celibate, and he laughs at it as a Chimera, and says, that there is neither Chastity nor Modesty in living the Life of a Monk or a Nun, and that that Religion which puts on Nature such Negatives is a Religion unreasonable and unnatural. Chastity and Modesty, he says, consists in refraining from Women when they are pregnant or menstruous, and in not lying with Women in the Streets, or before another Man: For which Reason it is, when they go to the publick Harlot, that they leave their Staff at her Chamber-Door, as a Token, and the next Comer does not enter till the other is gone: But in *Europe*, the daily Practice of the Rakes is quite the Reverse, they lie with a Whore all round, in the Presence of one another, and I have known this to be the Case when a Dozen has been present. Nay, the Publick Women here are so chaste, that they will not admit a second Man, nor a Woman, to be present while the Act is performing. So widely different is the Practice of these (whom we call ignorant) People from the Practice of the Whores
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in *Europe*, who continually lie with Men in the Streets, Fields, &c. and who admit as many to be present at the Act as please, if they apprehend no Danger from the Magistrate. Another good Custom prevails which shews their Modesty and Chastity, the Whores do not frequent the Streets, as in the great Cities and Towns of *Europe*. The thinking World may see how immodest, how vicious, the Christian Whores are, who daily employ themselves to delude the Youth, and who swarm our Streets, and like the Devil run up and down seeking whom to devour.

SOME Customs among these People at their first Appearance seems very strange. A Grandee, besides his two Wives, has many Concubines, perhaps Thirty, Forty, or more, and he lives with them much in the same Manner, as *Abraham* and the Patriarchs of old did, and they in like Complaisance call him Lord and Master. When he is visited by another Grandee, who comes one or two Days Journey, and perhaps designs to stay there some Time, he gives his Visitant the Choice of one of his Concu-

Concubines to be his Companion, and to lie with him during his Stay. This Offer has often been made me, especially when I visited a King, for it is a Compliment that is always paid an *European*. The first Time this happen'd I ask'd their Reasons for such a Practice; I was soon answer'd, that it was to keep me chaste and regular. How keep me chaste and regular, said I, when you tempt me to Fornication. Why, said the King, is it a Sin to lie with a Woman? Yes, I said, unless I was married to her. And did you never, said the King, in your own Country, lie with a Woman unmarried? Here I hesitated, and found I could not answer this Question, and therefore I begg'd to be excus'd. Take her, take her, said he, you seem to know what Use to make of her. Accordingly, one of the Captains of the Seraglio, presented me with a young Lady in her Prime, her Stature was tall, and she was well proportion'd, and I must acknowledge, that the Sight of her, produc'd some Emotions in me in her Favour. The King ask'd me, if I lik'd her? I answer'd, that I did. On which his Majesty appointed me a House,
just

just by his own Palace, and allotted us several Slaves to attend us during my Stay.

As I had learnt to speak their Language so as to be understood, I ask'd my Black Lady, when we were retir'd to our Apartment in the Evening, what was the Reason of this Custom? She told me, that the Design of it was to prevent Adultery; the two Ladies you saw about the Person of the King are his two Wives and Queens, whom no Man dare touch, under Pain of Death on the Discovery; therefore, that the Person visiting may lie under no Temptation to commit so foul a Crime, it is customary to present the Visitant with one of us for the Time he stays, who sometimes purchase or beg us of our Master. Hence, said she, you will never hear among us, what you relate of the *Europeans*, that the Visitant cuckolds the Husband, and debauches his Daughters, and Women-servants. During this Conversation, and whilst we were at Supper, I could not forbear viewing my Fair with an amorous Eye, her Hair was done up in a Ringlet, set with precious Stones, from whence divers
Locks

Locks of Hair beset with Diamonds descended from behind, and loosely play'd upon her jetty Breasts and Shoulders; her Neck was adorned with a String of Coral, beset with Rubies; her Arms were quite naked, save that her Wrists were adorn'd with two Strings of glittering Stones. Her lovely Breasts, whose Softness to the Touch nothing can exceed, were quite bare, and so was her Body to her Waste. From her Necklace, or String of Coral, went both behind and before a Chain of Gold which were fasten'd to the Garment which went round her Waste. This Garment, which was of the finest Silk, reach'd a little below her Knees. Her Legs were quite bare, except her Feet, on which she wore Sandals, lin'd with Silk. She made methought no despicable Figure, and though she was black, that was amply recompenc'd by the Softness of her Skin, the beautiful Proportion and exact Symmetry of each Part of her Body, and the natural, pleasant and in-artificial Method of her Behaviour. She was not forward, nor yet coy, when I pressed her lovely Breasts, she gently stroak'd my Hand, and smiling met my Salute with
equal

