



A New MAP of that part of AFRICA called the Coast of GUINEA

From the River Senegal in Lat. 16. N. To Cape Lopez in 1. 00. S. with the Inland Countries from the Sea so far as the Great Rivers Senegal and Niger.

I. S. Mathem

A Scale of English Miles
45 90 180 270 360

5. 52. J. W. Act. 2
A NEW
ACCOUNT

Of some Parts of

GUINEA,

And the Slave-Trade,

CONTAINING

- I. The History of the late Conquest of the Kingdom of *Whidaw* by the King of *Dabomè*. The Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp; where he saw several Captives sacrificed, &c.
- II. The manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from *Guinea* to *America*. The Lawfulness of that Trade. The Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been, &c.
- III. A Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent.

By Captain WILLIAM SNELGRAVE.

L O N D O N :

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M D C C X X X I V .

TO THE
MERCHANTS

OF

LONDON,

Trading to the Coast of *Guinea*.

GENTLEMEN,

SOME of you having
been pleased to peruse
the following Sheets in Ma-
nuscript, and been so kind,
as to express your Approba-
tion of them, it hath incou-
raged me to make them pub-
lick; and I take the Liberty
to address them to the Mer-
chants

DEDICATION.

chants trading to the Coast of *Guinea*, as being the best Judges of the Truth of what is here related.

As it has been my good Fortune to be known for many Years to most of you, and to have received Favours from several amongst You, so I beg leave to subscribe my self, with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged

humble Servant,

W. SNELGRAVE.

PREFACE.

THE best part of the following Sheets were writ several Years ago, more particularly the Account of my being taken by Pirates, in the Year 1719: And being now induced to publish the History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of Dahomè, I have added the other, which is as remarkable in its kind.

I am sensible that Objections may be made to the Account I have given of the Dahomes, by such of my Readers as are not acquainted, either by Travelling or Reading, with the Manners and Customs of several barbarous brutish Nations, that have been and are still on the Globe.

P R E F A C E.

As to human Sacrifices, they are no new thing in the World; for it is recorded of the Mexicans in particular, that they annually sacrificed to their Gods, a great number of their Enemies taken in War.

Mens eating of their own Species, seems to be the most incredible and shocking; but this is practised by others at present (besides the Dahomes) on the Coast of Guinea; especially by a People called Acquas, on the River of old Callabar, and amongst the Camarones adjoining, where I have formerly been, and of which there are some Witnesses now in London: Captain Arthur Lone and others, having seen the same as well as my self.

As to the Story in general of the King of Dahome, there are some Gentlemen now in Town, that know a great part of it; namely, Jeremiah

P R E F A C E.

miah Tinker Esq; Governor Wilson, and others, who have formerly resided at Whidaw, for the Royal African Company: Besides several that have been there in the Service of private Merchants: As also Charles Dunbar Esq; of Antegoa, who bought the Negroe-Woman of me there, whose Story is so remarkable, on account of her being thrown as a Sacrifice into the Sea, and her wonderful Preservation afterwards, the Truth of which she has often confirmed.

As to the Relation of my being taken by Pirates, there are several in and about Town, that suffered by them, at the same time and place with myself. And Mr. James Bleau, who was then my Surgeon, lives now at Woodford, in good Repute and Esteem with the Gentlemen of that Village and Neighbourhood.

P R E F A C E.

I shall say nothing with relation to the short Account I have given of the manner how the Negroes become Slaves, and of the Management of them when on Shipboard, it being designed at first only for a Friend's Satisfaction, who had objected against the lawfulness of that Trade.

As I love Freedom my self, so I readily leave the Reader to judge and believe as he pleases, concerning what is here related: My principal motive for publishing these Sheets, being the Persuasion of some Friends, who had perused them in Manuscript, and thought they might prove acceptable to the Publick.

INTRO-

T H E P R E F A C E .

INTRODUCTION.

THAT Part of *Africa* commonly called *Guinea*, is of a large Extent, beginning at *Cape Verd*, in 14 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending to the South and East, as far as the Coast of *Angola*; the River *Congo*, in 6 Degrees South Latitude, being the farthest place where the *English* carry on their Trade.

In this Country of *Guinea*, the *English* have trafficked a great many Years: But especially, since the Conclusion of the last *French War*, it has been so improved, that whereas in the Year 1712, there went only 33 Ships from *England* to that Coast, in 1726, it was proved before the *Commissioners of Trade*, that there had been there the Year before above 200 Sail, to the great increase of Navigation, and the ad-



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advantage of our Plantations in *America*.

Such as are unacquainted with this Country, may reasonably suppose we should have gained by this time a perfect account of the Inland-Parts; yet perhaps we know the least of it of any Country the *English* have so long traded to, for reasons I shall give hereafter. But as I design only to inform the Reader, (for his better understanding the following Sheets) in a cursory manner, of those parts of the Coast of *Guinea*, that I have been personally acquainted with: So, as I go along, I shall intermix my Reasons with the Account.

I have traded along this Coast for near 700 Leagues, from a River called *Sherberow*, in the Latitude of 7 Degrees 30 Minutes North, to *Cape Lopez Gonsalvez*, in 1 Degree South, near the Coast of *Angola*: Now in so large an Extent, we meet with very different People and Trade.

The

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The first part I shall mention, is about 250 Leagues in length, from the above-mentioned River of *Sherberow*, round *Cape Palmas*, to the River *Ancober* near *Axim*. This is commonly called the *Windward Coast*, on which there is no Settlement or Factory of any *European* Nation; but the Trade is carried on in this manner.

As soon as the Natives perceive a Ship on their Coast, they make a smoke on the Sea-Shore, as a Signal for the Ship to come to an Anchor, that they may come and trade with the People on board. As soon as we are at an Anchor, they come to us in small Boats, called *Cannoes*, being made of a single Tree, and bring their Commodities with them.

Along the greatest part of this Coast, the *Europeans* have been cautious of venturing on Shore amongst the Natives, they being very barbarous and uncivilized, as several have experienced to their cost.

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In those few places where I have been on Shore my self, I could never obtain a satisfactory account from the Natives of the Inland Parts. Nor did I ever meet with a white Man that had been, or durst venture himself, up in the Country; and believe, if any had attempted it, the Natives would have destroyed them, out of a Jealousy that they designed to make discoveries to their prejudice.

However, the Trade on this part of the Coast, has been exceedingly improved within these 20 years past. It consists in Negroes, Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities; which the Natives freely bring on board our Ships, except when any Affront has been offered them; which, to the great Scandal both of *English* and *French*, has too often been done, namely by their forcibly carrying away the Traders, under some slight pretence of having received an Injury from them. And this has put a stop to the Trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time; and innocent People, who have

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have come there to trade in small Vessels, have suffered for their Countrymens Villany: Several in my time having been surprized by the Natives, and the People destroyed out of revenge.

From the aforementioned River of *Ancober* to *Acra*, is about 50 Leagues. This part is commonly called the *Gold-Coast*, and thereon are many *English* and *Dutch* Factories, under each of which is a *Negroe Town*, protected by them. The Reader may reasonably suppose, that here we might have a perfect account of the Inland parts; but we can have no such thing. For the Policy of the Natives does not suffer white Men to go up any great way into the Country. Moreover, the Inland People are very jealous of those Negroes, who are under the Protection of the Factories; so that the account I have received from both when at peace (which has brought some of the former to the Sea side) has seemed so fabulous and contradictory, that it could not be depended
2 upon;

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upon; for the Negroes are very apt to impose on us. However, in this part called the *Gold Coast*, the Natives near the Sea side are much civilized, by their conversing with the *Europeans*, at their Settlements; and by going on board so many Ships to trade, as frequent this part of the Coast. Here we can venture on Shore amongst the Natives, without any hazard; for 'tis to be noted, a large part of the *Gold Coast* is not in Subjection to them.

From *Acra* (where stands the last of the *European* Settlements, on this part of the Coast,) to *Jaqueen*, is about 60 Leagues. In this Tract there are no Factories but at two places, namely at *Whidaw*, and *Jaqueen*. And tho' they have been so long settled by the *Europeans*, yet till the late Conquest of them by the King of *Dahomè*, we could learn but little of the Inland parts; no white Men having been permitted to go beyond the Kingdom of *Ar-dra*, which is about 50 Miles from the Sea side. But, as I have related in the

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follow-

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following Sheets what I saw and heard when I was there; so I omit farther mention of it here.

From *Jaqueen* to the Bay of *Bennin*, and so round to the *Callabars*, *Camerones*, and *Cape Lopez*, is above 300 Leagues, in which long Tract there is no Settlement of any *European* Nation; so of course the Natives are for the most part barbarous and uncivilized. I have, in my younger years, traded to many places in this Tract, especially at *Old Callabar*, where, in the year 1704, I saw a sad Instance of Barbarity. The King of the place, called *Jabrue*, being fallen sick, he caused, by the advice of his Priests, a young Child about ten Months old, to be sacrificed to his God, for his recovery. I saw the Child after it was killed, hung up on the Bough of a Tree, with a live Cock tied near it, as an addition to the Ceremony.

The last Voyage I went to this place, was in the year 1713, when I commanded
the

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the Ship *Anne*, belonging to Messieurs *Bradley, Virginia* Merchants; where I had the good fortune to save a Child from being Sacrificed, as the other poor Infant had been. And tho' 'tis a long story, and therefore may not so well suit an Introduction, yet on account of the singular Circumstances wherewith it was attended, I believe the Reader may be pleased with it.

The chief King, or Lord of the Country (for there are several petty Princes on that River) called *Acqua*, came on board, sometime after my arrival, to see the Ship, and hear our Musick. Being highly pleased with his Entertainment, he kindly invited me on Shore; so I promised to wait on him in a few days. Accordingly I went; but as I knew his People to be fierce brutish Cannibals, I took, by way of precaution, ten of my Sailors as a Guard, with my Gunner to command them. They were all well armed with Musquets and Pistols, which those savage People I knew were much afraid of.

Upon

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Upon my landing at the Water side, I was received by some persons, whom the King had appointed to conduct me about a quarter of a mile up, where I found him sitting on a Stool, under some shady Trees; another being placed by his side, which I was desired to sit on. The King did not speak one word, or moved in the least, till I was sat down; but then he bid me welcome, enquiring after my health; as I did after his, having first paid my respects to him, by bowing and taking off my Hat. There were many of his Courtiers present, and I observed above 50 of his Guard, stood at a little distance. They were armed with Bows and Arrows, a Sword by their side, and a barbed Lance in their Hands. My people ranged themselves opposite to them, at the distance of about twenty paces.

After having presented the King with some things, which, tho' trifling to us, he seemed highly delighted with; accidentally turning my Head about, I saw a little

a

Negroe-

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the Trader, are generally very ready, on any extraordinary occasion, to make their Advantage of us.

After this was over, I staid about an hour with the King, treating him with *European* Liquors and Victuals, which I had carried on Skore for that purpose; but I took care not to drink any of his Palm Wine, (which is a Liquor drawn from a Tree, and which they can artfully poison) under pretence, it did not agree with me. But my People did not spare it, drinking plentifully of it with his Guards; and eating likewise heartily of their Victuals.

After this I took my leave, and the King expressed himself well pleased with my Visit; promising to come on board again, before I went out of the River.

As we were returning in our Boat, I told the Gunner, " That when we came
" on board, he should pitch on some mo-
" therly Woman, to take care of this poor
" Child."

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“ Child.” To which he answered, “ He
“ had already one in his Eye.”

It happened, the day before I went on Shore to see the King, I had purchased the Mother of the Child (tho' I knew it not then) from one of his People; and at that time my Surgeon observing to me, she had much Milk in her Breasts, I enquired of the Person that brought her on board, whether she had a Child when he bought her from the Inland Trader? To which he answered in the negative.

But now on my coming on board, no sooner was the Child handed into the Ship, but this poor Woman espying it, run with great eagerness, and snatched him out of the white Man's Arms that held him. I think there never was a more moving sight than on this occasion, between the Mother and her little Son, (who was a fine Boy about 18 Months old; for 'tis to be noted, the Negroe-Women generally suckle their Children till they are above two years old) especially when the Linguist

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guist told her, " I had saved her Child " from being sacrificed." Having at that time above 300 Negroes on board my Ship, no sooner was the Story known amongst them, but they expressed their Thankfulness to me, by clapping their Hands, and singing a Song in my praise. This affair proved of great service to us, for it gave them a good Notion of white Men; so that we had no Mutiny in our Ship, during the whole Voyage.

I went from the River of *Old Callebar*, to the Island of *Antegoa*, where our Cargoe was sold; and upon my telling one Mr. *Studeley* this remarkable story, he bought the Mother and her Son, and was a kind Master to them.

I could give a farther account of some more extraordinary things, that have happened in the many Voyages I have made to this Coast; but am afraid of being tedious to the Reader: So I shall conclude with observing, that Mynheer *Bosman's*
Account

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Account of the Coast of Guinea, is the most perfect History we have of that Country; and do readily confess, that whatever he mentions, as far as my Observations have reach'd, I have found to be true. To this Book therefore I refer the Reader, who is curious to know, the *Manners, Customs, Trade, &c.* of the *Negroes* along the Sea-Coast.

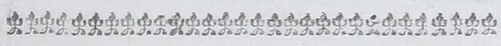


ERRATA.

PAge 67. Line 1. *for eight read eighty.* p. 71. l. 6. *Fa-*
queens r. Dahomes. p. 123. l. 14. and in other places,
Testefole r. Testefole. p. 190. l. 4. to *r.* from. p. 221.
l. 23. at *r.* in. *Ibid.* l. 24. in *r.* at. 230. l. 15. just on
Cocklyn's Anchor, *r.* just heaving up their Anchor.



A NEW
ACCOUNT
Of some Parts of
GUINEA,
And the Slave-Trade.



BOOK I.

Containing an Account of the Destruction of the Kingdom of Whidaw, or Fida; the Author's Journey to the King of Dahomè's Camp; with several other remarkable Particulars.

FOR the better understanding of the following Relation, it is necessary to prefix some Account of the late State of the Country of *Whidaw*; before

B fore

fore the terrible Destruction and Desolation thereof, in the Month of *March* 1726-7.

Description of
Whidarw.
Sabee.

The Reader then is to observe, That the Sea-coast of this Kingdom lies in 6 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. *Sabee*, the chief Town of the Country, is situate about seven Miles from the Sea side. In this Town the King allowed the *Europeans* convenient Houses for their Factories; and by him we were protected in our Persons and Goods, and, when our Business was finish'd, were permitted to go away in Safety. The Road where Ships anchored, was a free Port for all *European* Nations trading to those Parts for *Negroes*. And this Trade was so very considerable, that it is computed, while it was in a flourishing State, there were above twenty thousand *Negroes* yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring Places, by the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*. As this was the principal Part of all the *Guinea* Coast for the Slave Trade, the frequent Intercourse that Nation had for many Years carried on with

the white People (a) had rendered them so civilized, that it was a Pleasure to deal with them.

The greatest Inconvenience we were exposed to, was the Thievery of the common People, which it was hardly possible to guard intirely against; so bold and dextrous were they at it: Tho' if taken in the Fact, they became our Slaves.

