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ENGLISH BOSMAN AND DUTCH BOSMAN:  
A COMPARISON OF TEXTS

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What will follow in this and subsequent papers will constitute an extended gloss of the English translation of Willem Bosman's account of the Guinea coast. This translation was published in London in 1705 under the title *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* . . . and was based on the 1703 Dutch edition published in Amsterdam. For the English translation I have used the edited reprint published in 1967, which was an identical copy of the 1705 edition. For the Dutch version I have used the 1737 edition, also published in Amsterdam; this was in fact the last of a series of reprints of the 1709 second edition. This second edition contained numerous amendments and additions to the first (1703) edition, and these will be noted as they occur.

In addition to including all the material in the Dutch edition which was omitted from the English translation, I have included all passages in which significant differences in tone or meaning occur. Throughout I have tried to retain the capitalization, italicization, and punctuation employed in the Dutch version—styles to which the English translation generally conformed.

Citation is by page number, paragraph, and line number within paragraph, with the first paragraph presumed to begin in each case with the first line of a page. Thus, for example, P. 17 1/8 indicates that the gloss concerns the eighth line of the first paragraph on page 17 of the English translation. Shorter passages are arranged on a FOR . . . READ basis, while for longer passages only the Dutch original is included after SHOULD READ. It is believed that this will not result in any problem of comparison. Besides comparing the texts directly I have added explanatory notes where these seemed appropriate.



G 282094  
1/1 Da / DT 471. B68  
Africana Case

ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE GUINEAN  
GOLD, IVORY AND SLAVE COAST, as well as  
all its Countries, Kingdoms and Commonwealths:  
of the Customs of its Inhabitants, their Religion,  
Justice, Wars, Marriages, Funerals etc.

*as well as*

The condition of the area; plants and trees, all kinds of  
animals, wild and tame, quadrupedes and reptiles, as well  
as feathered animals, Fishes and other curiosities up to  
this date unknown to Europeans;

by

WILLEM BOSMAN

Of late Member of the Council and Chief Merchant at  
the Castle St. George d'Elmina, as well as second  
Personality on the Coast

*This last impression has been improved, purified of many  
mistakes and illustrated with many new copper engravings*

AMSTERDAM

By J. VERHEIDE, on the corner of the Molsteeg  
A. VAN HUISSTEEN, on the Rokin, on the corner of the Gapersteeg  
S. VAN ESVELDT, on the Rokin near the Bourse, opposite the Gapersteeg

Booksellers

1737<sup>1</sup>

## DEDICATION

To Their Honors, Gentlemen Members of the Board of Directors of the General Chartered West Indian Company, meeting in the Assembly of Ten, at present at Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup>

*Esteemed Gentlemen,*

Since the time that I took, with due respect, the liberty to ask Your Honors to be released of my duties, and lived with the hope that such permission would be favorably given; since that time, I repeat, I have been constantly occupied with the idea how best I could witness of my duty and recognition for the many favors I received from Your Honors during the time that I had the honor to serve Your Honors; and to show to the world that it depends largely of ourselves whether we become happy in Your Honors' service, because nothing is more certain than that Your Honors pay their servants for their services with a proper reward. I may present myself as a living example of this, and I am duty-bound to declare that words fail me to express properly my gratitude due to you.

Yet, in order not to fail my duties entirely in this respect, I could not think of anything more appropriate than to dedicate this book to Your Honors with humility; and to pray that it may be regarded as a sign of my gratitude, and of my doing in return a little for what I am so dearly obliged to Your Honors, and I will not fail to recognize forever my due gratitude, not allowing any occasion to pass that I could do Your Honors a pleasant service.

This Book belongs more to Your Honors than to anybody else. Because it contains a description of the Lands and Places where in your Name, and on behalf of Your Honors, the highest authority is maintained and unquestionably greater trade is carried on than by any other Europeans. May Heaven provide that it may never diminish and rather increase more and more!

For this reason too, anybody else who undertook such a work, could hardly find better patrons for it than Your Honors, even though he might be less closely linked to Your Honors than I am; because Your Honors may, through your own knowledge of these Coasts, judge to what extent my description agrees with reality. Furthermore, I hope and wish that Your Honors will enjoy the reading of the results of this humble labor of mine, because I am of the opinion that the true conditions of the Coast have only rarely been exposed to Your Honors as they should, and that people have always kept silent (thereto compelled) about what it is most necessary to expose, and that only in order that some people with evil intentions could the better continue their selfish interests. The evil practices of such persons, as well as the irregularities of Government on the Coast, are mentioned in passing; I hope that both may serve Your Honors as a lesson, and not be unpleasant; similarly, what I shall say about the Slave trade: because I assure you that I have in what that concerns no other purpose than to serve the well-being of the Noble Company. The total amount of Gold I computed to be sent annually from the Coast will doubtlessly exhort Your Honors to try to get in future a greater share of it.<sup>3</sup> But I dare not take the liberty to suggest to Your Honors the best ways to do this, well aware that Your Honors possess the necessary knowledge thereto. What is most needed in my opinion is experienced, and before all faithful, Servants, both in this Country and on the Coast, to carry out Your Honors' orders as they should. Because, if proper care is taken of this, I do not doubt that Your Honors' trade will again grow and flourish as it did before, which I wish with all my heart. I end this [dedication] with as much respect

to Your Honors' widely famed and highly sagacious Assembly as is due in the quality of  
 Your Honors' Humble and much obliged  
 Servant  
 WVILLEM BOSMAM [sic]

Utrecht, 4th Decemb. 1703

PREFACE

p. i II/8

AFTER "*for the Coast of Guinea which is part of Africa*" the Dutch edition ADDS "and not of the *West Indies*, as some people think (because the *West Indies* are in *America*, and therefore situated in an entirely different part of the world)."

p. i II/12-15

SHOULD READ ". . . *yet come to Light* apart from what has been incorporated here and there in other Books; but I discovered that these are mostly nothing more than invented stories which have little in common with truth. Hence, nothing more than a rough sketch and a confused notion is given to us about *Guinea*."

Between paragraphs II and III the Dutch text ADDED the following short paragraph: "I used to present myself as a great Amateur of good books, principally of *Histories* and *Travelogues*, because they serve us for many purposes, mainly because they teach us the knowledge of all kinds of sciences and customs of foreign Peoples, and on top of that satisfy most of our curiosity, which is inborn to every human being."

p. ii I/29-30

FOR "*I always had a longing . . . Books*" READ "But let me leave them alone, and let me say that it was, among other causes and necessities, these *Travelogues* which made me leave Europe, curious as I was to view from nearby what I had read in the Books."

p. iii I/10-21

SHOULD READ: ". . . which caused me to think once again about this last matter, namely, my deficiencies in the pleasant style of the modern world and in the manner of spelling. It is true that the latter is nowadays subject to a lot of hair-splitting, but I gladly admit that here and there I tread these grounds pretty loosely, and that the Printer has also added his bit to compose wrongly what had been spelled correctly in the manuscript. But what does it matter? This piece is not meant to be an exercise book to teach the correct way of spelling, but rather to satisfy the curiosity of the Reader. And I believe that nobody but a Literary or Linguistic specialist will be aware of my faults. If I do not earn their praise, little is lost. This was not my aim or purpose, but rather, as mentioned above, to arouse those who are possessed with the same spirit of curiosity as I, to give them a neat image and a certain knowledge concerning the conditions of this Area in case they may one day have the occasion to go there to seek their advantage, and to make some of the ill-feelings cease among some of us who are still there. That is what I intend with this work, and I hope that it will not be fruitless; and if this be the case, I am satisfied and content, and will consider the trouble I took and the expenses I made, richly compensated."

p. iv I/5

AFTER "...conveniency of time allow'd" the Dutch text ADDS "Without making any other change than that concerning the *Trade*, whose general description I have left out for reasons I shall explain elsewhere."

p. iv between paragraphs II and III

The Dutch text of 1737 ADDS "I pray the Reader to be satisfied with what I got. I am however not without hope to get one day what is missing, which could be added hereto if the Book-seller is lucky enough to sell this first edition soon enough,<sup>4</sup> when apart from the other Places, some remarks about the entire *Coast*, including a further description of the *Upper Coast*, the *Bight of Guinea*, and the *Coast of Angola* might be added; I am looking forward to do all this, if we live long enough, with the consent of my Lords.

My request, to anyone to whom it may concern, whoever it may be, is principally not to take me evil or to be annoyed that here and there I show the character of an unconstrained *Dutchman*. It was not done to do injustice to anyone, but to offer a lesson to our offspring and to those who might from time to time like to use it; but if there are people who find themselves attacked, and they are in fact guilty, I will not feel sorry, as I feel by no means compelled to hide the truth because of somebody else's dishonesties. But to other, well-meaning people who do not quite understand what I write, I am prepared to give further explanation; because at all times I shall not fail to maintain all that is written here, whomever (be it said with respect) it may concern.

I do not demand more of the non-partisan Reader than that he forgive my manner of writing which in places seems to be somewhat animalistic or crude, and that he by no means conclude from it that it reflects on my morals. Anyone who thinks so, will find himself in the wrong, because those whom I have the honor to frequent and to correspond with, know well that my style tends always to be more a kind of *Raillerie* than *Pedanterie* (to use for once bastard-language); I cannot see that there should be any badness in such a habit; because I never express myself in *Raillerie* but in those matters which are not sincerely meant, and I therefore hope that this little enjoyment will not be denied to me, but that every Reader in his right senses will allow me to have a bit of fun without any afterthoughts; such people will certainly oblige themselves to me; but those who always like to insist on old-fashioned sturdiness may skip what I said before or consider it not to have been written for them."

Then follows the last paragraph of the Preface, which is FOLLOWED in the Dutch version by:

"If I have not observed the rules of book-writing, let it be known that I am entirely inexperienced in this activity: because I found out that to read a book is an activity entirely different from writing one; this is the first fruit of my pen, and I have very much the impression that it will also be the last, and also the last thing that I shall say in this Preface (so that the work does not become even bigger), except that I wish to express the wish that the Reader gets full pleasure out of it and that I request him to receive this my labor in gratitude. With which I shall consider myself obliged to be and to remain his

Devoted Servant  
Willem Bosman

In the Dutch version the Preface is followed by a "Letter" from his friend and colleague Dr. D. Havart.<sup>5</sup>

## LETTER

written to Mr. WILLEM BOSMAN

when His Honor gave light the book entitled  
DESCRIPTION OF THE GUINEAN GOLD COAST  
*Each shall be praised according to his intelligence*  
(Book of Proverbs, xii.8)

SIR,

I had firmly decided, when I left *Utrecht* for these far lands, never to get to the point of making a Song of Praise for any mortal being; but to spend the rest of my life in silence and solitude<sup>(a)</sup>; This Century is too sweet and too dirty in *Poetry*; I would remain free of insults and reproofs; But I see that humanity remains with me as it does with others<sup>(b)</sup>; I have changed with the times<sup>(c)</sup>; it had to be as it is.

When you wrote this Book, I considered it my Duty that I (may it be to the advantage of those who read it) to come to greet you with the following poem:

The more as there has been, as your and my eyes saw<sup>(d)</sup> such a narrow, pure bond of friendship between us, such as one reads about<sup>(e)</sup> PYLADES (in days long past, at the time of AGAMEMNON) and ORESTES; We had (such a knot of friendship one rarely sees) one heart, one soul, we drew one line: I shall now, for reasons which move me (I may assume that you know them) say who are true Friends: To others who do not know them, and who read this, to those who let themselves be led by jealousy or uncontrolled anger, it might be useful if they behaved in accordance with the contents of these writings.

What is FRIENDSHIP? A bond between people, whose similarity derives from a righteous virtue, of which one becomes aware from each others intentions and desires; and such FRIENDSHIP (it is a matter about which I am happy) is however cracked in those days when that from which the FRIENDSHIP derived, begins to disappear; When choosing FRIENDS, one should avoid a hasty choice, and one should not start loving anyone, whether little or great, before one is able to pass judgment of his acts or himself. FRIENDSHIP should be honest; otherwise it is only pretence; and if FRIENDSHIP is elevated to perfection, it needs to be equally great on either side.<sup>(f)</sup> Also, one should have unshakeable confidence; not to be offended when one's FRIEND is warned; when he errs: as long as we keep our residence here, as long as one finds men around this World-globe, one will find people who continue to stumble every day,<sup>(g)</sup> and if a FRIEND errs (which happens so easily), one should bear with it, being something forgivable; and not allow that the FRIENDSHIP be torn. This much, because of a FRIEND, and for reason of FRIENDSHIP, in which is, for whomever may read it, some profit. Now I shall, in order to be brief, continue what essentially is missing from the work; the introduction I consider to be long enough: so you may read what follows with pleasure and attention.

All that is demanded of a Writer of History, who faithfully treats the nature of affairs with CAUTION and DILIGENCE, so that they may be preserved from the rust of Time, Who knows how to dig out of the hiding place of Antiquity, through Labor which was hitherto not known, that same person has to be provided with many gifts, if everyone who reads it, is to believe his work. He should be well *informed* about what he is going to tell; *unconstrained* and *free of fear* about what he describes; he must be provided with a knowledge of Languages<sup>(h)</sup> (an important means which forcefully stiffens one's wisdom);

he must be able to make a *Judgment* out of what he writes, and he must *Want to Know Well* what he says: whoever is provided and gifted in such a manner, I dare to put up as an example and as a beacon of perfection, because such a man writes nothing but stories full of clarity, of what stands firmly screwed down, needs no ornament, but the unadorned truth,<sup>(i)</sup> which is pure and praises itself wherever it goes. You have known all that I say in perfection, out of many Writings and after keen research on the Writers; because you have eaten many letters, and only then you sat down to write this Book. *Whatever you do, do it with force and quickly.*<sup>(j)</sup> This you knew, and so you satisfied the wish of our heart; This is life, if one lives for one's Neighbors, and offers one's talent to the profit of one's Equal; whoever spends his time in such a manner, has certainly the advantage that he will not have to give account before the Judgment.

In order to please the Reader fully, and to write in a manner inspired by your heart, you have executed your Work soberly in the form of Letters, following the footsteps of BURNET and DUMONT,<sup>(k)</sup> two men of wisdom: that style is free of passions, Simple, Pleasant, and Common in each word; the mind eager to learn more is only incited by such writings to greater pleasure and enjoyment. *The aims of the one who follows wise men are praiseworthy: one learns from being among wise men.*

Each can recognize in a book the aim of the Writers: one writes about architecture, another about *Farm-houses, Houses, or Churches, of Cabinets or of Books*; the latter's work is mainly to parrot something he has heard, but You bring to light no matter, no letter you have not seen. You left nothing undone for the description of *Religion*, the least thing you tell us has its price and value. You should be praised for the shortness of your style; you even go down to the intestines of the earth<sup>(l)</sup> in order not to leave anything untouched. Meanwhile, if anyone likes to behold the Drawings which can be seen concisely in this Work, not very large, he can take them to be honest and believable, as done after what the eye sees, not false or imitated. Who can broadcast your Praise, great as it is? You are Attentive, of a remarkable Diligence, you write of the *Sea, of the Land, Siege, Peace-treaties, of Islands* situated very far away, also of *War and Battle*; you reveal to us unknown things, which we believe to be true and certain, as you wish not to show in this Book anything which has been viewed by you, one for one<sup>(m)</sup>; hence your story must entice and charm us, *An Eye-witness is worth more than twenty people who have heard of something.*

I shall not become infatuated with the Inscription of this Book, although it carries such a fair *Title* on its Front, as if it were nothing but *Gold* and *Golddust* to be reaped from this *Gold Coast*, with which your book deals widely. The name is beautiful, and makes everyone's heart burn in love, as *Gold* is a mineral of an attractive kind, but which lies hidden in the earth's intestines<sup>(n)</sup> and its correct use is kept only for a few people; no one should lower himself so much only for *Gold*, that he should travel to this far-off land; *Gold* has no fixed abode, it flies away with eagle's feathers,<sup>(o)</sup> and is an all too insecure pawn for a wise man; a wise man should never put his heart on *Gold*, but live with what he has, quietly and reposed; it is always the same (one can hardly prevent it): *the more Gold one has, the more one wants to add to it.*<sup>(p)</sup> Those who are avaricious, and perverse in their avarice, are happy with the mere sight of *Gold*; it is a certain proverb: *he who wants to become rich quickly will face Temptations, and eventually will be trapped.*<sup>(q)</sup> But if a man's desires and thoughts cause him to travel through other parts of the world (in order not to remain forever at the hearth of the elders) it is a praiseworthy cause, and worth the greatest fame. He then can, seeing the strange things of that land, satisfy his desire, and take to himself in an honest manner, like a pious Levite, the Tithe,<sup>(r)</sup> which shows that he knows the art that who wins the Prize is crowned as the boss, and goes away with his windfall; *Only a few manage to watch the Pope.*<sup>(s)</sup>

But wandering through the field of your Book, I perceive that it not only deals with *Gold*, no matter how beautiful, how cherished, and how pleasant to man's eye it may be, I find change of subject in every letter; here you write (and what you write stands on very strong legs) of the *Strangers* who live in that Land, of Prussians, English, French, and Danes, and there of *Fishery*, of *Agriculture*, of how people plant, and catch their Fish. Then you open up to us *Religion*, how people kneel for their Idol, then again about *Birds* who float through the skies, and also of the meanest creature that crawls on the ground; there I find a letter full of *Trees*, *Fruits*, *Herbs*, then about the *Elephant*, and how one transacts with those People is not the least thing which is demonstrated in your Book. Each may choose what he likes, and will find to his satisfaction, *variety in food is pleasant to Friends*.

I feel that my gift of rhyming begins to halt; let each of us read this Book and see how it will please him, and follow you, BOSMAN, in your steps. I close with these lines, only four in number: The Book of the *Gold Coast*, described most accurately, in which one finds everything concerning that *Area*, will survive you, after your death, many years: be it so; this is the wish of him who calls himself

Your friend  
D. HAVART  
Med. Doctor

Rotterdam, XX. Nov. MDCCIII

Notes to this poem (in the Dutch edition Arabic numerals are used)

(a) This is a proverb from HORATIUS: *Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis, &c. lib. Epod. vi.*

(b) This is from TERENCE: *Heaut. Act. I v. 25 Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

(c) An old Latin verse: *Tempora mutantur, sic nos mutamur in illis.*

(d) When His Honor lived in *Guinea*, we maintained our friendship for many years through an exchange of letters, as appears also from the content of the Book.

(e) PYLADES was a son of STROPHIUS, ORESTES one of AGAMEMNON; one can read of similar friends in Antiquity, such as PYROTHOUS with THESEUS, ACHILLES with PATROCLUS, DIOMEDES with STHENELUS, HERCULES with PHILOCTETES, &c.

(f) OVIDIUS knew this too in his own time, because he says in *Trist. Lib. III Eleg. iv* . . . *amicitia et tibi junge pares.*

(g) *Jacob. iii, v. 2.*

(h) The author speaks the Language of the *Negroes*, or the Inhabitants of *Guinea* fairly well, and also the Language of the *Franks* which is used in that Country.<sup>6</sup>

(i) There is an old Latin verse: *Induta nulla tegmine veritas/Nullisque gaudet picta coloribus/Prodire . . .*

(j) This we took, with a little change, from Eccles. SALOMON, ix:10.

(k) Also of others; to mention their names would be too sad and too long.

(l) Because he speaks of *Gold Mines* in the 1st Book, 6th Letter, p. 60 &c.

(m) This is a saying of PLAUTUS: *Truc. Act. 2 Sc. 6: Pluvius est testis oculatus unus quam auriti decem.*

(n) OVIDIUS writes in this way about it in his *Metamorph. Lib. I, v. 139*, when he speaks of the copper Century: *Quasque recondiderat, stygiisque admoverat umbris: Effodiuntur opes.*

(o) *Proverbs, xxiii:5.*

(p) OVIDIUS describes that clearly, *Fasc. Lib. I*, when he says: *Creverunt et opes, et*

*opum furiurosa cupido/Quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiunt aquae.*

(q) 1 Timothy vi:9.

(r) This is a law we find in the Books of MOSES, Levit. xxvii:30, and Numbers xviii:21.

(s) A proverb from HORATIUS, I *Ep.* xvii: *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.*

#### LETTER I

p. 3 II/4

"... were driven from this and several other Places and Coasts by our Countrymen."

p. 3 II/8

"... to return to our Fort, it is not big [great], but neatly ..."

p. 3 III/1-12

SHOULD READ: "You know about your Nephews's position; that of his Chief is that of *Oppercommis* or *Chief Merchant*; at the moment Mr. N.N.<sup>7</sup> is that, and he has on behalf of the *Company* as well as of the *General* absolute power over this entire *Area*, and the *Inhabitants* are bound, against a great penalty or fine, to bring before him all that comes to pass in their *Country*, and they are not allowed to execute the least thing without his knowledge or consent, he occupying in that *Country* the position of *Chief Justice* who never neglects to punish, with the black *Headmen*, all trespassers and evildoers in accordance with that *Country's* manner.

p. 5 II/15

SHOULD READ: "Begin with Axim; it was formerly considerable in size and power (as the notion of power runs here) ..."<sup>8</sup>

pp. 5-6 III/1-2 and I/1-2

SHOULD READ: "The blacks (*Negroes*) or *Inhabitants* of this *Country* are generally rich and live luxuriously and carry on a great trade with *Merchants* coming from the *Interior*; but their Gold they mostly spend on Board [of] *Ships* coming to trade here on the *Coast*, such as *English* and *Zealand* Interlopers ..."

p. 6 I/9-14

SHOULD READ: "by which means we are hindered from intercepting more than one-hundredth of these Goods. The reason why the *Inhabitants* carry on this forbidden trade with such great dangers is, that they can get these *trade goods* from the *Interlopers* for a third or a quarter less than from us, and sometimes their goods are better too ..."

p. 6 after paragraph I

the Dutch text ADDED about two pages: "As I said above, the blacks sometimes got better goods for a price one third or one quarter lower; not always, but mostly; the reasons for this are that the *Interlopers* have no other expense than the simple cost of the *Ship* and the crew's pay, and a little provisions for the latter, and that only for a few months, whilst our *Company*, on the other hand, has not only on its back the heavy duty of maintaining its *Ships*, but also of its men and garrisons

stationed on the Coast and its Forts, the payment of presents to the Natives in order to keep them on our side, the carrying on of wars which are occasionally necessary, and a hundred other things, too many to mention here. And this alone would not do much damage, but Their Honors are also duty bound to pay for their assets in Europe and the salaries of their servants there, both of elevated and lower status. This has given reason to many people who think to be clever to ask why the Company, whilst it exhorts its Servants overseas to observe the strictest economies, avoiding all unnecessary expenses, does not apply the same rule in Europe with the dismissal of all unnecessary breadeaters and salary drawers, leaving the management of affairs to a few. But such people probably do not take into consideration that the Company consists of five separate chambers, which could each separately be considered as a company and consequently each also has its own directors and servants. Whether this number could not be reduced or whether this brings to the company as great an advantage as they pretend, I leave to them to prove, readily admitting that I do not understand it myself, apart from the fact that it is entirely beyond my competence.

The Interlopers can offer their goods more cheaply than we can and yet draw so much profit on them not only for the reasons mentioned earlier, [but] because they spend much less money for exactly the same goods as we sell; this may seem strange to you, and so it did to me for a long time when I was engaged in the comparison of bills and sales-accounts with samples of the goods; till, asking some captured Interlopers about the reasons for this, they answered that the Company came, just as they did, with ready cash to the market, but that their masters, it being in their own interest, went personally to the market to buy, and were a lot more careful in the selection of their goods and in the payment of their price; that as soon as the Company demanded certain goods required on the Coast, it ordered its Suppliers to provide at once a certain quantity of those goods; but the latter, particularly when it is something new, remained indebted to the Company for such quantity as they like, and instead of supplying in due time, they sell their goods from that time onwards, to their greater profit, to the owners of the Interloper ships, making the Company believe that they are not yet able to supply the goods, but that they will do so at the departure of the next ship. Meanwhile, the Interlopers are allowed to buy what they like, the Suppliers telling them that they can choose what they like, that the left-overs are good enough for the Company; and when they can't any longer sell to the Interlopers they eventually supply the goods to the Company for the highest possible price, and it is compelled to take them in accordance with the earlier made agreement. This did not happen only once, but ten and even more times, and this I have also experienced myself during my stay on the Coast. Because hardly had something become known about a new demand for a color or something of the like (one should know that the negroes have their fashions in the same way as we have) or we required it at once from the Directors. But what happened nearly all the time? The first Interloper arriving on the Coast (after the arrival of our request in Europe), and all those following him, were provided with these goods, but we ourselves did not get them before the cream, both in Europe and on the Coast, had been skimmed off, and the shopkeepers could no longer sell them to their satisfaction. This, I say, happened at least ten times to us, and it also shows clearly how "secret" papers from the Coast are kept, and that to many people they only serve to further their selfish interests; indeed, unfortunate are masters who are being served by such self-seeking men; but basta

[enough]! I let myself be carried away by the zeal which the guards are admonished to show; I hope that they will observe it, and herewith I want to abandon this issue." Then FOLLOWS p. 6, paragraph 2.

p. 7 I/1-2

Dutch text ADDS: "of these latter [i.e., fishermen] there are only a few, but nearly all inhabitants are engaged in *Agriculture*, chiefly in the cultivation of Rice . . ."

p. 7 II/24-29

SHOULD READ: "which is no small Inconvenience in time of *War*, even if only with the Blacks, because no person can go on the *Batteries* or *Curtains* without being exposed to the danger of being blown off by a mere *musket* shot, except on the *Land-side*, where its *Breast-works* have the required height. For the remainder the rules of *Architecture* have been fairly well observed and the fort is provided . . ."

p. 8 II/10

AFTER "absolute Dominion over the Blacks" INSERT "as has our *Merchant at Axim*."

p. 8 III/9

FOR "Ten-Hoof" READ "ten Hooff."

p. 8 III/16

AFTER "a much better Condition" ADD "and extended them [possessions]."

p. 9 I/22

FOR "*John Visser*" READ "*John de Visser*, next in command, who had hardly so much sense that one could leave him alone with fire."

p. 10 II/9

FOR "two miles and a half" READ "thirdhalf mile" (lit. one-sixth); probably "the third half mile," i.e., one and a half miles east of Great Frederiksborg, is meant.

p. 10 II/12

FOR "amplified" READ "evacuated" (from 'inruimen,' to evacuate, not 'verruimen,' to amplify)

p. 10 III/2

FOR "1674" READ "1694"; the Dutch text mentioned simply "a House at Takrama" rather than "a Fort-House."

p. 11 II/21

FOR "not excepting Fida itself" READ "perhaps excepting Fida."

p. 11 III/19-20

FOR "having sailed about a Mile up" READ "you meet every quarter of an hour, sailing past the West bank of the river, a fine, populous Village, whose houses are nicely built on the water-front."

## p. 12 I/12

The expression "from all foreign Parts" is misleading and stands for the Dutch "from other Places."