equal Ardour and Fervency. I ought to tell you, that the Ladies of this Country imagine it no Fault to be free, no nor to be fond of a Man; their Notion is, that they were made for their Diverfion as well as Use, and therefore they fay they ought to excite in the Man amorous Thoughts and Defires. My Lady therefore defir'd, that I would pull off my Coat, Waistcoat and Shirt: Which I did, and then her Ladyship embrac'd me feveral times, ftroaking me from my Shoulders to my Wafte, both behind and before. At Midnight we went to Bed, and in that Situation I foon forgot the Complexion of my Bedfellow, and obey'd the Dictates of all-powerful Nature. Greater Pleafure I never found, and during my Stay, if Paradife is to be found in the Enjoyment of a Woman, I was then in the Poffeffion of it.

THE next Morning, we renew'd our Difcourfe, and ſhe told me, that if I was to ſtay here a Length of Time, Chafteity would oblige her to refrain my Company. How, ſaid I, what does your Ladyſhip mean by that? Pray explain yourſelf. You
ſhould

should not, said she, converse with me, when I am either menstruous or pregnant. Pray, said I, what is the Reason for that? we do not refrain in *Europe*. Nature, replied she, forbids it. Ay, said I, you surprize me! I will tell you, said she, our Reasons, if a Child be begotten when a Woman is menstruous, that Child will be fill'd with Distempers, be unhealthy, and not live out half his Days. If you White People do not observe this Rule, there are among you, Lepers, Sickly, Diseas'd, Ricketty, Frantick, Enthusiastic, Paralytic, Apoplectic, &c. and undoubtedly, if the Truth was known, few Children live to Mens Estate. I was greatly surpriz'd at this, and begg'd her Ladyship to inform me, how she came by the Knowledge of these Distempers, which she call'd *European*. She told me, that some Time ago, a *French* Doctor, who had fallen into the Hands of her Master, was the Person from whom she learnt, and from certain Books of Physick he had left her, which she shew'd me. Well, but said I, why not when you are pregnant? That also, said she, Chastity and Prudence have forbid.

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These Doctrines, especially the last was so refin'd, that I could not, at first, see the Use of it, and regarded them as superstitious; but her Ladyship soon convinc'd me that it was for the Good of the rising Generation to refrain from Copulation during Pregnancy. However, I could not forbear asking her, how her Ladyship could refrain from Copulation all that Time? She said, that when a Woman is pregnant, Nature is fully and pleasantly employ'd; that her Thoughts tended towards the Child in her Womb, and that she neither desir'd Converse with Man, nor wanted it; and that it being the Custom of the Country neither Party sought its Contradiction; for this Reason, said she, the King said you should have another Concubine, if your Stay was long. And then she affirm'd, that among Black People there was Chastity, true Chastity and Modesty, but among White People, (for I had told her how repugnant our Practice was to this) there is none. She offer'd to prove, that the Observation of these two Rules were the Reasons why the Natives of that Region were so healthy, strong and long-liv'd. Indeed, she

she said, that those on the Sea-Coast had met with an Abbreviation from Six-score to five, occasion'd by the Use of a Life-shortning Liquor brought thither by the *Euro-peans*.

SHE seem'd to be a Woman of a good natural Judgment, and I took great Delight in her Conversation, and had she been White, I should have begg'd her of the King. One Day she entertain'd me with a Relation of the Justice of the King her Master: At the Extremity, said she, of his Dominions, on an Isthmus, some Years ago, there stood a Town, the Inhabitants of which, by the Conflux of *Euro-peans*, of different Nations residing among them, had learnt their Vices, and particularly that detestable and unnatural one of Sodomy. It was then a large and populous Place, and the Trade thereof was of great Service to his Majesty's Subjects; but he fearing that their unnatural Vices would communicate themselves to the other Parts of his Dominions, he commanded his Chief Captains to lead forth his Army, and to destroy the Inhabitants of that Place,