The Custom of the Country allows Polygamy to an excessive degree; it being usual for a great Man to have some hundreds of Wives and Concubines, and meaner Men in proportion; whereby the Land was become so stock'd with People, that the whole Country appeared full of Towns and Villages: And being a very rich Soil, and well cultivated by the Inhabitants, it looked like an intire Garden. Trade having likewise flourished for a long time, had greatly enriched the People; which, with the Fertility of their Country, had unhappily made them so proud, effeminate, and luxurious, that

(a) So they call the *Europeans*, in Opposition to the *Negroes*.

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tho' they could have brought at least one hundred thousand Men into the Field, yet so great were their Fears, that they were driven out of their principal City, by two hundred of their Enemies; and at last lost their whole Country, to a Nation they formerly had contemned. And tho' this may appear to the Reader very incredible, yet it will sufficiently be illustrated by the following Account.

Account
of the King
of *Whi-*
daw.

The King of *Whidaw* came to the Crown when about fourteen Years old, so that the Government was for many Years in the hands of the great Men of the Country; who liked it so well, that tho' he was past thirty Years of Age when this Calamity happened, yet they had to this time sought all ways to keep him from a Knowledge of governing. This suited indeed with his Temper, for he was indolent and lascivious, having in his Court several thousands of Women, by whom he was served in all capacities; for no Men-servants were allowed to be there. Being thus soften'd by his Pleasures, he grew intirely negligent of his Affairs,

fairs, which at last produced such a Weakness in the Government, that it ended in its Ruin. For the great Men played the petty Tyrants, often falling out, and pursuing their particular Interests, without regarding the Good of their King or Country. By this means the common People were divided, and such Parties arose among them, as, added to their Fears, rendered them a Prey to their Neighbours; so that tho' they were able to have repelled any Force which could have been brought against them by the neighbouring Countries, they rather chose to abandon the Land, than join heartily against the common Enemy; who brought at this time on them such a terrible Desolation by the Sword, Fire and Famine, as hardly ever befel any Country.

This common Enemy was the King of *Dabomè*, a far inland Prince, who for some Years past had rendered himself famous, by many Victories gained over his Neighbours. He sent an Ambassador to the King of *Whidarw*, requesting to have an open Traffick to the Sea side, and offering

The King
of *Dabomè*'s In-
vasion.

fering to pay him his usual Customs on *Negroes* exported: which being refused, he from that time resolved to resent it, when Opportunity offered. This the King of *Whidaw* was so far from apprehending, that in an Audience I had of him, soon after the Ambassador's Departure, he told me; if the King of *Dahomè* should offer to invade him, he would not use him when taken according to their Custom, that is, cut off his Head, but would keep him for a Slave to do the vilest Offices.

His Con-
quests.

And here 'tis necessary to make a short Digression concerning the King of *Dahomè's* Conquests. Being a politick and couragious Prince, he had such Success against his Neighbours, in a few Years, that he conquered towards the Sea Coast, as far as the Kingdom of *Ardra*, which is the next inland Country adjoining to *Whidaw*; and then resolved to remain quiet for some time, in order to settle his Conquests. But an Accident soon called him again to Arms, for the King of *Ardra* having much injured his own Brother,
named

named *Huffar*; the latter sent privately to the King of *Dabomè*, and offered him a large Sum of Money to revenge him for the many Affronts he had receiv'd from the King his Brother. This the politick Prince soon listen'd to; and the King of *Ardra* having discovered the Matter, sent to the *Whidaws*, representing to them, it was their common Interest to oppose this Conqueror; but they most imprudently refused to lend him their Assistance. So being obliged to encounter alone the King of *Dabomè*, he met him with all the Forces he could raise, which was about fifty thousand Men of his own People, and after a three Days Engagement, his Army was totally defeated, and himself taken Prisoner. Soon after which he was be-headed in the Conqueror's Presence according to the barbarous Custom of these black Princes.

There was at that time in the Country of *Ardra* a white Gentleman, named *Bullfinch Lambe*, who was detained Prisoner by the King on this occasion: Having been sent by the Governour of the

African Company's Settlement at *Jaqueen*, on some Business to the King of *Ardra*, this Prince detained him, under pretence the Company owed him for one hundred Slaves, formerly sent down to their Factory; and he sent word to the Governour, if he did not forthwith pay him this Debt, he would make Mr. *Lambe* a Slave. Which the Governour refusing to do, he remained a Prisoner about two Years, being used very hardly 'till he was taken in this War by the King of *Dabomè*: Being brought into the King's Presence (who had never before seen a white Man) he was treated very kindly by his Majesty, and had, in a short time after, a Household appointed for him with many Servants, and the King bestowed on him some of his near Relations for Wives. Having remained with this Prince near three Years, he was at his own earnest Desire, dismiss'd with a noble Present of Gold and Slaves, in order to go for *Europe*: And his Majesty by a Messenger, to the Towns and Villages he passed through, in his way to *Jaqueen* on the Sea side, ordered the
Inha-

Inhabitants to shew him all possible Respect, and provide nobly for his Entertainment.

After this Gentleman's Departure, the King of *Dahomè* resolved to invade the Country of *Whidaw*; which, as I have been told, Mr. *Lambe* had dissuaded him from; representing the great number of the Inhabitants, who were much used to Fire-Arms. Moreover, that the white People resident and trading there, would no doubt assist them for their own Interest: So that there was no probability of Success. But this politick Prince finding by his Spies, how much the great Men and People were divided, and that the King was only a *Cypher* in the Government; he marched against them. The first part of the Country he invaded was the northernmost, of which a great Lord named *Appragah* was hereditary Governour, who forthwith sent to his King for Assistance: But through the Interest of his Enemies at Court, who wished his Destruction, he was refused: So having made a little Resistance, he submitted to the

the King of *Dabomè*, who received him very kindly.

The Conquest of *Appragah* gave the King an easy Entrance into the Heart of the Country; but he was obliged to halt there by a river, which runs about half a Mile to the northward of the principal Town of the *Whidaws*, called *Sabee*, the Residence of their King. Here the King of *Dabomè* encamped for some time, not imagining he could have found so easy a Passage and Conquest as he met with afterwards. For the Pass of the River was of that Nature, it might have been defended against his whole Army, by five hundred resolute Men; but instead of guarding it, these cowardly luxurious People, thinking the fame of their numbers sufficient to deter the *Dabomes* from attempting it, kept no set Guard. They only went every Morning and Evening to the River side, to *make Fetiche* as they call it, that is, to offer Sacrifice to their principal God, which was a particular harmless *Snake* they adored, and prayed to on this occasion, to keep their Enemies from coming over the River. And

And, as worshipping a Snake may seem ^{Snakes} very extravagant to such as are unacquain- ^{worship-} ^{ped.} ed with the Religion of the *Negroes*, I shall inform the Reader of the Reasons given for it by the People of *Whidaw*. This sort of Snake is peculiar to their Country, being of a very singular Make; for they are very big in the middle, rounding on the Back like a Hog, but very small at the Head and Tail, which renders their Motion very slow. Their Colour is yellow and white, with brown Streaks; and so harmless, that if they are accidentally trode on (for it is a capital Crime to do it wilfully) and they bite, no bad Effect ensues; which is one Reason they give for their worshipping of them. Moreover, there is a constant Tradition amongst them, that whenever any Calamity threatens their Country, by imploring the Snake's Assistance, they are always delivered from it. However this fell out formerly, it now stood them in no stead; neither were the Snakes themselves spared after the Conquest. For they being in great Numbers, and a kind of domestick
Animals,

“ He was very sorry for what had hap-
“ pen'd, for he had given Orders to his
“ Captains, in case they met with Suc-
“ cess, to use the white Men well; but
“ he hoped they would excuse what had
“ befallen them, which was to be attri-
“ buted to the Fate of War: Confessing,
“ he was much surprized when he was
“ first informed, so many white People
“ were made Prisoners, and soon after
“ brought to his Camp. That in the
“ Confusion of Things he had not regard-
“ ed them so much as he ought; but for
“ the future, they should have better
“ Treatment.” Which accordingly they
found; but could never recover any thing
taken from them, that being put on the
score of the Fate of War. However, a
few Days after, they were set at Liberty
without any Ransom, and sent down to
the *English* and *French* Forts. The prin-
cipal Gentlemen amongst them were
presented with Slaves, and his Majesty
assured them, as soon as he had settled
his Conquest, he would make Trade
flourish, and have a particular Regard
to their Interests. The

The latter end of *March*, in the Year 1726-7, I arrived with the *Katharine Galley* in the Road of *Whidaw*, where I landed, and went to the *English* Fort, which is about three Miles from the Sea side, and likewise to the *French* Fort near adjoining. The white People that had been taken Prisoners, being returned to those Places but a few Days before, gave me a full account of the great Calamity fallen on the Country, about three Weeks before my Arrival ; which gave me much Concern, I having traded there several Voyages. It was a lamentable Story to hear, and a dismal Sight to see, the Desolation of so fine a Country, lately exceeding populous, now destroyed in such a manner by Fire and Sword. The Car-
nage of the Inhabitants was, above all, a most moving Spectacle, the Fields being strewed with their Bones. Moreover the
Concern for the Interest of my Voyage affected me not a little. But knowing it highly necessary to keep up my Spirits in so hot a Country, I resolved (humbly relying on Providence) not to be wanting

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in my Endeavours, for the Interest I had under my Care; and I met with far greater Success than any way I could have reasonably expected, considering the melancholy Prospect I had then of Affairs, which shall be related hereafter.

Having staid three Days on Shore with the *English* and *French*, who, I found, were in as great a Doubt as my self how to act in their Affairs; I came to a Resolution to go for the Port or Road of *Jaqueen*, which lies about seven Leagues to the Eastward of *Whidaw*; and has about thirty Miles of Sea-Coast. This Place has always been the Sea Port to the Kingdom of *Ardra*, and tributary to it; having a hereditary Governour, who paid his Tribute in Loaves of Salt, there being great Quantities made here.

As soon as the King of *Dabomè* had conquered *Ardra*, the Lord of this Place sent his Submission, offering the usual Tribute he used to pay the conquered King; which was readily accepted. This shews the Policy of the King of *Dabomè*; for tho' he had made a terrible Destructi-

on of the Inhabitants of the inland Countries he had conquered from Time to Time; yet he knew his Interest too well, to destroy the People of this Country in the same manner; for having now obtained his Desires, in gaining a free Passage to the Sea-Side, he judged the *Jaqueens* would be very useful to him, because they understood Trade, and now by their means, he should never want a supply of Arms and Gunpowder, to carry on his designed Conquests. Moreover these People had ever been Rivals to the *Whidaws* in Trade, and had an inveterate Hatred against them, because they had drawn almost the whole trade from the *Jaqueens*, to their own Country. For, the Pleasantness thereof, with the good Government in former Times, had induced the *Europeans* to carry on the far greater part of the Trade, at their principal Town of *Sabee*.

It was on the third of *April* 1727, we anchored in the Road of *Jaqueen*; and soon after I sent on Shore my Surgeon, to the Lord of that Place, to settle an

A new Account of Guinea,

Agreement with him, before I landed my self; for I had never been at this Place, and had a Hint given me not to trust him, before all the Particulars I demanded were agreed to by him; for he had formerly plaid base Tricks with some *Europeans*, who had not taken such a Precaution. In the Evening my Surgeon sent me a Letter, informing me, he had obtained all I desired; For the Performance of which the Lord of the Place had taken his *Fetiche* or Oath, in presence of a *French* and *Dutch* Gentleman: On this Assurance I landed the next Day, and
 * went up to the Town of *Jaqueen*, which lies about three Miles from the Sea side, where I was received very kindly, the Promises and Agreement made with my Surgeon being renewed, and a House appointed me to keep Factory in.

The next Day a Messenger came from the King of *Dabome*, whose Name was *Buttencoe*. He spoke very good *English*, and told me, “ His Majesty having heard
 “ there was an *English* Ship arrived in the
 “ Road of *Whidaw*, he had ordered him
 “ to

“ to go there and invite the Captain to
“ come up to his Camp; (which was
“ about forty Miles directly within the
“ Land in the Country of *Ardra*) but being
“ told there I was gone for *Jaqueen*, he
“ had followed me to make the King’s De-
“ fire known to me: Assuring me in His
“ Majesty’s Name, I should be intirely
“ safe in all Respects, and kindly used.”

To this I answered, “ I would con-
“ sider his Majesty’s kind Invitation, and
“ he should know my Resolution next
“ Day.” But perceiving I had some Dis-
trust in my Mind, he represented to me,
“ That if I did not go, it would highly
“ offend the King; that he feared I
“ should not be permitted to trade, be-
“ sides other bad Consequences might
“ follow.” This black Messenger, as
mentioned above, spoke very good *Eng-
lish*, having learnt it when a Boy in the
English Factory at *Whidaw*: He belonged
to Mr. *Lambe*, and was with him at the
time he was taken Prisoner by the King
of *Ardra*. They both fell into the King
of *Dakomè*’s Power, as related above,
C 4 where

where he learnt the Country Language; and in this respect I had as capable an Interpreter as I could desire. So, upon considering the matter, finding the Interest of my Voyage depended on my going to the Camp to wait on the King, I resolv'd to undertake it, tho' the many Barbarities I had been told his People had been guilty of, gave me some Concern. However, soon after, I had further Encouragement, by others offering to accompany me. For a *Dutch* Captain's Curiosity prompted him to it, whose Ship had been destroyed just before by the *Portuguese*: Moreover the *Dutch* chief Factor propos'd to send one of his Writers with large Presents to the Conqueror; likewise the Lord of *Jaqueen* offer'd to send his own Brother, to pay his Duty, with great Presents to the King; not having done it before. So having prepared all Things for our Journey, which took us up three Days, we set out in the following manner.

The eighth of *April*, at nine a Clock in the Morning, being accompanied with the aforesaid Persons, we went to the Side
of

The Au-
thor's
Journey to
the King
of *Da-*
home's
Camp.

of the River that runs on the Back part of the Town of *Jaqueen*, having in our Retinue One hundred black Servants. We ferried over the River in *Canoes*, which are a sort of Boats, made of large Trees hollowed. The People of the Town attended us in great numbers to the water side, praying for our success: For they were under terrible apprehensions for our safety, amongst such barbarous People as we were going to: Especially they were highly concerned for the Duke, their Lord's Brother, who was a Person endowed with the most amiable qualities I ever met with amongst Persons of his Colour.

Being landed on the other side of the River, we set out on our Journey, the proper servants of each person attending in their several places. I had six Hammock-men, who relieved one another by turns; two at a time being only required to carry the Pole which it is fastened to. I had likewise a small Horse to ride on, when I was weary with lying in the Hammock. The other Gentlemen were accom-

accommodated in the same manner. Our travelling was at the rate of about four miles an hour; for we made frequent Stops for our Baggage-carriers, there being no Carts nor good Horses at Jaqueen; the few Horses that are there being but little bigger than our Asses. The Country, as we travelled along, appeared beautiful and pleasant, and the Roads good; but desolated by the War, for we saw the remains of abundance of Towns and Villages, with a great quantity of the late Inhabitants bones strewed about the Fields.

Noon time being past, we dined under some Cocoe-trees, on the cold Provision we carried with us; and in the Evening being come to a few sorry Hovels, we put up there for the night, and lay on the ground on mats, (the huts not being big enough to hang our hammocks up in) and the greatest part of our Attendants were obliged to lye in the open Air.