## p. 12 I/16-38

SHOULD READ: "The mentioned *Fort* we lost in a tragical manner, getting involved in a dispute with the *Negroes*; because its *Chief* [i.e., commander], being besieged by the *Blacks* and no longer able to withstand them (it is said he eventually used gold instead of iron as shot) pretended that he wanted to negotiate with his *Besiegers*, and consequently entered negotiations with them; but in the middle of their Negotiations he blew himself and all his Enemies up. And so he ended his life bravely but very unhappily, together with our Garrison, and took with his death, like Samson, his revenge on his Enemies. In order to execute his intention he had ordered a little Boy to be ready with a burning Wick near the Powder, and to light it as soon as he were to stamp with his foot, having promised him a new cloth if he were to execute the order well, which this silly lad, believing it, executed only too well. Nobody here had any knowledge of it but a Slave of our *Company* who fled in timely fashion and thus got the occasion to tell us the foregoing story. We have no other information about this matter than the story of the said Slave, and are therefore compelled to believe him. For one thing is certain, and that is that our *Fort* was blown up with the sacrifice of its *Chief* and some of his Enemies."<sup>9</sup>

## LETTER II

## p. 14 II/1

Dikjeschoftt (Dixcove) is spelled *Dijkeschoof* in the Dutch version.

## p. 14 II/15-24

SHOULD READ: "Fraudulent, Villanous and Obstinate, that they do not want to give in to the least *English* demand, always opposing them; and if they try to maintain their position with violence they meet immediately response of the same kind from them. They even had the impertinence of besieging the English in their *Fort*, as happened five years ago, when they nearly got hold of it. From that time onwards they have compelled the *English* to live with them according to their own terms, without allowing them to exercise any *power* over them, and hence proceeded a friendship between them, the *English* garrison and the *Negroes*, which was so close that they jointly agreed . . ."

## p. 15 I/12-15

SHOULD READ: "Negroes. The *Captains* of these little Ships did go ashore, in order to complain to the *Chief* of the *English*<sup>10</sup> about this mischief, and to ask for help, so that they could receive other *Gold* or at least have their *Goods* back, but to complain to him was . . ."

## p. 16 II/1-2

SHOULD READ: "A little over . . . *Zaccondé* where one can see nowadays a little *Fort* belonging to us . . ."

## p. 16 I/10

FOR "Focquembourg" READ "Focquenbrog."<sup>11</sup>

p. 16 II/23-27

SHOULD READ: "very good rice . . . abundant Milhio, heavier [lit. 'fatter'] than elsewhere, the grain of which is red, *Jambs*, *Potatoes* and other *Earth-fruits* are not only abundant, but also good, each in its kind. There is no lack of *Tree-fruits* either . . ."

p. 16 II/33

FOR "Manurers" READ "Cultivators."

p. 17 I/10-14

SHOULD READ: ". . . on its flourishing Condition; in the years 1690 and 1691 I occupied at *Boutry* the position of *Assistant*, at which time, being just before the [Komenda] *War*, it was reasonably well *peopled*. Then it was a pleasure to walk through the country with the pleasant Prospect . . ."

p. 17 I/last

SHOULD READ: "and I dare affirm that if conditions were similar along the whole *Coast*, *Guinea* would . . ."

p. 17 II/1-4

SHOULD READ: "I had almost passed over what is most charming in the whole *Antese Country* between *Acoda* and the area below *Boutry*, namely the fresh water *River* which runs . . ."

p. 17 II/6-8

SHOULD READ: ". . . which, as the *River* is not very wide, overshadow it: I have several times traveled on it as far as a *Canoo* can go, that is, about 3 miles from the *Coast*, but tho' it . . ."

p. 18 III/8-11

SHOULD READ: ". . . you have now heard of a certain *Place* in *England* described by another writer, where the *Leaves* of some *Trees* change at once into *Ducks*, *Geese* and other *Water-birds* when falling into the water; in *China* *Fishes* turn into *Birds*, and later again into *Fishes*, like a permanent ["eternal"] *Almanach*, but this is much rarer, and consequently a greater miracle."

p. 19 II/1

FOR "Before the war" READ "Just before the War."<sup>12</sup>

p. 19 III/13

SHOULD READ: "the Ground below and between said *Trees* and *Shrubs* is covered with *white Sand*, in which were . . ."

p. 20 I/1

SHOULD READ: "The Village of *Tacorary*."

p. 20 I/5

AFTER "The *English*, *Dutch*, *Brandenburghers*" ADD "(and to my best knowledge) the *Swedes* and *Danes* have had it in possession, but we for the longest period, because in 1665 . . ."<sup>13</sup>

p. 20 I/13-14

SHOULD READ: "And after my arrival on this *Coast* we continued for about four years our Traffick in a *Negroes's House* . . . ."14

p. 20 I/21

FOR "let us turn towards the Town *Chama*" READ "I shall go three little miles lower to the Village of *Chama*."

p. 20 I/last three lines

SHOULD READ: "At the time of the English War, most of it was in ruins, and was only surrounded by Pallisadoes . . . ."15

p. 21 II/3-4

SHOULD READ: "the inland part of the Country, without showing itself on the Seashore apart from just here."16

p. 21 II/16

AFTER "too Potent Neighbours" ADD "principally those of Adom."

p. 21 III/4-10

SHOULD READ: "*Jabishian* and *Adomese* Country . . . even beyond '*Juffer* and, if one may believe the *Negroes*, more than a hundred miles to the interior, but this is by no means certain. This *River* is also quite wide and beautiful, and hardly less considerable than that of *Ancober*; but the advantage it has above the other river is that loaded Boats . . ."

p. 22 I/1

FOR "which the Sailors called the *Sugar*" READ "which our Sailors [*'Scheeps-verstandigen,* lit. Ships'-wise] call the *Suyger* [i.e., the sucking rock]."

p. 22 I/3-5

SHOULD READ: "in my day,<sup>17</sup> and several *Men* were lost there, especially when the *Sea* and the surf are rough."

p. 22 I/7-10

SHOULD READ: ". . . it furnishes them and also us in the Castle with good *Fuel-wood* for the Kitchen as well as for the *Lime-kilns* and with *timber* for *Flagpoles*, *Cheeks*, *Yards*, and *Topmasts*, for the small Boats &c."18

p. 22 I/22-30

SHOULD READ: "And indeed . . . What sets me wondering most in this *Country*, is the extent of the *Adom Country*: because one sees it here along the *River of Chama*, as well as on the *River Ancober*, which is more than 16 miles along the *Seashore*, and yet the *Adom Country* is not very big; the only thing I could imagine, is that it is situated like a *Carpenter's square*: first upwards along the *River of Chama*, and then in a single strip of *Land* up to the *Rio-Cobre* . . ."

p. 23 IV/1-3

SHOULD READ: "This *Anqua*, for so he was call'd, was, apart from being a

coward, so horribly *bloodthirsty* and *cruel* (a quality which is typical for cowards) that I have never met his equal on the *Coast of Guinea*."

p. 25 I/4-8

SHOULD READ: "as being situate in the Pass which the Island Dealers must come thro' . . . because they have, living [lit., 'lying'] on the passage along which the *Merchants* coming from the *Interior* have to travel, the best opportunity of the world to *Trade* with them."<sup>19</sup>

p. 25 I/10

SHOULD READ: "This *Riches* in *Gold*, and mighty Population render this *Nation* so puffed up, that those who . . ."

p. 25 between paragraphs II and III

The Dutch version has: "Since my departure from the Coast the measure of the Adomers' evildoing was filled up, and the Director-General and his Councillors had the opportunity to destroy them completely through other Negroes; their country is now inhabited by other blacks and it is therefore to be hoped that our Fort at Chama (which was much improved and rendered more impressive by Mr. Director Pieter Nuyts) will again become a good trading place."<sup>20</sup>

### LETTER III

p. 26 Heading/2-4

SHOULD READ: "A relation of the War fought on behalf of our Company against the people of the Kingdom of *Commany*, in which its beginning and end are told in accordance with the naked truth."<sup>21</sup>

p. 26 I/8-22

SHOULD READ: "But as I find that people have misinformed you, and seeing your desire to be informed about the real circumstance of that *War*, I did not omit answering that part of your letter dealing with this matter out of negligence, but because at that time I did not yet wish to reveal the secrets of the Mass;<sup>22</sup> and still I would rather not do that, as I shall be obliged to expose somewhat a person whose good name and reputation I always wanted to defend, but having undertaken to keep nothing secret from you and to inform you about all that has happened here on the *Coast*, I shall write you in good faith everything as it has appeared to me and to others who should have known it. In case we misunderstood the matter, which I do not believe, that should become clear at the time that it will be investigated."<sup>23</sup>

p. 27 I/5-6

FOR "Ekke-Tokki" READ "Ekke-Tekki"; FOR "Swerts" READ "Sweerts"; FOR "Vreden-Burgh" READ "Vredenburg."

p. 27 I/8-9

FOR "the *English* have a very large Fort" READ "the *English* have a *Fort* too, which is not among the smaller ones."

p. 27 I/30-31

FOR "were become like a Target which had been shot at for Mark" READ "had become pierced like a strainer."

p. 28 I/14-17

SHOULD READ: "... whom, for that reason, and on the orders of the *General*, I sent in chains to our *Capital*; and though the *General* had sworn he would punish him in a manner which would serve as an example to others, he soon after . . ."

p. 28 II/6

FOR "But they were going to eat" READ "But as they waited 24 hours."<sup>24</sup>

p. 29 II/2

FOR "seems" READ "seemed."

p. 29 II/7-14

SHOULD READ: "Wherefore I shall look back as far as the beginning of the *Government* of your good friend<sup>25</sup> —(don't be displeased if you perceive something unpleasant about him, and be assured I shall not go beyond the pure truth) which he entered in peace and in a flourishing condition, but not to such a degree, that long-sighted Observers . . ."

p. 29 II/18-25

SHOULD READ: "... the least Occasion; and such might already have happened in the time of Mr. ———, if it had not been prevented by one of that Gentlemen's *Servants*, who was a Brother of the King of Commany. But that Gentleman having left, and said Servant being kept out of all negotiations and even being somewhat ill-treated by Mr. ———, all the people of *Commany* needed to execute their intentions, was a *Guise* to give them cause for it."

p. 29 II/29-30

FOR "half a mile" READ "half an hour."<sup>26</sup>

p. 30 III/4-9

SHOULD READ: "He took some *Soldiers* to *Elmina* with him, and having arrived with them at *Commany*, he sent them immediately to the *Village* of mentioned *Kabes*; but the latter came to meet the *Minas*<sup>27</sup> near his *Village*, leading along a *Sheep* to be presented to Mr. ———<sup>28</sup> in order to clear himself of what he was accused, but seeing . . ."

p. 30 I/1-2

SHOULD READ: "... Plunder, he quickly changed his intention, and (instead of going to [Mr.] ———), no matter how great a Coward he was, he put himself into a Posture of Defence . . ."

p. 31 II/5-6

FOR "into *Commany* about a mile" READ "into the *Commany Country* about one hour."

p. 31 II/8

FOR "old ruin'd Fort" READ "old ruined House or Fort."

p. 31 II/12-13

SHOULD READ: "... in time of War, and even then it is still to be seen whether it will not be us who will have to move first from there, for their Fort is as large . . ." <sup>29</sup>

p. 31 II/18-19

SHOULD READ: "What Injury this Neighborhood can do to our Trade, and has already done, everybody knows . . ."

p. 31 II/30-31

SHOULD READ: "... lost their *King* and most of the *Grande'es* of the *Kingdom*, which at that time was considered a desirable matter for us."

p. 32 I/7

FOR "5000 *l. Sterling*" READ "half a *Ton of Gold*." <sup>30</sup>

p. 32 I/17-25

SHOULD READ: "and that we never lacked the will to let them pay for their villanies, but the *Power* to make them do so. Thus, having been wakened, they thought without delay of their defence, and seeing that the circumstances at that time were such that the survival of *Commany* meant their own salvation, they assisted them with all their might, and consequently became much stronger in number than our auxiliaries . . ."

p. 32 I/29-34

SHOULD READ: "because on our side nearly all men were killed or made prisoner; this put us in a lamentable position, not knowing where to turn, as we had made most of the *Countries* around us, and those which were of some consequence, our *Enemies*."

p. 33 I/2-5

SHOULD READ: "came over to our side with the *Acanist peoples* who found themselves in a short time so much strengthened with those of *Adom* and others, that they could attack those of *Commany* in a second *Battle*, so warm on both sides . . ." <sup>31</sup>

p. 33 I/11-12

SHOULD READ: "... kept himself out of the Fight; when he knew that our people were so busily taking their pickings from the loot (which he had put down beforehand as a bait) he unexpectedly Marched . . ."

p. 33 I/22-24

SHOULD READ: "a second compleat Victory, and made those who managed to escape again return home 'with their socks on their head'." <sup>32</sup>

p. 34 I/1-13

SHOULD READ: "Our Affairs continued in this Posture till the time of Mr. ———. <sup>33</sup> As New Lords generally occasion New Laws, this happened also this time; because Mr. ——— was of a more thoughtful disposition than Mr. ———." <sup>34</sup>

and seeing that we had nothing but damages from the *War*, he deliberated with the one who had been entrusted with the *Government* of this Coast,<sup>35</sup> how to change the *War*, if possible, into a good *Peace*; this was so well-meant, and the tempers of the *Commanians* were turned in such a good condition, that we soon reached an agreement with them, they not only obliging themselves to reimburse to us all the expenses we had made, but on top of that allowing us as many advantageous conditions as one could have wished under the circumstances of those days."

p. 34 I/24-25

SHOULD READ: "were to tickle the King with his two Victories on us, and that therefore he ought rather . . ."

p. 35 I/13-14

SHOULD READ: "And having agreed among ourselves, it was resolved . . ."

p. 35 I/18-23

SHOULD READ: "and as it was hinted to us that those of *Fantyn*, who lived now in Amity with us, could very easily be brought into our Interest, and knowing that they were powerful enough to tame two *Kings of Commany*, we entered negotiations with them, and at last . . ."

p. 35 I/24

FOR "900 *l. Sterling*" READ "more than 9000 guilders."

p. 35 I/33-38

SHOULD READ: "to *Fantyn*, and he convinced them, having offered easily as much money as we had, not to move; but as the *Braffo* alone could not decide, they had him murdered, and put in his place another man of their following."<sup>36</sup>

p. 36 I/1

SHOULD READ: "... a Crime of Perjury has nowadays become amongst the Negroes;"

p. 36 II/3-14

SHOULD READ: "... we agree'd with those of *Adom* that they would execute for less than 6000 guilders what those of *Fantyn* had failed to do for us; but with this we had no success either, because they could not agree about the *distribution* of the *Gold*, and so they all stayed home, without making a move, and so did the *Acanists* and the *Cabesterras* who had promised to march out with those of *Adom*; and so we cast our last *Anchor*, which was that we convinced the *Dinkiras* to come down for the mentioned purpose, for more than 8000 guilders; but in this we were as unfortunate as in the preceding cases: because these *people* had themselves to face a *War* from the *Interior*, and were obliged to neglect our cause to defend their own Country."

p. 36 II/20-30

SHOULD READ: "In this way our cause remained as it were confused, although we had left nothing unattempted by which we might have saved ourselves; but all had been in vain, because we had been cheated on all sides; we therefore wished again

that we could negotiate with the *Commanians* in an honorable manner; but we found ourselves in an awkward position when considering how to go about it, and feared that we would have to make true the prediction of the *English* that we would have to go to them begging. This would also certainly have happened, or at best in a covered manner; but while we were deliberating on this, we came upon a more honest and serviceable means; the before-mentioned Brother of . . .”

p. 37 I/3

FOR “Company” READ “the Gentlemen Directors.”

p. 37 I/8-21

SHOULD READ: “therefore it did not take long before we managed to agree with him on very good and honest *conditions*; I say good, because we came to an agreement without demanding on either side anything more than a solid and dependable *Peace*; and so we thought that it should have become more lasting, as it would certainly have been, for we were already getting a taste of how much more preferable is a good *Peace* to a harmful *War*. But in the middle of this tranquility and attempts to attach in future greater value to the maintenance of the *Peace*, we were faced with a strange accident from the *English*: because those Gentlemen, considering themselves offended by the King of *Commany*, or not trusting him, fearing that he, coming again to us as his old friends, might abandon them, whatever may have been the cause, they Murdered him . . .”

p. 38 I/4

FOR “Saboe-Acany” READ “Saboe, Acany.”

p. 38 II/8-10

SHOULD READ: “Whether we were honest in this or not, I cannot say; but one thing I know for certain: we had then . . .”

p. 38 II/15-20

SHOULD READ: “But there was a great impediment<sup>37</sup> in the way to its execution, namely one of the greatest Villains I have ever met in this country. Mr. ———<sup>38</sup> lent this *Crook* so much his ear, that all other Members of the Council were more or less suspect to him, and this *Broker*, whether encouraged thereto . . .”

p. 39 I/8-14

SHOULD READ: “. . . was to attack the *Fetuers*, *Allies* of the *Commanians*, coming here on a certain day, according to an old custom and in good faith, with their *Goods* to the *Market*, killing some of them and bringing more than 80 of them as prisoners into the Castle, robbing these *People* of all they had brought with them.”

p. 39 I/17-24

SHOULD READ: “and was it not highly irresponsible of His Excellency to do this without the knowledge and consent of the *Council*? But on top of this he wants it to be believed that the *Gentlemen* of the *Council* have agreed to this act, using as an argument, that those of *Fetu* were punished justly, as a few days earlier some *Women* from *Elmina* had been killed by them on the paths; but this could not be proved, and it is, for the following reasons, also very improbable . . .”

p. 40 II/5-24

SHOULD READ: "that instead of making Peace, as *Saboe*, being the most powerful, had already suggested, they began to strengthen themselves to the utmost; and having gotten a considerable *Army* in the field once more, they clashed a second time with those of *Commany* and *Fetu* in a *major Battle*, in which the *Commanians* fought again so valiantly with their little force, that doubtless they would have had a *Victory* if they had not been so unfortunate that their *General* was wounded, who had to retire from the fight. This caused such dismay among his followers that they, who had fought courageously and who had caused a considerable number of their *enemies* to take flight, now ran away as soon as they missed their *Chief*, thus leaving to *Tekki Ankan* and his *Helpers* a complete *Victory*, their *General* and other *Grandees* being either captured or killed. This battle brought the *Commany Kingdom* to *Tekki Ankan*, and to us and the *English* at best one half of the advantage which could have come out of this, as in a different way we might perhaps have had a much greater part in it. But not to lay down . . ."

p. 41 I/10

BETWEEN "Akim" and "than to any ill intention" ADD "which caused things to happen which were worse than during any of his Predecessors."

p. 41 I/23

FOR "despiseth" READ "suspects."

p. 41 II/2-9

SHOULD READ: "shall now go to where the *Commanian Country* ends, 3 short miles below our *Fort Vredenburg* where, in the *Village* or *City* of *Mina*, the world famous *Castle St. George* was built, which is generally called *St. George d'Elmina*, after the *Village's* name. Why the *Portuguese* baptized this *place* (where they built and named the *Castle*) *Elmina* I cannot determine;"

p. 42 I/3-9

SHOULD READ: "The construction of this *Castle* was begun by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1482, from which time they possessed it till the Year 1638, when we captured it from them.<sup>39</sup> It has not unjustly become famous throughout the world, because it does not have its equal in strength and beauty of build on the *Coast*. It is built in an oblong form, with extraordinarily high *Walls*, four good *batteries* . . ."

p. 42 I/23-27

SHOULD READ: ". . . of salutation of arriving, departing, and passing *Ships*. A *Garrison* of more than 200 men could easily find proper *Lodgings* in the *Castle*. The *Lodgings* of the *General*, the *Chief Merchant*, and the *Fiscal* in particular are excellent, and the other *Servants* below them are so well lodged that they . . ."<sup>40</sup>

p. 42 BETWEEN paragraphs I and II

ADD "After my departure *Director Willem de la Palma* has greatly improved the *Castle St. George* and embellished the lodgings of those of high rank as well as those of the lower ones; he has also added some beautiful *Warehouses* and four tower-like ornamental structures, so that it looks nowadays much more impressive than at the time I was there; but this is the only good thing *La Palma* has done for the *Company*, nearly all his other activities being nefarious for it."<sup>41</sup>

p. 43 I/2

SHOULD READ: "... as in other places where they are only made of *Clay* or *Loam* intertwined with *Wood*."<sup>42</sup>

p. 43 I/4

FOR "and eight times as strong" READ "and, I am not lying, eight times as strong."

p. 43 I/7-10

SHOULD READ: "so that a *General* could sometimes execute matters of importance with them. But about 15 years ago there was such a terrible outbreak of *Small-Pox*, that a good part of them were shipped off to the *Elysian Fields*, and afterwards, as a result of the *Commanian War* . . ."

p. 43 I/14-16

SHOULD READ: "it not being able to furnish on its own, apart from the *Servants* of the *Europeans*, more than fifty armed men."

p. 43 I/21

FOR "their Governors" READ "the Generals."

p. 43 I/22-23

SHOULD READ: "the above mentioned *Negro Akim* who seemed to have been made to do nothing but ruining everyone and causing total confusion."

p. 43 I/24

FOR "told" READ "counted."

p. 43 I/34 to p. 44 I/3

SHOULD READ: "were so prudent as to bridle the so often mentioned *Negro* somewhat, or, if it is possible, to send him to another *Place*, without giving him the opportunity to go to the *Interior* (where he has made himself so many Friends on our expense), by which he would doubtlessly cause some commotion. This, I believe, would bring about a change for the better, which I heartily wish for the Good of our Company."

## LETTER IV

p. 45 I/1-3

SHOULD READ: "though it may have been somewhat long and tedious, I hope it was not disagreeable to you."

p. 45 I/8-12

SHOULD READ: "not only because you exhort me in all your *Letters* to *Describe* the *Coast*, but also because of the way you used to let me have news from you, and your request to send my letters to you by the same *Ships*. But my very good . . ."

p. 45 I/14

FOR "from, or delivery of" READ "from, or even more, delivery of."

- p. 45 I/20 to end of page  
SHOULD READ: "... that I too, shall in the future no longer allow such opportunities to slip by; and as they occur here and in Europe virtually every day, we may be enabled ..."
- p. 46 III/4  
FOR "Fcoquenbrog" READ "Focquenbrog."
- p. 46 III/8-13  
SHOULD READ: "in these months it rains steadily very heavily, and the water coming down from the circumjacent Mountains into this little River cause such a swift Current towards the Sea, that one could easily build a good Water Mill in it, and besides, the Tides are so strong (at that time) that they could also drive a Mill."
- p. 46 III/15  
FOR "in very dry Seasons" READ "in the dry season."
- p. 46 III/26  
FOR "Quadrangular" READ "square."
- p. 47 I/5-10  
SHOULD READ: "Tower in the middle, which not only greatly beautifies this Fort but also offers much pleasure; because if one is on top of it, or in the Room in its middle, one has a beautiful view of the circumjacent Land and Sea, and from this point one can discover Ships seven or eight miles away when they come from the Windward, which is sometimes useful to us."<sup>43</sup>
- p. 47 II/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "It was from Mount Saint Jago, before a Fort was built upon it, that we chiefly obliged ..."
- p. 47 II/8  
FOR "the Castle St. George" READ "Elmina."
- p. 47 II/14  
FOR "Forty Miles" READ "a little less than four miles."
- p. 47 II/20-24  
SHOULD READ: "especially into those of Commany, whom they as it were commanded; But the Wheel, as a result of the continuous Wars, has turned in such a way, that they are now completely at the bottom, and they now almost recognize the Commanians as their Masters."<sup>44</sup>
- p. 48 I/5  
SHOULD READ: "in the last Battle, because on that occasion virtually the entire half flew into the candle, so that ..."<sup>45</sup>
- p. 48 I/13  
FOR "Corn" READ "Fruits."

p. 48 I/15-22

SHOULD READ: "but most charming of all were the covered and smooth, each other resembling *Walking-Paths* between *d'Elmina* and *Simbe* (a *Village* about a Mile and a half up the *Fetuan* Country), of which I have seen some more than half an hour's length, and so densely covered by the *Trees* that I was sheltered from both *Sun* and *Rain*. The beautiful lofty *Trees* which grow on the Mountains do not little to adorn the *Country*, and so does the fresh water *River* with which it is enriched. The latter is frequently visited by our Servants to their great enjoyment."<sup>46</sup>

p. 48 II/3

AFTER "Corn" ADD "and other *Fruits of the Earth*."

p. 48 II/7-8

FOR "Town of Ooegwa" READ "*Village* of *Oegwa* or *Cabocors*, as it is a *Cabo*, *Cape* or projecting angle, is the *English* Chief Fort . . ."

p. 49 I/1

FOR "high Turret" READ "high stone *Point*."<sup>47</sup>

p. 49 I/3-4

SHOULD READ: "with four not very large *Batteries*, besides still another one, of good length, on which . . ."

p. 49 I/6

FOR "pointed at the Water Passage" READ "in a level firing position."<sup>48</sup>

p. 49 II/1

FOR "The worst of all" READ "The silliest thing of all."

p. 49 II/16

FOR "once more" READ "again and again."

p. 49 II/18

FOR "sottish Wretches" READ "sodden souls."<sup>49</sup>

p. 49 II/21

FOR "Punch: A Liquor" READ "Punch, a certain liquor popular among the English."

p. 49 II/25

FOR "by their Emissaries under-hand" READ "through others."

p. 50 I/4-5

FOR "looks as if they were Hag-ridden" READ "nearly all of them lose their lives."<sup>50</sup>

p. 50 II/13-16

SHOULD READ: "but all the *Principal People* are possessed with a fiery desire for

it. I really believe that throughout my stay on the *Coast*, each year at least one of their *Agents*, and innumerable *Merchants* or *Factors*, as they call them, have died."

p. 50 II/25

FOR "Flesh" READ "Meat."<sup>51</sup>

p. 50 BETWEEN paragraphs II and III

ADD "And as I receive informations from the *Coast* that the *English* are greatly disturbed about the first edition because of my having criticized them for their excessive boozing of *Punch*, their inclination for *Venus*, shoddiness and avarice, and that they are now engaged in the writing of a book to disprove mine, I must say that I am looking forward to it, and I wish it were already in print; firstly because those *Gentlemen* are relating to the *English* in general what I say of some in particular; secondly, I would have had occasion to make some remarks in this second edition about their writings. But as this is not yet the case, we shall have to exercise patience and continue to look very much forward."<sup>52</sup>

p. 50 III/2-4

SHOULD READ: "but they, like all the others, suffered much during the *Commanian War*"

p. 51 I/3-4

SHOULD READ: "to assist them as *Rowers* in their *Slave Trade* . . ."<sup>53</sup>

p. 51 I/7

FOR "are in a ruinated Condition" READ "are in a ruined Condition, particularly on the *Elmina* side."

p. 51 II/1

SHOULD READ: "Behind the *Village of Cabocors* the *English* have a round tower-like *Building*;"<sup>54</sup>

p. 51 II/4

FOR "This doth" READ "This *fortification* doth"

p. 51 II/11-12

SHOULD READ: ". . . the *Sketches* of this *Tower*, the *English Chief Fortress* and the one on the *Danish Mount*, No. 4 and 5"

p. 51 III/17-18

SHOULD READ: "the neighboring *Grandees*, who, if they want to trade with the *English*, must stand well . . ."