both Men, Women and Children. When she had ended, I said, I could not see the Justice of the Act, for according to her Ladyship's Relation, the Innocent as well as the Guilty suffer'd. True, said she, and I expected the Objection, but had the King proceeded to make such Inquiry, and to have separated, as you call it, the one from the other, he could not have compass'd his Design; the Ring-leaders, in such Case, could only have been punish'd, and that by Conviction of Evidence; and we have no Prisons, Judges, Lawyers, Gaolers, &c. here, as you have in *Europe*, and it were far better to destroy the Innocent of this Place, than purposely to erect Innovations, which in the very Nature of their Institution must introduce Oppression, and Tyranny, Destruction, Disease and Death. He did not tell them their Crime, nor for what he destroy'd them; but like a wise Physician he cut off the mortified Part of his Dominions to save the Whole. In the Punishment of so monstrous a Crime, continued her Ladyship, Justice and Prudence dictate that it were better to cut off many innocent Persons, than that one guilty should
escape;

escape; for had one *Sodomite* escap'd the general Slaughter of that Place, that one would have propagated the Crime, and that might have happen'd, if a Scrutiny had been made, in Order to have sav'd the Innocent.

ANOTHER Time my Lady desir'd me, (as she understood I came from one of the politeſt Nations in *Europe*) to give her an Account of the Manner of our Marriages, Addreſſes and Amours. I told her, that when I left *Europe*, I was young, and almoſt ignorant thereof. This I ſaid, hoping to be excus'd, for I was afraid of ſome aukward Reflection or other ſhe might make on them; but ſhe would not excuſe me, ſaying, Pray, White Man, do it as well as you can. Compliment, Lying, Flattery, Deceit, &c. are of no Service here, and therefore I was oblig'd to proceed, which I did thus:

IN *Europe*, Madam, ſaid I, a Man chuſes a Wife ſuitable for her Fortune. Fortune, ſaid ſhe, pray, what is that? It is the Money, Houſes, or Land, the Pa-
S 2 rents

rents give with their Daughter to the Person who marries her. So, says she, the Man is led by Gain, not Nature: It is odds, continu'd she, but among the People you come from, as that is the Case, Interest governs in your Marriages, and the Man and Woman is link'd together, and neither with their Consents; one Woman may have many Suitors, who after the Marriage of one of them, the Woman may indulge: This seems consequential, and likewise, that many cannot marry agreeable to their Interest, ambitious Views, and therefore live single the better Part of their Lives, and at length marry when they are old, and produce a puny Race; but pray proceed. Courtship, said I, is accounted a very pleasant Employ in *Europe*, and we often spend several Years therein; in which we at one Time, address this young Woman, write to that, and keep a criminal Conversation with a third. How different, said she, is your Method from ours; the Youth here, when he is minded to marry, speaks not to the Girl, but to the Parents, and if she is not requir'd already by another in Marriage, she is given

ven to him; I fancy, added she, that you court away all the Love you have for a Woman before you marry, get acquainted with Harlots, and hate ever after. I wished I could have concluded this Dialogue here; but pray, said this Lady, proceed. When we are to be married, we appoint a Day, and the Parties are attended to Church, the Bridegroom by his Parents, Relations, and Friends, and the Bride by her's with her Bride-men. Pray White Man what are the Bride's Men, and their Use? This Question shock'd me, and I fain would have evaded the Answer, but though I endeavour'd it, she still insisted upon the Point. I said, I had read in an old Book, that formerly certain Lords had a Right to all the Maidenheads within their several Districts; but that as the Lords of Manors were generally elderly Men, upon their relinquishing their ancient Right to lie with the Bride the first Night, the Bride made Choice of such young Men, of her Neighbours or Acquaintance, as she lik'd best, to do the Office for him: But that since that Time they seem'd to do no Duty, but were nominal only, to add to the Grandeur of

the Wedding, tho' I have heard, that the Bride-men now have the Right to take off the Bride's Garters, and to fling the Stocking. She assur'd me, there was no such Custom among the *Guineans*: Every Man got his own Maidenhead, tho' she believ'd according to the Account I had given, few Women in *Europe* presented their Husbands with their Maidenheads.

THERE is another Custom relating to Marriage practis'd in some Parts of *Guinea*, worth Observation, and that is this: The King on a Set-Day, once every Year, assembles all the young Men and Maidens in his Dominions together, that please to come, in his Capital Town or City, of such an Age, and then and there they are join'd in Wedlock; and if it so happens that more Women come than Men, as is generally the Case, then a Register is made of those young Women so disappointed of being married, and they are provided with Husbands first the next Year. By this Method a young Woman is certain when she shall be married, and therefore the young Women here, are not troubled with that cur-
sed

fed Distemper call'd the *Green Sicknefs*, as they are in *Europe*, who, many of them, pine out half their Days in reluctant Celi-bacy.