The next day about seven a clock in the morning, we set out again, and by nine came within half a mile of the King's Camp. Here we halted, and
judge

judge we had then travelled about forty miles from *Jaqueen*. Soon after a Messenger came from his Majesty to compliment and welcome us; and being told it was proper to prepare our selves, we took our best apparel out of our trunks, and dress'd our selves under the covert of an old wall; and soon after we advanced within a little way of the Camp, where we were desired to wait for a great Man who was to receive us. The King, it seems, to do us the more honour, sent the principal person of his Court (whom the *Negroes* distinguish'd to us by the Title of the *Great Captain*) to receive us; which he did in a very extraordinary manner. For he came in the midst of five hundred Soldiers, who had Fire-arms, drawn Swords, Shields, and Banners in their hands, using so many odd and ridiculous Ceremonies, (as they appeared to us) that at first we could not judge, whether they meant us well or ill: For the *Great Captain*, with some of his Officers, approached us, with their Swords drawn, flourishing them over our heads, then

pointing them to our Breasts, and skipping and jumping about us, like so many monkees, showing as many tricks, and postures, as that animal generally does. At last, after some time spent in this manner, the Great Man settled into a sedate temper; Then he gave us his hand, welcoming us in the King's Name, and drank to us in Palm Wine, which is a Juice drawn from the Palm-tree, which is very common in that Country. We returned the Compliment, drinking the King's health both in Wine and Beer we had brought with us, which he seemed to be well pleased with: and all Ceremonies being ended, he desired us to go with him towards the Camp; and accordingly we proceeded, the Soldiers guarding us, and the musical Instruments making a dismal noise.

In about half an hour's time we arrived at the Camp, which was near a very great ruin'd Town, late the principal place of the Kingdom of *Ardra*. Here the Army lay in tents, which, according to the *Negroe*-Custom, were made of small Boughs
of

of Trees, and covered with Thatch, very much resembling Bee-hives, but each big enough to hold ten or twelve Soldiers, who crept in at a hole on one side, and lays heads and points together. Upon our entering the Camp, we were conducted to some large Trees, where Chairs, (taken from the *Whidaws*,) were brought for us to sit on, under the Shade of the Trees. Immediately such Numbers of People flock'd about us, that if the Officers had not ordered the Soldiers to keep the the Multitude off, we should have been in danger of being smothered. For tho' there had been forty white men taken at *Whidaw*, who were all brought up prisoners to this Camp, and afterwards released, as related above, yet thousands of people, who came since out of the far inland Countries, had never seen a white man before us.

Having rested our selves about two hours, under the Shade of the Trees, and beheld divers Feats of Activity, performed by the Soldiers to divert us, we were conducted to a thatch'd House, that had been

been prepared for us; And tho' we were obliged to stoop at our going in at the Door, yet there was height enough within to hang our Hammocks up to sleep in, which was no little Satisfaction to us, for our Bones were hardly recovered, from the former night's Lodging on the Ground. After we had stowed our Baggage in the Tent, the great Man took his leave of us, but left a Guard to prevent any of the People from disturbing us, and he went to the King to give his Majesty an Account of our Arrival.

By this time Noon was come, so we set down to dinner on cold Ham and Fowls, which we had brought with us. Our Tent stood in the middle of a large Court palisadoed round. We were surprized, that no People came into the place to see us, they having crouded so much at first, on our coming into the Camp: But I was told the King having been inform'd how we were incommoded, had given strict Orders, no one, on pain of Death, should, without leave of the Captain of our Guard, come to see us.

us. This was pleasing news; for by this we found his Majesty was duly obeyed, and also had our safety at heart. But we were plagued with a Vermin that greatly annoyed us; and that was such an infinite number of Flies, that tho' we had several Servants with Flappers, to keep them off our Victuals, yet it was hardly possible to put a bit of Meat into our Mouths, without some of those Vermin with it. These Flies, it seems, were bred by a great number of dead Mens Heads, which were piled on Stages, not far from our Tent, tho' we did not know so much at that time.

After we had dined, a Messenger came to us, about three o' clock in the afternoon, from the *Great Captain*, desiring us to go to the King's Gate; accordingly we went, and in our way saw two large Stages, on which were heaped a great number of dead Men's Heads, that afforded no pleasing sight or smell. Our Interpreter told us, they were the Heads of four thousand of the *Whidaws*, who had been sacrificed by the *Dahomès* to their God,

God, about three weeks before, as an Acknowledgment of the great Conquest they had obtain'd.

When we came to the King's Gate, as they call'd it, we found it only an Entrance into a large Court, which was palifadoed round; there being several mud-wall'd Houses in it. Here we were desired to sit down on Stools brought to us; and an Officer presented us, in the King's name, with Cows, Sheep, Goats, and other Provision; with this Compliment, that as his Majesty was then in a Camp, it was not in his power to provide for us better at this time. Having returned thanks for this unexpected favour, we went out of the Court, and were surprized with a sight, at the Gate, of forty stout Men ranked in file, with Fuses on their Shoulders, and broad Swords in their Hands; who had about their necks strings of dead Mens Teeth, reaching as low as their middle, both behind and before, in such Quantities, as might furnish all the Barber-Surgeons Shops in *Europe*. Being surprized at this extraordinary appearance, I asked

I asked the Linguist, Why they were drest in this manner? To which he replied, They were the King's *Heroes*, or *Worthies*, who had killed a great many People with their own hands, and were allowed, as a mark of their great Valour, to string and wear their Enemies Teeth about their Necks; and, I might observe, some of them had been more successful than others, by the different quantities they had on: For that it was made death by their Law, for any of those Gentlemen to string a Tooth, without first making due Proof, before the proper Officers, that it belonged to an Enemy slain with their own hand in Battle. Having viewed this strange Sight, I bid the Linguist tell them, " They appeared to be a Company of brave Gentlemen, and that I was their humble Servant." This Compliment pleased them, and they returned it, saying, " They had a great Esteem for white Men."

After this was pass'd, we returned to our Tent, and supped; then hung up our Hammocks, and lay in them till

D

Morn-

Morning. I took notice, that the Lord of *Jaqueen's* Brother, who came from thence with us, was entertained at the Tent of the *Great Captain*; and on my inquiring the reason, I was answered, It was in respect to us, that we might not be crouded in our Tent.

Next Morning, at nine a Clock, an Officer came from the King to acquaint us, we should have an Audience forthwith. Accordingly we prepared ourselves; and then going to the King's Gate, were soon after introduced into his Presence. His Majesty was in a large Court palisadoed round, sitting (contrary to the Custom of the Country) on a fine gilt Chair, which he had taken from the King of *Whidaw*. There were held over his Head, by Women, three large Umbrellas, to shade him from the Sun: And four other Women stood behind the Chair of State, with Fusils on their Shoulders. I observed, the Women were finely dress'd from the middle downward, (the Custom of the Country being not to cover the Body upward, of either Sex) moreover they

they had on their Arms, many large Manneloes, or Rings of Gold of great Value, and round their Necks, and in their Hair, abundance of their Country Jewels, which are a sort of Beads of divers Colours, brought from a far inland Country, where they are dug out of the Earth, and in the same Esteem with the *Negroes*, as Diamonds amongst the *Europeans*.

The King had a Gown on, flowered with Gold, which reached as low as his Ancles; an *European* embroidered Hat on his Head; with Sandals on his Feet. We being brought within ten Yards of the Chair of State, were desired to stand still: The King then ordered the Linguist to bid us welcome; on which we paid his Majesty the respect of our Hats, bowing our Heads at the same time very low, as the Interpreter directed us. Then I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the King, " That on his Majesty's sending, to desire me to come up to his Camp, I forthwith resolved on the Journey; that I might have the pleasure of seeing

D 2

ing

“ ing so great and good a King, as I
 “ heard he was; relying intirely on the
 “ Promises his Messenger had made me
 “ in his Majesty’s Name.” The King
 seemed well pleased with what I said,
 and assured us of his Protection and kind
 usage. Then Chairs being brought, we
 were desired to sit down, and the King
 drank our Healths; and then Liquor be-
 ing brought us by his Order, we drank
 his Majesty’s. After this the Interpreter
 told us, “ It was the King’s Desire we
 “ should stay some time with him, to see
 “ the Method of paying the Soldiers
 “ for Captives taken in War, and the
 “ Heads of the slain.

It so happen’d, that in the Evening of
 the Day we came into the Camp, there
 were brought above eighteen hundred
 Captives, from a Country called *Tuffoe*,
 at the distance of six days Journey. The
 occasion of warring on them, the Lin-
 guist thus related, “ That at the time
 “ his King was wholly employed in
 “ contriving the Destruction of the
 “ *Whidaws*, these People had presumed
 “ to

to attack five hundred of his Soldiers, sent by his Majesty as a Guard to twelve of his Wives, who were going with a large quantity of Goods and fine things, carried by Slaves, to the Country of *Dabome*. The Guard being routed, and the Women slain, the *Tuffoes* possess'd themselves of the Goods; for which Outrage, as soon as the Conquest of *Whidarw* was compleated, the King sent part of his Army against them, to revenge him for their Villany; in which they had all desirable Success." It was necessary to mention this Affair, for the better understanding of what follows, it being so very remarkable.

The King, at the time we were present, ordered the Captives of *Tuffoe* to be brought into the Court: Which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them, to be sacrificed to his *Fetiche* or Guardian Angel; the others being kept for Slaves for his own use; or to be sold to the *Europeans*. There were proper Officers, who received the

A new Account of Guinea,

Captives from the Soldiers hands, and paid them the Value of twenty Shillings Sterling for every Man, in *Cowries*, (which is a Shell brought from the *East Indies*, and carried in large quantities to *Whidaw* by the *Europeans*, being the current Money of all the neighbouring Countries far and near) and ten Shillings for a Woman, Boy, or Girl. There were likewise brought by the Soldiers some thousands of dead Peoples Heads into the Court; every Soldier, as he had Success, bringing in his hand one, two, three, or more Heads hanging in a String; and as the proper Officers received them, they paid the Soldiers *five Shillings* for each Head: Then several People carried them away, in order to be thrown on a great Heap of other Heads, that lay near the Camp; the Linguist telling us his Majesty designs to build a Monument with them, and the Heads of other Enemies formerly conquered and killed.

* I observed, there were a great many of the principal Men of the Court and Army present, all prostrated on the Ground;

none

none being permitted to go nearer, than within twenty foot of the King's Chair; and whatsoever they had to say to his Majesty, first kissing the Ground, they whispered into the Ear of an old Woman, who went to the King; and having received his answer, she returned with it to them. His Majesty likewise showed his Liberality to his Courtiers and Officers, in presenting them with at least two hundred Captives. As soon as any person had a Slave presented to them, a proper Officer made Proclamation of it, which was immediately echoed by the Populace, who were waiting in great numbers at the King's Gate for the Sacrifices.

After the Business of the Captives was dispatch'd, there came into the Court two Fellows, with a large Tub, that had in it at least six Gallons of Frumenty, or such like stuff, which they set on the Ground; and then falling on their Knees, they took with their Hands the Victuals out of the Tub, and threw it so fast into their Mouths, that tho' there was such a

quantity of it, they dispatch'd it in a few Minutes. The Linguist told us, this was their daily Practice; but that these Gormandizers lived not many Years, and then others took up their Trade; which is only in order to divert the King.

After this we saw several other things, full as ridiculous as this, which would be tedious for me to relate, as well as to the Reader to peruse; so having been near three Hours in the Court, expos'd to the great heat of the Sun, from which we had nothing but Umbrellas to defend us, we desired his Majesty's Leave, to retire to our Tent, which was readily granted; accordingly we paid our Duty in a compliment to the King, and went away.

Sometime after this, we sat down to Dinner in our Tent, being accompanied with a great number of Flies, as formerly mentioned. Just as we had dined, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, came to us in so great a fright, that after he had sat down, he could not speak for some time: And tho' he was at other

times,

times, of a comely black colour, yet now his Countenance was changed to tawny: For as he was coming to our Tent, he saw a great number of poor People going to be sacrificed; whose Lamentations had made such an Impression, that it had occasioned this great disorder in him. For the People of the Sea-Coast abhor such things; especially the eating their Bodies afterwards, as the *Dahomes* do. And 'tis not to be imagined, what service the report of this did them, when they first invaded the Countries bordering on the Sea-Coast: On which I shall make a short Digression, to inform the Reader.

Discourfing afterwards with fome of the principal People of *Ardra* and *Whidaw*, who had efaped the Conqueror's Sword, and telling them, what a Re- proach and Difgrace it was to the latter Nation to quit their Country to the *Dahomes* in fo cowardly a manner as they had done; they answered, It was not poffible to refift fuch *Cannibals*, the very Report of which had extremely intimi- dated their whole Nation. Whereupon
I ob-

I observed to them, It was all one to a dead Carcase, whether it was eaten by their own kind, or by the Vultures, (of which there are great numbers in the Country) on which they shrugged up their Shoulders, saying, “ The thoughts of being eaten by their own Species, were far more terrible to them, than the Apprehensions of being killed.

But to return again to the Duke, I endeavoured to allay his Fears, by representing to him, we had the King's Promise for our Safety; and that sacrificing their Enemies being the usual custom of the Country on any Conquest, he ought not to be so much surprized at it. But he replied, As to his own Safety he was very doubtful of it, the King not having yet admitted him to an Audience; so he requested he might remain in our Tent, as thinking himself safer with us, and accordingly we granted his request. Then sending for our Linguist, we desired to know, Whether the *Dutch* Captain and my self might be admitted to see the manner of the Sacrifices: (As for the *Dutch* Writer, he chose

chose to remain in the Tent with the Duke) The Interpreter answered, He would go to the chief *Feticheer*, or Priest, and know, whether he would be pleased to give us leave. Soon after he returned, and informed us, Leave was granted: So we went with him, about a quarter of a mile from the Camp. There we found great numbers of People gathered together; and our Guard made way for us through the Croud, till we came near four small Stages, which were erected about five foot from the ground. We stood close to them, and observed the Ceremony, which was performed in the following manner.

The first Victim we saw, was brought to the side of the Stage. It was a comely old Man, between fifty and sixty Years of Age. His hands were tied behind him; and in his behaviour, he showed a brave and undaunted Mind, nothing like Fear appearing in him. As he stood upright by the Stage, a *Feticheer*, or Priest, laid his Hand on his Head, saying some words of Consecration, which lasted about

about two Minutes. Then he gave the sign of Execution, to a Man that stood behind the Victim with a broad Sword, who immediately struck him on the nape of the Neck, with such force, that the Head was severed at one Blow, from the Body; whereupon the Rabble gave a great Shout. The Head was cast on the Stage, and the Body, after having lain a little while on the Ground, that the Blood might drain from it, was carried away by Slaves, and thrown in a place adjoining to the Camp. The Linguist told us, the Head of the Victim was for the King; the Blood for the *Fetiché*, or God; and the Body for the common People. We saw many other Persons sacrificed in this lamentable manner, and observed, That the Men went to the side of the Stages, bold and unconcerned; but the Cries of the poor Women and Children were very moving, and much affected the *Dutch* Captain and My self, tho' in a different manner: For he expressed his Fears to me, That the Priests might take it into their Heads, to serve us in the same manner,

ner, if they should fancy white People would be more acceptable to their God, than persons of their own colour. This notion raised some fear in me, but recollecting my self, I told him, “ As the King was so greatly revered and feared, I was in good hopes nothing would be attempted on us; and that we ought to put a good face on the matter, and withdraw from so terrible a Sight, the first opportunity.” Soon after, a principal Man of the Court came and stood by us, and bid the Interpreter ask us, “ How we liked the Sight?” To which we replied, “ Not at all: For our God had expressly forbid us using Mankind in so cruel a manner: That our Curiosity had drawn us to come and see it; which if we had not done, we could never have believed it.” Then I asked the Linguist, Whether this Gentleman was accounted a generous good humoured Man? To which the Linguist replying in the affirmative, I ventured to put this Question to him, “ That if his Fate had brought him into the same

6 “ Mis-

“ Misfortune, as these poor Captives were
 “ now in, how he should like it? He
 “ readily answered, Not at all. On this
 “ I observed to him, that the grand Law
 “ both of Whites and Blacks, with all
 “ their Fellow Creatures was: *To do to*
 “ *others no otherwise, than as they desired to*
 “ *be done unto:* And that our God had en-
 “ joined this to us on pain of very severe
 “ Punishments.” To which he answered,
 This was the Custom of his Country;
 and so he left us.