p. 52 I/7

FOR "he hath above eight Wives" READ "he hath above eight Wives here"

p. 52 I/9-10

FOR "most of their Chief Officers or Governours" READ "most of the *Chiefs*"

- p. 52 I/12  
FOR "have about six" READ "have between them about six"
- p. 52 II/3  
FOR "you may observe another" READ "you may observe, in the distance, another"
- p. 53 I/5  
FOR "the Model" READ "the *Drawings*"
- p. 53 I/12  
FOR "they intend to cut steep; so that" READ "they dug out in such a way that"
- p. 53 I/22-23  
FOR "when that will be" READ "when it will be ready"
- p. 53 I/25  
FOR "at the bottom of this Hill" READ "below [i.e., to the leeward of] this *Hill*"
- p. 53 I/26  
FOR "about half a Mile" READ "a little more than half an hour"
- p. 53 I/27  
FOR "hardly two Miles" READ "hardly two hours"
- p. 53 I/29-31  
SHOULD READ: "a little half hour to the *Village* of *Cong*, which is divided in two, each part standing on a *Hill*, where we formerly had a fine stone *House*, where our Flag was planted . . ." <sup>55</sup>
- p. 54 I/7  
FOR "abused us several times by dilatory and fraudulent Means" READ "led us several times down the garden-path and betrayed us" <sup>56</sup>
- p. 54 II/5  
FOR "*Axim* and *Acra*" READ "for *Axim* and *Acra*, in order to sell their *Fruits* there"
- p. 54 III/1  
FOR "*Congo*" READ "*Cong*"
- p. 54 III/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "the front being somewhat broader than the back"
- p. 54 III/10  
FOR "takes in" READ "connects"
- p. 54 III/15  
AFTER "Corners" ADD "each three storeys high"

- p. 55 II/4  
FOR "four or five Hundred" READ "three or four Hundred"
- p. 55 II/6  
FOR "Factor" READ "Chief Merchant"
- p. 55 III/2  
FOR "longest known" READ "longest and best known"
- p. 55 IV/5  
FOR "west of *Saboe*" READ "West on *Saboe*"; FOR "half a Mile" READ "half an hour"
- p. 56 I/2  
FOR "in our descent" READ "coming from the windward"; FOR "*Ingenisian*" READ "Ingenifian"<sup>57</sup>
- p. 56 II/6-10  
SHOULD READ: "Without these we would have, both here and at *Cormantyn*, great *Trade* in *Gold* and *Slaves*; but now those *Messieurs* take all away, and what they leave behind is taken by the *Zeeland Interlopers*."<sup>58</sup>
- p. 56 III/11-12  
SHOULD READ: "... and this constitutes only a fifth part of *Fantyn*, so that you measure from this the latter's might."
- p. 56 IV/1-4  
SHOULD READ: "for this reason and because the *Fantyneans* are not divided among themselves, the circumjacent *Countries* think twice before they abuse them, because they would have a sour time of it."<sup>59</sup>
- p. 56 IV/5-6  
FOR "Necessaries of Life" READ "Victuals"
- p. 56 IV/10  
FOR "stand bare" READ "take off his hat"
- p. 57 I/2  
FOR "Chief Commander" READ "prominent *Chief*"
- p. 57 I/3-5  
SHOULD READ: "*Braffo*, which, if one wants to translate into European style, means so much as *Stadholder*; but the word itself means *Leader* or *Protagonist*."<sup>60</sup> He is the first man in the whole *Country* and has the greatest *authority*."
- p. 57 I/8  
FOR "some *European* Parliament" READ "the *English* Parliament"
- p. 57 I/9-10  
AFTER "*Braffo*" ADD "regarding him as so much garbage."

p. 57 I/10

FOR "besides these" READ "besides these decrepit little old men"

p. 57 II/4

FOR "in *English*" READ "in our own *Language*"<sup>61</sup>

p. 57 IV/2

FOR "Mile" READ "hour"

p. 57 IV/4-7

SHOULD READ: "but we lost them through treachery and had to leave them to the *English*, who treated our *Men* who were at that time quartered there in a *Barbarian* and *cruel* manner"

p. 58 I/1-2

SHOULD READ: "Flag, but only on a *Negroe's House*, although they put here a *Merchant* to buy . . ."

p. 58 II/1-2

FOR "a little lower, just at" READ "A little to the leeward, at the *Village of Little Cormantyn*, which carries this name justly"

p. 58 II/4

FOR "*De Ruyters*" READ "*De Ruyter*"

p. 58 II/7

FOR "containing twenty" READ "all together containing twenty"

p. 58 II/9-10

SHOULD READ: ". . . is a *Chief Merchant*,<sup>62</sup> like the one at *Mouree*, with a reasonable *Garrison* which was formerly as strong as the one at *Mouree*. A moderate expense would very much . . ."

p. 58 II/13-14

SHOULD READ: "The little *Village* under our *Fort* is so small and poor, that it is hardly worth mentioning it."<sup>63</sup>

p. 58 III/5-7

SHOULD READ: "endeavoring to get again away from it; but up to now the *Principal Chief* of the *Negroes* has prevented them from it."

p. 59 I/9

FOR "till we have made Peace with them" READ "till we have satisfied them."

p. 59 I/10

FOR "They have a hank upon us" READ "Many a time we have a quarrel with them"

p. 59 I/21-24

SHOULD READ: "and though we politely explain to them that this is contrary to the treaty we made with them, it is of no use; if we want to live in peace we nearly always have to give in to them on this point."

p. 59 I/27-28

SHOULD READ: "So that for the time being you have nothing to expect than my assurance that I, after having kissed, both by intention and in thought, your hands, remain &c."

#### NOTES

1. The title page: It is not clear why the English translator chose the title *New and Accurate Description*. None of the Dutch editions was called "new," even though the second and successive editions in Dutch were in many respects different from the first (1703) edition, which served for the English translation. The English translation of *Opperkoopman* (Chief Merchant) as Chief Factor is somewhat misleading: the equivalent of Chief Factor would be *Oppercommies*. The Dutch West Indian Company had several such Chief Factors in its service on the Guinea coast, and they were all members of the Council at Elmina, like the Chief Merchant. The latter was, however, more powerful and, as indicated on the Dutch title page, was "second Person[ality]" on the coast. "This last impression . . ." really refers to the second edition which was reprinted several times.

2. The Dedication to the Assembly of Ten "meeting at present in Amsterdam" was intended to mollify Bosman's former employers through words of gratitude, but it hardly disguises the fact that Bosman wanted to warn them at the same time that he intended to say certain things which might not be pleasant for them should they be widely heard. In principle the Assembly of Ten could meet in any of the five "Chambers" of the Company (Middelburg, Rotterdam, Enkhuizen, Groningen, or Amsterdam) but, virtually without exception, it met at the "Presidial Chamber" in Amsterdam.

3. Bosman's remarks on the gold and slave trade show his disagreement with the policies of Van Sevenhuysen's successor, William de la Palma (1702-1705), who tended to neglect the gold trade in favor of the slave trade, which he regarded as "the sole cornerstone" of the Company's interest.

4. It is curious that Bosman or his editor did not delete this phrase from the first edition, especially as Bosman got at least drawings of the missing forts for the second and later editions.

5. This "Letter" is really in the form of a poem; as the translation here is literal, its rhyme could not be maintained.

6. Dr. Havart could have added that Bosman had an African wife. It is not known how many children Bosman sired on the Guinea coast but at least one, also called Willem, played an important role in 1718 and 1719 as negotiator between John Conny, the African merchant prince who controlled Fort Gross Friedrichsburg at Pokesu (Princess Town) in Ahanta, and the Dutch. Bosman Jr. was originally in the service of the West Indian Company but apparently took service with Conny, and possibly with the Prussian Company, which previously had controlled Gross Friedrichsburg. He was a competent letter writer and asked his former Dutch employers at one stage to be "repatriated," which, however, was refused. In the end Conny had him killed on suspicion of working with the Dutch. *Journal Engelgraaf Robbertsz*, 19 February 1718 and 6 March 1718; letter from Bosman dated 27 February 1718; Butler to Assembly of Ten, 31 May 1719, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, The Hague, WIC 104. Today there are still several people in Ghana with the surname Bos(s)man. By the "Language of the Franks" probably is meant (pidgin) Portuguese, then the lingua franca of the coast, and not French.

7. N.N. probably stands for Jan Dirck Ingelby who was *Oppercommies* at Axim in 1702-03. The English translation is very misleading; Dr. Havart's nephew was by no means "Principal Factor" at Axim but simply one of the garrison there. It is therefore impossible to ascertain his name. Note that the ultimate power in African affairs was shared by the factor at Axim and the chiefs, and did not lie with the factor alone.

8. Note that in the Dutch text there is no mention of a "monarchy" in connection with Axim.
9. This episode referred to the action of Jan De Liefde, alias Jan de Mancke (i.e., Jan the Cripple), the last commander of the short-lived Fort "Ruychaver." This was built in 1654 on a hill on the right bank of the Ankobra near Awudua, about twelve miles downstream from modern Prestea. It was essentially of wood but materials to transform it into a real stone fort had already been brought to the site at the time it was blown up in 1659. Some traces of the building, e.g. some red Dutch rooftiles, were recently found at the site. See A. van Dantzig, "The Ankobra Gold Interest," *THSG*, 14 (1973).
10. This "Chief of the English" obviously referred to the commander of Dixcove fort and not to "the Chief Governor on the Coast," as the translator stated. This kind of mistake may have contributed to the anger of a man like Sir Dalby Thomas (who was the chief British Governor on the coast) over Bosman's book.
11. W.G. van Focquenbroch acquired a certain literary fame in the Netherlands as a playwright of light-hearted comedies and as the author of lengthy poems like *Afrikaensche Thalia* (Amsterdam, 1678), in which he wrote of his experiences on the Gold Coast as *Oppercommies* for the WIC in the 1660s.
12. The addition of the word "just" in the Dutch text may be significant. Sekondi may have flourished for a short period as a result of the war, before fighting reached the coast, as many people may have sought refuge there with their gold, while others may have sold war captives as slaves.
13. In the 1650s Caerlof, on behalf of the Swedish Company, tried to establish a post at Takoradi but failed. When he returned to the coast in Danish service he declared all former Swedish possessions to be Danish but this could not have been relevant to Takoradi.
14. I.e., from 1688 to 1692.
15. The Second Anglo-Dutch naval war (1665-1668). In fact the expedition of Admiral Holmes against the Dutch forts on the Gold Coast took place before the official declaration of war, as did De Ruyter's counter-expedition. That the fort at Shama was in ruins (and not "level'd to the ground") was a result of neglect rather than of an attack.
16. In other words, Jabi was essentially an interior state with only one outlet to the sea, at or near Shama.
17. "in my day" and not "during my Residence there" as in the English text, because Bosman was never stationed at Shama.
18. Locally burned lime of sea shells was an important commodity for the maintenance of the forts and castles, which had to be whitewashed about every three years. The English and Dutch had frequent disputes about the right to collect shells on certain beaches. Cheeks are wood-blocks which hold a mast in place. It is surprising that Bosman did not mention the very important manufacture and trade of canoes at Shama and along the Prah river. Many captains bought canoes at Shama and took them on board for use along the Slave Coast.
19. "Island" is probably a misprint for "Inland" in the English edition.
20. Nuyts was Director-General from 1705 to 1708.
21. Bosman's use of the expression "on behalf of our Company" is significant; he probably felt that the Company itself, i.e., the Assembly of Ten, could not be held responsible and that they would rather know "the naked truth."
22. "reveal the secrets of the Mass" is a literal translation of the Dutch idiomatic expression *de geheymen van de Mis te openbaren*, that is, to tell the whole story.
23. At the time of Bosman's return to Holland Van Sevenhuysen had to appear before a Commission of Enquiry established by the Assembly of Ten to probe his administration.

24. A typical example of sloppy translation: *eet/eat* + *maal/meal*; but *etmaal* means a space of twenty-four hours.
25. Probably Joël Smits, Director-General from 1690 to 1694.
26. The translator was inconsistent in his renderings of the words *Mijl* (mile) and *Uur* (hour); sometimes he translated *Mijl* as hour, and sometimes as mile. The Dutch mile was about four statute miles, or six and one-half kilometers, corresponding to about ninety minutes' walk. This hill, only about two kilometers northwest of Dutch Komenda (Kankan) is probably the same as Abrobi Hill, where the Portuguese met with a mining disaster in 1623. It is still known to the people of Abrobeano (about two and a half miles west of the modern sugar factory at Komenda) as a place where gold once was mined. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the Akan word for 'goldpits' is *nkomena*. The Fante name for Komenda is Akitakyi. Komenda, or Commany, has—as far as I know—no meaning either in Portuguese or in Dutch; perhaps the Europeans thought that the term *nkomena* referred to the village and corrupted the word into Komenda or Commany. The Dutch usually referred to the hill as *Sica Bergh*, while the English called it "Money Hill."
27. The "Forces of Elmina" were, as it appears from the use of the term *Minas*, volunteers from Elmina town, not regulars from the Castle's garrison.
28. Jan Staphorst was Director-General from 1694 to 1696.
29. The ruins we can see presently at British Komenda are those of this fort as it was reconstructed later in the eighteenth century, following a rather extraordinary design. It consisted of a tiny but very tall central building—really a tower with four bastions—standing in the middle of a much wider and lower enclosure of congruent design, to which it was linked at one point by a stone bridge.
30. The Dutch word *Ton* is used not only to indicate a measure of weight but also the amount of 100,000 guilders. Half a ton, therefore, is about 50,000 guilders. As the guilder was worth about two shillings, the equivalent value of £5000 Sterling is correct.
31. The English translator's omission of the Acanist peoples is surprising. In those days the "Acanists" certainly were considered more important than the Adoms. They played a very important role as gold traders, particularly in the area of the greatest concentration of trading stations. They have been identified as the people living at that time between Asante and the Prah river, controlling a bridgehead to the south at Kushea. This passage shows that at this stage of the war the peoples of the far interior were already involved.
32. The English translation is misleading; the defeated party, consisting mainly of people not resident at the Castle, returned home (not "to the Fort"), "With their socks on their head" (*met de kous op het hoofd*) is an idiomatic expression equivalent to "with a flea in their ear."
33. Jan Van Sevenhuysen was Director-General from 1696 to 1701.
34. I.e., Jan Staphorst.
35. I.e., Bosman himself. If a Director-General died in office—as Staphorst did—or was for other reasons suddenly removed from Elmina, the Chief Merchant as second in command took over under the title of "President of the Council" until a new Director-General arrived.
36. Here the English translation makes more sense than the Dutch original. *De Braffo alleen* means literally 'the Braffo alone' but 'only the Braffo' clearly is meant. In Dutch this would have been *de Braffo als enige* or *alleen de Braffo*.
37. A remora is a kind of fish which attaches itself to sharks and whales, and sometimes to ships' hulls, and which was believed to slow them down. The Dutch version simply has the word *hinderpaal*, 'impediment' or 'stumbling block.'
38. Jan Van Sevenhuysen.

39. Bosman apparently learned the date of the foundation of Elmina Castle after the publication of the first Dutch edition of his work. It is surprising that he offers 1638 instead of 1637 as the year of the Dutch capture of the Castle, particularly since there is a commemorative stone on the wall above the main gate of the Castle which was likely to have been put there shortly after the capture. This clearly indicates that the expedition sent from Brazil by Johan Maurits of Nassau captured the Castle on 29 August 1637.
40. The Director-General had his quarters in the main building dividing the great and small courtyards; the Chief Merchant had his in the octagonal tower above the main entrance; the Fiscal had his in the round tower on the northeast corner of the Castle.
41. This passage obviously was added to the second edition. Of these "tower-like ornamental structures" only two are still readily recognizable. These are known as "Prempah's Rooms" because Prempah I of Asante resided there with part of his family for some time in 1896 on his way to exile. The third of these turrets, on the northeast side of the great courtyard, has been transformed into a house with a gabled roof, and the fourth, on the northwest side, must have been incorporated into the building with the loggia constructed in 1806 to the north of the octagonal tower.
42. The Dutch version is more explicit. This "daub and wattle" technique is still widely used in the construction of houses in Ghana. Bamboo sticks are used to reinforce mud walls much in the same way as iron bars are used in reinforced concrete structures. In Asante, particularly, this technique was perfected to a high degree in a sophisticated architectural style characterized by "filigrain screens."
43. The tower of Coenraadsburg was originally one story higher than it is now. The "Room in the middle" probably corresponds to what now forms the roof of the tower. The addition of "when they come from the Windward" in the Dutch version stresses further the practical and strategic use of this tower. Since larger ships always came from the west enemies could be recognized in time to put Elmina in a proper state of defense.
44. The English translation is misleading; Eguafu (Commany) never was "subject" to Fetu. The *Wheel* is the wheel of fortune.
45. I.e., virtually half of them perished, from the Dutch idiom *de geheele helft genoegzaam in de kaars is gevlogen*, 'like mosquitoes flying into the flame of a candle.'
46. This "fresh water River" is the Sweet river or Kakum, which has its mouth near Iture, halfway between Elmina and Cape Coast. It provided one of the few regular recreations for the inhabitants of the Castles at Cape Coast and Elmina, who liked to organize boating parties and picnics on the river. At present a dam built near Brimso, a few miles upstream, provides Cape Coast with drinking water.
47. This "Point" (*punt*) is the spur or enclosed outwork of the Castle. In the eighteenth century most forts were provided with such spurs—sometimes mere palisades—often triangular (pointed) in form, in front of the main entrances. At times of attack from neighboring peoples the townspeople could find some safety in these spurs. The spur of Cape Coast Castle is quite elaborate, with a number of rooms in the walls, and in fact forms an integral part of the Castle. At present it is used as a prison.
48. The Dutch word *waterpas* means level, not water passage.
49. *verzope Fielen*: this must be a printing error in the Dutch edition. *Fielen* is not in the Dutch vocabulary. *Zielen* (old Dutch *Sielen*) means 'souls.'
50. *Het hagje erbij inschieten*: an idiomatic expression meaning 'to lose one's life.'
51. The Dutch language uses a single word (*vlees*) for both meat and flesh.
52. Bosman probably had heard of the extensive report which Agent John Snow had written for the attention of the RAC's Board of Directors in 1705, but which was never published as a book. See Kenneth G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1958), Appendix V.
53. This was by no means peculiar to Cape Coast, nor only interlopers' business. Elmina supplied an

even greater number of rowers to the Slave Coast and in the late seventeenth century Englishmen there often complained that they could not trust their rowers because they were all "Mina men." The WIC encouraged the settlement of these rowers, particularly at Little Popo, where they constituted an important segment of the population and one that was instrumental in keeping the English out. In this connection it is worth citing a passage from a letter of Josiah Pearsons, English factor at Whydah, dated 15 April 1697: "... in ye meantime, downe came a Dutch ship with Mr. Bosman, a merchant, who hired ye Mina blacks to seize Henry Clewett in his Person . . ." Rawlinson C.745-747, Bodleian Library, letter 1957 in David Henige, *A Guide to Rawlinson C. 745-747* (Madison, 1972).

54. The so-called Phipps' Tower, built shortly after 1700, was reconstructed in the nineteenth century, and is now known as Fort Victoria.

55. This "fine stone House" should not be imagined to have been very impressive. According to the *Attestatie* of Charles le Petit, made on 18 December 1690, the "Prince's Flag" was hoisted there only on Sundays and the lodge was "defended" by "a man with an axe." H.C. Hazewinkel, "Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Kolonisatie aan de Goud Kust," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 53 (1932), pp. 250-59.

56. *om den tuyn geleyd*.

57. Here the English translation offers an improvement on the Dutch original. Ingenisian (or Anishan) is now known as Biriwa.

58. Note that Bosman made no mention here of English interlopers (although Anamabu was notorious among the English as an "interlopers' den") and that he regarded the active trade at this place as a cause for the decline of trade at Cormantin and Elmina ("here").

59. N.B. that the English translation here states exactly the opposite of what Bosman wrote, viz., that Fante was *not* internally divided.

60. *Voorganger of Voorvechter* (lit. 'the one who goes first and fights first').

61. Yet *Quaker* means in English something different from what it means in Dutch: something which makes one *kwaken* (*quaken*), i.e., quack like a duck.

62. I.e., *Opper Koopman*. It is rather surprising that Bosman, who was himself *Opper Koopman*, or second in command at Elmina, used this term instead of *Opper Commies* (Chief Factor).

63. Not a very charitable remark, since this village, known as Abandze ('under the Fort') developed there as a result of the construction of the fort.

ENGLISH BOSMAN AND DUTCH BOSMAN:  
A COMPARISON OF TEXTS, II

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[This continues the comparison of the texts of the Dutch and English versions of Bosman which was begun in *History in Africa* 2 (1975): 185-216, and which will be continued in future numbers. Procedural matters are discussed in the first installment, to which the reader is referred.]

LETTER V

- p. 60 I/8  
FOR "House, now fortified" READ "House, fortified"
- p. 60 I/8-9  
SHOULD READ: "Drawing Nos. 12 and 13 show you what an eminent building it is."
- p. 60 I/14-17  
SHOULD READ: "Our present Commander there is so much plagued by the poor *Trade* and the evil genius of the *Negroes* there, that he sometimes loses his patience in the middle of his *Leadership*."
- p. 60 I/19-20  
SHOULD READ: "that I with my Council<sup>1</sup> have much expedited the building of this Fort."
- p. 60 I/21  
FOR "the two Batteries" READ "the mentioned two little Batteries."
- p. 60 I/23  
FOR "Turret" READ "Point"
- p. 61 I/2  
FOR "formerly, as well as now" READ "so far"

- p. 61 I/3-6  
SHOULD READ: "But as this *Place* is very well situated for the Trade, it could easily happen, if only the *Acrons* were a bit more liberal, that one sees here a populous *Village* within a few years."
- p. 61 I/7-9  
SHOULD READ: "but its *King* is being steered and governed by his subject *Grandeés*, especially by one who is his *Nephew* and the *Country's General*"
- p. 61 I/15  
FOR "Council" READ "Wheel" ['Rad', not 'Raad' in the original]
- p. 61 I/17  
SHOULD READ: "Men who are in reality not to be blamed for the carrying on of Wars."
- p. 61 II/12  
FOR "three or four friends and myself" READ "I and some *Friends*"
- p. 62 I/11-12  
SHOULD READ: "one could conclude that in a well organized *Hunt* a good quantity of this *species* could be caught"
- p. 62 II/1  
SHOULD READ: "*Acron* is divided in two; if it had not been so, it would have had some power"
- p. 62 II/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "not a royal one, but one of many. These two *Countries*, though separate and strange to each other, live always in good understanding and close friendship with each other"
- p. 62 IV/3-6  
SHOULD READ: "this name was probably given to it by *Seamen*, because if one comes from the leeward sailing against the wind, one keeps seeing it, as a result of its height, for several days"
- p. 62 IV/9  
SHOULD READ: "the *Agonassian Negroes*, every year after the *Rainy* season"
- p. 62 IV/14-16  
SHOULD READ: "than for a long time had been offered to any of his Predecessors or even to that Government of Three which has lasted so long"
- p. 63 I/4  
FOR "Gold, or Gold Oar" READ "*Minerals and Gold*"
- p. 63 I/10  
SHOULD READ: "therefore his Successors—wisely in my opinion—stopped it"

p. 63 II/4-7

SHOULD READ: "I do not know whether there are among the *Negroes* other *Countries* where the *Monarchy* can be inherited by *Males* as well as *Females*, or whether that is the case only here"

p. 63 II/11

FOR "generally buys a brisk jolly Slave" READ "caused a young, well built Slave to be bought"

p. 63 II/16-23

SHOULD READ: "But, it is said, she is so honorable as never to allow more than one at a time to have access to her; this should be considered as a kind of miracle and a sign of great sober-mindedness, because I believe that one finds such a thing rarely in the world, as it may be assumed that she is free to offer those favors to as many men as please her without causing any scandal"

p. 64 I/1-2

SHOULD READ: "Guns which lie on them are also of extraordinary size, some of them discharging balls of up to half a pound"<sup>2</sup>

p. 64 I/8-9

FOR "agreeable situated amongst the Trees" READ "chiefly inhabited by Fishermen, it lies agreeably among the Trees and is well situated"

p. 64 II/1

AFTER "surpasses *Acron*" ADD "greatly"

p. 64 III/1

SHOULD READ: "And then finally, at last we come to"

p. 64 III/15-17

SHOULD READ: "hence he has no fear of being opposed by another faction outside his own House"

p. 65 I/3-23

SHOULD READ: "The *People* who live under their authority are miserably tormented by them, being daily robbed by the *Aquamboe Soldiers*, against whom they dare not undertake anything with violence, out of fear of the *Aquamboe King*, who would not hesitate to punish heavily those who were to mistreat his *Soldiers*, as they are all, as I have already pointed out, his *Relatives* or *Slaves*. Three or four years ago the *Aquamboe Government* was two-headed, being administered by the old and the young *King*; the latter inherited the *Empire* from his *Father* on his death; but his *Father's Brother*, that is, his *Uncle*, seeing the minority of his *Nephew*, kept him out of it with force, with the help of his own *Mother*, until the time that he, later on, became of age and, having assured himself of support, took possession of it [the empire] by force of *Arms*. This two-headed *Government* was particularly obnoxious to the *Inhabitants*, as they attacked each other daily with losses on both sides. This lasted up to the year 1699 when, as a result of the

death of the old [King], the young *King* achieved full possession of the *Government*, which he administers to this day. The old *King*, called *Ahinsan*, was a dirty and bad tempered *Person*, quite disinclined toward the *Euro-peans*; and although he received from the *English*, the *Danes*, and us an ounce of *Gold* every month"

p. 65 I/35

AFTER "the present *King*" ADD "called *Ado*"

p. 65 I/38

FOR "appeared in his dangerous illness" READ "appeared recently, when he was attacked by a deadly disease"<sup>3</sup>

p. 66 II/5

FOR "and 'tis indeed Pity" READ "It is truly a pity, and I felt sorry for him when I saw him complaining so miserably in our *Fort*, for he is besides that a well-shaped *Negroe*"

p. 66 III/1-8

SHOULD READ: "It was on his [*Ado's*] request, made at the time of the old *King*, that we should have erected a *Fort* at the end of the *Gold Coast* at the *Village* of *Ponni* [i.e., *Kpone*], but when I arrived at *Acra* with the *Ship* and *Materials* required for its construction, I learned that *Ado* had marched out against another *Country*. Out of fear of the old one, who threatened us with heavy punishment if we started to build, I desisted; the consequence has shown that we were very fortunate"

p. 67 I/4-7

SHOULD READ: "but most of them very light and bad which, if they were offered to them, they would do better to replace by twelve good and somewhat heavier ones"

p. 67 II/1

FOR "Cannon-shot" READ "Buccaneer-shot"<sup>4</sup>

p. 67 II/2-5

SHOULD READ: "although it is hardly a *Creveceur*<sup>5</sup> to be a *Commander* there, because there is a good *Trade*. This *Fort* surpasses the *English* one in size and good *Guns*, but in strength it is rather similar"

p. 67 III/1

FOR "Exactly" READ "a little over"

p. 67 III/5-7

SHOULD READ: "This surprise attack claimed the lives of a few of the *Garrison*"

p. 68 I/1

FOR "Commander" READ "*Chief*"