As to Women, one Happiness, which those of this Part of the World enjoy before those of *Europe*, must here be mentioned particularly, which is, their Labours. These are Times with them so easy, so kind, so natural and so good, that they have no Need of Midwives, Doctors, Nurses, &c. and I have known Women go to Bed over Night, bring forth a Child, and be abroad the next Day by Noon. The aforementioned Lady assur'd me, that this was owing to the following Causes: First, Their Chastity, in refraining from Coition during Pregnancy, &c. Secondly, To the Manner of their Cloathing, which was so contriv'd as to confine no one Part of the Body. And Thirdly, To the natural and simple Way of their Living. She found great Fault with our Stays, and Multiplicity of Garments, and said, hard Labours in some Measure, might proceed from thence, as well as from the Multitude of other Di-

stempers and damnable Inconveniencies our Women, through their Pride and Luxury, had brought upon themselves.

As to the Education of their Children, that also differs widely from the Method practis'd among the *Europeans*. The despotick and arbitrary Power of the Parent is very serviceable; it keeps their Youth in Awe, and makes them obedient. If a Son proves untowardly, (which, by the Way, seldom or never happens,) and will not be in the Interest of the Family, the Father can immediately sell him, by carrying him before the Caboceroes, alledging his Fault, &c. when the Youth is admonish'd to be dutiful for the future: Which if he is not, he is a second Time brought before them, and reprov'd and admonish'd; but if he is brought a third Time, then he is immediately order'd to be sold, which accordingly is done in the Slave-Market the next Market-Day. The Son is early bred to the same Employ his Father exercises; so that the Son's Ambition is to succeed his Father, whose Death he never once desires, (as too many Children in *Europe* do,) and the

the Reason is plain, because no Inconvenience arises to the Son from the Life of his Father. The Son becomes his own Master at a particular Age, has his Wife, or Wives, House, and Slaves of his own, given him, with which he is always content. In this Situation, the Parent has no Power to sell the Child, unless the Child should be found in an Attempt against the Life of the Father. The Daughter is brought up in the strictest Obedience, and she knows no Will but that of her Parents; all her Endeavour is to please them, who, in the Case of her Marriage, put no Negatives upon her, but take Care that she has a Husband, when she is by Nature inclin'd to be married.

As to the Ceremonies us'd at their Funerals, many of them are very ridiculous: We in *Europe* think that Crying and Howling about the Street for a Week is absurd, the *Guinean* counts the going into Mourning for a Twelve-month, equally so. But there is one Custom, which they observe, very beneficial to Society; and that is, that they never bury in their Towns and Cities,

but

but carry their Dead four or five Miles Distance, and bury them in the Sand, or upon the Bank of some neighbouring River. Their Reason for it is, that Cities are for the Living, and not the Dead. And I am of Opinion, that we should bury our Dead in the same Manner, if it were not for the following Reasons: The Gain of the Parish Priest, and the absurd and ridiculous Notions of the Efficacy of Christian Burial, and the Resurrection of the same Body at a Day of Judgment.

THE discerning Natives account it their greatest Unhappiness, that they were ever visited by the *Europeans*. They say, that we Christians introduc'd the Traffick of Slaves, and that before our Coming they liv'd in Peace; but, say they, it is observable, that where-ever Christianity comes, there come with it a Sword, a Gun, Powder and Ball. And indeed thus far they say right, for the Christians are continually at War one with another.

UPON the Whole, Whether the Manner of Action in this Country is so good as
that

that of *Europe*, ought to be judg'd by its Consequents. And I doubt not but upon an impartial Examination of the Premises, it would be found, that we Christians have as many idle ridiculous Notions and Customs as the Natives of *Guinea* have, if not more. Thus far Mr. *Wheeler*.