Presently after this Gentleman's depar-
 ture, there came to us a Colonel of the
 Army, whom we had seen at *Jaqueen*,
 the day before we set out on our Journey.
 This person seemed very friendly and glad
 to see us, and ready to resolve any Que-
 stions we put to him. Amongst the rest,
 I told him, “ That I wondered they
 “ should sacrifice so many People, of
 “ whom they might otherwise make
 “ good advantage, by selling them.” He
 replied, “ It had ever been the Custom of
 “ their Nation, after any Conquest, to
 “ offer to their God a certain number of
 “ Cap-

Captives, which were always chose out from among the Prisoners, by the King himself: For they firmly believed, should this be omitted, no more Success would attend them. And he argued for the Necessity and Usefulness of their doing it, from the large Conquests they had made within a few Years, without any Defeat." Then I asked him, "Why so many old Men were sacrificed in particular? He answered, It was best to put them to death; for being grown wise by their Age and long Experience, if they were preserved, they would be ever plotting against their Masters, and so disturb the Country; for they never would be easy under Slavery, having been the chief Men in their own Land. Moreover, if they should be spared, no *European* would buy them, on account of their Age." I then observed to him, That I had seen several handsome young People sacrificed, whom was sure the *Europeans* would gladly have bought. He replied, "They were designed to attend in the other World the
" King's

“ King’s Wives, whom the *Tuffoes* their
 “ Countrymen had slain.” By which An-
 swer I found they have a Notion of a
 future State, tho’ a very rude one. And
 this put me upon asking him, What Opi-
 nions they held concerning their God?
 To which he gave a very confused and
 imperfect Answer; so that all I could ga-
 ther from his Discourse was, That they
 esteemed him as an invisible Guardian
 Angel, subordinate to another God; ad-
 ding, “ Perhaps that God might be
 “ ours, who had communicated so many
 “ extraordinary Things to white Men;
 “ as he had been informed by Mr. *Lambe*:
 “ But as that God had not been pleased
 “ to make himself known to them, they
 “ must be satisfied with this they wor-
 “ shipped.”

By this time the Mob being grown thin,
 on the side where we stood, I told the
 Linguist, we would return to our Tent;
 and I invited the Colonel to go along with
 us, which he readily promised. Accord-
 ingly our Guard having made way for
 us, we left this horrible Place and Sight,

not

not having received the least Affront, tho' we were near two Hours by the Stages.

At our return we understood, the King had sent the Duke word, he should have an Audience that Evening; whereupon I endeavoured to cheer him up by telling him, " That we had been civilly used at the Sacrifices, and that nothing could more conduce to his Reputation, than his appearing before the King, in his usual sprightly Carriage and Behaviour," which was indeed natural to him. On this he went from us to the Great Captain's Tent, in order to prepare himself to go to the Audience. But the Colonel remained with us, drinking merrily of *European* Liquors, and in the Evening he asked us, " Whether we would take a walk, and see that Quarter of the Camp where his Tent stood?" This we readily agreed to, and in our way past by the place where the sacrificed Bodies were thrown. There were two great heaps of them, consisting, as they said, of four hundred Persons, and who had been chose out by the King that very Morning.

E

After

After we had been at the Colonel's Tent, where we were treated with Palm Wine, we returned to our own, being accompanied by him, and we desired him to stay to Supper. While we were eating, several Servants came with Dishes of Flesh and Fish, dress'd after the Country manner, and the Interpreter told us, they were sent by a Mulatto *Portuguese* Gentleman, who had been taken in the *Ardra* War. The King had ever since detained him Prisoner, allowing him a handsome Maintenance, and had given him a Wife much whiter than himself, who was born in the inland Country. Soon after the Victuals were brought, the Gentleman came himself, with his Wife, to see us; and after passing a handsome Compliment, they sat down to Supper with us. We were very glad of this new Acquaintance, the *Dutch Writer* speaking good *Portuguese*, and my self understanding a little; so that now we judged, we should not be obliged to trust intirely to our Linguist, this Person talking the Language of the Country fluently. I was

much surprized to see his Wife so white, equal to our *English* Women, only of not so lively a Colour. She had woolly Hair, like the blackest of the Natives, with the same Features. Her Husband told us, she was born in a far inland Country, of black Parents, who had never seen a white Man, nor she before Mr. *Lambe*; whom he enquired affectionately after, saying, "That when he returned, according to his Promise to the King, his Majesty had promised to grant him his Liberty." Then, on his Importunity, we promised him a Visit at his House; and soon after, he and his Wife, with the Colonel, took their leaves, wishing us a good Night.

The next day, early in the morning, the Duke came to our Tent, and told us, he had, in the night past, a long Audience of the King, who treated him in a kind manner; so that his Apprehensions of being kill'd and eaten were quite vanished: but he told us with the utmost Horrour, that the sacrificed Bodies had been taken away in the night by the common People, who

Cannibals

had boiled and feasted on them, as holy Food. This Story induced us to send for our Linguist, and take a walk to the place where we had seen the Carcasses the evening before; and, to our great Surprize, we found they were all gone. Thereupon asking the Interpreter, what was become of them? he replied smiling, the Vultures had eaten them up. I told him, “That was very extraordinary indeed, “to swallow Bones and all;” there being nothing remaining on the Place, but a great quantity of Blood. So he confessed, the *Fetichers*, or Priests, had divided the Carcasses amongst the People, who had eat them in the manner the Duke had told us. And tho’ no doubt this will appear incredible to many Persons, yet I desire they will only make this one Reflection, That those who could be so cruel as to sacrifice their fellow-Creatures, might probably carry their Barbarity a Degree further.

However, as I relate nothing for matter of Fact, but what I was an Eye-witness to, so I shall leave the Reader to give what

what credit he pleases thereto. But as a further confirmation of their being Cannibals, I shall relate what I afterwards learn'd from one Mr. *Robert More*, who was a person of great Integrity, and at that time Surgeon of the *Italian Galley*. This Ship came to *Whidaw*, whilst I was at *Jaqueen*, and Captain *John Dagge*, the Commander, being indisposed, sent *More* to the King of *Dabome's* Camp, with Presents for his Majesty. There he saw many strange things, especially human Flesh sold publickly in the great Market-place. As I was not in the Market during the time I was in the Camp, I saw no such thing: But I don't doubt but that I should have seen the same, had I gone into that place, for there were many old and maimed Captives brought from *Tuffoe*, (besides those sacrificed) which no *Europeans* would have bought.

But to return from this Digression: On our return to the Tent, we sent our Linguist to the great Captain, to desire he would procure us an Audience from the King, to treat of Business: But he sent

us word, That as his Majesty was very much engaged, we could not be heard that day; there being some Embassadors come from the inland Countries, who were to have an Audience forthwith. On this I sent again to the Great Captain, desiring he would please to be mindful of us, on the first Opportunity; and he was unexpectedly so that Afternoon.

Having then nothing to do but sit in our Tent, and make Memorandums of what we heard and saw; we asked the Linguist, "Whether we might, without Offence, go to see the Mulatto *Portuguese* Gentleman?" Thereupon he consulted with a principal Person belonging to the Court, who often came by the King's Order to us, to enquire if we wanted any thing: And he approving of it, we prepared to go, but first had this Caution given us; that there being two Embassadors in the Camp from the King of *Whidaw*, to offer his Subjection, if we should meet with any of their People in the Street, we should not hold any Conference with them. Which having promised,

we

we went to the *Portuguese* Gentleman's House, who received us very kindly, thinking he could not make us welcome enough; and as we could understand him, we sent our Interpreter away, under pretence of an Errand to the Duke. After he was gone, the first thing we desired of this Gentleman, was, to give us some hints, how we should behave, when we came to treat of Business with the King; which he readily did, speaking so highly of the King's Policy and Generosity, that we were much surprized, tho' afterwards we experienced the full of what he told us. This Person had in the Court of his House two pretty Horses, each about thirteen hands high, which were every way much better than those we had seen at *Jaqueen*. Upon our asking him, from whence he had them, he replied, " They
" came from the Kingdom of *J-oe*;
" which lies towards the North-East,
" many days Journey off, beyond a great
" and famous Lake, which is the Foun-
" tain of several large Rivers, that
" empty themselves into the Bay of *Gui-*

“ *nea.* And he further added, that several fugitive Princes, whose Fathers the King of *Dabomè* had conquered and beheaded, fled to the King of this Country for Protection, and at last prevailed with him to make War on the King of *Dabomè*, which he did soon after the latter had conquered *Ardra*. The King of *Ÿ-oe* sent, under the Command of a General, a great Army of Horse, consisting of many Thousands, (for they never use Infantry) where with he invaded the *Dabomes* in their own Country: On this sudden and unexpected Invasion, the King of *Dabomè* marched immediately from *Ardra* into his own Kingdom, and made Head against the *Ÿ-oes*. But as he had none but Infantry, whose Arms were Guns and Swords, he was hard-put to it: For the Country being open and without Inclosures, the Horsemen, who were armed with Bows and Arrows, Javelins and cutting Swords, had certainly conquer'd, if the unusual noise of the *Dabome's* Fire-Arms had not so frightned the Horses, that

“ that their Riders could never make a
“ home-Charge on the Enemies Foot.
“ However, the Dispute having lasted, at
“ times, four days, and the King of *Dahome*
“ finding his Soldiers so fatigued,
“ that they could hold out but a little
“ longer, he contrived this Stratagem:
“ he had great quantities of Brandy
“ by him, formerly bought at *Whidaw*,
“ which is a principal Commodity the
“ *French* Ships bring there, to exchange
“ for Negroes. So the King resolved to
“ retreat in the Night with his Army,
“ and leave the Liquor as a Bait for the
“ Enemy, with great quantities of valu-
“ able Goods, which were in store, in a
“ large Town near the Camp. When
“ Day came, the *J-oes* thinking the *Dahomes*
“ were fled, fell to plundering and
“ destroying the Town, and drinking
“ greedily of the Brandy: And as they
“ seldom had tasted of that Liquor
“ before, it so intoxicated them, that
“ they fell asleep in great numbers on the
“ Ground. The King of *Dahome* being
“ informed of this by his Spies, returned
“ with

“ with the utmost speed, and attacking
 “ them while they were in this Disorder,
 “ routed them; but the greater part of
 “ the *J-oes* escaped with the help of their
 “ Horses, and fled out of the Country:
 “ However, their Loss was so great, that
 “ the others esteemed it a compleat Vic-
 “ tory. The *Portuguese* Gentleman ad-
 “ ded, that at the time of this Rout, he
 “ took the two Horses we had seen in his
 “ Yard, and a great many more were
 “ seized at the same time by the *Dabomè*
 “ Soldiers. He said further, (but enjoined
 “ us Secrecy) That tho’ the *Dabomès*
 “ were exceeding proud of this Victory,
 “ they were still much afraid of a second
 “ Invasion, an Army of Horses being
 “ very terrible to them: And that the
 “ King had lately sent great Presents, to
 “ the King of *J-oe*, to prevent his attack-
 “ ing him a second time. However, in
 “ case he did it, and they should not be
 “ able to withstand them, they comforted
 “ themselves with this Thought, that
 “ they might save their Persons, by flying
 “ to the Sea Coast, to which the *J-oes*
 “ durst

“ durst not follow them. For as their
 “ national *Fetich* was the Sea, they were
 “ prohibited by their Priests from ever
 “ seeing it, under no less a Penalty than
 “ Death; which they made the People
 “ believe, would by their God, if they
 “ were so presumptuous, be inflicted on
 “ them.” This last Story seemed no-
 thing strange to us, who had conversed
 with the Coast *Negroes*; for they
 have all their particular *Fetiches* after the
 same manner; some being prohibited eat-
 ing Fowls that have white Feathers;
 others, on the contrary, are to eat none
 that have black: Some are to eat no
 Sheep, others no Goats. And abundance
 of such other superstitious Observances
 they have, which are most religiously
 kept, being assigned them by the Priest,
 the Day they have their name given
 them.

By this time it was past Noon, so we
 took our leave of the *Portuguese*, and
 went to our Tent to Dinner.

About three a Clock that Afternoon, a
 Messenger came from the great Captain,

The Au-
 thor has an
 Audience
 of the
 King of
 to *Dahome*.

to inform us, the King had appointed immediately to give us an Audience. This was an agreeable Surprize to us, for now we had hopes of being quickly dispatch'd, so we prepared our selves, and went to the King's Gate, our Presents for his Majesty being carried before us.

On our coming into the Court, where we had seen the King at our former Audience, we were desired to stay a little, till the Presents were carried into the House, that his Majesty might view them. Soon after we were introduced into a small Court, at the further end of which the King was sitting cross-legg'd on a Carpet of Silk, spread on the Ground: He was himself richly dress'd, and had but few Attendants. When we approached him, his Majesty enquired in a very kind manner, How we did? ordering we should be placed near him; and accordingly fine Mats were spread on the Ground for us to sit on. Tho' sitting in that Posture was not very easy to us, yet we put a good Face on the matter, understanding by the Linguist, that it was their Custom.

As

As soon as we were placed, the King ordered the Interpreter to ask me, What I had to desire of him? To which I answered, "That as my Business was to trade, so I relied on his Majesty's Goodness, to give me a quick dispatch, and fill my Ship with *Negroes*; by which means I should return into my own Country in a short time; where I should make known how great and powerful a King I had seen." To this the King replied by the Linguist, "That my desire should be fulfilled: But the first Business to be settled was his Customs." Thereupon I desired his Majesty to let me know what he expected? There was a Person then present (I believe on purpose) whose name was *Zunglar*, a cunning Fellow, who had formerly been the King's Agent for several Years at *Whidarw*; where I had seen him in my former Voyages. To him I was referred to talk about the Affair. So *Zunglar* told me, "his Master being resolved to encourage Trade, tho' he was a Conqueror, yet he would not impose

" a

“ a greater Custom than used to be paid
“ to the King of *Whidaw*.” I answered,
“ As his Majesty was a far greater Prince,
“ so I hoped he would not take so much.”
This *Zunglar* not replying readily to, and
the King observing it, (for the Linguist
told him every word that pass’d be-
tween us) His Majesty himself replied,
“ That as he was the greater Prince, he
“ might reasonably expect the more Cuf-
“ tom; but as I was the first *English* Cap-
“ tain he had seen, he would treat me as
“ a young Wife or Bride, who must be
“ denied nothing at first.” Being sur-
prized at this turn of Expression, I told
the Linguist, “ I was afraid he imposed
“ on me, and interpreted the King’s words
“ in too favourable a manner.” His Ma-
jesty observing I spoke with some Sharp-
ness, asked him what I said? Which the
Linguist having told him, his Majesty
smiled, and expressed himself again to the
same purpose: Adding, “ I should find
“ his Actions answerable to his Words.”
Being greatly encouraged by the King’s
gracious Expressions towards me, I took
the

the Liberty to represent to his Majesty,
That the best way to make Trade flourish,
was to impose easy Customs, and
to protect us from the Thievery of the
Natives, and the Impositions of great
Men; which the King of *Whidaw* not
doing, had greatly hurt the Trade. For
the ill usage the *Europeans* had met
with of late from him and his People,
had caused them to send fewer Ships
than formerly they did. And tho'
a large Custom might seem at first
for his Majesty's Advantage, yet it would
soon be found, that a great number of
Ships would thereby be hindred from
coming to trade; so that in this respect
he would lose far more in General,
than he would gain by that Particular."