- p. 68 I/8  
AFTER "powder" ADD "firing nearly all the time double shots"
- p. 68 I/13  
AFTER "them" ADD "so that they could garrison it again"
- p. 68 I/18  
FOR "sight" READ "*Bight*"
- p. 68 II/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "The *Fort* itself compares favorably with that of the *English* and *Ours*, nay, surpasses both in strength"
- p. 68 II/7  
AFTER "intirely flat" ADD "and supported by beautiful vaults"
- p. 68 II/16  
SHOULD READ: "have two Views, mostly one from the *East* and one from the *West*"
- p. 69 I/3-7  
SHOULD READ: "yet, our *Authority*, even if combined, is very minimal, and the *Forts* serve only to defend ourselves, without ever giving us the idea of attempting to compell the Blacks to anything through them, as we would be the worse for it"
- p. 69 II/7  
FOR "the great Kingdom of *Acra*" READ "the *Kingdom* of great *Acra*"<sup>6</sup>
- p. 69 III/6  
AFTER "Gold and Slaves" ADD "the paths being free and safe for the *Merchants*"
- p. 69 IV/3-14  
SHOULD READ: "Traffic could be more than twice as much if those of *Aquamboe* and *Akim* lived in good harmony; but most of the time they are quarreling with each other, those of *Akim* wanting to be *Lords* and *Masters* of *Aquamboe*, desiring the latter to produce every year in recognition of this a certain *Sum*, about which they cannot agree; yet they could lose their entire *Country* if only those of *Akim* could agree among themselves. But the *Aquamboe King* always manages to sow dissension among the *Grandeess* of *Akim* with good words and daily presents, with the result that he remains in freedom and quietness in his *Country*, dealing with trade according to his own pleasure"
- p. 70 I/3  
FOR "Nobles, or rather Favourites" READ "*Grandeess*"
- p. 70 II/3-4  
FOR "and accordingly are obliged to fetch them" READ "which then are brought to them"

- p. 70 III/1  
FOR "They" READ "Those of *Aquamboe*"
- p. 70 III/12-16  
SHOULD READ: "Coast (with the exception of *Anomabo*); because the nearby *Countries* are very *Populous* and nearly all the time at *War* with each other, from which they get many *Prisoners*, most of whom are sold to the *Europeans*"
- p. 71 I/3-4  
SHOULD READ: "if there is no occasion in their own *Country* to march out in aid of another, or to maraud somewhere; these are the ones whom one might properly call *Soldiers*, who maintain themselves by *Warfare*"
- p. 71 I/8  
FOR "are seldom furnished" READ "therefore they don't even furnish themselves with Arms"

## LETTER VI

- p. 72 Int/5  
FOR "brought" READ "made"
- p. 72 II/1  
FOR "which produceth Gold" READ "from which we get our *Gold*"
- p. 72 II/10  
FOR "help" READ "redress" [Dutch 'verhelpen']
- p. 72 III/3  
AFTER "is" ADD "in the last fifteen or sixteen years"
- p. 73 II/1-5  
SHOULD READ: "The *Dinkiras* possessed a great *Wealth* of *Gold*, not so much from what they had got out of their own *Country*, but more from loot out of other *Countries* and from their profit out of *Trade*; because at that time none of the *Blacks* could be compared with them in the field of *Trade*"
- p. 73 II/6  
FOR "they have" READ "they had"
- p. 73 II/7  
FOR "produces" READ "produced"
- p. 73 II/8  
FOR "*Juffer*" READ "'t *Juffer*"<sup>7</sup>
- p. 73 II/10  
FOR "*Commany*" READ "The *Commany Kingdom*"

p. 73 II/14-20

SHOULD READ: "But if we live in peace with those of *Commany* and the paths are safe for the Merchants, they will not be keen on going to the upper *Coast* because of the length of the road, and not go farther than *Chama*, *Commany*, *Elmina* and *Cabo Cors*, at which times the upper *Coast* will be supplied with little Gold"<sup>8</sup>

p. 73 III/2-3

SHOULD READ: "is very pure and good, but they mix it too often with Fetiches"

p. 74 I/1-2

SHOULD READ: "pieces of worked *Gold* of various kinds, some after quite a nice fashion."

p. 74 I/5

FOR "Artificial" READ "worked"

p. 74 I/7

FOR "Silver and Copper" READ "Silver or Copper"

p. 74 I/11-13

SHOULD READ: "they take the pure and unmixed *Gold* back too, refusing to sell anything, which sometimes compels us to let a little of *St. Anne* to be inundated"<sup>9</sup>

p. 74 II/3

FOR "it was so entirely destroy'd" READ "such a reversal occurred"

p. 74 II/4-7

SHOULD READ: "I should think it useful to explain in what manner this powerful *Country* underwent such a great *disaster*"

p. 74 II/9

FOR "and the Event" READ "and the Events which followed"

p. 74 III/1-4

SHOULD READ: "*Dinkira*, which through its *Wealth* and *Force of Numbers* had become so arrogant that they [*sic*] considered the *Blacks* of other *Countries* as less than nothing, treating them as if they were only their *Slaves*"

p. 75 I/3-5

SHOULD READ: "whose *Country* was situated not far from theirs, being affronted by their *Chief*, managed to revenge himself on them in a sharp manner"

p. 75 I/1-29

SHOULD READ: "The affront consisted in reality of this. The *King* or *Superior* of *Dinkira*, called *Bosianté*, a *Youngman* still, but whose valor was spoken of with admiration along the whole *Coast*,<sup>10</sup> one day sent some of

his *Wives* to greet the *Asiantese King* on his behalf; the latter was so pleased with this, that he entertained these *Women* very civilly and let them return with good *Presents*; and in order to show that this *Embassy* had pleased him, and desiring to do the *Dinkirase Superior* equal honor, he not to stay behind sent after some time some of his own *Wives* to greet him and to assure him of the great *Esteem* which he had for his *Person*. These *Women* in *Dinkira* were not less entertained and loaded with *Presents*, and even more than that, when it was seen that the *Dinkirase Superior* cast his wanton eye on one of the *Asiantese Wives*, whom he submitted to his *desire*, driven by his loose and lewd *lust*. Thus placing the *Asiantese King* in the great Guild of *Actaeon*, and having well satiated his *lust* he let her, as well as the others, return to their *Country* and *Husband*; but when the latter got to know of this scandalous act, he was so *furious* about it that he let the *Dinkirase Superior* know that he would not rest before he had washed off the shame cast upon him with the *Offender's* blood. The latter, who had now cooled down a little and knew with whom he had to deal, wished that such a thing had never happened; but since it was done, he tried to pacify the *Asiantese King* with several hundred *Marks of Gold*. But the latter would not listen to him at all, and prepared himself . . . ”

p. 75 II/32-33

SHOULD READ: “with *Gunpowder* and *Arms*, he caused them to be bought in great quantity on the *Coast* and brought to him”

p. 76 I/4-8

SHOULD READ: “But meanwhile the *Dinkirase Superior* had died, which caused people to think that the *War* would not take place and [the issue] would be settled. Whether the remaining *Authorities* of *Dinkira* were too . . . ”

p. 76 I/9

FOR “the injured *Zay*” READ “the *Asiante King, Zay*”

p. 76 I/13

FOR “and about the beginning of this year” READ “and finally reaching this current year”

p. 76 I/15-23

SHOULD READ: “The *Dinkirans* waited for him in good spirits, he beat them totally after two previous *Battles* in which, according to the *Negroes* more than a hundred thousand *People* were killed; of those of *Akim* alone, which had come to the aid of *Dinkira*, about thirty thousand *perished*; besides that, a great *Caboceer* of *Akim* with all his *People* was cut up before the *Battle*”

p. 76 I/25

FOR “the *Kings* here” READ “the little *Kings* here”

p. 76 I/29-31

SHOULD READ: “is said to have given the *Asiantese* fifteen days’ work to

gather (although that is, I believe, a little exaggerated) and the booty for the *Zay* alone has been estimated at several thousand Marks."

- p. 76 I/35  
FOR "Messenger" READ "*Ambassador*"
- p. 76 I/36  
FOR "Camp" READ "*Army*"
- p. 77 I/2  
AFTER "another time" ADD "Our mentioned Ambassador David van Nyendaal arrived At Elmina shortly after my departure, but in such a miserable condition that a few days later he died; the written papers he had brought back were claimed by one of my friends, but the latter had the misfortune to be captured on his way hither by the French, to whom these papers will be of little service;<sup>11</sup> I had indicated to mentioned Nyendaal the manner in which he should take notes on what he would meet on his way, in the same way as I had done for his journey to Rio de Benin, because I have no doubt that many extraordinary things would have been revealed to us by which this book could have been increased and adorned, the more so because as long as the Coast has been known, such a voyage had never before been undertaken by any European, and I do not believe it ever will again . . ."
- p. 77 I/7-9  
SHOULD READ: "but when I get the sequel Your Honor will be informed of it"
- p. 77 II/8  
FOR "Acanny Gold" READ "Acanists' Gold"<sup>12</sup>
- p. 77 II/10-11  
FOR "with their Goods" READ "in order to trade"
- p. 77 II/15  
FOR "more valuable" READ "more reliable"
- p. 77 II/15-18  
SHOULD READ: "but they were difficult Dragons to deal with, not as liberal and followsome as those of Dinkira, nearly always wanting to have their way"
- p. 77 II/20  
FOR "them" READ "their *Trade*"
- p. 77 II/27-29  
SHOULD READ: "as a result of which they have become utterly poor and powerless"

- p. 78 I/2-3  
SHOULD READ: "for the King of *Asiante*, it may well happen that they recover soon and get some of their Ancient Luster back"
- p. 78 II/3  
FOR "I know" READ "of which we have up to now any knowledge"
- p. 78 II/3  
FOR "most valuable" READ "most reliable"
- p. 78 II/6  
FOR "carries away" READ "attracts"
- p. 78 II/7-8  
SHOULD READ: "therefore one gets there nothing but good Gold from which no *Fetiches* or *Kakeraas* have been cut"<sup>13</sup>
- p. 78 II/12  
FOR "their Country" READ "the length of their *Country*"
- p. 78 II/13  
FOR "Natives" READ "*Akimmers*"
- p. 78 II/15  
FOR "was incredible" READ "must be an incredible length"
- p. 78 II/18-19  
FOR "and betraying but too palpable Signs of a cruel Nature" READ "and of an evil nature"
- p. 78 II/22  
FOR "the Governing Men of the Kingdom" READ "the other *Grandeas*"
- p. 78 II/27-29  
SHOULD READ: "for if it [Akwamu] were under one *Head* they could not, as they do now, cause division, and in that case they would soon be destroyed"
- p. 79 II/2  
FOR "first on the Gold Coast" READ "first of the Gold Coast"<sup>14</sup>
- p. 79 II/11  
FOR "In the conquest of" READ "When making *War* on"
- p. 79 II/12  
FOR "made" READ "found"
- p. 79 II/15-16  
FOR "in one Battle with a Governour of theirs" READ "at one time taking the field against just one *Awinese Chief*"

- p. 79 II/27  
AFTER "*Dinkirans*" ADD "alone"
- p. 79 II/28  
FOR "to come and fight them Man by Man" READ "to come forward"<sup>15</sup>
- p. 79 II/29  
FOR "one against one" READ "one by one [i.e., divided]"
- p. 80 II/10  
FOR "to keep us" READ "to keep others away"
- p. 80 II/13  
FOR "the best is found" READ "and principally"
- p. 80 II/15-17  
SHOULD READ: "dig deep pits, and they do with the *earth* from them as I shall explain below"
- p. 80 IV/4  
FOR "as well as to the Rivers" READ "just as it is to the Rivers"
- p. 80 IV/9  
FOR "large and small Troughs" READ "a large and a small pan"
- p. 81 I/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "when some of them have found five or six pence of Gold, some more, others less"
- p. 81 I/12-16  
SHOULD READ: "The *earth* which in the *countryside* is dug from pits is like that from the Rivers, removed by means of water, as described above, and they know of no other method of doing it"
- p. 81 II/13  
FOR "touch better" READ "have a fatter and better touch"<sup>16</sup>
- p. 82 I/11-12  
SHOULD READ: "*Kakeraas*, an appellation which comes from the Blacks and means something small or of little value"
- p. 82 I/16  
FOR "currant" READ "most current"
- p. 82 I/26-30  
SHOULD READ: "sent to Europe by the *English*, the *French*, the *Portuguese*, and even *us*; but as the *Blacks* are faster in making others than we can export them, they are likely to remain there until eternity"

- p. 83 II/4-7  
SHOULD READ: "that quite a few times *People* who prided themselves on their good knowledge of *Gold* have been cheated by it"
- p. 83 I/7-16  
SHOULD READ: "of a very bright color, with which they can easily cheat the inexperienced; because if such people receive, say, two pounds of *Gold* which contain several of such pieces, they cannot really test all of them; they don't even think of it, as it is so beautiful to the eye. Yet another kind, which resembles *Mountain-Gold* too, is nothing more than a certain material made of molten *Beads*, which they manage to cook, cast, and color so nicely that . . ."
- p. 83 I/18  
FOR "Powder" READ "material"
- p. 83 II/3  
SHOULD READ: "and you may need it in the evening or in the morning (which *Heaven* may forbid)"
- p. 83 II/7  
FOR "If the Pieces be small, like Mountain Gold, lay them" READ "small pieces which also look like *Mountain-Gold*, one must lay them"
- p. 84 I/7-11  
SHOULD READ: "by putting it into a *Copper Blowing-basin* and shaking it a little, as if one were winnowing it, and then blowing it very strongly, the false *Gold* will immediately fly away and the good [gold] will stay in it, as it is not easily blown away because of its heaviness"
- p. 84 II/7  
AFTER "Dross" ADD "that is, impurities"
- p. 85 II/11-12  
FOR "exactly" READ "upwards of"
- p. 85 II/14  
FOR "depending on its Goodness" READ "one kind of *Gold* being worth more than the other"
- p. 85 II/20—p. 86 I/1  
SHOULD READ: "Apart from the mentioned *Weights* one finds yet another kind here, used for the payment of all sorts of trifles, which are . . ."
- p. 86 I/5  
FOR "Styver" READ "Stuyver"<sup>17</sup>
- p. 86 I/5-12  
SHOULD READ: "The second kind is twice as heavy, white with black spots, or sometimes completely black, which are called *Tacoex* and which are

worth a little more than four *Stuyvers*; these should be understood to be the common *Tacoets* and *Dambas*; apart from these one finds the so-called Peasant-Weight, of which a *Tacoe* sometimes makes half or even a whole Guilder. But these cannot be counted among the fixed *Weights*, as everyone takes them to his own liking, with the intention of cheating *People* with them”

p. 86 II/2-4

SHOULD READ: “I forgot to inform you of one aspect of the *Gold*: Your Honor has seen how it is being dug or found; now I want to give into consideration to all, in particular those who are inexperienced in mining”

p. 86 II/7-8

FOR “for want of skill in the Metallick Art” READ “separated through Chemistry.”<sup>18</sup>

p. 86 II/11-12

FOR “without the least knowledge” READ “without paying the least attention to following the *Veins* which are said to be in the *Mines*”

#### LETTER VII

p. 88 Intro/2-3

FOR “to what places it is transported” READ “where it is produced”

p. 88 I/7-8

SHOULD READ: “inform you where it is produced and how much is brought annually to the Coast from those *Lands*”

p. 89 IV/12

SHOULD READ: “who manage easily to obtain a *Royal Portuguese Pass*”<sup>19</sup>

p. 90 I/9-10

SHOULD READ: “and that in the meantime such a *Portuguese* or *Interloper* arrives”

p. 90 I/14

AFTER “experienced” ADD “more than once”

p. 90 II/4-5

FOR “those unacquainted with this Trade” READ “others, who do not agree with this, and who were here during a bad period”

p. 90 III/2

FOR “exactly” READ “more than”

p. 90 III/3

FOR “Gold” READ “Treasure”

- p. 91 I/18  
FOR "of the Interlopers, who know" READ "of the Interloper ship owners who would know"
- p. 91 I/21  
FOR "the States have given them" READ "the State has given, above others, to the *West India Company*"
- p. 91 I/25  
FOR "to trade on this Coast, about" READ "that for the general *Trade* on this Coast at least"
- p. 91 II/2-3  
FOR "our chief Place on this Coast" READ "the capital of this Coast"<sup>20</sup>
- p. 91 II/4-5  
SHOULD READ: "Chief Merchant, Fiscal, and the Principal Men"
- p. 91 II/10  
FOR "Chief Factor" READ "Chief Merchant"
- p. 92 I/8-9  
FOR "weighed, essayed, and purified" READ "for which, after it is weighed and purified"
- p. 92 I/14  
FOR "that they" READ "which"
- p. 92 I/17-21  
SHOULD READ: "the *Gentlemen Directors* also allow the *Merchants* responsible for that *Trade* a certain benefit from all they sell: of which they not only give some *Presents* to the *Blacks*, but also retain a nice little *penny* every year"
- p. 92 I/28-33  
SHOULD READ: "assistance of a hundred and fifty men: Whether those who carry such a heavy load to the *Interior* sometimes for about eight days profit from it, I leave to Your Honors to judge, especially if they have to travel along such miserable *Roads* or climb over *Mountains*; truly, if they gain anything, they earn it well"
- p. 93 III/3  
FOR "Merchandise" READ "Commerce"
- p. 94 I/31-32  
FOR "his remedy against the guilty person" READ "'tis true indeed that he keeps his claim on the *Squanderer*"
- p. 94 I/34  
AFTER "Money" ADD "in Europe"

- p. 95 I/3-4  
SHOULD READ: "last refuge is to put the *Squanderer* before *Court* to make him pay with his *Skin* what he is short of in *Gold*"
- p. 95 II/9  
FOR "advance on" READ "regular benefit from"
- p. 95 III/2  
FOR "is promoted to *Mouree* and *Cormantyn*" READ "are, when the position of Chief Commissary falls vacant at *Mouree* or *Cormantyn*, promoted to it"
- p. 95 III/5  
FOR "Company" READ "*Gentlemen Directors*"
- p. 95 III/8  
FOR "Chief Factor" READ "Chief Merchant"
- p. 95 III/11-12  
SHOULD READ: "The occupants of these last positions have the same benefits from the Trade and Maintenance Allowances as other *Merchants*"
- p. 95 III/18-20  
SHOULD READ: "to the *Gentlemen Directors*, so that in case of the death of a *General* and of the *Second Person*, they may rely on able people of whose Fidelity they are . . ."
- p. 96 I/5-6  
FOR "Governour General" READ "*Director-General*"
- p. 97 I/7-8  
SHOULD READ: "let us hope for the best and leave matters there. Yet I would have wished, for the well-being of the Company, that my prediction concerning the Slave trade had not come true so much, and I hope that henceforth such imprudent Councillors will be less listened to; when the trade was quite damaged by these Captains, it was returned to the Merchants, the Company going like a dog (excuse me for this comparison) back to its own vomit. Time will tell how things will go from here. Besides the *Trade*, or those who have the right to receive Gold, there are the following offices"<sup>21</sup>
- p. 97 II/5  
FOR "if he is diligent, are very large" READ "if he is cautious and pays attention to all misdemeanors, are fairly large"
- p. 97 II/22-23  
SHOULD READ: "and has the free use of the [General's] Table or thirty Guilders maintenance allowance."<sup>22</sup>

- p. 98 I/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "and his salary, if he is a sub-factor, is twenty-four Guilders, but if he is a Factor, thirty-six"
- p. 98 II/2  
FOR "by us" READ "here"
- p. 98 II/3  
FOR "in his walks" READ "popularly"<sup>23</sup>
- p. 98 II/6  
AFTER "Forfeitures" ADD "so that this Gentleman seems to have some resemblance to the Levites"
- p. 98 II/7  
FOR "contempt" READ "suspicion"
- p. 98 II/11-14  
SHOULD READ: "though in reality much less, because in case the General dies, it is the *Second Person* [i.e., the Chief Merchant] and not the *Fiscal* who acts for him; even the Chief Factors of *Mouree* and *Cormantyn* would have precedence over [the Fiscal]"
- p. 98 III/4  
FOR "Clerk" READ "*Reader or Precentor*"
- p. 98 III/9  
FOR "Our Clergy-man" READ "the Clergy"
- p. 99 III/4  
FOR "Chief Factor" READ "Chief Merchant". In the Dutch text there is a bracket after "A Chief Merchant and Two or Three Chief Factors" with the remark that "This distinction is being made in Holland, not by me, because otherwise the appellations Chief Merchant and Chief Factor mean the same thing."
- p. 99 V/5  
AFTER "Accomptant or Bookkeeper to the Garrison" ADD "A Chief or Under Secretary"
- p. 99 V/6  
FOR "An Auditor or Informer" READ "An Auditor, *alias Listener*."<sup>24</sup>
- p. 100 IV/6-9  
SHOULD READ: "but only to the extent that each first considers to what extent he is dependent on the Director, and therefore each is very cautious not to incur his *displeasure*, to oppose him, or to refute his propositions"
- p. 101 I/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "during and, I believe, also before my time, that few *Resolutions of the Council* were taken contrary to the *Director's* desires"

p. 101 I/12-15

SHOULD READ: "could not see great harm in it; neither could I, though I always had other *sentiments*, which, however, I have kept to myself for Reasons . . ."

p. 101 I/20-21

SHOULD READ: "I consider the difference that exists between its *name* and its *deeds*, and how tickled I am about the fancy of some, both on the *Coast* and in *Europe*, who take us for . . ."

p. 101 I/35

SHOULD READ: "without, as they pretend, having to give the least Reason"

p. 102 I/6-8

SHOULD READ: "to have, for the time being, the name of *Yea-Brother*, than to see himself deprived of his good fortune; moreover, he would not do the Company any good service with it either, as there are enough others to support the *Director* who, therefore, would nevertheless have his way."

p. 102 II/18

FOR "Sufferings" READ "expressions"

p. 102 III/10-11

SHOULD READ: "Advice of the Council; and if it were empowered to do so through open *Letters* (or in a manner which the mentioned *Gentlemen* may deem appropriate) I cannot doubt . . ."

p. 103 between paragraphs I and II

ADD: "What is more common in the world than a man's comforting and flattering himself with matters in which in fact he may have no part. I could make myself believe, now that such remarkable changes have been brought about in the Government on the *Coast* since the publication of my book, that my writings have caused them. Whatever may be the case, it is more satisfying to me that I was of the same opinion as other of greater wisdom than I; and I hope that it will be useful and advantageous to the Company, and that Their Honors may be further enlightened from time to time on the true conditions of the *Coast*, so that Their Honors may in that manner make the necessary changes every time."<sup>25</sup>

p. 103 II/4-7

SHOULD READ: "I assure you that I am pleased with it to such a degree that I rather wish to forego the *honor*, thus obtaining the liberty justly to have the name of being your, etc."<sup>26</sup>

#### LETTER VIII

p. 104 II/10

SHOULD READ: "it is particularly hot here."

- p. 104 II/15-16  
FOR "September" READ "during *Autumn*"
- p. 105 I/3  
FOR "opener" READ "more loose"
- p. 105 II/5-8  
SHOULD READ: "especially if we do not get ourselves accustomed to bearing the *heat* rather than the *cold*, seeking coolness too fast by uncovering the *body*"
- p. 105 III/6  
FOR "Rivers" READ "little rivulets"
- p. 105 III/9-10  
SHOULD READ: "Infection, the more as at that time one has not yet breakfasted and our bodies are more susceptible of being infected"<sup>27</sup>
- p. 105 III/16-21  
SHOULD READ: "The aforesaid *Damp* is further mixed with a *villainous stench* caused by the *Negroes* who have a habit of letting their *Fish*, before they eat it, rot or stink for five or six days and of allowing everyone to *relieve* himself all around their dwellings and all over the *Village*"
- p. 106 I/7  
FOR "nourish" READ "refresh", "nurse"
- p. 106 I/8-14  
SHOULD READ: "for spoilt *Medicines* and ignorant *Physicians* (because they are only *Barbers*) bring one into the utmost Danger of one's life: and though a man may be found to be of such a strong nature that if he were helped with good *Food* and strong *Medicines*, there would be good hope for his recovery"
- p. 106 I/24-29  
SHOULD READ: "The best, besides *Medicines*, to help sick people to recover are *Culinary Vegetables* and soft and comforting foods; but these are not available at all. Although the *Director* and some other *Principal Men* are well provided with vegetables, these are not for the ordinary man."
- p. 107 I/3  
SHOULD READ: "though I would not like to suggest this as a general thesis"
- p. 107 I/25-32  
SHOULD READ: "and this is also bound to cause a meagre diet<sup>28</sup> if they are not so lucky as to have someone or the other to supply them with money; and that under pawn of what they have, or will receive, from the *Company*; or also on the belief that payment will be made to their *Friends*"

or *Parents in Holland*. And whilst all such Debts corrode like a cancer, they are by use . . . ”

p. 108 I/5-7

SHOULD READ: “in *Europe*, it would be much worse, because one would have to wait for a pretty long time before one reached a prominent Post”

p. 108 III/3

FOR “any Distemper” READ “Distempers”

p. 108 III/7-8

SHOULD READ: “To two Diseases they are however more subject than the *Europeans*, which are *Small-Pox* and *Worms*”

p. 109 I/3

FOR “a Month” READ “several Months”

p. 109 I/7

FOR “drawn” READ “squeezed”

p. 109 I/12-13

SHOULD READ: “But if they pull too hard, and the worm breaks, they are put . . . ”

p. 109 I/21

FOR “*Negroes*” READ “among them”<sup>29</sup>

p. 109 I/23

AFTER “tormented.” ADD “It is remarkable that these worms remain for several years hidden in a man’s body without showing themselves; we have seen examples of this among our Factors who had not felt this distemper during their stay on the Coast, but in whom they appeared when they had been for about three years in Holland. Thank God, I never had that experience myself.”

p. 109 I/26

FOR “perhaps may be” READ “probably is”

p. 109 I/30

AFTER “Description.” Bosman quotes Focquenbrog’s verse literally: “*Een Land waar d’Onder-aardse Peiren/ Niet wagtend’ naar een Mensch zijn dood/ Maar levendig slingeren om zijn Spieren/ Als Ellen, ja als Pieken, groot*” [“A Land where the Under-ground Worms/ Not waiting for a Man’s death/ Wind themselves, while alive, around his Muscles/ As long as Ells or even Pikes”].

p. 109 II/2

FOR “Ravenous Apetites” READ “huge scrotums”

p. 109 II/4

AFTER “called” ADD “here”

- p. 110 I/5-6  
FOR "that Decoction" READ "them"<sup>30</sup>
- p. 111 I/1  
"Children": Bosman uses the word "*Pis-kousjes*" (lit. "little piss-stockings," i.e., children who have not yet been made clean).
- p. 111 I/2-5  
SHOULD READ: "so much discourse on the Labour of Nature (for this is among the Negroes, when they are together, a common subject of *conversation*) become so ticklish, that they rarely want to wait till their maturity, but experiment it in the meantime with their equals; which is the cause of their not needing to call on their *Mother* once they have to play this *game* with their own *husband*, which saves the one who is not to keen on his *partner's virginity* some trouble, the heaviest job already having been done for him. But *Basta!*, and double *Basta*, for reasons I shall explain below."
- p. 111 II/3  
FOR "and" [last word of the line] READ "because of"
- p. 111 II/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "to begin normally at about the same time as our autumn and to continue the six subsequent Months"
- p. 111 III/3  
FOR "the latter" READ "everything" [i.e., in every respect]
- p. 111 III/9-10  
FOR "generally" READ "much" (lit. "unequally")
- p. 111 III/15  
FOR "above" READ "not more than"
- p. 112 I/6-7  
SHOULD READ "other *Fruits*<sup>31</sup> will not grow in that area for reason of getting much too much *water*"
- p. 112 II/3-12  
SHOULD READ: "We can say, speaking here of the *Wind* and *Thunder* separately, that one may see in Mr. Focquenbrog's writings how the *Wind* used to rage here, when His Honour says that in his days it used to rise so suddenly and unexpectedly that *navigators* never durst to continue their *voyage* under full *sails* out of fear of being surprised by it and to be thrown somewhere on the *cliffs* or the *shore*"
- p. 112 III/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "The *gold* and *silver* were molten by the *Thunder*, without doing damage to the bags in which they were kept."