WHEN we had run down about Four Degrees to the Southward of the Line we then came into the true South-East Trade Wind, and steer'd away West near four Hundred Leagues in South Latitude, after which we shap'd our Course North-North-West crossing the Line, on *Tuesday* the Fifth of *June*. The next Day we fell into the Calms that are always under, or near the Line at these Times of the Year, especially between the North-East, and South-East Trade Winds. This Weather proved very comfortless to us, being dark, and so rainy that the Men, who were oblig'd to keep the Deck, had not Changes enough of Cloaths to keep them dry, and tho' under the Line it appear'd to be cold and raw. Once a Day we were sure of a Turnadoe, by the Assistance of which we at last got
fairly

fairly into the true North-East Trade, and with a good cheerful Gale, held our Course about North-North-West, till *Saturday* the First of *July*, being in the Latitude of 13 deg. 19 min. North, our Ship sprung a Leak; and finding that she made more Water than both Pumps could discharge, we could not chuse but be under some Consternation, we being so far from Land, and having no Ship in Company with us. However the Captain, with a great deal of Intrepidity, search'd every Place he could come at in the Hold for to find the Leak, and at last discover'd a small one close up by her Stern, about a Foot under Water, which being impossible to come at, on the Outside, by Reason of the Ship's pitching or dipping under Water; we therefore remov'd Part of our Cargo, which rais'd her Bow a little higher out of the Water, and consequently eas'd the Leak. However, the Water still encreas'd slowly upon us, so that the Pains we had hitherto taken seem'd but ineffectual; yet we resolv'd to bear away before the Wind, which mightily eas'd the Strain the Ship labour'd under, when close haul'd, infomuch that we found we could
just

keep her just at a Par, and discharge the Water with both Pumps as fast as it came in. We then consulted what was best to be done, and according to the Captain's Proposal agreed to make the best of our Way for the *West-Indies*, being then in the North-East Trade Wind, and as I before observed in the Latitude of 13 *deg.* 19 *min.* North, a Westerly Course would carry us directly upon the Island of *Barbadoes*, which lies in the same Latitude. Our Distance, by Computation near 700 Leagues, tho' that was a great Way for a sinking Ship to run, yet we were resolv'd (by God's Permission) to keep her above Water as long as possible, with meer humane Strength; and accordingly took upon us the following Employments. The Captain was to stand at Helm four Hours, and the Chief Mate four Hours more, and so relieve each other alternately in their respective Watches. Mr. *Charles Wheeler* before mentioned was to be in one Watch, and I in the other, to dress all our Victuals, and make hot Punch for the poor Men at the Pumps, who were allow'd three half Pints each, every Watch, or four Hours, to keep up their Spirits at that laborous

borous Work. Every Body else aboard being divided into two Watches, plied the Pumps with the utmost Vigour, except two little black Boys, one of whom was a Present, from a Factor in *Africa*, to his Friend in *England*, the other was my Slave who help'd Mr. *Wheeler* and I to make our Fires, to clean the Knives, and lay the Cloth, &c. When we had been about Nine or Ten Days in this Extremity, our Men began to grow tired and faint with excessive Labour, and some in a despairing manner murmur'd, notwithstanding they had every Day fresh Provisions kill'd for them. But we endeavour'd to sooth and humour them the best we could, assuring them that their Labours were almost at an End, and that we should soon see the Island of *Barbadoes*. Our Yaul which was a good large five-oar'd Boat was upon Deck; but our Long-boat was stowed between Decks, and several were very desirous to have her brought up, and to put the Sails, Masts and Oars aboard her and the Yaul; also all other Necessaries, such as Compasses, Provisions, Water, &c. to be ready to take to our Boats in case of the worst. Others of us were very
much

much against that Proposal, fearing that some of our Men, who were now grown desperate, would take the Advantage of the Night to run away with the Long-boat being thus equipp'd; and leave the others to shift for themselves, who must certainly have perished, had one Hand been wanting to keep both Pumps incessantly at work; we therefore consented that the Long-Boat should still remain under Hatches. In these unhappy times all our curious foreign Animals aboard died for Want of proper Attendance.

THE Sixteenth Day, three of our Men, who had the Lar-board Watch from Four o'Clock till Eight, dropp'd down dead, or more properly speaking fainted away at the Pumps, and were carried down like dead Men off the Deck; which occasioned our Starbord Watch to be call'd out before the Bell rung for Eight. This brought Horror and Confusion into every Body's Countenance; however being resolv'd to live as long as we could, I had provided something for Breakfast, and whilst we were eating it, one of the Men at the Pumps leap'd up
and

and roar'd out as loud as he could bawl, Land! Land! and ran fore and aft the Deck like a Madman. We neglecting our Food, all look'd out sharp, and presently saw the Land plain enough, which was the most welcome Breakfast to us that we ever had tasted. It was almost Nine o'Clock, *Sunday* Morning, the Sixteenth of *July*, and the Land proved to be the Island of *Barbadoes*. About Four in the Afternoon we anchor'd safe in *Carlisle* Bay, being then full of Ships. That Night, THOMAS LEAKE, Esq; who was Agent for the *Royal African Company* in *Barbadoes*, came off to relieve our wearied Men at the Pumps. The next Morning, (being invited by Mr. *Leake*,) I went ashore, and finding several of my old Acquaintance upon the Island, I was very courteously received and kindly entertained among them, during my Stay, which was about two or three and thirty Days.