The King took what I said in good
part, telling me, "I should name my
own Custom," which I at first declined:
But being prest to do it a second time, I
told the Linguist to ask his Majesty,
"Whether he would be pleased to take
one half of what we used to pay at
Whidaw?" To this the King readily
agreed;

agreed; adding, “ He designed to make
“ Trade flourish; and I might depend
“ upon it, he would prevent all Imposi-
“ tions, and Thievery, and protect the
“ *Europeans* that came to his Country,
“ saying, that his God had made him
“ the Instrument to punish the King of
“ *Whidaw*, and his People, for the many
“ Villanies they had been guilty of to-
“ wards both Whites and Blacks: That
“ the Embassadors now in his Camp from
“ the said King, had informed him of
“ me and my Character, and that by the
“ account they had given him of my
“ former dealings in their Country, he
“ could put much Confidence in me.”
Then his Majesty having asked me di-
vers Questions concerning our former ill
usage in the Country of *Whidaw*, to which
I answered as I thought proper; I took
this Opportunity of pleading for the com-
mon People of that Kingdom; represent-
ing, “ It was the great Men amongst
“ them that had encouraged their thiev-
“ ing, in which they shared: But if his
“ Majesty would be pleased to receive
“ them

“ them to Mercy, and restore them to
“ their Country, on paying a certain
“ Tribute, they would be of great ad-
“ vantage to him; because they were
“ very industrious in cultivating the Land,
“ and many of them understood Trade
“ exceeding well, which his own People
“ were little versed in. Moreover it was
“ a Maxim amongst the white Princes,
“ that the number of useful Subjects was
“ their greatest Glory and Strength; and
“ if his Majesty thought the same, he
“ had an opportunity of adding many
“ hundreds of thousands to his former
“ Vassals.” To this the King replied,
“ He was sensible of the truth of what I
“ alledged, but that the Conquest of
“ *Whidaw* could not be secured, till he
“ had the King’s Head; and he had al-
“ ready offered the People to restore
“ them to their Country, as soon as they
“ should send him alive or dead to his
“ Camp.” I did not think proper, on
hearing this, to say any thing more on
the matter, or observe to his Majesty,
how wrong a Policy it was, to oblige
F Subjects

Subjects to act so villanous a part towards their Sovereign. For as the Custom of these black Princes was little known to us, I was afraid of giving offence: So I only answered, "That as
 " the King of *Whidaw* was on an Island
 " by *Popoe*, with many thousands of his
 " People, the rest that were dispersed up
 " and down the Country in the Bushes,
 " could not possibly perform what his
 " Majesty required of them: For if they
 " were ever so ready to do it, yet having
 " no Cannoes to ferry over to the Island,
 " it was not in their Power to take the
 " King from thence; and that I believed
 " if he did not receive them to Mercy
 " quickly, the far greater part of them
 " would perish by Famine."

Account
 of Bull-
 finch
 Lambe.

After this his Majesty fell into a variety of Discourse, and amongst other things complained of Mr. *Lambe*, (who, as I have related in the beginning of this Book, had been taken Prisoner in the *Ardra* War,) saying, "That tho' he had
 " given him, at his leaving the Court,
 " three hundred and twenty ounces of
 " Gold,

“ Gold, with eight Slaves, and made him
“ promise with a solemn Oath to return
“ again in a reasonable time, yet twelve
“ Moons had now pass'd, and he had
“ heard nothing from him: Adding, He
“ had sent a black Person with him,
“ whose name was *Tom*, one who had
“ been made a Prisoner at the same time,
“ being a *Jaqueen-man*, who spoke good
“ *English*; and this Man he had ordered
“ to return again with *Mr. Lambe*, that
“ he might be informed, whether what
“ that Gentleman had reported concern-
“ ing our King, Customs, and manner of
“ Living was true.” To this I replied,
“ That I had no personal Knowledge of
“ *Mr. Lambe*, but had been informed,
“ before I left *England*, that he went
“ from *Whidaw* to *Barbadoes*, which is
“ a Plantation where the *English* employ
“ their Slaves in making Sugar, and
“ which is at a great distance from our
“ own Country; But I hoped he would
“ prove an honest Man, and return again
“ to his Majesty, according to his Pro-
“ mise and Oath.”

To this the King replied, " Tho' he
 " proved not as good as his Word, other
 " white Men should not fare the worse
 " on that account; for as to what he had
 " given *Lambe*, he valued it not a Rush;
 " but if he returned quickly, and came
 " with never so large a Ship, she should
 " be instantly filled with Slaves, with
 " which he might do what he thought
 " proper.

Account
 of the
 black
 Man.

It may not be improper here to give
 a short account of the *black Man* the King
 mentioned to me, because he was in
England last year, and the Affair was
 brought before the Lords of Trade, by
 whom I was examined about him.

Mr. *Lambe* carried this Person to *Bar-*
badoes, and several other Places, but at
 last left him with a Gentleman in *Mary-*
land. Afterwards Mr. *Lambe* trafficked
 for some Years, from one place to ano-
 ther in the *Plantations*; and coming to
 the Island of *Antegoa*, where I had been
 in the year 1728, and told the foregoing
 story to some Gentlemen, and how kindly
 the King of *Dakomè* had express'd himself
 with

with regard to the said Mr. *Lambe*, being by them informed of it, this induced him to return to *Maryland*; and the Gentleman who had *Tom* in his Custody was so good, as to deliver him again to Mr. *Lambe*, who came with him to *London*, the beginning of the year 1731.

Mr. *Lambe*, soon after his arrival, came to see me at my house, enquiring particularly about what I had related at *Antegoa*; which I confirmed to him. Then he desired my Advice about his going back to the King of *Dakomè*. To this I frankly answered, " It was my opinion, " he had mis'd the opportunity, by not " returning in a reasonable time, according to his promise; several years being now pass'd since he came from thence, and the State of Affairs much altered for the worse: Besides, he might justly fear the King's resentment, as Mr. *Testesole* had experienced lately to his cost, for abusing his Goodness; for tho' he was Governour for the *African* Company at *Whidaw*, yet he had been put to death in a cruel manner.

On this he left me; and the next news I heard, was, That Mr. *Lambe* had delivered a Letter to his Majesty King *George* as from the King of *Dabome*, which being referred to the Lords of Trade, the Merchants trading to the Coast of *Guinea* were sent for; and I being ordered to attend, informed their Lordships of what I knew of the matter.

The report from the Lords of Trade was to this Purpose, "That the Letter in their opinion was not genuine, but that the *black Man* ought to be taken care of, and returned to his King:" Accordingly he was put into the hands of the *African Company*, who took care of him for many Months; but he growing impatient, applied to their Graces the Dukes of *Richmond* and *Montague*, who procured him a Passage on board his Majesty's Ship the *Tiger* Captain *Berkeley*, then bound to the Coast of *Guinea*.

Moreover, their Lordships having shewed him great Kindness, most generously sent by him several rare Presents to his King, which, no doubt, will make a good impression

impression on him in favour of our Nation; and I have lately heard, that on his being put on Shore at *Whidaw*, he was forthwith sent to the King, who was then in his own Country of *Dabomè*, and was received graciously by him: That his Majesty sent down handsome Presents for Captain *Berkeley*, but before the Messengers got to *Whidaw*, he was sailed, not having patience to wait so many days, as the return from so far inland a place required.

I had not made this Digression, but only to set this Affair in a true light; and undeceive those that may read this Book, and were so far imposed upon, as to suppose the *Black Man* to have been an Embassador from the King of *Dabomè*, to his Majesty King *George*. I met with several that believed so, till I satisfied them of the contrary; for the jest was carried on so far, that several Plays were acted on his Account, and it was advertised in the News-Papers, that they were for the Entertainment of Prince *Adomo Oroonoko Tomo*, &c. these jingling Names being invented to carry on the Fraud the better. This

This black Person was born at *Jaqueen*, and being from a Boy conversant with the *English* trading there, learned so well our Language, that he was employed by them, when grown up, as an Interpreter.

He happen'd to be at *Ardra* on some business, at the time that Country was conquered, and so became Prisoner to the King of *Dahomè*. But 'tis time to have done with this Story, and go on where I left off.

After this Discourse concerning Mr. *Dambe* was over, I acquainted the King, that I daily expected another Ship belonging to my Owner, (who had five large Ships that used the *Whidaw* Trade in particular) and I hoped his Majesty would not take more Custom from the Commanders of them, than he had been pleas'd to take of me. To which he answered with a Smile, " That it was a
 " particular Grace to my self. However
 " when any of them came, they should
 " be used kindly in that matter, and the
 " Captains might stay at *Jaqueen* and
 " *Whidaw*

“ *Whidaw* as they thought fit, for that
“ he now was Lord of both places.” And
then his Majesty asked me, “ Whether
“ I would chuse the Slaves, that were
“ now in the Camp, or have them first
“ sent down to *Jaqueen*?” To which I
answered, “ I chose the latter; desiring
“ the King would now please to fix the
“ Price, with other matters.” Accord-
ingly *Zunglar* was called again, to in-
form his Majesty, what were the last
Prices the *Europeans* had paid for Negroes
at *Whidaw*, before the Conquest: But on
my representing, That the Price had been
raised there, much above what had been
customary, on account of the War; the
King moderated it himself, and I writ
down with my Pencil, in his presence,
every thing agreed on: Amongst which
one was, That I should have three Males
to one Female, and take none but what
I liked. The reason of my mentioning
this, is to explain more fully what hap-
pened to me afterwards, on account of
these two Articles.

After

After this was done, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, was sent for, and the King recommended me to the care of them both, declaring, “ If I suffered by their People, either in Person or Goods, he and his Brother should answer for it: Moreover, if any Person stole my Goods, and could be taken, his Majesty ordered, they should be impaled alive on the Sea side, for an Example to the Porters, and others that bring our Merchandise from thence to the Town.

By this time it was near nine a clock at night, and the Linguist was ordered by the King to tell us, his time of washing was come; so we rose up in order to take our leaves, humbly thanking his Majesty for all his Favours, and for his great Goodness towards us, in giving us so long an Audience; desiring he would be pleased to permit us to return next day to *Jaqueen*: adding, I hoped God would give him many Days, for the good of his own People, and of the *Europeans* that should come to his Country. The King thanked us for our good Wishes, saying,

saying, he would dispatch us the next day, and then we paid our Respects, and so parted.

As we were almost five hours so near the King, I had a good opportunity of taking an exact View of him. He was middle-sized, and full bodied; and, as near as I could judge, about forty five years old. His Face was pitted with the Small Pox; nevertheless, there was something in his Countenance very taking, and withal majestick. Upon the whole, I found him the most extraordinary Man of his Colour, that I had ever conversed with, having seen nothing in him that appeared barbarous, except the sacrificing of his Enemies; which the *Portuguese* Gentleman told me, he believed was done out of Policy; neither did he eat human Flesh himself.

Being made easy in all respects by this Audience, we returned to our Tent, and spent the evening cheerfully, the *Mulatto Portugese*, with several Courtiers supping with us. The next morning we were sent for again to the King's Gate, and the
Officers

Officers told us, "It being the King's
" *Friche*-day, his Majesty could not see
" us; but that he had ordered them to
" present us with something in his name;
" adding, I might depend on what had
" been promised me, and that we were
" at Liberty to go for *Jaqueen* when we
" pleased:" Our black Servants had like-
wise handfom Clothes given them to wear
about their middle; (according to the
custom of the Negroes, who never cover
more than that part) with a small sum
of Money to each of them, which made
them very jocund, and almost forget the
fear they had been put in at the sight of
the Sacrifices.

This being over, our servants carried
the Presents to our Tent, which consisted
of Slaves, Cows, Goats and Sheep, with
other Provisions: And then we went to
the great Captain's Tent, to take our
leave of him. There we found the Duke,
who told us, he could not have his Au-
dience of leave from the King till the
Evening; and earnestly desired us not to
go without him; for that he would cer-
tainly

tainly accompany us the next Morning to *Jaqueen*. Tho' the *Dutch* Gentlemen and my self were very desirous of going before, yet we could not in honour leave the Duke; so we consented to stay for him, and went to our Tent to Dinner.

In the Afternoon, the Linguist came and told us, that the remainder of the Army, who had been plundering the Country of *Tuffoe*, were returning; and asked us, whether we would go and see them pass by the King's Gate? We went accordingly to that place, and soon after they appeared, marching in a much more regular Order than I had ever seen before, even amongst the *Gold Coast Negroes*; who were always esteemed amongst the *Europeans* that used the Coast of *Guinea*, the best Soldiers of all the Blacks. I observed, this Army consisted of about three thousand regular Troops, attended by a Rabble of ten thousand at least, who carried Baggage, Provisions, dead Peoples Heads, &c. The several Companies of Soldiers had their proper Colours, and Officers, being armed with Musquets and cutting

utting Swords; and with Shields. As they passed by the King's Gate, every Soldier prostrated himself, and kissed the Ground; then rose with such agility, as was very surprizing. The place before the King's Gate was four times as large as *Tower Hill*; there they performed their Exercises, in the sight of innumerable Spectators, and fired at least twenty rounds with their small Arms, in less than two hours time: Then, by the General's Order, the Soldiers retired to the part of the Camp they belonged to. This fight was well worth seeing even by us *Europeans*.

I took notice, that abundance of Boys followed the Soldiers, and carried their Shields; and asked the Linguist, "What was the occasion of it? He told me, That the King allowed every common Soldier a Boy at the publick charge, in order to be trained up in Hardships from their Youth; and that the greatest part of the present Army consisted of Soldiers, bred up in this manner, and under this Establishment." By which I judged, it was no wonder the King had made so large Conquests,

quests, with such regular Troops, and his Policy together.

After this Sight was over, we went again to the great Captain's, whose eldest Son had been General in the Expedition against the *Tuffoes*. The *Mulatto Portuguese* Gentleman being then present, advised us to go and pay our Compliments to this Commander. Accordingly we went, and were received by him with great Civility; and having presented him with some Trifles, wherewith he was highly delighted, we returned to his Father's Tent. After a short stay, telling him we were afraid we should not set out for *Jaqueen* the next day, he assured us we should certainly go the next morning early; and that he would accompany us part of the way: which Promise was highly pleasing to us, for we were quite tired of the Camp: Moreover my Business very much required my presence at *Jaqueen*, in order to begin trading. I observed in the Great Captain's Tent two black Gentlemen, who had long Gowns on, with a Cloth wreathed about their Heads,

Heads, like a *Turkish* Turbant, and Sandals on their Feet. This being a Dress I had never seen before amongst the Negroes. I inquired of the Linguist, who they were? He replied, " They were
 " *Malayes*, which is a Nation far inland,
 " bordering on the *Moors*; and that these
 " People were equal to the white Men
 " in one thing, namely in writing: That
 " at this time there was about forty of
 " them in the Camp, who had been taken
 " at several times in war, as they
 " traded from one Country to another:
 " and that the King treated them kindly,
 " for they had the Art of dying Goat and
 " Sheep-skins with divers Colours, which
 " they made into Cartouch-boxes for the
 " Soldiers; and also into Bags to hold
 " loose powder, and for many other uses."