- p. 112 III/8  
AFTER "the latter's" ADD "leather"
- p. 113 I/2  
SHOULD READ: "such a frightful *Thunder* and *Lightning*"
- p. 113 I/5  
SHOULD READ: "to the Ground by the *Thunder* or burnt by the *Lightning*"
- p. 113 I/10-17  
SHOULD READ: "The *Negroes* who, like some among us, pretend to know that the power of the *Thunder* lies in a certain *Stone*, did not fail, when the bad *weather* had passed, to come up to us with a *Stone*, which, according to their foolish idea, had so much damaged our *Flag-pole*. I found it to be of the same kind as the ones described by our people who pretend to be so well informed"
- p. 113 I/24  
FOR "Compression of Air" READ "expulsion [lit. "squeezing out"] of *Wind*"
- p. 113 II/4  
FOR "Bolt" READ "Bow"
- p. 113 III/2  
FOR "of the Factor's Chamber" READ "in the Room of the *Merchant* at *Cormantyn*"
- p. 114 I/3-4  
SHOULD READ: "that it pierced its walls right down to near the powder-house and some *pewter basins*"
- p. 114 II/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "However, I was not a little embarrassed, because repairing at that time the *powder-houses*, the day before I had caused"
- p. 114 II/9  
AFTER "lay" ADD "under the *rooftiles*"<sup>32</sup>
- p. 114 III/7-8  
SHOULD READ: "that we made each other believe that it froze; and really, we were only half-wrong"
- p. 114 III/11  
AFTER "whitish" ADD "as if it were with frost"
- p. 115 II/1-6  
SHOULD READ: "that we have suffered here such *cold nights* that they made us shiver, and which, as I told you before, could easily match our

autumn days; it is still rather cold in the *Bad Season*, but not as severely as formerly, though nowadays it lasts much longer. For we have now at least two thirds of the year *Winter*, or at least *Autumn*:"<sup>33</sup>

## LETTER IX

p. 116 Int/5-6

SHOULD READ: "*Greetings*. They are obliging when visited"

p. 116 Int/10

FOR "Their Nobility" READ "So-called *Nobles*"

p. 116 Int/12

AFTER "Building" ADD "*Villages*"

p. 116 I/3

AFTER "good time" ADD "and I understood quite well its contents"

p. 116 II/1

AFTER "Temper" ADD "and Manners"

p. 117 II/1

SHOULD READ: "To begin, I may say that the *Natives* or *Negroes*<sup>34</sup> as I shall henceforward call them (the word *Neger* or *Niger* meaning *Black*) and *Negroes*, *Blacks*, are all without . . ."

p. 117 II/6

FOR "their" READ "that"

p. 117 II/10-14

SHOULD READ: "not find something in which they had not shown<sup>35</sup> towards others something of their innate *Temper* and *inclination*. They seem to have been born with it, and see it from their *earliest* days, so that it is so much rooted in them, that later they cannot do without it, as it appears to them all to be a *necessity* and herein they agree . . ."

p. 117 II/21-24

SHOULD READ: "*careless* and so little concerned about their *actions* that it seems incredible, and one can hardly perceive whether they have met with good or ill success"

p. 117 II/30-p. 118 I/1

SHOULD READ: "the same thing happens if there is somewhere a happy *Feast*, and not less at a *Funeral* or around a *House of Mourning*"

p. 118 I/5-13

SHOULD READ: "I do not think that I have ever read a *Verse* as appropriate to this subject as the one on the *Title-plate* of Mr. *Focquenbrog's Works*. Here follow the last words, which, to my opinion, could not be improved

upon: "Aan d'andre kant ziet gy, een Moorse Ronde-dans,/ Een doodelijk  
gespuys, van Vrouwen, en van Mans;/ Die zig niet kreunen met de droeve  
Brand van Troyen,/ 't Mag branden wat wil, zy zingen, springen, Poyen,/ En  
weten van geen druk, zy weeten van geen nood,/ Maar feesten tot haar Graf,  
en dansen tot haar dood" ["On the other side you see a Moorish dance,/ A  
murderous rabble of Women and Men,/ Who do not care about the sad Fire  
of Troy,/ It may burn as it will, they dance, leap, tippie,/ And know of no  
pressure, they know of no need,/ But play, down to their Grave, and dance  
till their death"].

p. 118 II/3

FOR "very greedily heap" READ "do care about heaping"

p. 118 II/12-14

SHOULD READ: "so that it seems as if the *Proverb* or *teaching not to be worried about the Morrow* was told only to these *People*"

p. 118 III/1-2

SHOULD READ: "A third weakness, which applies in particular to the *Young Men*, is their vanity and their desire to pass . . ."

p. 119 I/1-6

SHOULD READ: "some wear *long Hair* nicely plaited in spouts and tied together on top of the *Head*; others make quite small spouts which they coat with *Oil* and *Paint*, laying them like little *Roses* around the *head*"

p. 119 I/19

FOR "Cloath" READ "woollen cloth" [Dutch: *Laken*]

p. 119 I/20-24

SHOULD READ: "Many of them have them in about 50 different kinds, and when they throw such a *Cloth*, or *Paan*<sup>36</sup> as they say here, around their body, they manage to fasten it by rolling it a little up on the hip, so that it hangs . . ."

p. 119 I/26-30

SHOULD READ: "... also wear beautifully made *Ivory Rings*, some also made of *gold*, *silver*, &c. And around their *Neck* several strings of *Gold* and all sorts of *Coral* [beads] among which also those of which I spoke before. And I remember . . ."

p. 119 I/32-34

SHOULD READ: "These should therefore be regarded as their *Jewels*, and the one who is not well provided with them does not count"

p. 119 II/1—p. 120 I/3

SHOULD READ: "As much as the *Mancevos* or *Youngmen* deck themselves out, the *Caboceros* or *Chief People* are on the other hand humble; because they prefer to be regarded as *Penniless*, rather than as *rich Men*. Why? Your Honour will learn later"

p. 120 I/6-8

SHOULD READ: "and a *Chain* or *String of beads* around the *Neck*. And these are the ornaments with which they are daily decked out"

p. 120 II/9

FOR "Hat of the Sailors" READ "from the *Seamen* an old *Hat* or *Cap*"

p. 120 II/11-20

SHOULD READ: "That *pride* in *Attire* is only to a little extent peculiar to the *Men*, and has its real *throne* amongst the *Women*, show, apart from the the Netherlands, all other *Countries* situated in *Europe*, but also these dumb *Pagans*. Here the *Women*, just as in our country, take three times as much trouble as the *Men* to dress themselves, and these *little Darlings*<sup>37</sup> manage to plait the *Hair* on their *Heads* in an exceptionally graceful manner and adorn it with *gold-Fetishes*, *Beads* and *Elephants' Tails* much more beautifully than that of the *Men*."

p. 121 I/21-28

SHOULD READ: "Thus these *little Blackesses* [*Swartinetjes*] know quite well how to present themselves in the fashion of their *Land* and how to tempt some *Europeans* to make *love* to them, especially those who make no great distinction between black and white; and that the more as the latter colour is here completely absent, and therefore no other such objects are to be found here"

p. 122 I/3-7

SHOULD READ: "neither the *Mother*, nor anybody else looks after it. Your Honour's *wife* and even more other *Dutch wives*, who are so keen on their *children*, should come here: here they would see hundreds of *children*, not more than 4, 5 or 6 years old, running stark naked along the *beach* and the *sea-shore*, who at best have eaten a piece of dry *bread*, with which they are as well contented as our children with all sorts of *Delicacies*. They neither think nor know of any trouble, nor are their *Mothers* . . ."

p. 122 I/13

AFTER "befalling them" ADD "whilst here, where they do so daily, one never hears of such a thing."

p. 122 II/5-9

SHOULD READ: "a *Negro Woman* got into *Labour-pains*, which lasted less than one quarter of an hour, and who did not, even when it was at its worst, say a word, less even cried out of pain"

p. 122 II/14-p. 123 I/4

SHOULD READ: "that they have to stay some days in bed, which makes them very unhappy. Heavens, how much good would it do to many a *Dutch Purse* if our *Wives* could forego this as easily. But I better stop, because you might one day talk about it with your *wife* behind the *Curtains*, with the result that all *Dutch Women* might leap at my throat, which I really do not ambiate; because, if one day I come back, they might do me good service,

and so I better stay good friends with them. But if a child were to come of it, I must add this, namely that they never prepare a baby-linen basket here and that no linen is bought to make covers, bibs, navel-bandages or children's pants. None of this *nick-nack* is used here, and yet, *Children* here are as little mis-shapen in their limbs as in our country, except that some get very big *Navels*; but this is their Mothers' own fault, as they could easily prevent it. What do you think, *Sir*, if *taking children* were as cheap in *Holland* as it is here, would you not do with one more? If you do not answer this question, it will not prevent me from believing what I think; the child is no sooner . . . ”

p. 123 I/6

FOR “parcel” READ “a whole lot”

p. 123 I/8

FOR “Head” READ “*Neck*”

p. 123 I/12-13

SHOULD READ: “And truly, I consider this to be of such great force that it could not be more secure than if this exorcism were performed by the *Pope*”<sup>38</sup>

p. 123 II/3-8

SHOULD READ: “Vocation, that is, if that enjoys his consent; because considering that he will now soon have to shift for himself, he takes up whatever job agrees with him, without his *Father* or his *Mother* objecting to it”

p. 124 I/5

FOR “Millet” READ “ground Millet or Corn”

p. 124 I/8-9

SHOULD READ: “with boiled *Vegetables* and a little piece of *stinking Fish*”

p. 124 II/1-2

SHOULD READ: “I believe that they imagine that all that is dear and costs much money is not good for them and *unwholesome*”

p. 124 II/7

FOR “Corn” READ “*Pepper*”<sup>39</sup>

p. 125 I/7-10

SHOULD READ: “which we can see best in our own *Officials*, who know too well how to ravish our *Cases* with drinks at the most unseasonable times”<sup>40</sup>

p. 125 II/5

AFTER “Head” ADD “this happening mostly”

- p. 125 II/17—p. 126 I/3  
SHOULD READ: "When they come together from distant *Places*, the *Inhabitant* takes the *Stranger* by the hand, both making their middle-fingers *snap* [Dutch: *knippen*] with each other, and bids him welcome"
- p. 126 I/7-8  
SHOULD READ: "as if they congratulated him with it"
- p. 126 I/13  
FOR "Country" READ "Place"
- p. 126 I/15-16  
SHOULD READ: "so that the *Guest* may wash and rub himself"
- p. 126 II/1-6  
SHOULD READ: "One sees, when *Kings* or other *Grandees* are visited, also many odd *Ceremonies*, as I shall show in what follows. When a *Gentleman* as mentioned before reaches, or comes near to, the *Village* of the one he is going to visit, he dispatches . . ."
- p. 126 II/11-14  
SHOULD READ: "Whilst they are standing on the road, the *Chief*, having prepared himself, sits down, with all his *People* and soldiers in full *Battle-array*, on the Market-place or in front of his *House*;"
- p. 127 II/4  
AFTER "present" ADD "one by one, after another"
- p. 127 II/8-9  
SHOULD READ: "two *Chiefs*, who are on both sides covered by *Guards*,<sup>41</sup> meet; the one who is being visited then gets up, and if . . ."
- p. 127 II/14-17  
SHOULD READ: "he remains seated and welcomes the other by three times simply shaking his hand and filiping their *middle-fingers*; this handshaking takes place in three successive *rounds*"
- p. 127 II/19  
AFTER "the other" ADD "in a designed place"
- p. 127 II/21  
FOR "soon after done" READ "done after they have been sitting still for a while"
- p. 127 II/23-24  
FOR "sending persons" READ "sending again one of his people"
- p. 127 II/26-28  
SHOULD READ: "to which the others reply as required, by sending some-one of their own to the other side"

p. 128 II/3-8

SHOULD READ: "hence one finds very few *Arts* and *Handicrafts* among them. All their *Handicrafts* consist mainly in *preparing* and *making* of *wooden* and *earthen Cups, Troughs, Stools, Mats, Copper Ointment boxes*"

p. 128 II/17-19

SHOULD READ: "their *Swords* and *Cutlasses*, *hard* and *sharp* enough, and similarly their *Pick-axes* and other agricultural *ware* which they may need. Their principal tools consist of a big hard stone, which serves them as an *Anvil*, two or three *sledge-hammers* . . ."

p. 128 II/23

FOR "*Fetiche's*" READ "*Gold Fetishes*"

p. 128 II/28

FOR "*Artists*" READ "*Goldsmiths*"

p. 129 II/5-8

SHOULD READ: "So, let me now talk a little about their *Navigation*, which is not very considerable. They use for it long *Barges*, which they call *Canoas*"

p. 129 II/12-16

SHOULD READ: "With the largest kind we carry our *Merchandise* from one *Place* to the other, a small or reasonable *Cargo* of a *Merchant-Man* fitting into one of the largest *Canoas*"

p. 129 II/18

FOR "or fifteen" READ "fifteen or seventeen"

p. 129 II/22-26

SHOULD READ: "odd one is required to sit on the stern to look after the steering. They do not use oars like ours, but a certain kind of *Paddles*, made in a heart-form or like spades used for breaking the *Land*, with a handle of about the same length. With these *Paddles*, which they hold in both hands, paddling all the time with an under-hand stroke,"

p. 129 II/34

FOR "large Nets" READ "large *Maze-Nets*"

p. 130 I/3

AFTER "Fish" ADD "which got entangled in them and which they then take out [from them]"

p. 130 I/6-13

SHOULD READ: "with the *Sword* which it has on its *Snout*: but this is not so serious if only the *Negroes* become aware of it in time; for then they set out in three or four *Canoas*, well armed with *Harpoons*, to catch it, and such a *Fish*, because of its size, and because the *Negroes* like to eat it, can easily amend for the breaking of a *Net* or two"

p. 130 II/6-10

SHOULD READ: "Those of *Junmoré*, ten Miles above Axim, manage to make themselves understood<sup>42</sup> to those of *Egira*, *Abocroe*, *Ancober* and *Axim*, but there is a great difference in their *speech*; the *Axim Language* being quite unlovely, nay, beastly ugly."

p. 130 II/16

FOR "But the" READ "But the *Language* of"

p. 131 I/1

FOR "and *Adom*" READ "and after those, that of the *Adoms*"

p. 131 I/3-4

SHOULD READ: "and is as great as that betwixt Brabanders and the *Over-seas People*"<sup>43</sup>

p. 131 I/16-24

SHOULD READ: "if we want to fit the shoe in our own way and spell them, we always find that we are doing it the wrong way. And as the Negroes are not able to *Read* and to *Write* and consequently do not have a *Literature*, it is not very well possible for us to find out where the *Faults* are. O.D.<sup>44</sup> who was never there, incorporated into his '*Description of Africa*' several different denominations [*benamingen*: ways of giving names to things] and ways of *counting* of the *Negroes*"

p. 131 II/4

FOR "which expressed each thing" READ "which were used by them [to express] one thing or another"

p. 132 I/1-14

SHOULD READ: "I remember having read once a certain, or *I* should rather say uncertain *Author*, who in his *Description* of this *Coast* made mention of some *Noblemen*.<sup>45</sup> But in all the time that *I* have been here, *I* have not been able to discover what kind of Negroes or what rank should be considered as such. *I* shall take the trouble to expand below on what difference there is between one *Negro* and another, and why one is more *honoured* and *esteemed* than another, which finally will lead to the conclusion that the one who possesses the greatest *Riches* receives also the greatest *Honour* without *Nobility* being mixed in it to the least."

p. 132 III/3

"Civil Fathers": "*Burger-Vaderen*" in the original. Bosman probably meant "Burgomasters" or "City Fathers" as in the Dutch town-councils.

p. 132 III/5-6

FOR "to appease any Tumult" READ "to settle *disputes* which may arise"

p. 132 IV/5-6

SHOULD READ: "whom, *I* believe, said *Author* regards as *Noblemen*; but whether he is right . . ."

p. 133 I/1-3

SHOULD READ: "The fourth rank is formed by the *common people*, such as *Wine-tappers* [*Wyn-Boeren*], *Fishermen*, *Farmers*, &c."

p. 133 IV/2-6

SHOULD READ: "in almost all the Negro Countries, descends hereditarily from *Father* to *Son*, and the latter lacking, to the next *Male* heir. Sometimes, too, the *Ability* of such an heir is taken into consideration, as well as his wealth in *Slaves* and *Money*, so that he who is plentifully . . ." <sup>46</sup>

p. 133 V/1-2

SHOULD READ: "Nothing much special occurs at the *Election* or *Confirmation* of a new King"

p. 133 V/6-7

SHOULD READ: "after which the matter is terminated with a *merry Day*"

p. 133 V/8

FOR "competitorship, when" READ "discord, and if"

p. 133 V/12

SHOULD READ: "otherwise, as I have said, everything is done in a very easy-going manner, and only a few sacrifices are made, which is done at all important *Transactions*"

p. 133 V/16—p. 134 I/5

SHOULD READ: "The *Principal Men* commonly are limited in number, but the *places* of the *Deceased* are not so quickly filled again; but if they become too weak, they assemble and choose out of . . ."

p. 134 I/12-13

SHOULD READ: "At *Axim* it happens as follows: the one whom the *Principal Men* desire to become a *Caboceer* must be"

p. 134 I/31-34

SHOULD READ: ". . . as a Loyal Subject. The same loyalty he swears also to show to his own *Nation* and *People*. The *Oath* having been taken, having confirmed each clause with the Words '*That God . . .*'" <sup>47</sup>

p. 135 I/6-8

SHOULD READ: "and allows him the *Right* to enjoy, like the other *Principal Men*, the advantages deriving from *lawsuits*"

p. 135 I/11

FOR "Election of a Caboceer" READ "the manner in which a *Caboceer* is confirmed"

p. 135 II/1

FOR "sort of" READ "*Rank* among the"

p. 135 II/7-9

SHOULD READ: "cause their *People* to learn, in the manner of the *Land*, to play, or blow, all sorts of *Tunes*"

p. 136 I/1-5

SHOULD READ: "are for the rest of their life free to have these *Horns blown* at their pleasure at any time; which nobody who has not been ordained to it in the above mentioned manner is allowed to do. But if someone else feels inclined to have a *merry Day*, he is obliged, if he wants to have *Horns*, to beg for them on loan."

p. 136 II/1-3

SHOULD READ: "A *Negro* having advanced himself in the mentioned manner, in order to achieve still greater *Honour* and *Esteem*, then has first one, later two *Shields* made for himself"

p. 136 II/6

FOR "Family" READ "*People*"

p. 136 II/20

FOR "very valuable Presents" READ "presents, among which are some of no mean value"

p. 136 II/23

FOR "carry two Shields" READ "to have two shields carried for him"

p. 137 I/1-2

SHOULD READ: "These now are those who are supposed to be the *Noble-men* here on the *Coast*;"

p. 137 I/5

FOR "they" READ "some"

p. 137 I/16

FOR "Trade" READ "their Trade"

p. 137 I/16

FOR "sort" READ "rank"

p. 137 III/5

FOR "villages" READ "*Villages or Houses*"

p. 138 I/4

AFTER "pleasant walks" ADD "or a place with a view of a pleasant *Waterway* which may offer some recreation and enjoyment"<sup>48</sup>

p. 138 I/13

FOR "rough" READ "crooked"

- p. 139 I/1  
AFTER "Commandment" ADD "*not to make likenesses*"
- p. 139 I/3-5  
SHOULD READ: "Around the lower or thick end of the *Tooth* a piece of rope, blackened with the blood of sheep and chicken, is coiled"
- p. 139 I/7-9  
SHOULD READ: "they produce an extraordinary sound, which is done to a certain Measure and Tone, and which they can vary in several ways, in accordance with their mood"
- p. 139 II/2  
FOR "about" READ "at least"
- p. 139 II/10-11  
FOR "a streight Stick or their bare Hands" READ "also with a little straight stick and the flat of the hand"
- p. 139 II/12  
FOR "a dismal and horrid Noise" READ "a Sound which is boring"
- p. 139 II/13  
AFTER "generally" ADD "beaten"
- p. 139 II/16  
FOR "to help out" READ "to make it gayer"
- p. 140 I/1  
FOR "of late" READ "a few years ago"
- p. 140 I/3  
FOR "and extended to the shape" READ "and stretched in the manner of"
- p. 140 I/5-6  
SHOULD READ: "with their *Rumbling-pots* [*Rommel-potten*] they play with on Shrove-Tuesday"
- p. 140 I/7  
AFTER "Iron rings" READ "hung around them"<sup>49</sup>
- p. 140 I/10  
AFTER "Negroes" ADD "none of them being worth it"
- p. 140 I/14-16  
SHOULD READ: "a Stick is bent forward, across which they stretch five or six strings"
- p. 140 I/18  
FOR "or if you will" READ "and, according to the impression which is given to me,"

- p. 140 II/3-4  
SHOULD READ: "For, no matter how little they possess, they never beg"
- p. 140 II/6  
FOR "binds" READ "pawns"
- p. 140 II/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "and he is maintained by the one to whom he has been pawned, on condition that he performs such work as he is ordered to do, which is . . ."
- p. 141 I/12-14  
SHOULD READ: "in this they are all so importunate and shameless, that one cannot free oneself from them without giving something: all what they see, whether big or small, is fish that comes to their net"
- p. 141 II/12  
FOR "agree together" READ "form a pair"<sup>50</sup>
- p. 141 II/16-17  
SHOULD READ: "and even to the *Blacks*, though a little more secretly"
- p. 142 I/1  
SHOULD READ: "or, to be short, they are altogether *Whores* and *Crooks* of one and the same kind"
- p. 142 I/6-7  
FOR "a short Jacket of silk or stuff" READ "a short *Bodice* of silk or other material"
- p. 142 I/9  
AFTER "shoulders" ADD "with wide strips"
- p. 142 I/11-15  
SHOULD READ: "the front part being *ruffled* and the top bulging up. In order to fasten the Cap properly, they wind a ribbon twice or thrice around their head. Thus they make a curious show with their *Head*"
- p. 142 I/18-20  
SHOULD READ: "and those who have little *money* cannot be distinguished from the Black Women except by their cap, because like them, they go around with the upper part of their body naked."
- p. 142 II/9  
FOR "barbarous" READ "evil"
- p. 142 II/14  
FOR "not worth speaking to" READ "not even worth to be spoken about"

p. 143 I/1-6

SHOULD READ: "as disagreeable it is to have to endure the *Company* of this *Kind*, it will on the other hand be agreeable to me to witness to you, within a few *Months*, in your presence, how much I shall forever try to be, &c."

## NOTES

1. The Dutch *raad* can mean either 'advice' or 'council': "by my advice" should have been *op mijn raad*, whereas the Dutch text reads "met mijn Raad," that is, 'with my Council'. Bosman could—particularly in the absence of the Director-General, when he (Bosman) would be serving as President of the Council—refer to it as "his Council."
2. In other words, extraordinarily small guns. The heavy guns of Elmina or Cape Coast Castle could fire balls up to thirty-six pounds.
3. It is not clear just which deadly disease Ado suffered from. If it was a venereal disease—as Bosman seems to suggest—it is not likely that he could have been operated on; perhaps his prostate was removed by the "Barber" or surgeon.
4. The buccaneer-gun was a long hunting gun originally used by the West Indian buccaneers for hunting wild bulls, whose meat they used to roast on a *boucan* or 'grill'. It probably had a longer range than the ordinary carbines and flintlocks then in use.
5. Note the incorrect spelling in both the English and Dutch texts. "Crèvecoeur" literally means 'heartbreak', or that which takes away one's courage. The Dutch fort at Accra was named after a stronghold of the same name at 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), which was taken by the Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik in 1629, shortly after Piet Heyn's successful capture of the Spanish silver fleet in the West Indies. Part of the fleet's enormous booty was used for hiring soldiers, which the West India Company in turn sub-let to the Stadhouder. Some of these soldiers may later have served on the Guinea Coast.
6. The Dutch text reads "het groot Accrase Koningrijk," that is, the kingdom centered around the ancient capital which the Europeans called Great Accra, which must have been in the area of modern Nsawam. In Dutch "the great Kingdom of Accra" would have been rendered *het groote Koningrijk van Accra*.
7. This strange spelling of the name Twifo is common in Dutch documents of the period. 't is a common abbreviation of the neutral particle *het*. "Juffer" means 'young lady' or 'Miss', yet 'the young lady' would be 'de Juffer'.
8. Note that the English translator put the whole passage in the present tense, thus explaining the scarcity of gold at the windward forts by the end of the Komenda wars. This is inconsistent, however, with the later mention of poor gold receipts at Princes Town in 1694, while those wars were at their height. Bosman himself used an *if* clause: "if we live in peace with Komenda, the trade will no longer move to the West." Earlier, he had explained the decline in gold receipts in that area to the Adom wars.
9. The Dutch proverbial expression *iets van St. Anna laten onderlopen* means to allow a little cheating, to connive at something. St. Annaland was a small polder in Zealand which was repeatedly flooded, so that the land eventually became useless because of its salinity; finally the people connived to let parts of the polder be flooded by no longer taking care of the dykes.
10. The difference between the two texts here is significant, for the Dutch text did *not* exclude the Europeans on the coast from this admiration of the Denkyira ruler, whereas the English text certainly implied such an exclusion.
11. Here I have translated the Dutch word *benadert* 'approached' by 'claimed'. It is not clear who this "good friend" might have been. Modern historians will readily share the chagrin Bosman expressed at the disappearance of these in this addition he made in the second edition of his book.
12. *Sika* 'gold' is an Akan word of Mande origin. *Acanni Sica* is not necessarily derived from 'Akan' but may be an independent expression derived directly from Mande meaning 'good gold': certainly Acani gold meant gold of superior quality on the coast at this time. It is significant that Bosman (like most of his Dutch contemporaries on the coast) used the term 'Acanists' instead of 'Acaniers', which would have been the correct term to denote 'the inhabitants of Acanny'. The suffix *-ist* denotes in Dutch (as it does in English) a profession or regular activity (e.g., *pianist*, *agriculturist*, etc.). The Dutch originally regarded all those

who brought *akani sika*—'good gold'—to their trading posts as 'Acanists'. By 1700, however, there definitely was a state in the interior which the Europeans called 'Acanny' or variants thereof. This state has generally been identified as Assin.