AFTER I had refresh'd myself ashore a few Days, I went to pay my Respects to his Excellency Governor *Worstley*, being introduced by my learned and ingenious
Friend

Friend Doctor *Warren*, who was a particular Favourite of the Governour's, and by whose Means I was highly honour'd by his Excellency. He being told, that I was just arrived from *Arica*, seem'd desirous to learn some Accounts of *Guinea*? I gave him a short verbal Description of it, and shew'd him some of my Draughts, which I happen'd then to have with me; at all which his Excellency seem'd mighty well pleas'd, and very courteously invited us to dine with him; but our Mirth was interrupted by an Express which soon arriv'd with the News of the Death of his late Majesty King *GEORGE* the First.

IN the mean while, no Time was lost to fit and repair our Ship, for on *Tuesday*, the Seventeenth they haul'd her a long Side a Hulk, which lay in the Bottom of the Bay, and while some were employ'd in putting out the Goods aboard the Hulk, in order to heave her down and search her Bottom; the rest kept both Pumps continually at Work, which were now scarce able to keep the Ship above Water, tho' she lay motionless in a smooth Bay.

T

WHILST

WHILST Captain *Livingstone*, Mr. *Leake*, and other Gentlemen were one Day abroad, the Men pump'd a small half-confum'd young Dolphin without either Head or Tail, being about three Inches and half long; which Captain *Livingstone* caus'd to be put up in Spirits of Wine to bring Home, as being very sure that this little Fish had lain some Time in the Leak, and kept out a great many Tons of Water, to the miraculous Preservation of all our Lives; and this seem'd the more probable because that, (as I before observ'd,) she was now grown so leaky that they could scarce keep her above Water, and were therefore oblig'd immediately to heave her down, Keel out of Water alongside the Hulk, and not till then discover'd a large gaping Leak within two streaks of her Keel, where she had lost about four Foot of her Sheathing; they strip'd off all the rest from that Side of her Bottom, but found no other Leak of any Signification, till they had strip'd the other Side, where they found a few small ones. Her Plank was all found and good, nor did her Seams any where want Oakum, except

about

about Seven Inches of the aforesaid Seam, where the Piece of Sheathing was lost. The Captain did not think it worth while to have her new sheathed in *Barbadoes*, only well caulk'd, and her Bottom well paid over with a good Coat of Pitch. Whilst all this was doing I took my Pleasure ashore upon that rich fertile, and well inhabited Island, which will be needless in me here to give any further Description of, being already so well known to most *Europeans*, from the many and true Accounts of it by others.

HAVING now fitted up our Ship, and taken in all the Goods again from on board the Hulk. I took Leave of all my Friends upon the Island, and on *Friday* the Eighteenth of *August* we set Sail for *London*. When we had cross'd the North-East Trade, and come into the Way of the variable Winds in the Latitude of 29 Deg. North, we had the good Fortune to meet with brisk Gales of Westerly, and South West Winds, which sent us along at the Rate of nine, Knots, or nine, some times ten Miles an Hour. On *Friday*, the Twenty-second of
September

September we came into Sounding of fine white Sand in Eighty Fathom Water. Next Day we had an Observation, and found ourselves in the Latitude of the *Englsh* Channel. On *Monday* Morning about Nine o'Clock we made the Lizard, and having a smart Gale at South-West we made the best of our way up Channel. About Day-break the next Morning we were abreast of the *Isle o Wight*, but then the Wind chop'd about to the South-East, and blew a meer Hurricano, so that we were oblig'd to bear up for *Portsmouth*, and tho' we hung out a Wift, and fired three several Guns, yet no Pilot-Boat would venture off to us; however our Chief Mate being pretty well acquainted with the Channel, undertook to carry in the Ship, which he did safely, and at Eleven o'Clock we anchor'd in *Portsmouth* Harbour, being *Tuesday* the *Twentyfixth* of *September* 1727. As soon as I went ashore, I took a Place in the Stage Coach for *London*, being thankful to Almighty God for so happy a Conclusion to so dangerous a Voyage.

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