I was desirous of discoursing with these People, but the Linguist declined it, saying, " It would give offence to the Great
 " Captain:" So we went from hence to take our leave of the *Mulatto Portuguese* Gentleman, and afterwards to our Tent to supper, and slept all night in our Hammocks.

Next

Next Morning we rose early, and prepared for our Journey. As soon as all our things were in order, we sent the Duke word, that we waited for him. The Messenger returned forthwith, and desired us to go to the great Captain's Tent, where we should find the Duke and his People all ready for going. Accordingly we went, but the Ceremony of taking leave of several great Men, who came to wish us a good Journey, detained us till nine a clock in the Morning; And then we set out; the musical Instruments of the *Negroes* making a great noise at our Departure. The great Captain, according to his Promise, accompanied us for an hour on the Road, and then took his leave under a Salute of Fire-Arms from his Soldiers, and our Servants. Our Hammock-men had no need of being press'd to make haste, and travel fast: For the Impression made on their Minds by the sacrificing the poor People of *Tuffoe*, still so much affected them, that they ran full speed with us, even beyond their Strength; so that by five a clock in the

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Even-

The Au-
thor's re-
turn to
Faqueen.

Evening, they brought us into *Faqueen* Town, where the People received us with much Joy, having been under great apprehensions for our Safety, because we stayed longer than was expected.

The next day, being the 15th of *April* 1727, I paid the King of *Dahomè's* Officers the Custom agreed on; and in two days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, being sent by his Majesty for me to chuse such as I liked of them: Which having done, I offered to pay the Lord of *Faqueen* his usual Duties, but he insisted on a larger Custom than my Surgeon had agreed for with him at our first coming: So I refused to pay it, and put him in mind of the Injunction the King of *Dahomè* had sent him by his Brother. This put him in a Passion, and he asked me sternly, Whether I designed to bring War on him, by informing the Conqueror of what he demanded? This being a tender Point, and hoping Time and Patience might bring him to do me Justice, I took my leave of him: For I had been told, it was not possible, no more than prudent,

to engage any one to go with a Complaint to the King of *Dabomè*; for the Messenger would certainly be murdered on the Road by the *Jaqueens*. Moreover, I was informed, they and their Lord had sent their beloved Wives and best Effects to an Island, which is about thirty Miles to the Eastward of *Jaqueen* on the Sea-Coast, and under the Protection of the King of *Appab*, whose Country extends as far as the Bay of *Bennin*. And as they durst not trust intirely to the Conqueror's Faith and Promises, so the Men were always ready to fly there themselves, on the least appearance of Hostility: There they could be in safety, the *Dabomes* not having Canoes to follow them, or if they had, none amongst them understanding the Management of them.

A few days after the Lord of *Jaqueen* had refused to take his usual Customs, another difficulty arose; for the Porters refused to bring up my Goods from the Sea side, except I would pay them double the price I did at my first coming. Thereupon I sent my Complaint to their Lord,

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who

A new Account of Guinea,

who acknowledged it was a great Imposition, but he sent me word, " It was not
" in his Power to oblige those sort of
" People to do me Justice; for by the
" stranding of the *Dutch* Ship, they had
" got so many Goods, that it had made
" them rich and proud; and should he go
" about to force them to bring up my
" Goods at the usual rates, they would
" forthwith quit the Country, and fly to
" *Appah.*" Being in these melancholy
Circumstances, imposed on by all hands,
and without hopes of redress, an accident
relieved me very unexpectedly. For a
few days after this, the Lord of the place
sent for me; and going to him, he told
me, " He had just then received Advice,
" that an *English* Ship was arrived in the
" Road of *Whidaw*; and he desired I
" would send my Boat there, to persuade
" the Captain to come to *Jaqueen.*" I
answered, " I did not doubt but that Ship
" was the *Italian* Galley, Captain *Dagge*,
" who was known to him; for I had
" expected him some time, his Ship be-
" longing to the same Gentleman as
" mine

“ mine did: But since I had received
“ such bad usage from him and his Peo-
“ ple, he could not expect I would be so
“ imprudent as to advise the Captain,
“ who was in the same Interest with me,
“ to come and receive the like Treat-
“ ment: Adding, If I sent my Boat, it
“ should be to desire Captain *Dagge* to
“ stay at *Whidaw*, and send a Messenger
“ to the King of *Dahomè*, to represent
“ the usage I had met with from him;
“ tho’, to let him see how loth I was to
“ give any Offence that way, I should
“ intirely forget what was past, if he
“ would make me easy.” This immedi-
ately brought him to do me Justice: He
took his usual Custom that very day, and
the following went himself to the Sea
side, to the Towns where the Porters
lived, and persuaded them to carry my
Goods at the usual rates.

Soon after this I received a Letter from
Captain *Dagge*, desiring I would let him
know how Affairs stood at *Jaqueen*. Hav-
ing informed him of all matters, he con-
cluded, it would be for our Owner’s In-

Interest if he stayed at *Wsidaw*, where he had great Success; for that People being in a starving Condition, and obliged to sell their Servants and Children for Money and Goods, to buy Food from their Neighbours of *Popoe*; his Ship was soon filled with *Negroes*, and he had the good fortune to sail from the Coast three days before me. Not long after the Arrival of Captain *Dagge*, I was taken ill of a Fever; my Surgeon, a very eminent Man for Trade as well as his Profession, died in a few days after my being taken ill; and the rainy Season coming on, my white People both on board and on Shore grew sickly; and to add to my Misfortunes, the King of *Dahome*'s Traders began to grow troublesome and imposing. Indeed I had one Comfort in this Distress; namely, that tho' I was two days together without a white Man in the Factory with me, (occasioned by the Sickness) yet I had nothing stole from me, which I believe was owing to the severe Charge given by the King to the Lord of *Jaqueen* and his Brother, to take care of me and my Goods.

But

But as to the King of *Dabome*'s Traders, when I objected to them my Agreement with their Master, producing the Writing I had made in his Presence, and calling the Linguist to witness, that I was not to take any Slaves but such as I liked; yet it signified nothing: For tho', the Interpreter was so honest as to own it, yet he was as imposing as any other, pretending the King's Orders for what they did. Nay, I began at last not to think my self safe, one of the Traders being so insolent as to present his Fusil at me, for refusing to take his bad Slaves. For tho' they came to trade, yet they were always armed with Sword and Dagger, and a Boy carried their Gun for them. These People were far different from the Traders we used to deal with at *Whidaw*: For these came always in a modest manner to deal with us, and tho' sometimes I owed them Goods on my Notes for ten days together, because the badness of the Sea prevented our landing them; yet they shewed no Uneasiness about it: Whereas, on the contrary, these *Dabome* Traders would

come ten times a day, with their Notes; tho' they were sensible the Sea was so great on the Shore, that we could land no Goods. And when I expostulated with them, about the needless trouble they gave me and themselves, in coming so often to me to read their Notes; it not being in my Power to pay them, 'till I could get goods landed; they angrily replied, " They did not like a bit of Paper
" for their Slaves, because the writing
" might vanish from it; or else the Notes
" might be lost, and then they should
" lose their Payment." Upon that I used to shew them my Book, telling them their Notes were entered therein, and should they lose them by any Accident, yet I would pay them by my Book: And as to the writing it would never go off the Paper; but this did no ways satisfy them.

About this time several *Portuguese* Ships arrived in the Road of *Whidaw*, and stay'd there, on a prospect of the Country's being settled again; for the King of *Dahomè* had permitted a great number of the
common

common People to return, and they began to build them Houses near the *English* and *French* Forts. But some time after it appeared, that it was only done to deceive the *Europeans*. However the King of *Dabomè* being desirous of the *Portuguese* Gold, which they bring to purchase *Negroes* with, his Majesty sent a great many Slaves down to *Whidarw*, which made Trade dull with us at *Jaqueen*. For tho' formerly great Numbers came to this place, from other Nations now destroyed by the *Dabomes*, there remains at present only one Country called *Lucamee*, lying towards the North-East, for the *Jaqueens* to trade to. Which Nation, by means of a wide River, has escaped being made a Conquest to the barbarous and cruel *Dabomes*. As I was in this melancholy state, one day, my old Acquaintance the Captain (who had been so civil to me at the Camp) came to visit me; and the Linguist not being in the way, I made use of a little black Boy, who spoke pretty good *English*, and was entertained by me in the Factory as a Servant, to be my

Interpreter; ordering him to tell the Captain my Grievances, for which he seemed concerned. He told me he was a warlike Person, and so had no Knowledge of the Affairs of the Traders; but he was confident the *Jaqueens* were not tolerated in such things by the King. Then I bid the little Boy further inform him, That the Traders very much imposed upon the military Gentlemen of his Country, in selling them Muskets bought out of the *French* Factory, for the sake of a small Present. These being made in imitation of *English* Arms, were sent to the King, as if bought from me, by which means a bad repute was brought on our Arms; because the *French* Guns split in firing, and hurt the Soldiers; which is owing to their not being proved as ours are, with a good load of Gunpowder, before they are put into a Stock and finished. I observed, this very much moved him, so I made him a Present of some things, with a promise of a greater Reward, if he would go to the King, and let his Majesty know my Complaints. So having

having considered the matter a little while, he agreed to go, charging the little Boy to keep the thing secret, on pain of being put to cruel Torments if he divulged it; and I soon after experienced the good Effects of his Journey.

The People of *Jaqueen*, as I mentioned before, were in very uneasy Circumstances. The King of *Dahomè* being informed of it, resolved to send the great Captain to their Lord; to settle all things to their Satisfaction. The Captain my Friend being got to the Camp before the Great Captain set out, and acquainting the King with my Complaints, it much incensed him against the Traders, and he caused the great Captain to go forthwith to *Jaqueen*, to settle all matters. He made such haste, that he brought the first news of his coming himself; and because he had a great Retinue, on the first report of his arrival, the Inhabitants of *Jaqueen* were going to fly to *Appah*; believing he was come in a hostile manner: But he soon made them easy, ordering the far greater part of his People to remain on the other side

side of the River, which runs on the back part of the Town; and he came only with one hundred Attendants into the place. Upon the first notice of his coming, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, went to receive him; and all the white Gentlemen in the Town, both Merchants and Commanders of Ships, assembled at the Door of the *Dutch* Factory, to salute him as he pass'd by that House. He was conducted to the Duke's Court, with all the Honours the place could possibly afford. His Retinue was lodged near my Factory, which proved a great disturbance to me; for they made a dismal noise with their musical Instruments, both night and day; but on my complaining of it, they were afterwards removed.

It seems the Great Captain, at his first coming into the Town, had given orders to some of his Officers, to seize all the *Dabomè* Traders. But by means of some Friend they had in their Retinue, notice was given them; whereupon several of them fled. However, about ten were seized,

feized, and immediately sent in Irons to the King: And the Duke, brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, told me afterwards, “ That when the Great Captain began “ to talk of Business with him, the first “ Question he asked, was, Whether the “ Traders had used me ill? To which he “ replied in the affirmative; Adding, He “ was in my Factory, when one of them “ presented his Piece at me, because I “ refused to buy the bad Slaves brought “ by him.” The great Captain upon that asked him, “ Why he suffered me to be so used? To which the Duke answered, “ That not only he himself, but his Brother, had been treated by them with “ great Insolence; and that they were “ afraid to resent it, for fear they should “ represent their Actions in a bad Light “ to the King.” On this account the Great Captain said, they had talked enough upon that Point.

We understood afterwards, that this great Man, at his return to the King, acquainting him with the Misbehaviour of the Traders, his Majesty ordered the Person

son who presented his Piece at me, to be
* beheaded, with another, who had highly
insulted me at the same time: And the
others were kept in bonds, fed only with
Bread and Water; and whenever it rained,
they were put out into the Prison Court,
and exposed till it had done raining. By
this I found, that the Traders and the
Linguist had shamefully belied the King;
however, in Prudence I did not think fit
to complain of the Interpreter, but only
chid him in private; at which he was so
frighted, that he left me, when the great
Captain returned to their King.

The next day after this Great Man's
arrival, all the white Gentlemen in the
* place went to wait on him at the Duke's
House, carrying him Presents; and I went
amongst the rest. Upon my taking leave,
I invited him to dine with me at my Fac-
tory the next day. He came accordingly
with many Attendants, one of whom he
admitted with the Duke, to sit at Table
with us. He seemed to be much pleased
with the Victuals, especially with a Ham;
and was much surprized when I told him,
it

it was part of a Hog that had been killed six Months ago. I was so much diverted to see him handle a Fork, which it seems he had never used before, that I could hardly keep my Countenance, so awkwardly did he manage it. Amongst other dishes there was brought to the Table a Pye of minced meat. Of this he eat greedily, asking me, "How it was prepared?" I told him the manner; adding it was done by my Wife, and being put up in earthen Pans, it would keep in so hot a Country as this was, for six Months at least." He then asked me, How many Wives I had? "I told him we were allowed by our Laws but one; on which he fell a laughing, saying, "He had five hundred, and wished fifty of them could prepare such meat for him as mine had done." After this the Servants brought *Bananas*, with other Fruit of the Country, on *Delft* Plates. These Plates he was much taken with, and desired I would give him that he eat on, with the Knife, Fork, and Napkin he used. I told him he was welcome to
all

all on the Table: Of which the Linguist had no sooner informed him, but he spoke to his Servants, and they immediately swept all away, so suddenly, that they had like to have broke all the Plates, but they luckily escaped. I put on a good Face on the matter, tho' I was something surprized to be so soon taken at my word, with the manner of it; so I said to him, " I would present him further with some " Mugs and Cups, which I called for."

I had almost forgot to relate another Circumstance, full as odd as this. When we first sat down to dinner, some of his principal Servants who stood behind his Chair, would every now and then snatch off his Plate, a Slice of Ham or Fowl; and observing he did not rebuke them for it, I bid the Linguist tell him, " His Servants should not want for Victuals after we had dined; for it was not the " white Peoples custom, to let their " Guests Attendants go home hungry;" so he ordered them to be quiet for the future.

After

After dinner we drank both our Kings healths, and he grew very merry, preferring Punch to other Liquors. When he took his leave of me in the Evening, he express'd great Satisfaction at his Entertainment: Moreover he told me, "He design'd to go and see the Sea the next day, (which was about three Miles off) and as he had never yet seen it, nor a Ship, he should be glad of my Company." But I was obliged to excuse my self, on account of my late Illness, from which I was not perfectly recovered. So I told him, "I would order my Officer in the Tent, to entertain him in the best manner he could; and if he would be pleased to go on board my Ship to see her, all possible Care should be taken of him.