13. For more on "Kakeraas" see the gloss of p. 82 below.
14. A minor difference, but readers of the English text may get the false impression that Bosman thought that Aowin was on the coast.
15. Another Dutch idiomatic expression too literally translated in the English text: *aan de man komen* means 'come forward'.
16. A 'plastic' description. Bosman probably meant that items made of gold dust tend to be less solid and more brittle to the touch.
17. A stuyver is one-twentieth of a guilder, or slightly more than a penny.
18. "Schey-const," literally 'separating art'. Even in modern Dutch, chemistry is still known as *scheikunde*.
19. Part of the powerful Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam originated from Brazil. During the Dutch occupation of northeast Brazil (1630-1654), the Jews there had enjoyed much greater religious freedom than they had under Portuguese rule; when the Portuguese recovered the area, Jews suffered increased persecution, both because of their religion and because they had collaborated with the Dutch. As a result, many of them emigrated to the Netherlands, while others settled on the Dutch, English, and French West Indian islands, where they introduced the sugar technology.
20. "Hoofd-plaats" can indeed be translated as "chief place," but it normally stands for 'capital'. "de Hoofd-plaats van" in the Dutch text shows clearly that Bosman regarded Elmina as the capital of the Gold Coast. "Our chief place on" would be *onze hoofd plaats op*.
21. Here is another passage which was obviously added to the second edition of 1708.
22. In the Dutch text, the Ryxdaalder (Imperial Dollar) unit is used in many of the examples: in this case 12 Ryxdaalders, because 12 times 2½ Guilders equals 30 Guilders, rather than 25.
23. Another literal translation in the English edition. The Dutch expression *in de wandeling* really means 'popularly' and not "in the walk[ing]".
24. "Toehoorder" means 'listener', that is, the same as the term "auditor" originally did.
25. As is explicit from the text, this was another addition to the 1708 second edition.
26. In other words, Bosman—having resigned from the Council (and, for that matter, from the service of the Company)—considered that only then could he, without lying, call himself "etc.," or the true and devoted friend of his correspondent.
27. In the Dutch text there is no reference to "the Natives" in this phrase.
28. In the original text: "een schrale Keuken," i.e., 'a meagre Kitchen' (in the sense of *cuisine*).
29. That is, the Europeans (not the Negroes!).
30. Not a "decoction," but rather a kind of parcel of leaves (sometimes boiled) is put on the wound. This practice is still much in use in Ghana and often quite effective.
31. By "Fruits" is probably meant *aardvruchten* (i.e., fruits of the earth, like cassava or yam tubers). Indeed, the region of Axim is today known for its many tree-plantations, like oil-palm, coconut, rubber, and citrus.
32. Which shows that fort "Nassau" at that time still had pitched tile roofs. In the early eighteenth century most of the forts' roofs were converted into flat ones made of wooden boards covered with bricks and a layer of "tarrass" (a mixture of mortar and stone fragments). Although such roofs were cumbersome to construct and difficult to maintain, they were said to improve the defensibility of the buildings. Moreover, these buildings were often exposed to strong gusts of wind, in which tiles could easily be blown off.
33. Dr. T. Beer, a meteorological specialist of the Department of Physics, University of Ghana, was kind enough to make some further comments on Bosman's description of the climate of the Coast.

Concerning the variability of the seasons, he notes that although on a long-term average the coastal rainy season does start in early March, the timing and severity of the tropical climate is notoriously variable. There is evidence for both a biennial (twenty-four month) oscillation as well as a thirty-year cycle. Although Bosman's description of the humidity of Axim may be somewhat exaggerated, the average annual rainfall in that area is 208 cm, whereas those of Sekondi, Cape Coast and Accra are respectively 127 cm, 89 cm, and 70 cm.

Concerning the *Travadoes* mentioned on page 112, nowadays called "line squalls," he remarks that they are a unique feature of West African meteorology, but are not yet fully explained.

Concerning the effects of lightning and thunder (page 113), he notes that the effects of a lightning strike are those of a very strong electrical current and would include fusing, burning, splintering, etc. Strong blasts of thunder are synchronous with lightning flashes, and it would seem more correct to attribute the phenomena mentioned by Bosman to lightning rather than to thunder. (Since the actual effects of lightning are not yet fully understood, however, one could not dismiss Bosman's narrative out of hand.)

Concerning the whitish aspect of the earth "as if it were with frost" after cold nights, this might be attributed to whitish Saharan dust carried by the Harmattan during the dry season. The extreme dryness of the atmosphere during such a period of Harmattan may also account for the drying up of ink (in a nearly empty ink-well), which may have looked as if it had "frozen."

34. In the Dutch text: "*Negers of Negros.*" The common Dutch word for Negro is *Neger*, but in Bosman's time the expression *Negro* (in the Spanish or Portuguese pronunciation) may also have been in use on the Coast.
35. The English translator must have been confused here by a printing error in the Dutch text which must have survived in the second and later editions: the word "blyven" ('remain') should have been *blyken* 'show'.
36. This appellation is no longer in use in English-speaking West African countries, but in French such pieces of cloth are still known as *pagnes*.
37. *Dier* in old Dutch is indeed 'dear'. "*Diertje*" could therefore be "little Darling"; but the noun *dier* means 'animal', and *Diertje* therefore also 'little Animal'. Bosman must have been fully aware of (and probably intended) this ambiguity.
38. Bosman was a protestant and—quite in conformity with protestant attitudes of those days—did not let go by an opportunity to mock at the Pope.
39. In the Dutch text: "Greyn," meaning West African pepper, in English also known as 'grain', like in 'Grain Coast', also known as the Malagueta Coast (Liberia). The Dutch word for grain in the sense of corn would be *graan*.
40. In the Dutch text the word translated here as "Officials" was indeed "*Dienaars*," meaning normally 'Servants'. Bosman, however, obviously used the term as short for *Compagnies Dienaars* 'servants of the Company', which was the term commonly used for Company officials. The word translated here as "Cases" was in the Dutch text "*Kelders*." *Kelder* indeed means 'cellar' or 'basement', but also 'case containing twelve bottles', which is what is probably meant here.
41. "welke van weerkanten met schilden bedekt zin" (lit. 'who on both sides are covered by shields'); but *schild* could also be short for *schildwacht* 'guardian' or 'guard[smen]'.
42. Note that the Dutch text states just the opposite: those of "Jummoré" (i.e., the Nzema) are able to understand those of "Egira, Abocroe, Ancober and Axim" (i.e., the Gwira and Evaluate of the Ankobra basin). The English translator was perhaps confused by the Dutch idiomatic expression here: "konnen met die van . . . te regt raken," meaning literally 'are able to get straight with those of . . . '.
43. The idea which Bosman probably wanted to convey here is that some languages are quite similar, like those of the Brabanders (Flemish) and the people of Holland (northern Dutch), whereas others are as different as Dutch and English. That he used for the latter the expression "overseas" (*over Zee*) is probably to be understood in comparison with the language of the Brabanders, commonly called by those of Holland 'those on the other side of the Rivers' (*over de Rivieren*, i.e., south of the Rhine-Meuse delta).
44. "O.D." in the Dutch text obviously stands for Olfert Dapper, as the English translator rightly assumed. His *Naeukeurige Beschryvinghe der Africaensche Gewesten* [Accurate Description of the African Regions], published in Amsterdam in 1668, is based on the writings of others, some never printed. His word-lists probably derive from Pieter de Marees' *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Goutconinckryck van Guinea* (1602), which was not yet published at that time.
45. Bosman must have looked down on Dapper, whose book was the last to be published in Dutch on this subject, as an "uncertain Author" on whose work he intended to improve. Dapper, following de Marees and others, did mention "noblemen," a translation of the Portuguese *fidalgo*. In fact, the Dutch continued to apply this Portuguese term even in the eighteenth century to chiefs along the Slave Coast: e.g., the "Fidalgo of Jaquin."
46. It seems that Bosman is really referring here (as appears also from what follows) to the *asafo* companies, whose leadership is patrilinear (whereas most Akan chieftaincies are matrilinear).
47. The English translator suggests that in fact two oaths were taken, but this does not appear

from the Dutch original. The Dutch claimed that the people of the Axim area were their "vassals by conquest," as they had driven the Portuguese from Axim fort by force of arms, and shortly afterwards tracked some of them down in the forest. The Portuguese had exercised considerable influence (even jurisdiction) in the Axim hinterland, and the Dutch took that influence over from them. The idea behind this oath was that the Axim caboceers recognise their dual allegiance to both their own nations and Holland, which gave the WIC a kind of indirect rule in the area. Nowhere else along the Coast—not even at Elmina—did the Company exercise such authority, and Bosman's choice of Axim to illustrate this subject is therefore rather misleading. Perhaps Bosman wanted to give the impression that the situation at Axim was an ideal one, to be emulated elsewhere.

48. The English translator may have left out this passage for being irrelevant to English readers. In the eighteenth century it became quite fashionable to build comfortable countryseats with beautiful parks along such 'waterways' (*vaarten*) as the Vecht and the Amstel, near Amsterdam.
49. These drums, called *donno* in Akan, were not really "invented" on the Coast as Bosman seems to suggest, but were probably introduced in his days from the North. When played, they are carried between the upper arm and the body, and their sound can be varied by the amount of pressure exercised by the arm. The *rommelpotten* or rumbling pots with which Bosman compares them were also double-membraned drums, but the sound was produced by moving a stick through holes in the middle of the membranes. I am grateful to Professor Nketia of the Institute of African Studies, Legon, for information supplied on this subject.
50. It is rather surprising that Bosman shows to have such a low opinion of mulattoes, having fathered at least one himself (whom, at least, he allowed to carry his name). Perhaps he was over-compensating for a guilty conscience or trying to avoid suspicion among his readers in Holland, especially the ladies, one of whom he may have intended to marry, as he stated earlier in this letter.

ENGLISH BOSMAN AND DUTCH BOSMAN: A COMPARISON  
OF TEXTS - III

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[This continues the comparison of texts of the English and Dutch versions of Bosman. For earlier instalments see *History in Africa* 2(1975), pp. 185-216, ans 3(1976), pp. 91-126. Procedural matters are discussed in the first instalment, to which the reader is referred]

LETTER X

- p. 145 I/2  
FOR "different" READ "four kinds of"
- p. 145 I/12-13  
SHOULD READ: "Who among us would be most ready to convert the Negroes to Christianity"
- p. 145 I/14  
FOR "Meats" READ "Food"
- p. 145 I/17  
FOR "wherefore amongst them" READ "are not considered among them, and why. . ."
- p. 146 I/4  
OMIT "I had almost said"
- p. 146 II/3  
FOR "World and all things in it" READ "Heaven, Earth, Sea and all that is thereon and therein"
- J II/5  
AFTER "deity" ADD "similarly, they do not believe in the daily *maintenance* and *governance* of all that was *created*"
- p. 146 II/17-20  
SHOULD READ: "different opinions which some of them have kept concerning the Creation; for up to this day quite a few among them believe that *Man* was created by the *Anansié*, a great *Spider*, which belief they strongly defend. The rest . . ."

- p. 146 II/23  
AFTER "White Men" ADD "to people the World together"
- p. 147 I/12-13  
FOR "would not be very obliging to the Turks to . . ." READ  
"could it be that the Turks have a similar belief as they  
. . ."
- p. 147 II/9  
AFTER "at present" ADD "is being shown"
- p. 147 II/15  
FOR "Kirchen" READ "Kircherus" [=?]
- p. 148 I/10  
FOR "Priest" READ "offering-Pope"<sup>1</sup>
- p. 148 I/16-26  
SHOULD READ: "firmly believing that in that way it cannot  
harm them. Neither can it do any harm to their carriers,  
because the exorcised matter can only do harm to the person  
for whom it is intended. So this is really more modest than  
what I have read about some of the Italians, who are also  
well versed in the art of poisoning: when they want to get  
rid of their enemies they do not hesitate to put innocent  
people into great danger too. Therefore I cannot very much  
like the *Fetiché* of the *Italians*, and I would rather . . ."
- p. 148 II/9  
FOR "Poison" READ "exorcised" [food]
- p. 148 II/10  
FOR "For though it be" READ "on the other hand, if it were"
- p. 149 I/1  
FOR "which" READ "he would not, as it"
- p. 149 I/2  
FOR "Obligatory Swearing" READ "Swearing an Oath"
- p. 149 I/3-8  
SHOULD READ: "When they make an agreement with each other,  
they use these words: 'Let us confirm it by consuming  
*Fetiché* upon it.' When they drink this Oath-drink, they say:  
'the *Fetiché* must kill me if I do not honor the entire  
Agreement.'"
- p. 149 I/11-15  
SHOULD READ: "all the *principal Chiefs* are obliged to drink  
the *Oath-drink*, adding words to the effect that the *Fetiché*  
or *Idol* should kill them if they do not help to pursue the  
*Enemy* in order to destroy him if it were possible."

- p. 149 I/18  
FOR "Besides, they have found out a way to" READ "Besides, and this is remarkable, they can . . ."
- p. 149 I/26  
FOR "looks a little like the" READ "smells a little of"
- p. 149 I/33-35  
SHOULD READ: "any one or several of them without the consent of all. Agreements made in this manner are . . ."
- p. 150 I/6-7  
FOR "Adultery" READ "Whoring"
- p. 150 II/4  
FOR "Pipe" READ "Tray" [box?, boot?]
- p. 150 II/5  
FOR "filled" READ "stuffed"
- p. 150 II/7  
FOR "Excrementitious and filthy" READ "baubles and"
- p. 150 II/9  
FOR "Pipe" READ "*Tray or Calabash*"
- p. 150 II/10  
FOR "Negroe" Read "One"<sup>2</sup>
- p. 151 I/6  
FOR "Pipe" READ "Tray"
- p. 151 I/10  
FOR "Pipe" READ "Tray"
- p. 151 I/12  
FOR "it" READ "him"
- p. 151 I/16  
FOR "throws into the Pipe" READ "stuffs into the Tray"
- p. 151 II/13  
SHOULD READ: "whatever the Priest may like most at that moment"
- p. 151 II/15  
FOR "Garbage" READ "intestines"
- p. 152 I/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "twenty narrow strips of leather. To the middle of each of these they bind up such ingredients as I described earlier, with which the *Idol's Tray* was filled up"
- p. 152 II/2  
FOR "wild Nuts" READ "certain kernels or wild Nuts"

- p. 152 II/3  
FOR "sake" READ "take" (this is probably a printing error)
- p. 152 II/9  
FOR "absurdities" READ "deceit"
- p. 152 II/12-13  
SHOULD READ: "pretending that this or that matter was not properly attended to, and that the *Idol* is therefore enraged"
- p. 153 II/2-5  
SHOULD READ: "are held in a barren period, either in order to have *Rain*, or, if it falls in over-abundance, to make it stop. In either of such inconveniences, the Chiefs of such a Nation or Village . . ."
- p. 153 II/7-9  
SHOULD READ: "Calamity. They reply to the Chiefs in accordance with the demands of the situation at that time and what they order is at once announced throughout the *Land* by the public Cryer; these are generally ridiculous *Commands* or *Instructions*."
- p. 153 II/13-14  
FOR "about" READ "towards"<sup>3</sup>
- p. 153 III/2  
FOR "Governours and chief People" READ "*Authorities*"
- p. 153 III/9  
AFTER this paragraph ADD "When I was commanding *Zooconde* [Sekondi] and lived in discord with those of *Adom* who had started a War against the *Anta Negroes*, and therefore against my subjects, one such sacred *Grove* stood not far from our Lodge. It obstructed my entire view, so that I could easily have been surprised by the *Adoms* if they had taken advantage of it. So in order to prevent such an assault, I requested the *Negroes*, having demonstrated to them the necessity, to cut down the mentioned *Grove*. But that was as effective as knocking on a dead man's door: no one was willing to undertake that; I was therefore obliged to have this work done by the Slaves of the Company, who, being *Adrasians*, had a different Religion." It really looked as if there was more to it, because three days after the cutting down of the *Grove* a Bird alighted on one of the remaining stumps, which I readily shot down from above with a Flintlock. But being a little too keen to get it, I tumbled down right into the middle of the stumps, as a result of which I got rather badly hurt. Whether this was awarded to me by the *Negroes* I cannot say; but what I can say, is that they did not stop themselves from saying in my presence that their Gods had

sent me this punishment on account of my having desecrated their *Grove*, and that I could call myself fortunate that I got off so easily and cheaply. Your Honor may well imagine how I sent them away, laughing at their silly ideas."

- p. 153 IV/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "the whole day they go around clad in white, and they are, as a sign . . ."
- p. 154 I/2-7  
SHOULD READ: "to their *Idol*, that is, only in words, for they finish it off immediately, not leaving a single piece, thinking that it is enough if they merely give it the name of having been slaughtered in honour of their *Idol*. The owner keeps only the least part of a *Sheep* thus killed;"
- p. 154 I/13-17  
SHOULD READ: "and pushing out the *excrement* with their Fingers, they boil it in blood, together with the *Lungs, Liver and Heart*, with a little *Salt* and *Malaget* or *Guinea Pepper*"
- p. 155 II/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "things made or carried in honor of their *Idols*, no matter how small, are called *Fetiche*"
- p. 155 III/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "doings and the behavior of each, rewarding for goodness and punishing for wickedness, the reward consisting in the Multiplicity . . ."
- p. 156 II/4  
FOR "Character" READ "Dignity"
- p. 156 II/18  
FOR "Meats" READ "food"
- p. 156 II/21  
AFTER "Paradise" ADD "or the *Elisean* Fields of the Ancient Pagans"
- p. 156 II/24  
AFTER "Oblivion" ADD "so that they maintain that there may be rewards in the other life, but no punishments as the *Evre*.<sup>5</sup>
- p. 156 III/4  
In the Dutch text there is no mention of "Metempsychosis," but merely of "the teachings."
- p. 156 IV/1  
FOR "inform" READ "make believe"

- p. 156 IV/3  
FOR "far In-land" READ "with them"<sup>6</sup>
- p. 157 I/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "that he commands the Weather, that he can make it come down soft or hard at his Pleasure and drive it out again"
- p. 157 I/7-11  
SHOULD READ: ". . . his Eyes. All the sick and [all] distempers are cured by him. In short, he performs such miraculous things that Father Marcus d'Avianus in comparison was only a mean hound, and would have had to drop his pants."
- p. 157 I/11  
AFTER ". . . with him" ADD "After the publication of the first Edition I was censured by some of my good friends and pious Catholics for having written about Father *Markus Davianus*' pants, as it is contrary to the rules of his Order to wear them, but to us it does not matter, and it will not be hard to excuse me for this; I never saw Father M., and suppose [if] I had seen him, my curiosity would never have gone to the extent of looking under his Frocks to find out whether he wears Pants or not. I rather leave this matter to those who had greater part in such sacred devotion and to whom this may have been of greater importance, and simply say that I very much doubt whether Father M. has performed more Miracles than this *Negro* with whom he is being compared, and in that *je suis vot Serviteur* [sic]."<sup>7</sup>
- p. 157 I/11-13  
SHOULD READ: "It is before this Negro, his Country-Men assert, that those who die thereabouts have to appear to be examined by him"
- p. 157 I/21  
AFTER "indeed" ADD "already in his lifetime"
- p. 157 I/23  
FOR "Arch-Cheat" READ "Rogue"
- p. 157 I/25  
FOR "he" READ "the Priest"<sup>8</sup>
- p. 157 II/4-7  
SHOULD READ: "more honest and at the same time more decent manner than those *Fools* or *False Wisemen* of ours who maintain that no Magician can do anything without the help of the Devil. These *People*, to the contrary, do not say that it is a force of the *Devil* but a gift of *God*"
- p. 158 II/7  
FOR "*Oliver Dapper*" READ "O.D." (obviously Olfert Dapper)

- p. 158 II/12  
FOR "False God" READ "*Idols*"
- p. 158 II/13  
FOR "Friend" READ "Friends"
- p. 158 III/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "Every year, at an appointed time, the Devil is banned from their *Villages*, which is done with a curious Ceremony"
- p. 158 III/5  
FOR "This Procession" READ "It"
- p. 159 I/5  
FOR "that they believe that they are" READ "that there must be in the game"
- p. 159 II/2-14  
SHOULD READ: "But these poor *People* are married there to a worse *Devil* (though they call it a *God*). Namely, one of *gigantic* stature, one side of whose *body* is sound, but who has on the other rotten *Flesh*. When this Devil happens to touch *people*, they must die at once, which I believe without the least scruple. But in order to prevent this they endeavor to appease that fellow *Devil* or *Idol* (which does not make much difference) with *food*; to which purpose one sees everywhere thousands of little *Pots* or *Troughs* of food throughout the entire *Country*; so that it must be a truly hungry *Thief* if he cannot fill his *body* with that.
- p. 159 III/7  
FOR "near his late Dwelling" READ "and roams around his abode"
- p. 159 IV/2  
FOR "Harvest" READ "corn-harvest."<sup>9</sup>
- p. 160 II/11-13  
SHOULD READ: "for besides that they will not carry out anything during that period, they do not want to accept presents from anybody, whoever it may be, but send them back . . ."
- p. 161 II/2-3  
SHOULD READ: "but in the *Ardrasian Lands* one finds whole *Armies* of *Statues* of *Idols*."<sup>10</sup>
- p. 161 III/2  
FOR "Guineans" READ "*Negroes*"
- p. 161 IV/4-7  
SHOULD READ: ". . . at *Elmina* happened to die; the *Negroes* then had a busy time indeed. Without exception they were

convinced that the *King of Comany* [Eguafo] had taken the aforesaid Chief Merchant from the land of the living to the *Elisean Fields* in order to take revenge on us in that way."

- p. 161 IV/13  
FOR "horrid" READ "Devilish"
- p. 161 IV/16  
FOR "Lady" READ "Madam Your Honor's *Housewife*, and that I am, and remain unchanged," AFTER this Letter ADD "As I did not in the first Edition offer an explanation of how and in what manner the *Negroes* on the *Gold Coast* are elevated to the priestly rank, I shall explain that matter here (in order to satisfy those who made some remarks concerning this point) briefly; these Priests are not promoted to the priestly -- or should I rather say beastly -- ranks by a King, Sovereign, or Authority -- whatever it may be, but they accept the Priestly Office as a result of their own appointment, in order to profit from it; they need no learning but deceit, they do not need, as *Alexander Ros* states in his *Religions of the World*, to preach before the people; that is totally untrue. They know nothing of Preaching or of Teachers, or of offering any religious education. But they do know how to invent all sorts of rogueries in order to make people do their offerings to them or draw them away from others. Anyone who desires can, and may, become a Priest, and if he is not satisfied with the proceeds, he drops it again, and starts something else which in his opinion may bring him advantage."

## LETTER XI

- p. 162 I/2-9  
SHOULD READ: ". . . reason of the little Authority the Caboceros have, is quite weak and irregularly managed. Difference between a Royal Government and that of a Commonwealth." Of whom the Government at Axim consists. How a case is brought before Court and how it continues; the mishaps which result of this. What credit is to be given to Witnesses in a lawsuit."
- p. 162 I/16-19  
SHOULD READ: "Arms in use among the Negroes; the Authority of their *Kings*, who live in no great style and are not in the least held in awe"
- p. 163 II/11-13  
SHOULD READ: "Be it as it may; if we cannot catch her, may Heaven grant her a safe Passage, rather than that the Bear would grow fat on her instead of licking its claws"<sup>12</sup>

- p. 163 III/1-5  
SHOULD READ: ". . . Satisfaction that I read in mentioned letter, that Your Honor has already received four of mine about the Coast, the more, as Your Honor is pleased with them, in particular with what I told Your Honor about the Commanian Wars."
- p. 163 III/18 - p. 164 I/2  
SHOULD READ: "This [letter] will give a good proof of how much I am ready to Your Honor's service: because as I do not know how long it will be before I shall have another opportunity to write to Your Honor, I shall fill it with as much *Subject-Matter* as with which I might otherwise have filled two, or at least one and a half, Letters"
- p. 164 II/1-2  
FOR "Administration of Government" READ "*Law-suits*"
- p. 164 III/1-2  
FOR "licentious" READ "weak"
- p. 164 III/5  
FOR "absurd Customs" READ "bad [poor] Judgments"
- p. 164 IV/1-13  
SHOULD READ: "The ways in which *Justice* is administered differs greatly in *Countries* which are governed by *Kings* from those which are *Commonwealths*: in the former it should be called *Tyranny* rather than *Law-suit* [jurisdiction?]; presently I shall not say much about these, but only speak of the *Commonwealths*, and concentrate principally on those of *Arim* and *Ante* which appear to us to be most *regulated*, if one could apply that term; because in reality their best way of *Government* and administration of *Justice* is rather to be called a *confusion*, which is hardly understandable to the person present, and it would be even more difficult to put it on *Paper* with the required *coherence*."
- p. 164 V/3  
FOR "*Manceros*" READ "*Mancevos*" (as also elsewhere in the text)
- p. 164 V/4 - p. 165 I/3  
SHOULD READ: "The *Caboceros* concern themselves with all *civil* or *common affairs* which may occur from day to day; but such matters as affect the whole *Country*, like making *Peace* and *War*, the raising and paying of some *Charges* and *Tributes* to other *Countries* (which seldom happens), are *disposed of* by both *Members* [i.e. parties]. And on these occasions the *Mancevos* often have the last word, especially . . ."