I must now leave this great Man for a while, and give an Account of a remarkable thing that happen'd whilst he was at the Sea side. For the right understanding of it, the Reader is to know, That a few days before the great Captain came to *Jaqueen*, the Linguist brought me two

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Female

Female *Negroes*, saying, “ The King de-
 “ fired, I would buy them, and promise
 “ I would not let them be redeemed by
 “ any one that should offer to do it:”
 After I had viewed these Women, one of
 which was turned of fifty, and the other
 about twenty Years old, I told the Lin-
 guist, “ The first was past her Labour,
 “ and not for my purpose; but I would
 “ buy the other.” He replied, “ He
 “ could not part them; adding, It would
 “ highly oblige the King if I took them
 “ both:” But suspecting he made use of
 the King’s Name, to get rid of an old
 Woman, I refused it, and he carried them
 away. I little suspected then what would
 happen to this poor Creature, which I
 shall presently relate.

The great Captain, as he had told me,
 went the next day to the Sea side, accom-
 panied by abundance of People who came
 from the inland Country, which indeed
 they daily did in great Numbers, to see
 so rare a sight, now the ways were open
 to them. There lay then at Anchor, in
 the Road of *Jaqueen*, the *Katherine Gal-*
 ley

ley which I commanded, being a fine Ship of near three hundred Tuns burthen; and two *Portuguese* Vessels. This fight exceedingly surprized him, as well as did the Sea, which came rolling and roaring with its Billows on the Shore; so that he stood for some time fixed as if he had been a Statue, till he heard the Guns fired from the *Katherine*, wherewith I had ordered him to be saluted, on a signal made from our Tent. Being by the Noise of the Guns roused out of his Astonishment, my Officer then invited him to go to the Tent to dinner, which he readily accepted. Whilst he was at dinner, he could not sit still three minutes together, his Curiosity still prompting him to go and look on the Sea and Ships.

As the Water near the Shore is very shallow, our Boats cannot approach nearer than within two Cables length, so that we are obliged to make use of *Cannoes*, which draw much less Water than our Boats, to land our Goods: And also the fresh Water for the Ship's use, is rafted

in Casks by Ropes from the Boats. The great Man was so pleased with the sight, that he went too near the Sea to see it; in which instant a Wave coming with great force, reached him so, that with the surprize he fell on his back; by which Accident some salt Water got into his Stomach. His Servants seeing him fall, immediately run to his Assistance; and taking him up, carried him to our Tent, where he drank half a pint of Brandy, to qualify the salt Water he had swallowed down. Tho' he had met with this mischance, he stay'd at the Tent till the Evening, and then left the place with reluctance, to come to Town; so much delighted was he with this sight. It was about nine a clock at night when he returned to *Jaqueen*, being usher'd in with the hideous noise of their musical Instruments, and the Acclamations of the People.

Soon after, one of his principal Servants, together with the Linguist, came to me, saying, "The Great Man had sent them
" to return me thanks for the kind Enter-
" tainment

“tainment he had received at my Tent;
“that he designed to set out next day
“for the King’s Camp, and should be
“glad to see me before he went.”

The Servant being gone, the Linguist told me in private, “That the oldest
“Woman whom I had refused to buy,
“had that day been sacrificed to the Sea,
“by order of the great Captain. For
“she had highly offended the King,
“and as I would not take her, his Ma-
“jesty had ordered her to be destroyed
“this way, in the room of another Victim
“that was designed for the same Purpose.”

I asked him, What Crimes she had committed? He replied hastily, “Did I think
“he knew the King’s Secrets? adding,
“She had lived a long time in the Court,
“with good Repute till now.” I then wish’d in my mind I had bought her; but only said to the Linguist, “I wonder
“he should have a hand in such
“Cruelty, having been bred up amongst
“white People. To which he answered,
“Great Mens Commands were not
“to be disputed, especially there being

“ no one but himself of the *Dahomes*,
“ that durst go off in a Cannoe with her.”
Whereupon he told me the following
Story; “ The Woman’s Hands being tied
“ behind her, and her Feet across, she
“ was put into the *Cannoe*, and carried
“ off about half a Mile from the
“ Shore: And then he ordered the Row-
“ ers to throw her over board; which
“ they had no sooner done, but he saw
“ some Sharks (voracious Fishes very
“ common in those Seas) tear her to pie-
“ ces in an instant.” On hearing this
Account I pitied the Fate of this poor
Creature, for I intirely credited the Story,
* knowing full well the Barbarity of those
People. But the next day I was greatly
surprized, with a Letter from my chief
Mate, informing me, that the Woman
was on board our Ship: Which happened
in this manner. It seems, neither my
People at the Tent, nor those in our
Boats, which lay at the Moorings near the
Shore, knew any thing of the real occa-
sion of the Cannoe’s going off. For the
Woman was put very privately into the
Cannoe.

Cannoe. They only thought the Linguist was gone, with a design to see some of the Ships. When he came on shore again, one of our Boats went just then from the Moorings, in order to go on board our Ship. Being got about half way, the Officer in the Boat spied something floating on the Sea, which at his coming nearer, he perceived to be a human Body lying on its back; and now and then spurting Water out at the Mouth. This showing it was still living, he ordered it to be taken into the Boat, being bound in the same manner as the Linguist had told me. Immediately they untied this poor Woman, chafed her Limbs, and rolled her Body about, whereupon she discharged a good quantity of salt Water out of her Mouth. Then they carried her on board the Ship, not knowing in the least the occasion of her being in the Sea, and extremely wondering she had escaped the Sharks, who are usually so voracious, that when a dead Person is thrown overboard, or a living one falls into the Sea by Accident, they are in an instant torn to pieces

by those voracious Animals. So that this poor Creature seemed to have a miraculous Escape; and the knowledge of the greediness of these Sharks, I suppose, induced the Linguist to tell me, that he actually saw her torn to pieces; verily believing it would so happen, which his Fears would not let him stay to see, on account of the great swell the Billows of the Sea had at that time.

Upon my receiving the abovementioned account from the Mate, tho' pleas'd with the safety of the poor Woman, yet it filled me with Apprehensions, if the King of *Dahomè* should come to know it: For he might pretend, his *Fetiche*, or God, being disappointed of this Sacrifice by us, would revenge it on me, or at least oblige me to make up the Affair with large Presents. So having considered of the matter, I writ to the chief Mate, to charge our People to keep the thing secret; it being of the utmost Consequence to us all to do it: Which they accordingly did. Some time after, going on board the Ship, I examined this Wo-

man by the Linguist, but she would never confess the reason of the King's displeasure against her; alledging she knew not that she had in any respect offended him. However, I found by the Linguist, that he suspected, it was on account of her assisting some of the King's Women in their Amours.

This Woman being a sensible Person, did us good service in the Voyage. For she was known to several of the Negroes on board, and by her talking to and advising them, made them easy in their Minds: She observed to them, amongst other things, " That as we had shown
" such Kindness to her, first in saving her
" Life, and since in taking care of her,
" who might be reckoned an useles Person
" to us, on account of her Age; so
" they had all the reason in the World
" to believe we were much better people
" than their own Countrymen; and that
" the strange Stories they had been formerly
" told of white People, must be
" false." The female *Negroes*, who used
always to be the most troublesome to us,
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on account of the noise and clamour they made, wer^e kept in such Order and Decorum by this Woman, that I had never the like in any Voyage before: And when I came to *Antegoa*, *Charles Dunbar* Esq; Surveyor General of *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, on my Recommendation, bought her, and I was not a little pleas'd she had got so generous and good a Master.

But to return again to the great Captain: When he was ready to depart from *Jaqueen*, all the *Europeans* in the Place waited on him to the side of the River, that runs on the back part of the Town. Upon taking leave I told him, " I wanted
" but eighty *Negroes* to compleat my Car-
" go," and he promis'd he would acquaint the King with it; and I might be sure his Majesty would send them down to me forthwith. However, this did not happen according to my Expectation; for I understood afterwards the King had no Slaves by him for sale, tho' he had great numbers of captive *Negroes*, which till'd his Grounds, and did other Work. For,
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it seems, after they are once inrolled for that Service, his Majesty never fells them, unless they are guilty of very great Crimes.

After the great Captain's departure, I was obliged to wait a long while for a dispatch; at last the desired Time came, and the King's Factors that brought the *Negroes* behaved themselves so well towards me, that I had no reason to complain of them. The principal amongst them told me, "The King was much surprized, that I had not been dispatch'd before; and that his Majesty had punished those severely, who had been the occasion * of my long stay at *Jaqueen*: That if my Affairs would admit of my going to the Camp, the King was desirous to see me again there, to discourse, and settle Matters, for the mutual Interest of himself, and the *Europeans* trading to his Country; for when I was with him before, the great Hurry of Affairs his Majesty had then on his Hands, did not allow him sufficient time to talk of Business." I desired the Gentleman to
return

return the King my due Acknowledgments for all his Favours; “ and that I
 “ should have been very glad and ready
 “ to have waited again on his Majesty at
 “ the Camp: But the bad state of health
 “ I was then in, did not allow it; of
 “ which himself being an Eye-Witness,
 “ I desired he would be pleased to in-
 “ form the King of it: Adding, I should
 “ not fail, on my arrival into *England*,
 “ to tell my Countrymen who trade to
 *| “ this place, how great and generous a
 “ Prince I had been entertained by; hop-
 “ ing (if God blefs’d me) to return again
 “ in a twelvemonth at farthest.” So
 having made the Traders some small Pre-
 sents, they took their Leaves, returning
 many thanks for what I had given them.

As soon as I had finished my Affairs
 with these People, I waited on the Lord
 of *Jaqueen*, and told him, “ That hav-
 “ ing compleated my Ship’s Cargoe of
 “ *Negroes*, I design’d to go on board in
 “ two days time, desiring he would be
 “ pleased to pay me the ballance of an
 “ account that was between us.” This
 he

he readily promised, but never performed it. Moreover, the next day, having paid his Brother the rest of the Customs, and my Servants their Wages, my Store-house was soon after plundered in a violent manner: But, by good fortune, there were in it, only things of small value. I complained of this Usage, but had no Redress. However, I did not think proper to threaten, as I had formerly done, "That I would inform the King of *Dahomè* of it;" but quietly putting up the Affront, I went to the Sea side the next day, where I was obliged to lie all night in our Tent, because the Sea ran high on the Shore; but the next morning it being calmer, I got on board to my great Satisfaction, having, through the goodness of Providence, compleated my Affairs, much beyond my Expectation, considering I had so melancholy a Prospect, when I first came to this Country.

The first of *July* 1727, we sailed from the Road of *Jaqueen*, having on board above 600 *Negroes*. I had a tedious Passage to the *West-Indies* of seventeen Weeks, which

March 27 July

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which obliged us to stop at several places for Water and Provision. But at length we arrived at *Antegoa*, where the Cargo of *Negroes* (who had stood very well) came to a good Market: And having lain there for a Cargo of Sugars, we sailed from thence the latter end of *February*, and got safe into the River of *Thames*, the 25th of *April* 1728, having been sixteen Months on this remarkable VOYAGE.



A

SUPPLEMENT,

Containing an Account of what happened to the King and People of Whidaw, and the Dahomes, since I came away from thence, to the Time of my return thither in the Month of February 1729-30. All which I was informed of, by some white Gentlemen of good Credit, who resided at Jaqueen all the Time I was absent.

UPON my coming to *England*, being in a bad State of Health, I desired leave of my Owner to stay at home a Season, which he was pleased to grant me; and appointed Captain *John Dagge* to command the Ship I had been in. He made a successful Voyage, and returned with her in the Month

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of *August* 1729: As I was by that time very well recovered, my Owner was pleased to send me again to the Coast of Guinea in the *Katherine Galley*. Having therefore spent some time on the *Windward* and *Gold Coast*, I proceeded for *Whidaw*. In my way to that place I stop'd at *Great Popoe*, which lies a few Leagues to the Windward of *Whidaw*. Being informed there, that the late King of *Whidaw* was near that place, with *Captain Ossue*, one of his principal Cabociers or Lords, on two barren sandy Islands, with many other People, I sent my first Mate on Shore with a Present to each of them. He returned at night, with some of the King's People, who brought me a Goat from him: Saying, " Their Master being in a poor Condition, had nothing better to send me." And they having bought some few things, I sent them on Shore again. After they were gone, my Mate gave me the following account, " That the King and *Captain Ossue*, had with them many Thousands of People, who lived in a miserable manner, the
Islands

Islands they were on being so barren, that they produced nothing: But by means of the River which separated them from the Continent, they were very well secured from the *Dabomes* Power; who not understanding the Management of *Cannoes*, could not invade them. Moreover, they had planted several great Guns, which secured the Passes, so that they were in no fear of the Enemies. But then, on the other hand, they could not sow Corn, or other Pulse in that barren place, but were supplied with what they wanted by their Neighbours of *Great* and *Little Popoe*. However, this constantly decreased their Numbers, they being obliged to sell their Wives, Children, and Servants for Provisions and other necessaries, because they had no Money left.

From *Great Popoe* I went to the Road of *Whidaw*, where being informed there was little Trade, I proceeded for *Jaqueen*, which is seven Leagues to the Eastward of it; and anchored in that road the 20th of *February* 1729-30: At my going on Shore there, the King of *Dabome's* Agent

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came to see me; and upon my enquiring after his Master's welfare, he told me, " He would send a Messenger to inform his Majesty of my Arrival: " But as the King was then in his own Country, far inland, it would be at least twenty days before he could have an Answer." At his taking leave, he promised to let me know his Master's Pleasure on the return of the Messenger. Accordingly he came to see me again, about three weeks after his former visit, and told me, " The King was very glad to hear of my being once more arrived at *Jaqueen*; but as he was then far within Land, tho' he was desirous of seeing me again, yet he could not in reason require it: His Master being sensible, such a long Journey would be neither safe for my Health, nor suitable to my Business; but in case the King came to *Ardra*, whilst I was at *Jaqueen*, which is but two days journey off, and where I had formerly been with his Majesty, he should be very glad to see me there once more." However,

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ever, this not happening, I had not the Fortune to see the King a second time.

I now come to relate what I heard from several white Gentlemen residing at *Jaqueen*, ever since my former Voyage, concerning the *Whidaws* and the *Dabomes*. The King of *Whidaw*, with abundance of his People, having fled to the Islands formerly mentioned, the King of *Dabome* was disappointed in his design of destroying him, as he had always intended. So that he contented himself with keeping Possession of the Country of *Whidaw*, by an Army encamp'd at *Sabee*, which had been the principal place of the Kingdom, till destroyed by him. But in time this Army being much diminished, it encouraged Captain *Ossue* to leave the Islands, and settle himself, with many of his People, near the *French Fort*, which is about four Miles from *Sabee*; believing the great Guns therein would be a sufficient Protection from the *Dabomes*, in case they should offer to disturb him. This Fort had a dry Ditch, with mud Walls made of the Earth that was dug out of it; and was a square place

place with Towers at each Corner, on which were mounted several Cannons, and their Lodgings, Storehouses, and even their Magazine of Gunpowder, were covered with Rushes, according to the Custom of that Country; which occasioned a terrible Misfortune, as shall be immediately related.

The King of *Dabomè* being informed of Captain *Ossue's* return into his Country, resolved to send an Army to drive him out; which the other having notice of, retired with many of his People into the *French Fort*: *Ossue* little thinking at that time, that the Governor was the occasion of his Enemies coming in order to betray them.

The next day after he and his People were received into the Fort, the *Dabomè* Army came down, and being informed the *French* had given them Protection, contrary to a secret Promise their King had received from the Governor, they assaulted the Fort. But having nothing but small Arms to make their Attack, it would have availed little, had not the
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Thatch of the Houses within the Fort taken Fire. This Accident alarmed the white Men, who knowing there was a great quantity of Gunpowder in their Magazine, and no possibility of stopping the Fire, fled to the *English* Fort, which was within Musquet-Shot of their own, and so saved themselves: But the black People not being so sensible of their Danger, suffered very much by the blowing up of the Magazine, there being above one thousand of them killed, besides many wounded by this Accident. However, in the Confusion, and under cover of the Smoke, Captain *Ossue*, and several of his People, escaped to the *English* Fort: Where Governor *Wilson*, who then resided there for the *African* Company, generously gave them Protection; and to prevent Accidents, ordered immediately all the Houses in the Fort to be unthatch'd, and by firing on the *Dabomes* with his Cannon, killed several, and kept the rest at a distance.

The *Dabomes* having taken the *French* Fort, sheltered themselves therein; and

the next morning sent a principal Man amongst them to Governor *Wilson*, to know the reason why he had fired on their Army. To which he answered, " That they having come down out of the Country in a hostile manner, without giving him the least notice, and attacked his Neighbours the *French*, he looked on it as the common Cause of all the *Europeans* settled there, who were bound to assist one another." To this the *Dabomes* replied, " That when they came down, they had no design to attack the *French* Fort, for the King had no quarrel with the white Men: But the Governor having taken Captain *Ossue* and his People into the *French* Fort, contrary to his Promise, it obliged them to act as they had done. At the same time they told the Governor to his Face, That he had first sent to their King by a *French* Surgeon, then residing with their Master, to persuade his Majesty to send an Army down, to destroy Captain *Ossue* and his People; promising " at

at the same time he would give them no Protection. "This the *French* Governor denied, but all that were present believed it to be too true; and by this means he let the *Dabomes* see, that white Men (whom they had before a high opinion of) could be the basest of Villains, when their Interest tempted them thereto. For it was much suspected, that the Governor had contrived the whole Affair, in order to squeeze a large Sum of Money from Captain *Ossue* to protect him, and for some other infamous Views. However, he met afterwards with a suitable Reward, being killed by the *Whidaws*, whom he had so much injured.

As soon as the King of *Dabomè* was informed of the taking of the *French* Fort, he sent this Message to the *French* Governor; "that he had brought this Misfortune on himself by his Perfidy, for he had no quarrel to his Nation; therefore he would order his Soldiers to repair the Fort, which had been greatly damaged by the Powder: Or if he did not desire this, he might depart

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ject to the King of *Whidarw*, but now under the Dominion of the *Dabomes*, did not escape so well. For not moving so soon by two days as they did, the *J-oes* came up with him and his People, and took abundance of them, with all *Appragab's* Riches; and he himself was hardly put to it to escape, with a few of his Servants.

After this the *J-oes* marched on in quest of the *Dabomes*, but finding they were got into the thick Woods and Bushes, they incamped near them; making frequent Assaults, and often taking some of the *Dabomes* Prisoners. At last, they so distressed them, that for want of other Provision, they were obliged to eat many of their own Slaves. Yet the *Dabomes* patiently endured these Calamities, knowing the *J-oes* would be obliged to retire in a little time, on account of the rainy Season that was approaching, and for want of Forage: Accordingly they were obliged to retire soon after; and the *Dabomes* then returned to their own Country, and rebuilt their Towns again.

During these Misfortunes of the *Dabomes*,

homes, which lasted several Months, various Reports came to *Whidaw*. Sometimes it was said, "That the King of *Dahome* was killed:" But that was again contradicted: And it was reported, "he had lost so many of his People, that he never could be again in a Condition to disturb his Neighbours;" and this was so currently believed that no one doubted of it.

About this time, which was in the beginning of *July* 1729, Governor *Wilson* departed from *Whidaw*, in order to return to *England*. He left in his room one Mr. *Testesole*, who had resided there many Years, but was no ways equal to him in Prudence and Conduct, as his unhappy Fate will afterwards show. For tho' this Person had been often at the King of *Dahome's* Camp, where he was always used with great Civility, yet now believing that King was so far reduced, that the People of *Whidaw* had nothing more to fear from him; he too hastily advised their King, to leave the barren Islands wherein he had fled with his People, and come and take again Possession of his Country.

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Hereupon the King of *Whidaw* resolved to return; and, to provide against the worst, he desired his Neighbours of *Popoe* to lend him some of their Forces; which they readily did. For these People, with all the *Coast-Negroes*, mortally hate the *Dabomes*, on account of their Cruelty, and their Barbarity in eating human Flesh. And, besides that the *Popoes* are little afraid of the *Dabomes* Power, because they live in Islands, they now assisted the *Whidaws* out of Policy; thinking, if they were reinstated in their Country, Trade would soon revive, which had been so long interrupted on account of the War. So they sent them some thousands of their People; and at their Arrival the King of *Whidaw* joined them with his Forces. Tho' he was a very fat unwieldy Man, yet he marched at the head of his Army, which consisted of about fifteen thousand Men, including the *Popoes*, and incamped in his own Country for some time, near the *English* and *French* Forts. This the *Dabomes* knew nothing of; for they had so mean an opinion of the *Whidaws*, that they

they never thought they would attempt to settle again in their own Country: Neither had they, since the departure of the *J-oes*, sent any of their People to the Sea side, having been employed in repairing their Towns, and about other Affairs. These being near finished, the King of *Dabome* sent some of his Traders down with Slaves, to the *English* and *French* Forts: But his People were much surpris'd to see such an Army of *Whidaws* incamped near them. So they returned in great haste to inform their King, who upon the receipt of this News, was greatly embarras'd; for he had lost many of his best Soldiers whilst the *J-oes* remained in his Country, and kept him so long in the Bushes. Moreover, his Majesty had lately sent an Army into the inland Country, to take Slaves: For as I have formerly observed, he drives no regular Trade in Slaves, but only sells such as he takes in his Wars. *

Being in this State of Perplexity (when he had not a sufficient Number of Soldiers

diers to encounter the *Whidaws* and *Popoes* together, and, on the other hand, could not bear to see himself braved by such a cowardly Race as the *Whidaws*.) his Policy extricated him out of this Difficulty. He ordered a great number of Women to be armed like Soldiers, and appointed Officers to each Company, with Colours, Drums and Umbrellas, according to the *Negroe* Fashion. Then ordering the Army to march, the Women Soldiers were placed in the Rear, to prevent Discovery. When they came in fight of the *Whidaw* Army, the latter were much surprized to see such Numbers of *Dabomè* Soldiers, as they supposed them all to be, marching against them: For they had much depended on the former Reports, that they were so far reduced, as not to be able (at least so soon) to have made Head against them. At this unexpected fight the *Whidaws* were divided: Some were for retiring back to the Islands; but others who were commanded by Captain *Ossue*, with the *Popoes*, were for fighting. During this Dispute, the

Dabomè

Dabomè Army marched on boldly, and Captain *Ossue*, with the *Popoe* General, as bravely advanced to meet them; and attacked their right Wing so briskly, that they drove them for some time before them. But the *Whidaws* who were with the King, at that instant cowardly fled; tho' his Majesty used his utmost endeavours and Intreaties to stop them, and at last wounded several with his Lance, to oblige them to second Captain *Ossue's* People: But all in vain. This being observed by the left Wing of the *Dabomes*, they fell on the Rear of *Ossue's* Soldiers, and soon obliged them and the *Popoes*, to fly in their turn; which the King of *Whidaw* perceiving, and being so very unwieldy and fat, he had no other way to save his Life, but to fly into the dry Ditch of the *English* Fort; where, by the help of two of his Sons, his Majesty got over the Wall, and so escaped the fury of his Enemies: But many of his People were killed, and others taken.

Mr. *Testefole*, the Governor, was at a great loss how to act on this occasion.

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For he foresaw the *Dabomes* would demand the King, and insist on his being delivered to them, as soon as they should know he was in the Fort. Which if he refused to do, he was sensible, they could oblige him in time to do it, by starving him. Moreover, he could not but sustain a great loss by the Interruption of Trade. So the Governor persuaded the King to leave the Fort that Night, and he happily escaped to his barren Islands again. However, the King of *Dabomè* was afterwards fully informed of all this, and likewise that the Governor had been the principal occasion of the *Whidaws* endeavouring to regain their Country: Which he highly resented.

The *Dabomes*, after this, retired from about the Forts, and, leaving a small Army at *Sabee*, returned to their own Country; where many Banditti of other Nations resorting to them, their King, in a few Months, found his Strength and Power as much increased, as when he fled from the *J-oes*. But the Countries being laid waste far and near by his former Wars, tho' he

he has large Territories of many hundred Miles, and as fine a Country under his Dominion, as any in the Southern Parts of *Africa*; yet he is only a great King in name for want of Subjects, by reason of his having destroyed in so cruel a manner the Inhabitants of all the Places he has conquered. This has obliged many hundred thousands to fly from his Arms, into foreign Countries; that are by Situation secured from his rambling Bands, either by great Rivers, Mountains or Lakes.

He has acted since as impolitick a part * in another matter. For he gave his word to a great number of the former Inhabitants, If they would return again into their own Country, they should quietly enjoy it, upon paying a certain Tribute. On this many thousands returned into the Kingdom of *Ardra*, where they built Houses, sowed Corn, and planted Potatoes; but no sooner were these poor People settled, than the *Dabomes* surprized them, and killed or took captive all that could not escape from them. The King
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having thus broken his promise, I believe no others will ever venture to trust him: And the Country, in all Probability, will remain uninhabited, during his Life: Moreover, by this means the Trade at *Whidarw* is almost ruined; for the far inland People having now no Markets to carry their Slaves to, as formerly, and the *Dabomes* using no Trade but that of War, few *Negroes* are now brought down to be sold to the *Europeans*.

Whether it was the badness of Trade, occasioned by the *Dabomes* acting in this manner, or any thing else, that enraged Mr. *Testesole* against them; he was so imprudent, that on all Opportunities he used their People ill, when they came to the *English* Fort: And at last whipped one of their principal Men at the Flag-Staff; and upon his complaining of this great Indignity, *Testesole* rashly replied, *He would serve his King in the same manner if he was in his Power.* All this being afterwards reported to his Majesty, it highly offended him: And he said, “ Surely this Man must be full of Malice
“ against

“ against us, else he could never have so
“ suddenly forgot our former Kindnesses
“ to him.”

The King upon this ordered his People to watch for an Opportunity to surprize the Governor, and make him Prisoner; and his Imprudence soon made him fall into their Hands in the following manner. There was a *French* Captain who had a Factory, at some distance from the *English* Fort: This Gentleman had been drinking with the Governor all night, and when the day came, he persuaded Mr. *Testesole* to go and drink Coffee with him at his Factory. The *Dabomes*, who were on the Watch, seeing him go to the *Frenchman's* House, went and surrounded it, demanding to have the Governor delivered to them. This the Captain at first refused, but they threatning to burn his Factory; he told them, He would forthwith bring him out. So he went into the House, and advised Mr. *Testesole* to make his Escape; which he refusing to do, the Captain put him by force into a large Chest, and lock'd him in: Then

he went out, and told the *Dabomes*, “ He
“ could not find the Governor, and that
“ he believed he had escaped.” This so
enraged them, that they fired a Pistol at
the Captain, which shot him in the Arm,
and thereupon broke into his House,
where they at last found the unfortunate
Man in the Chest; whom they took out,
tied his Hands and Legs, and putting him
into a Hammock, sent him away to their
King, who was at that time encamp’d up
into the Country, four days journey off.

This unhappy Gentleman flattered
himself, that the former Kindness the
King had shown for him, would now
save him; but his Majesty was so highly
offended, that he would not vouchsafe to
see him; so that he gave himself up for
lost. However, a few days after this he
was sent down to *Sabee*, about four Miles
from the Fort, where he was given to un-
derstand, “ If he would write to the Per-
“ son that commanded in his Absence,
“ for several things, which they named,
“ for his Ransom, that on their being
“ sent he should have his Liberty.

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This he readily complied with, and they instantly allowed him more Freedom, permitting two of his own Negroe Servants to wait on him; so that he began to be easy in his Mind: But the Scene soon changed; for on their receiving the Things he had writ for, and which were of a considerable Value, these cruel base Villains seized his Person, and made his Body fast to Stakes drove in the Ground: Where, spreading him on his Belly, they with sharp Knives cut open his Arms, Back, Thighs and Legs in several places, and filled the Wounds with a mixture of Limejuice, Salt and Pepper mixed together; which put him to inexpressible Torment. However, they soon after put him out of his pain, by cutting off his Head. Then they cut his Body in pieces, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them.

Thus this poor Gentleman lost his Life in a terrible manner. And tho' the King of *Dabomè* has since denied to some white People, "That he gave Orders to have him put to death;" His Majesty

saying, by way of Excuse, “ He only told
 “ some of his principal People to carry him
 “ to *Sabee*, and there do with him what
 “ they thought fit, not suspecting they
 “ would have used a white Gentleman in
 “ such a manner;” Yet it is not to be doubt-
 ed but they knew their Master’s Mind too
 well in this Affair. For his Majesty pu-
 nished none of those that were Actors in
 this cruel Tragedy; tho’ it was earnestly
 insisted on. Nay some of them that eat
 part of his Flesh, have been since so au-
 dacious, as to tell several *Portuguese* Gen-
 tlemen, that talked with them about it,
 “ That *English* Beef was very good.”

After Mr. *Testesole*’s unhappy Fate, two
 white Men running away from the *Eng-
 lish* Fort, one of them went to the King
 of *Dabomè*, and informed him, “ There
 “ were but four white People left in the
 “ place, so that he might easily take it.”
 The King replied, “ He had no quarrel
 “ with the *English* Nation; for what had
 “ been done to the late Governor, he by
 “ his Imprudence had brought on himself:
 “ And he hoped, the *African* Company
 “ would

“ would send a fitter Person to command
“ the *Fort* for the future.”

Sometime after this the King of *Dabomè* considering he should certainly be invaded again by the *F-oes*, as soon as the Season permitted them to march, and dreading very much their power, he sent Embassadors with large Presents to their King, together with one of his handsomest Daughters. These were civilly received, and had the good fortune to succeed in their Negotiations. For they so gained some great Men about the King, by presenting them with large pieces of *Coral* (which the *F-oes* esteem above all things) that by their means an advantagious Peace was obtained for their Master, and they were civilly dismissed with handsome Rewards. For a Confirmation of the Peace, the King of *F-oe* sent, a little while after, one of his Daughters to the King of *Dabomè* for a Wife; and she was received with great Joy by the King and his People.

At my going on Shore at *Jaqueen*, the latter end of *February* 1729-30: I was

informed of all that I have here related; and tho' I found Trade very dull, yet all the white Gentlemen residing at that place, were full of Expectations, That, now a Peace was concluded between the *Joes* and the *Dabomes*, we should soon have a great many *Negroes* brought down for Sale. But tho' I was there above two Months, Trade did not mend in the least: And I am afraid it will not for many Years, because of the great Destruction of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries, who used to carry on a regular Trade with the far inland People: Neither will those that had the good fortune to escape the *Dabomes* Cruelty, dare to return during the Life of the present Conqueror, whose Perfidiousness and Treachery they have often experienced.

I shall conclude this first Book with an account of a Misfortune that befel me by Fire, whilst I was at *Jaqueen*. The relation, if I mistake not, may be acceptable to the Reader, and give him a true notion of the Buildings, and some other Matters amongst the *Negroes*.

The