- p. 165 II/5  
SHOULD READ: "(because the latter is the *Magnet* with which to attract these *Folks* [i.e. the *Caboceers*])"
- p. 165 II/9-14  
SHOULD READ: "and make him *triumph* over the adverse party. If they happen to favor him, a full Council is called immediately or after a day or two, whichever be most convenient, which, after having consulted sufficiently, passes *judgment* in his favor, and that . . ."
- p. 165 III/12  
SHOULD READ: "he leaves this *Dispute* as an *Inheritance* to his *Friends*"<sup>13</sup>
- p. 166 II/2-6  
SHOULD READ: "finding himself put in the wrong, contrary to all fairness, and being a little headstrong, cannot be patient enough to bide his time and therefore, when he sees his chance, secures such a quantity . . ."
- p. 166 II/8  
FOR "The first which falls" READ "from the first who comes"
- p. 166 II/11-13  
SHOULD READ: "he will not re-deliver before he has received satisfaction, unless he is compelled with violence to give it up"
- p. 166 II/15  
FOR "he is sure to keep it" READ "he remains, for the time being, its *Proprietor*"<sup>14</sup>
- p. 166 III/3-14  
SHOULD READ: ". . . the dispute is settled by mutual agreement by *condemning* or acquitting the accused. The latter is *convicted* if there are *Witnesses* against him whom he cannot refute, and acquitted if he can demonstrate his innocence through *witnesses*; and if neither of the parties has witnesses, the *accused* is asked if he wants to sanction his denial with an *Oath*. If so, he is acquitted and discharged. But if he dares not to *swear*, he exposes himself to the *Verdict* of having to pay; but he has the *Right* to demand that the *Plaintiff* take the oath first, which the latter is obliged to do."
- p. 167 II/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "But this kind of illegal proceedings only occurs in far away *Places* and those situated in the *Interior*, where our"

- p. 167 II/13-14  
SHOULD READ: "Factor and *Caboceros* passed a wrong sentence on a person because they were misinformed about the matter, which scarcely ever happens; otherwise, the *Inhabitants* are quite satisfied with their judgments and pay the fines . . ."
- p. 167 III/4-5  
FOR "as where those Gentlemen are most employed" READ "as in other *Places*"
- p. 167 III/9  
FOR "upon a level" READ "so one quickly sees a solution [lit. "a hole in it"]"
- p. 167 IV/3  
SHOULD READ: "the Murderer, and the other by paying a Fine for Manslaughter"
- p. 168 III/10  
AFTER "affirms" ADD "in his description of *Guinea*"
- p. 168 III/11-13  
SHOULD READ: "that the *Fines* for this are for the *King*. This is not true: the *King* does not receive any part of it, unless . . ."
- p. 168 V/2  
FOR "thirty" READ "ninety"
- p. 168 V/3-6  
SHOULD READ: ". . . first, viz. that on strong insistence reduction is granted, and generally the *Injured Person* receives one *benda* of *Gold* or thirty-two *Ryxdaalders* together with another *Slave* instead [of the murdered one]"<sup>15</sup>
- p. 168 VI/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "When a *Negro* has committed *Manslaughter* and is not *able* to pay himself, or with the help of his *Friends*, the stipulated Fine, he is obliged, according to what has been *written down*, to offer *skin* for *skin* and is accordingly . . ." <sup>16</sup>
- p. 169 II/10-13  
SHOULD READ: ". . . the manners of that *Land* and because their *habits* and ancient *customs* imply such. A *Factor* presiding over this *administration of Justice* ought therefore not to be ignorant of the *manner* in which the *Blacks* habitually do *Justice*, because if he were to pass his *verdict* solely in accordance with his own *opinions*, he would make a serious *Misstep*. Respect of . . ."
- p. 169 II/17  
FOR "Poor" READ "the *Common man* or the *needy*"

- p. 169 II/23-26  
SHOULD READ: "This is also the only reason why all sensible *Negroes* who own some property will always *pretend* that they are poorer than they really are, lest they or their *Friends* falling . . ."
- p. 170 I/10-17  
SHOULD READ: ". . . to the *Europeans*, the others settling such matters generally with a *Fine*. Whether this is so because the *Europeans* appear to them less bloodthirsty or because they see advantage in it, I will leave to Your Honor's distinction, as Your Honor knows already that the *Blacks* under our authority rather see it settled with a *Fine*, if it is not accompanied by avarice and greed"
- p. 170 II/2  
SHOULD READ: "the Factor's hands by the one who imposes them, and the former distributes them again to the injured . . ."
- p. 170 II/7-10  
SHOULD READ: "the value of eight Crowns at most for settling a dispute, no matter how great, and that if he were offered more, he should refuse it."
- p. 170 II/12  
SHOULD READ: "decide in accordance with his own pleasure about what is his own"
- p. 171 I/6  
FOR "paid" READ "appeased with"
- p. 171 I/11-12  
FOR "Municipal customs of the Country" READ "*Customs* of the *Blacks*"
- p. 171 II/5  
FOR "forcing the payment" READ "the recovery"
- p. 172 I/1  
FOR "Order" READ "Time"
- p. 172 I/3  
FOR "got in" READ "merely recovered a straightforward"
- p. 172 I/5-6  
FOR "the price of Bread" READ "that one has to pay the *Baker* a penny for a *roll*"
- p. 172 II/2  
FOR "depending" READ "which was brought before me"

- p. 172 II/7-9  
SHOULD READ: ". . . that the other was his *Slave* from birth and by right of *inheritance*. This was a very keenly contested dispute, each of them . . ."
- p. 172 II/15-16  
SHOULD READ: "not, I believe, because they imagined that I would be wiser than . . ."
- p. 173 I/2  
FOR "not valid" READ "given by *People* who lived in a later period as a tradition"
- p. 173 I/6-7  
FOR "I made difficulties of" READ "I caused no trouble in"
- p. 173 I/9  
AFTER "reconciled" ADD "and make friendship with each other, and promise not to renew this dispute, now or ever"<sup>17</sup>
- p. 173 II/8  
AFTER "Afterwards" ADD "it was reported to me that"
- p. 173 II/16  
FOR "Officers" READ "Servants"<sup>18</sup>
- p. 173 II/20-23  
SHOULD READ: ". . . them: we are not under the *orders* of your *Lord*, let him exercise his *Authority* in those *States* which belong under him"<sup>19</sup>
- p. 174 I/6-9  
SHOULD READ: "I asked them why they wanted to withdraw from their *obedience* to the *Company* [and told them] that they should be mindful of the harm they were letting themselves in for on this account"
- p. 174 I/14  
FOR "demanded" READ "repeated my earlier demand of"
- p. 174 I/18-21  
SHOULD READ: "Upon this I took my leave from the whole *Assembly*, and intended to depart; but before doing so, I offered them first this threat and reproof that from this time onward I would hold all of them responsible for the *Murder*, and that I would . . ."
- p. 174 I/31-34  
SHOULD READ: "not make haste in punishing them, but wait for them, so that all of them could be present; which I promised them; and so I went quietly with these *criminals* to my *Fort*, quite satisfied about my exploit"

- p. 174 II/4 - p. 175 I/1  
FOR "they answered by Be-heading them" READ "The answer was *Head off* [*Kop af*]"
- p. 175 I/8-11  
SHOULD READ: ". . . until the *Friends* of the *Slain*, who had already been appeased by them, came themselves to request me so, and (and this was the toughest part of it) surrendered to me the entire *Fine*"
- p. 175 I/17-21  
SHOULD READ: ". . . how we usually manage matters of that *nature*, showing at the same time the *Authority* and *esteem* of our *Factor*; which the following may further illustrate. No Black may, without the *Factor's* knowledge, settle a *dispute privately*, upon forfeiture . . ."
- p. 175 I/24  
AFTER "who" ADD "on account of his having gone to complain to me"
- p. 175 I/27  
SHOULD READ: "and resulted of a settlement they had reached with each other before the *Headmen*"
- p. 175 II/2  
SHOULD READ: ". . . opportunity of deciding in their general or separate *Assemblies* on anything which may be to our disadvantage or which may cause any insurrection."
- p. 176 I/10-25  
SHOULD READ: ". . . who is the *Proprietor*. And when the latter comes to him for an explanation, he sends him to his *Debtor*, saying: '*let him pay back.*' So, this man is not slow in going [to the debtor] and demands *payment* for his goods. But look how godless these proceedings are! The first *Soallywag* got already six times as much as he needed, and the one whose *goods* were taken demands, if he is an unreasonable as the other, also double value for them, affirming that he would not have parted with them for a lesser price. This is in imitation, if I am not mistaken, of the old *Romans* who, having lost something through theft, or having been injured in their *Honor* for which they demanded compensation, had to mention a certain *Sien*, and swear that they would not have suffered to lose it for less if they had had the choice. And the one because of whom the *Goods* were taken, is obliged to satisfy the *Claimant* to the full"
- p. 176 I/31-33  
SHOULD READ: "and may be supported by the *People* or the *King* or some other *Chief*. This can be seen happening daily

at the mentioned *Places*, and in this way some *People* are entirely deprived of the little they have; and this . . ."

- p. 177 I/1  
AFTER "damage" ADD "or scorn"
- p. 177 I/3-8  
SHOULD READ: "threatening: else I shall take my life at your cost, or wound my body grievously or shoot someone else; if those who are attacked in this manner do not settle the matter with them, and if these *Villians* have enough heart to put their threats into execution, as I have twice seen happen, the one who was *threatened* is seized and has to bleed for it, as if he had himself committed the *Act*, if only the pretended insult is true"
- p. 177 II/10-13  
SHOULD READ: ". . . himself injured, goes to the *Company* of the *Mancevos*, saying, this or that one has insulted me, so I come to sell or denounce him to Your Honors; punish him . . ."
- p. 177 II/20  
FOR "*Manceros*" READ "the *Signores Soldados* or *Mancevos*"<sup>20</sup>
- p. 177 III/2  
FOR "various and ridiculous" READ "many and varied, and some also so ridiculous"
- p. 177 III/4  
FOR "idle Judges" READ "Folks"
- p. 178 II/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "The consultations between *Caboceros* and *Mancevos* in a *Council-meeting* of which mention was made earlier, principally relating . . ."
- p. 178 III/3-4  
FOR "these two Councils" READ "they"
- p. 178 IV/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "Neighboring *Countries* which live in *Peace* and *Friendship* with each other, are frequently disturbed in the following manner"
- p. 178 IV/3  
FOR "One of the leading Men" READ "A distinguished Person"
- p. 178 IV/9  
FOR "Men" READ "People"
- p. 178 IV/10  
FOR "sells" READ "has them sold"

- p. 178 IV/11-12  
FOR "honest" READ "malleable"
- p. 178 IV/14-17  
SHOULD READ: "free his Country-Men; to which the Prisoner's *Friends* would also compel him, if they are powerful enough. But if he is not afraid of that, and unwilling to pay . . ."
- p. 179 I/3-7  
SHOULD READ: "meanwhile, each party makes itself strong, lying on the look-out so as to surprise the other at the least expected moment. Their first job is to get those *Caboceers* on their side who have some Armed Men; next the soldiers . . ."
- p. 179 I/18-19  
SHOULD READ: "especially if they get no Victory over their Enemies, and the spoils on which they had counted do not follow."
- p. 179 II/1-16  
SHOULD READ: "When the *Chiefs* of some *Cowtry* are of a mind to make *War*, and their *Jealousy* is aroused against their *Neighbors* because they live in greater *prosperity* and *happiness* than they do; and are therefore eager to divide their *Goods* among themselves, they call a meeting, together with the *Mancevos*, and inform the latter of their *intentions*, 'fill them up' [with drink? with courage?] and flatter them with the *vain hope of Loot*. The latter, still *young* and *rash*, are keen as soon as the word *Loot* is mentioned, and readily agree; so, everyone equips himself and gets ready for the *War*, and, when ready, they invade the designed *Country*, without any previous *Warning*, or giving any other reason than that of a certain *Potentate*: *c'est mon Plaisier* [sic] or *Pour ma Gloire*"<sup>21</sup>
- p. 180 I/1-16  
SHOULD READ: "assist it. Which they manage to do even [in the case of] the most important ones [nations] for less than f 20,000.- [ 2,000] with which the other party still has to provide itself with all sorts of military equipment. So, Your Honor can imagine that making *War* is cheap here, and also how small the forces are which take to the *Field* for so little *money*, in order to engage in a *War* which could easily have been avoided. But *Loot* and nothing but *Loot* is their aim. Yet, instead of it, they often get a good store of blows as an addition to the mentioned sum. The mentioned money is divided, first of all among the *Headmen*, and the surplus is for the *Mancevos*, which sometimes amounts to just three guilders (6 shillings) for each of them nay,

often half of it less; because the Headmen make such a *Blankenberge account* that rarely anything of importance remains"<sup>22</sup>

p. 180 I/22-34

SHOULD READ: ". . . regard to the mentioned expenses. But if, as I said before, a Booty does not follow, the *Mancevos* 'put the cat in the fight,'<sup>23</sup> and as they have no bond to anyone, each of them goes back home. When they are at *War*, or marching out to one, every man is indeed put under [the orders of] this or that distinguished *Chief*, but the latter have only Authority over their own *Slaves*. A *free Negro* does not easily submit to their Orders, or even to those of their *Kings*, unless they are more or less compelled to it by his [sic] great power. Otherwise they do as they like best. But if the one who was appointed as their *Champion* or *Commander* wishes to march up first towards the Enemy, he may in doing so test to what extent he will be followed by his men"

p. 180 II/1

AFTER "you" ADD "(in this Letter as in the one treating the Land of Commany)"

p. 180 II/3

FOR "the Commanyschians" READ "those of Commany"

p. 181 II/1-3

SHOULD READ: "If a *State* goes to *War*, it commonly brings into the *Field* a force of four thousand men; that is, if they are on the offensive; but a little more when they are in the defensive, so as to protect their *Country*. Sometimes . . ."

p. 181 II/9

AFTER "bring" ADD "into the Field"

p. 181 II/12-14

SHOULD READ: "they come with a whole *torrent* of Men, as if they wanted to flood the *Country*"

p. 181 II/17

FOR "Monarchies" READ "Kinglings"

p. 181 II/27

FOR "getting safe Home" READ "seeking safety in flight"

p. 182 I/4-17

SHOULD READ: ". . . sort of Crowd, and he keeps, in order to be well secured, mostly to the middle of it; they do not attack the *Enemy* all at once and together, but Man for Man, or heap for heap; nay, some *Commanders*, seeing that their



*comrades* are in trouble, instead of relieving them, choose the hare's path [i.e. take flight], and that often even before they come to close quarters, so that the boldest, and those who have most courage, thus abandoned by their *comrades*, remain in the barrel;<sup>24</sup> particularly, if their side is losing, because they find themselves, before the others have run away, so much entangled with the *Enemies*, that they cannot get the opportunity. And in that way they often must, though in spite of themselves, earn the reputation of *good Soldiers*"

- p. 182 II/2  
FOR "and listening" READ "so"
- p. 182 II/7  
FOR "the hindmost" READ "their hindmost"
- p. 182 II/10  
AFTER "crying" ADD "as if that would be of any help"
- p. 183 I/8-9  
SHOULD READ: "for fear that he might later resume it and disturb their peace again."
- p. 183 II/7  
SHOULD READ: "that neither he nor his *Friends* are able to pay it and thus he is compelled to remain for ever and perpetually in *Bondage* and to perform the most despicable services which may be demanded of him"
- p. 183 III/8  
SHOULD READ: "So, towards the *Rainy Season* they tend to return *home*, without having attacked each other even once."
- p. 183 IV/5  
FOR "declared in favor of them" READ "been informed about it"
- p. 183 IV/6  
FOR "threaten" READ "predict" (i.e. the *Priests*, not the gods)
- p. 184 II/3  
AFTER "I shall" ADD "omit"
- p. 184 III/3-4  
FOR "exercise their Army" READ "pass a Review"
- p. 184 III/6  
AFTER "& c" READ "all at the same time"
- p. 184 III/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "it appears strange to you that the *Negroes* are provided with *Fire-Arms*, and even more, if I add that we sell them in abundance"

- p. 184 III/15  
AFTER "together" ADD "not"
- p. 184 III/17  
AFTER "would" ADD "even more" (i.e. the interlopers supply them already with many fire arms)
- p. 185 I/2-5  
SHOULD READ: "or henceforward were never brought here again, and I am sure that we would compel the *Negroes* soon to behave ["to sit up"] in a different manner. But it is difficult to imagine that that will ever happen."
- p. 185 II/5-6  
SHOULD READ: ". . . the tip of the blade is a little curved. These *Sabres* are very heavy, *solid* and *strong*, but commonly . . ."
- p. 185 II/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "The *hilt* is made of wood, with on the rear end, but sometimes also on the front end, small round *wooden* globes covered with some kind of *skin*"
- p. 185 II/15  
FOR "thin Gold Plates are usual" READ "it is mounted with small thin *Gold-Plates*"
- p. 185 II/22-23  
SHOULD READ: "in their Paan, which on such occasions is wound around their *bodies* and drawn up between the legs, so that they may . . ." <sup>25</sup>
- p. 185 II/25  
SHOULD READ: "with a *Bandoleer*, by way of a *Cartridge-pouch*, with 10 or 20 *loops*"
- p. 185 II/27  
FOR "each" READ "one"
- p. 185 II/30  
FOR "Head" READ "*neck*"
- p. 186 I/7-8  
SHOULD READ: "The *Arrows* have a little feather in the tail, and the head, or *point* is covered with *barbed Iron*"
- p. 186 I/9-11  
SHOULD READ: "of Awinee [Awowin] poison their *Arrows*; but on the Coast this [practice] is not known, and I believe that the *Negroes* there do not even know what is *Poison*"
- p. 186 II/6  
FOR "large" READ "heavy"

- p. 186 II/10-14  
 SHOULD READ: ". . . instead of a Sabre, to be darted with the right hand, whilst they have their *Shield* in the left; because there is always someone around them to carry a few of them [Assagais] after them."
- p. 187 II/2-14  
 SHOULD READ: "the Negroes in their *Wars*, unless one wanted to say that some of them also use *Cannon*. That is true, but they do that in a very slovenly manner; the *Saboe King* has a few of them. It did happen occasionally that they brought them into the *Field*, but they did not do much with them. Some, having fired them once, subsequently allowed them to be taken by the *Enemy*, like those of *Commany*; and those who took them from the others did not know how to use them to their advantage either; so that the *Cannon* serves these *Kings* only to fire some *Guns of Salute*, of which they are very fond."
- p. 187 III/3  
 FOR "Grandeur" READ "Greatmightiness" (*Grootmogendheyd* means something slightly different from "grandeur." The Dutch States-General were often referred to as the *Grootmogende* or *Hoogmogende*. The latter expression even entered contemporary English in a corrupted form as "Hogen Mogen," a slightly mocking term to denote the government on the other side of the North Sea, or any form of self-conscious bourgeois authority.)
- p. 187 IV/1-4  
 SHOULD READ: "The *Authority* of the *Kings* hereabouts is so small that the *Authority* of some of them does not exceed that of a simple *Headman* or *Captain* of a common *Village*"
- p. 187 IV/12 - p. 188 I/6  
 SHOULD READ: ". . . a *King* and a *Captain*; but the first denomination, *Ohin* or *Ahin*, meaning *Captain*, if one wanted to translate it in our language; is understood by the *Negroes* as *Colonel* (*Overste*) of a *Country*, *Village*, or *People*, because *Skippers* christen them with that same name, and so they would do with the *Directors* and all other *Commanders* of the *Forts*, if we did not teach them the distinction"<sup>26</sup>
- p. 188 II/2  
 AFTER "themselves" ADD "from others"
- p. 188 II/7  
 SHOULD READ: "than two small *Boys*, one of whom carries his *Sword* and the other his *Stool*"
- p. 189 I/7-8  
 SHOULD READ: ". . . accompanied by a multitude of armed

*Men* and have some Shields carried around them, as well as a *Qutesöl* or *Sun-Shade* above . . ."27

p. 189 II/1-3

SHOULD READ: "These Highmighty Lords are so covetous and greedy that they are not ashamed of taking with the utmost eagerness whatever is offered to them as a *Present*, be it the meanest thing, by anybody (even if it is only a *poor man*)"

p. 190 I/10-15

SHOULD READ: "The *Europeans* (and I make no exception for myself), when they want to bluff a little, are quite well versed in this trick too; but it is a good thing it is not [done with] *Rhenish* or *French Wine*, for that would be too great a burden for the *purse*. And here one can for an amount of three guilders let flow to the ground quite a lot of Wine"

p. 190 II/1-3

SHOULD READ: "When these *Tipplers* sit thus together on the *Market-Square* they make as much buzz and hurly-burly as if one were in the *Smouches' Church* in Amsterdam"28

p. 190 II/6-7

SHOULD READ: (lit.) "it generally turns to the *Sewing-basket* of which their heart is always full and of which it runs over"29

p. 190 II/10-11

FOR "being very richly furnished on this Head" READ "having as much to contribute on this *Subject* as the *Men*"

p. 190 II/15 - p. 191 I/9

SHOULD READ: ". . . own, or, as the saying goes, to turn him over by the *arse*. But here it is better than in other *Countries* where they do such things in *Parlors* or *Inner Rooms*, because here they do it in public, and everyone can come to vindicate himself [about such talk]. But *hey-ho*, this leads me astray again! So, in spite of the familiar way in which the *Kings* live with their *Slaves*, as I have explained, they can, sometimes for very slight reasons, cause their *necks* to be *broken*, and from this are excepted only those who enjoy the respect of them and the *People*. And I have seen such as had greater authority than they themselves; because those to whom the Command of some *People* has been given by their *Masters*, become through their own *Trade*, as a result of which they acquire some *Slaves* themselves, so powerful that their *Masters* have to anticipate their wishes" (lit. "see to their eyes")

- p. 191 II/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "which proceeds from this he puts into his own *pocket*, without being much concerned whether consequently the promised support follows at the . . ."
- p. 191 II/13-15  
SHOULD READ: ". . . fond of being used as *Mediators* to reunite contending parties; because then they draw from both sides, and meanwhile they keep . . ."
- p. 191 II/17  
FOR "the more Money from each" READ "the better opportunity to *line* their *purse*"
- p. 191 II/20  
FOR "all Goods" READ "Goods"
- p. 192 I/6  
FOR "Bottle" READ "Pot"
- p. 192 I/8-16  
SHOULD READ: ". . . potent are this Land's *Kings* (whom Mr. Doudyns in his *Mercurius* not unjustly calls *Wrens*).<sup>30</sup> After the *illustrious pomp* and *splendour* of themselves as well as of their *Wives*, *Slaves*, and *Household*, Your Honor may be pleased to know about the *Education* of the *Illustrious Princes* and *Princesses* of this Land. I have formerly . . ."
- p. 192 I/26-33  
SHOULD READ: ". . . to sell it. Or they do something else on which they may have set their mind. And these [men] later occupy their *Father's Royal Throne*.<sup>31</sup> Hence, Your Honor will no longer be surprised when reading in the *Histories* of Antiquity that a *Peasant*, a *Shepherd*, or a *Potter's Son*, like *Agathocles* should have been elevated to the *Royal* dignity. It daily occurs here"
- p. 192 I/34  
FOR "Foot-Boys, or in a meaner capacity" READ "boys or servants"
- p. 192 I/38 - p. 193 I/6  
SHOULD READ: "that he is entitled to as much honor as the best King; and indeed, our respect here is quite considerable, especially that of the Director-General and Councillors, or at least of those who carry those titles. Whatever it may be in reality, I shall say no more about our *Grandeur*; Your Honor may himself look up in *Focquenbrog* what that *Gentleman* has to say on this . . ."

p. 193 II/7-16

SHOULD READ: ". . . takes up a Trade which in their opinion is more in agreement with their sex; that is, to gain a living in the way Madame *N* gathered her *Riches*; and though they do not get as much, they do not need so much either, and therefore live quite comfortably. Many [girls] are betrothed in their early youth, but no attention is paid to property or noble birth, as is done among our own people; each choses a partner as desire dictates and a Marriage . . ."

p. 193 II/20-28

SHOULD READ: "for, as it is commonly said that *the children follow the Mother*, as is here also the custom, the *Children of the former are free* and the others, on the other hand, *Slaves*. Thus Your Honor has the whole *Royal House*. Remains only its *Servants*. These are so many and various, that I would not be able to mention them in one breath. They consist of the following Personalities, such as *Braffoos* or *Ensigns* (which is what we usually call them)" [Dutch: *Vaandrighs*]

p. 194 I/15

FOR "on National Errands" READ "to all parts"

p. 194 I/23-25

SHOULD READ: ". . . made by the *Government*. Their third task is to shout, when sitting in a Council meeting and Voices run too high and confused . . ."

p. 194 I/37 - p. 195 I/2

SHOULD READ: "and therefore they have the name of *C* . . . - *Guards*. But I believe that these *Rascals*, if they are a little handsome of face and limbs, visit their *Master's Orchard* more often than he himself."

#### NOTES

1. In fact, Bosman used throughout this section the term *paap*, a pejorative term used for a Roman Catholic priest or Catholics in general (*paaps* = popish)
2. By NOT using the term "Negroe" Bosman probably wanted to include the possibility of Europeans taking such an oath. This did happen occasionally. For instance, Bosman's contemporary Von der Groeben, offered in his *Guinesische Reisebeschreibung* an explicit account of his own "oath drinking" to confirm his contract with the chiefs and elders of Pokesu for the lease of "Mount Manfro" for the construction of the future headquarters of the Brandenburg African Company, Fort Gross Friedrichsburg. He was given

a mixture of gunpowder and gin, on the presumption that this concoction would explode in his body if he broke his word.

3. i.e. "just before." This is likely to be a reference to the *Bakatue* festival of Elmina, which is generally held in July. After offerings have been made to the gods of the Benya river, the temporary ban on fishing is lifted.
4. Ardrasians were the inhabitants of the kingdom of "Ardra" or Allada, at that time the most powerful of the states on the Slave Coast.
5. The meaning of this word is not clear.
6. Perhaps a reference to the famous Asante priest Okomfo Anokye. See note 8 below.
7. Here again, Bosman took the opportunity to make scurrilous remarks about Roman Catholics. The remark about "those who had greater part in such sacred devotion" (to the supposed underwear of the priest) probably referred to the common Protestant accusations of those days of all kinds of sexual debauchery among the supposedly celibate priests. Although one could not really speak of persecution of Roman Catholics in the Dutch Republic, they did suffer important curtailments of their civil rights, and Bosman may even have made such unfriendly remarks in order to ingratiate himself with the authorities.
8. "*Paap*" (cf. n. 1) This passage seems to refer to Okomfo Anokye, Osei Tutu's chief priest and creator of the Golden Stool who must have been a contemporary of Bosman. If so, it would be by far the earliest reference to this individual. His "Country-Men" were probably Asante traders coming to the coast and the great "Club" standing in front of his house may well be a reference to the famous sword he is alleged to have stuck into the ground at Kumase.
9. This is rather curious, because the term generally applied to this festival (August/September) is "yam-festival" (*Odwira*). The Lomowo festival of Accra, celebrated at about the same time of the year, is indeed a corn-festival. The English translation is definitely an improvement here.
10. Probably a reference to the many statues of the Legba, messenger of the gods, generally consisting of a rather crude mud representation of a hunched man, often with very pronounced genitals.

11. Bosman specifically used here the term *Gemenebest*, commonwealth, and not *Republiek*.
12. I am not quite clear what is meant by *Bear* here - pirates perhaps?
13. The English version, "heirs," seems more logical. Perhaps Bosman wanted to indicate with this word that heirs need not necessarily be relatives. In many passages which follow "Friends" (*Vrienden*) is used where clearly "relatives" is meant, and often also translated with that term in the English text.
14. Bosman seems to suggest, by using the term *bezitter*, meaning proprietor or possessor, that by customary law such goods are also recognized as possessions of the one who has seized them.
15. i.e. Crowns. Where the English text used the term "Crown", the Dutch uses *Ryxdaalder* (Imperial Thaler or Dollar) of 2½ florins, or 5 shillings.
16. It is not clear whether Bosman referred here to written regulations of Axim fort derived from the Portuguese, or the biblical "an eye for an eye" concept.
17. This case seems to have been by no means unique to Axim. For a similar case see for instance: A. Van Dantzig: "Who was John Conny?" in *Kwame Daaku Memorial Volume*, Longmans, forthcoming.
18. "*Dienaars*" literally means "servants," but officers of the WIC were also referred to as *Compagnies Dienaars*. But if such officers were meant here, Bosman would not have used the possessive "my."
19. Indeed, the authority of the WIC in the little states of the Ankobra basin was ill-defined, being based on the rather vague jurisdiction exercised by the Portuguese, before whom various chiefs used to bring their disputes on a voluntary basis. The Dutch claimed that the chiefs in the area were their "vassals" because the Dutch had driven their former "masters," the Portuguese, from Axim by force of arms. A statement to that effect was first made by Valckenburgh in 1658 in his "Deductie" and often repeated on later occasions.
20. This is one of the clearest indications that Bosman referred here indeed to the military institution of the *asafo* Companies. (in Dutch "soldier" is *soldaat*)
21. An obvious reference to Louis XIV, whose complex diplomacy was much misunderstood by his contemporaries, especially in

Holland. The Dutch never forgave him for his sudden, apparently unprovoked, invasion of the Republic in 1672. On the whole Louis carefully prepared his wars, which were invariably preceded by a formal declaration of hostilities.

22. The meaning of this expression, though no longer current in the Dutch language, is fairly certain. Blankenberge is a town on the Belgian North Sea coast. During the later stages of the Dutch War of Independence some Flemish towns, especially those which could be supplied from the sea, received considerable subsidies from the Northern republicans in the hope that they might rise in revolt against the Spanish. After 1600 the Southern Netherlands, however, completely lost the taste for rebellion, and refused to help the Northerners. "Making a Blankenberge account" may therefore mean: take plenty of money, but refuse to do anything for it.
23. *de kat steeken in 't vechten*: not to take the fight seriously; abandon the fight. No longer a common Dutch idiom.
24. *in de loop blijven*: meaning not clear. The word *loop* means both the barrel of a gun and run or running. Perhaps Bosman really meant here: they remain in the barrel of the gun, in other words, have to do their work, whether they like it or not, just like a bullet, once it is in the barrel, it cannot go back.
25. *Paan*, from Portuguese *pao* means piece of cloth to cover the body, generally about six yards worth. The word was until the late nineteenth century commonly in use on the coast, especially among the Dutch. In the Francophone African countries such a piece of cloth is still commonly known as *pagne*.
26. This literal translation does not really improve the clarity of this passage. *Overste* means literally "the uppermost." It is not clear whether the personnel of the WIC were supposed to teach the skippers or the people on the coast not to use the word *overste* for Director or Commander of a fort. In modern colloquial Dutch the word *chef*, which might be regarded as a twentieth century equivalent of the eighteenth century *overste*, is sometimes used in a slightly ironical or humorous manner, for instance in addressing children or in general people who are *not* in a leading position.
27. From the French *quitter* and *soleil*: get out of the sun. This word is no longer in use in modern Dutch and is now known as *parasol*.

28. *De Smouse-kerk*: *Smous* probably derives from the Hebrew name Moshe (Moses); the affix 's' perhaps from the German (Yiddish) *des*: fo the: i.e. the church of the Moseses. The term "Smous" (Yiddish: Mausehele) was applied particularly to the Ashkenazim (German Jews) who formed the majority of the Jewish community of Amsterdam. To Christians the Synagogue was a noisy place; it had a less "holy" character than the Christian church because Jews gathered there not only for prayer, but also for discussions on the meaning of the texts of the Holy Books; the synagogue was therefore also known as the *Sjoel* (from German *Schule* = school). In modern Dutch the word *Smous* definitely has an offensive character, which it may not yet have had in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Information supplied by Mr. M.B.B. Nijkerk, Amsterdam.
29. *Naaymandje*: the word *naaien* (to sew) is a vulgar word, still used in modern Dutch, for "to have sexual intercourse".
30. Wrens are called *winterkoninkjes* in Dutch (lit. winter-kinglings). The term was also applied to the Elector Palatine Friedrich V, who was for only a few months in 1619-20 King of Bohemia ("*der Winter-könig*"), an unhappy reign which brought about the Thirty Years' War. The said Doudyns was probably a journalist of the *Hollantsche Mercurius*, possibly the Dutch edition of the popular *Mercure d'Europe* of Paris.
31. It is curious that Bosman should have suggested here that sons succeeded fathers as a general rule. In some cases, notably that of Elmina, this may have been the case, but most Akan stools are inherited by maternal brothers or nephews. In what follows Bosman showed that he was well aware of the existence of the matrilineal system of succession. Even under that system there is an important elective element in succession.

ENGLISH BOSMAN AND DUTCH BOSMAN: A COMPARISON  
OF TEXTS - IV

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[This continues the comparison of texts of the English and Dutch versions of Bosman. For earlier instalments see *History in Africa* 2(1975, pp. 185-216; 3(1976), pp. 91-126; 4(1977), pp. 247-273. Procedural matters are discussed in the first instalment, to which the reader is referred.]

LETTER XII

- p. 196 I/2-3  
SHOULD READ: "A *Daughter* brings nothing with her into marriage and a *Youngman* also very little. Expenses on the wedding day are minimal"
- p. 196 I/20  
FOR "*Fruitful*" READ "Pregnant"
- p. 196 I/25-27  
SHOULD READ: "*Circumcision* and the ideas some have about its origin"
- p. 197 I/2  
SHOULD READ: "Common and public *Whores* are initiated into that *Trade*"
- p. 197 III/1-6  
SHOULD READ: "In my last I spoke of, among other things, *Wars* and *Bloodshed* of People, which causes them to diminish and perish; now I shall treat such *Matter* as deals with their replacement by others, which, if it is to happen by honest means, can only be done through *wedlock*. First we shall deal with the manner in which this is done among the *Negroes* and thereafter with all that bears similarity to it"
- p. 197 III/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "because they have no notion of making previous

*Marital Conditions* and they have no need to agree upon goods brought into *Marriage* or a *Dowry*"

- p. 198 II/6  
FOR "want" READ "have to"
- p. 198 II/10  
FOR "Relations" READ "*Friends*"<sup>1</sup>
- p. 198 II/11  
AFTER "are" ADD "mostly"
- p. 198 II/16-19  
SHOULD READ: "all the mentioned *Goods* back, which she, or her *Friends* have to pay back to him, together with the expenses he has made on her behalf on the *Wedding day*, to the last penny. But if he repudiates her, he loses all, and he has no pretence ..."
- p. 198 III/2  
FOR "Bride" READ "Female" [*Vrouwmens*: a rather depreciating term]
- p. 199 I/6  
AFTER "which is" ADD "as we already said,"
- p. 199 I/14-17  
SHOULD READ: "Tho' others, who have not eaten so much from the big beast<sup>2</sup>, in particular the *Fishermen* and *Winetappers* ["Wine-farmers"] provide at least a little for the household, either with tapping or selling *Palmwine*, and the *Fishermen* go out ..."
- p. 199 II/1  
SHOULD READ: "The ones who are of some substance have two *Wives*, who are most of the time ..."
- p. 199 II/7  
FOR "God" READ "Idol"
- p. 199 II/11  
FOR "serve him so" READ "play him such tricks"
- p. 199 II/13  
FOR "especially if" READ "as long as"
- p. 199 III/2  
FOR "God" READ "Idol"
- p. 200 I/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "they sleep on the *day* or *night* of their *Birth*, which is consecrated to their *Idol* so that ..."
- p. 200 III/7-8  
FOR "the Amorous Spark" READ "their new *Brother-in-Law*"<sup>3</sup>

- p. 200 III/13  
FOR "cogent" READ "sensible and ringing"<sup>4</sup>
- p. 201 I/1-4  
SHOULD READ: "*Pots tausend slapperment*<sup>5</sup>, says the German, if this fashion were to fly over to Europe, namely, that the womenfolk may take there that much liberty as to choose without fear one or more *Lieutenants*<sup>6</sup> for their Husbands, how would Actaeon's Guild grow! But that would surely not be good, because I am told that the said *Tribe*, without his kind of generosity, is already so great (principally in *Lands* situated somewhat more to the *South* than the *Netherlands*)<sup>7</sup> that at large meetings they knock the *Horns* from each other's *Head*"
- p. 201 III/1  
SHOULD READ: "Your Honour would laugh his Head off about the nice way in which these disputes are pleaded"
- p. 201 III/5  
FOR "Law" READ "legal proceedings" ["*de Regten*"]
- p. 201 III/9-19  
SHOULD READ: "...Evidence; and as the *Woman* is considered to have the best reasons for knowledge, she is bound to appear herself before the full Assembly and to present her accusation there in the clearest manner, analyzing quite nakedly and broadly at what *time*, at what *place* and in what *manner* the accused has done his *business*, and what she received from him, in short, without forgetting the least detail. What think you, Sir, is this not an edifying lawsuit behoving this venerable company of old *men* of whom this *Council-meeting* is composed ..."
- p. 202 I/1-12  
SHOULD READ: "that he did pitch in and that he was ready to offer proof of his *Manly Courage*, but that, having approached the borders of his *Foe* [*vyandin*] and thinking of the consequences, he had got second thoughts, and therefore had withdrawn his *Weapon* without performing any assault. She, on the other hand, insists on asserting that he has penetrated to the *Middle* of her *Country*, adding as many facts and appearances about her opponent's *Weapons* as she can. Consequently, the aforesaid venerable *Councillors* are often perplexed what judgement to pass; to confirm his pretences with many probabilities they know (as no witnesses are allowed in these cases) nothing better than to resort to the *Oath*. The *Youngman* is sentenced to swear it, upon which they clear him. But if he refuses to *swear*, he is condemned ..."

- p. 202/II/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "so that the *Wives* are generally in charge of providing food, and the *Husbands Clothing* for the *Household*"
- p. 202 V/1-7  
SHOULD READ: "If a person has a *child* with his *Slave*, whether he has married her or not, after his death it will be regarded and kept as a *Slave* by his heirs. A *Negro* who loves his *Slave* will therefore take care to give her, together with her *child* or *children*, freedom before his *death*, having the usual *ceremony* for this performed during his lifetime, so that they will be beyond the control of the *Friends* and henceforth be honored as a *free Person*."<sup>8</sup>
- p. 203 II/6  
FOR "her" READ "his"
- p. 203 II/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "The *Friends* on the *Father's* side, such as their *Father*, his *Brother* or *Sister* etc. they reckon not to exist, and can therefore not claim any *Inheritance* from him. For what reason ..."
- p. 203 II/16-18  
SHOULD READ: "... because they can be sure that their *Sister's Son* is of their blood, at least through the *Mother*, which they cannot about their own *children*."
- p. 203 III/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "In the said *Places*, in the East Indies, the *Kings* take care not to bestow their *Realm* and *Crown* on a strange *Generation*; but here [only] that their *Goods* may not be stolen and be transferred to another *Generation*"
- p. 204 II/2  
FOR "take place" READ "get the *Inheritance*"
- p. 204 II/10-11  
SHOULD READ: "Yet, it does happen quite a few times that great *disputes* arise among them on the subject of *Inheritance*"
- p. 204 II/13-15  
SHOULD READ: "but happen because some people who are strong in *Men* and *Arms* wish to stretch their right to the inheritance beyond the *Bounds* due to them"
- p. 205 I/10-12  
SHOULD READ: "And as the *Men* here do not trade as 'lightly' as those on the *Coast*, a *Woman* caught in adultery ..."
- p. 205 III/1  
FOR "These *Negroes*" READ "The *Negroes* of the *Interior*"

- p. 205 III/6-8  
SHOULD READ: "There are no *Places* on the *Gold Coast* where I have not been stationed, except *Acra*, *Apam*, and *Cormantyn*, although I was for several months at the latter two"
- p. 206 I/17-18  
SHOULD READ: "... alone, they will throw their cloth from their body and show"
- p. 206 II/20-28  
SHOULD READ: "... as *Joseph*, it would not help, because if it were made public that he has had a *Woman* in the said state, he would be finished; and if he were to defend himself saying that she had come to him contrary to his will, he would not be pardoned, and people would not believe *him*, but the *Woman*. And the world has demonstrated by many instances how great the hatred of such a *Woman* may be, and to what extent her anger has sometimes burst out."
- p. 207 I/14  
FOR "indeed" READ "too"
- p. 207 II/6-8  
SHOULD READ: "Yet, they cannot say anything when their Husband goes to other *Women* to seek his pleasure and they suffer want;"
- p. 208 III/8-11  
SHOULD READ: "If the *Husband* has a liking for the one whose turn it is; and it happens to be convenient to him, she is caressed that same night; but if that is not the case, she will get up such as she lay down; but then her turn has passed, though she had been standing like a *Tantalus* up to her neck in the water, without being allowed to drink of it."
- p. 208 IV/14-15  
SHOULD READ: "This is done only because they think if it were not done, the Mother ..."
- p. 209 I/5-6  
SHOULD READ: "... it is born; on which follow, if it is a *Son*, the names of both his *Grandfathers*, if a *Daughter*, the names of both her *Grandmothers*"<sup>9</sup>
- p. 209 I/19-21  
SHOULD READ: "The principal of these, with which he is most honored, are recited in his praise when he sits down to drink some *palmwine*, and they are much pleased with that."
- p. 209 II/3  
FOR "Solitary" READ "small"
- p. 210 II/4  
FOR "another Man's" READ "someone else's"

- p. 210 II/7  
AFTER "House." ADD "This [custom] is most strictly observed in *Anta* and also at *Azimbre*, but around *Elmina* they are not so strict on it."
- p. 210 III/12  
AFTER "of their" ADD "deceased"
- p. 210 III/23-26  
SHOULD READ: "and *Fida* [Whydah] who up to this very day are accustomed to carry their *Trade* several hundred miles into the *Interior* towards the *Barbary Coast*. Hence it would not be wrong to suggest that they also go up to the *Country* of the *Moors*"
- p. 211 I/10-11  
SHOULD READ: "*Children* of prominent people have rich and devoted *Friends* [i.e. relatives]"
- p. 211 III/4-5  
SHOULD READ: "but they are by no means bored with waiting, because meanwhile they go "browsing" ["*grasduyden*"] and avoid getting *rusty*, the more so because this is by no means considered scandalous"
- p. 211 III/7-10  
SHOULD READ: "... *Whores*; because that is a separate business, of which I shall speak later. Though those *Women* may have been working thus for several years, they are not a hair's breadth inferior, and are bound to get a *Husband* one day."
- p. 212 I/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "... and who can only be termed *Whores*; frequently they are consecrated to that *Trade* in the following festive manner"
- p. 212 II/1  
FOR "Manceros" READ "*Mancevos*"
- p. 212 II/6  
FOR "so bought" READ "no matter by whom she was bought"
- p. 212 II/12-13  
SHOULD READ: "... offered in order that she may be happy in her future *station* and earn much *Money*. This over ..."
- p. 212 II/15  
AFTER "People" ADD "both young and old,"
- p. 212 II/24  
AFTER "common" ADD "or public"
- p. 212 II/26  
FOR "particular place in the Town" READ "a separated part of the *Village*"

- p. 212 III/1  
SHOULD READ: "Each *Village* of the above-mentioned *Countries* has ..."
- p. 214 I/4  
FOR "came upon their knees" READ "became astir"
- p. 214 II/14-16  
SHOULD READ: "... Matrons who establish a whole *store* or *Training College*\* of this kind of womenfolk, educating the prettiest expressly for the man in need".  
The second Dutch edition has on this page (200) a footnote going with the asterisk on the word "Queekschool" (Training College): "I do not know why a certain character in Utrecht objects to the use of the word and what name he wants to be given to it, but I insist on calling it a "Queekschool", and not without reason, because girls are taught at it from a tender age, if not in good matters, in bad ones, and therefore I do not see that I should have given a bad name to it, and we shall therefore maintain it till this Sir Sifter has taught us an alternative."
- p. 214 III/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "In the *Country* of *Fida*, and in all the *Ardra* lands about it, there is a great multitude of the aforesaid common *Whores*"
- p. 214 III/12-14  
SHOULD READ: "... of necessity are much exposed [litt.: "have a heavy on-push"]. I have been assured that some of them, if they are *well-shaped*, have to do with no less than *thirty Males* in a Day"
- p. 215 II/7-9  
SHOULD READ: "unless they are able to do some manual labor in order to earn a little extra. As they do not belong to anybody, not a *Soul* looks after them nor are ..."
- p. 215 II/13-19  
SHOULD READ: "... to buy some foreign *female slaves* whom they donate to the Community for this use. And these *Ladies* believe that in doing so they do a work of *Charity* which, if I may offer a comparison of a very different kind, has the same purpose as the *Requiem mass* of the Papists; I should think that neither you, nor me, could give a judgement on which of the two is more effective to the donor. But leaving ..."
- p. 215 III/10-11  
SHOULD READ: "all that *Venus' Store* has to offer here, I should find ..."

p. 216 I/9-12

SHOULD READ: "I remember the passion by which Your Honor was formerly driven, namely, that Your Honor and I much preferred to discuss these matters by way of *raillery* rather than in any way besmirch ourselves with it, leaving that to the *Sneakers* (of whom the proverb says: *Still Waters Run Deep*)"

In the Second Dutch edition this postscript follows Letter XII: P.S. From the preface to this Book and the end of this twelfth Letter it could be seen that I would not be surprised if their contents should be somewhat offensive to some people, and that is exactly what has happened. But by no means to the kind of people who live openly and honestly in the world and who do not get angry when things are called by their proper name. The former are just those dawdlers about whom Chevalier Montagne [Montaigne?] complained already in his days, who are either stuck in simple gullibility or in abominable sanctimoniousness and who constantly insist that no idle words should be spoken unless they are accounted for; but I would not even be willing to admit to such people that any idle words could be found here; I believe I took proper care against that. But let us pass over this. To the former I would be willing to admit having done so, if they say so out of their gullibility and with good intentions, not even knowing to what liberty we are entitled to speak of such things, because if they should not be mentioned, what are they then doing with a name, and how did they get to know of them? Really, at the beginning it cannot have been like that, and at that time one could openly speak of everything without fear, without the fear of offending -- as it is now said -- chaste ears. And it should be regarded as nothing more than an abuse which has crept in, that people nowadays differentiate about what could and what should not be spoken of. It is true that one has to comply as much as possible with general custom, and that all of us should avoid being insensitive. But I do not believe that we are being accused of that. But let those Sanctimonious beasts allow me to give them that name which they earn when they engage in that work but do not allow one to speak of it. Just like the Meniste Sister<sup>10</sup> who, being caressed on her door-step, said to her Lover in an asking tone: *what would the Godless not say?*, meaning with that word those who did not live as sanctimoniously as she did, if they found us in such a condition. But this only between brackets, and let us continue where we left

off. So I say, let them show where I have transgressed, and what expressions I have used which one does not find in sacred Authors -- I do not even speak of the Holy Scriptures -- and do they know that the same is being treated by the aforesaid Authors in a demure manner while by me in a more jocular way? Because in the same manner that the cases being told are different, so are the expressions and manners of treating them. Yet that does not stop the words of the one from having the same significance as those of the other. But what are they so keen on? Let us see: is it because of page 186, where I speak of Horned animals? Is that so dirty? I thought that that was nowadays generally so well known, that neither *Paapse Klop* nor *Geuse Quesel* are ignorant about it.<sup>11</sup> Or is it perhaps about the following page? Such things are only being done by the little Women whom I seem to suspect of playing a mean trick on their Husbands. But my dearest hearts who are not guilty of such tricks, there really is no reason why you should be concerned about it. As for those who are also doing their best to increase the great guild, I do not know them, and even supposing that some of them were known to me, they need not be afraid of me, because I know well how far one should go in the encounter, or the offer of help to such weak little kegs. Are they pointing at the Lawsuit of the venerable old Council? That is, as they say here, sufficiently *bewimpeld*<sup>12</sup>, and I believe that such things are sometimes treated before the Law-courts here in an even more naked and clear manner. Neither do I see that the cunning of the Black Women mentioned on pages 194 and 195 exceeds decency, and I believe that in our Country women could be found who would not lower their flag for them in that respect. On account of the pity I showed with the Womenfolk, I do not think that people will hate me, and I do not think either that they will on account of my speaking of their love-making on the following pages. But, some say, the truths of which is spoken on pages 200, 201 and 203 are rather too naked and bold. Well, if it is the truth, as cannot be denied, what then is the difficulty? It is said that Truth never wants to be said or written. But that is an axiom which is virtually an abuse, for which there is no room here. But let those people who have such strong objections tell me how I, after confirming that without leaving out anything, writing on all the manners and customs of the Negroes, I could treat all this in a more demure manner? Do you find any dirty word which should not be said? No. What then

is missing? Nothing I believe but that it does not agree with your dirty lust. But I am not concerned with that. I have written all this in accordance with my and my good Friends' taste. If you are not pleased with it, little is lost. Take it at least, that in the Preface of this Book I wrote that you may skip all this, and not only think but also confirm that I wrote not for you, but for people who, as they say "like to see white"<sup>13</sup>, and with that I wish you not only well-being, but also a speedy release of your pretentiousness.<sup>14</sup>

## LETTER XIII

- p. 218 I/6-7  
SHOULD READ: "... Offerings. Similarly by servants of the Whitemen for their Masters"
- p. 219 I/11-12  
SHOULD READ: "Condolences and Mourning, with presents, the dressing and embellishing of the Dead. How the Corpse is buried"
- p. 220 II/3-4  
FOR "that part of the Coast" READ "all the divisions of this Coast"
- p. 220 II/7-12  
SHOULD READ: "... promise to propose the design for improvement which I suggested when the time and occasion present themselves. I wish nothing more than that Your Honor may find those with whom Your Honor may desire to discuss the said matter to be of such condition, that Your Honor's proposal may convince Their Excellencies, and that consequently such resolution may be taken on it which may be considered to be of the greatest advantage to the *Company*."<sup>15</sup>
- p. 220 IV/4  
FOR "and wherein it consists" READ "and what to our opinion are its causes"
- p. 221 IV/2  
AFTER "attended" ADD "by his people"
- p. 221 IV/5  
FOR "considering" READ "as they too, are aware"
- p. 221 IV/12  
FOR "the Goddesses" READ "their principal Goddesses"
- p. 221 V/3-6  
SHOULD READ: "... *Remedies*, although they consider them too impotent to keep their body alive through them alone and to

recover their *health*; therefore, *more potent means* need to be applied, which they always believe to be the usual exercise of their *Idolatry*"

- p. 222 I/17-18  
SHOULD READ: "... proportioned to the *means* at the disposal of the person to be served: because in this respect these *Cheats* show some modesty in their work, who always ..."
- p. 222 III/2  
FOR "to what use to put it" READ "how to bless himself with it"
- p. 222 III/7-11  
SHOULD READ: "For the *Negroes* do not show that *ingratitude* of which Mr. Willem Godschalk van Fokkenbrog [Focquenbroch] accuses us so nicely, namely that they would hate *Doctors* like the *Devil* as soon as they are healed. Or, as His Honor says:  
That all People generally  
Hate the Doctors like Devils  
As soon as they are healed.<sup>16</sup>
- p. 223 II/1-2  
FOR "discharged with good Reward" READ "dismissed"
- p. 223 III/9  
FOR "our Europeans" READ "many a *European Doctor*"
- p. 223 IV/5-6  
SHOULD READ: "... several times, as it were, force the *Priests* thereto"
- p. 223 V/5-8  
SHOULD READ: "... Offerings for him to the *False Gods* in order that he may soon recover his *Health*. On several occasions we have found upon the *Beds* or in the *Chambers* of some of our Principal People, after they had died, some things ..."
- p. 224 II/7-9  
SHOULD READ: "she never fails to have rich Offerings to be made for the *False Gods*, with *ten times* as much zeal and confidence as the *Negroes* themselves"
- p. 224 III/2-7  
SHOULD READ: "... especially *Lime-Juice*, *Grain* or *Malaget*, *roots of trees*; also their *gum* or *bark*, as well as *green herbs*, of not less than *thirty different kinds*; the latter are particularly *powerful*."
- p. 224 V/1  
AFTER "Cholick" ADD "or pressing [constipation?]"

- p. 225 II/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "... Preparations, because the latter, once they come to these *Lands*, have often lost their greatest potency and are ..."
- p. 225 II/13  
FOR "Country" READ "Country's"
- p. 225 III/2-4  
SHOULD READ: "... expires, there is new business to be done, namely, to get to know what is the *cause* of his dying and why he has died"
- p. 226 I/11-17  
SHOULD READ: "... who by scattering Fetish (What that is I explained to Your Honor earlier in the description of their Religion) may have killed him.<sup>17</sup> It does happen that some of his *enemies*, on the *mere suspicion*, are seized and examined. And if it happens that he has at any time done so, no matter how long ago, he will hardly ..."
- p. 226 II/3-5  
SHOULD READ: "advised, for the advancement of the *Company's Trade*, to send an embassy to the *King of Dinkira*; I sent in pursuance of the advice offered, one of my servants ..."
- p. 226 II/9 to p. 227 I/7  
SHOULD READ: "Just at that time, the *Brandenburg Gentlemen* had also sent one of their *Servants* to him with a present. As he desired to live in good understanding with all Europeans, he received *this* Servant equally with many signs of *esteem* and *friendship*. The said *Servants*, the one of the *Brandenburgers* and mine, were therefore at the same time at the Court of this Supreme Sovereign, waiting for him to send them back to us whenever he would consider it opportune. But their waiting was in vain: having resided there for about six weeks, the aforesaid Sovereign happened to die, which exposed them to the greatest mortal danger: because the *Friends* of the *deceased*, conceiving the idea that our *Servants* might be guilty of his death, caused them to be seized and carefully bound; hereupon they caused the *Priests* to enquire whether the *Presents* they had brought along had not been poisoned or exorcised; but this time these *Crooks* were found to be honest enough to declare our *Servants* innocent and free after (at least in appearance) exercising their Religion; upon which ..."<sup>18</sup>
- p. 227 II/4  
SHOULD READ: "... due care or have caused sufficiently rich offerings to be made for him."

- p. 227 III/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "Then the Priest not only goes to ask the *deceased* why he *died*, but also the *False God*; and there never fails to be a reply. If Your Honor were to ask who is the Responsor, I believe that *Simon de Vries*<sup>19</sup>, who always ..."
- p. 228 I/1  
SHOULD READ: "that the *False God* of the *Deceased* answered so and in such a manner"
- p. 228 I/6  
FOR "and according to what he says" READ "these words of the Priest are held to be unquestionable and *gospel-truth*, and to them ..."
- p. 228 III/1  
FOR "the Dead" READ "the *False God* and the *Deceased*"
- p. 228 III/9  
AFTER "stand still" ADD "Does Your Honor believe it? I should think not; neither do I."
- p. 229 I/8-11  
SHOULD READ: "... mad Women (or rather like *She-Devils* or *Hell-Furies*<sup>20</sup>), with frightful cries and clamor, throughout the Town, continually repeating the Name ..."
- p. 229 I/14-15  
FOR "till the Corps is buried" READ "after the Corpse has been buried"
- p. 229 II/3  
FOR "hide or" READ "or even having secured it, to"
- p. 229 II/7  
SHOULD READ: "... shorn Head, and let grow something tight which I am nowadays too modest to mention by name."
- p. 229 III/2-3  
FOR "are renewed" READ "of such a person are held"
- p. 229 III/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "... Days past; after which the *said Wives* cleanse themselves, lay off their *Mourning-clothes* and dress themselves again like the others."
- p. 229 IV/1-5  
SHOULD READ: "While the *Women*, as I said earlier, are thus showing off *outside*, the nearest Relatives sit with the Corpse *inside* the house; they lament loudly too and wash and cleanse the body, preparing it for burial. Other *Friends* who had some relationship with the *Deceased* also assemble ..."

- p. 230 II/3-5  
SHOULD READ: "so that a *Negro's funeral*, if he was of some consequence, is very costly. *Distinguished persons* are richly ..."
- p. 230 III/3-6  
SHOULD READ: "his Heirs, or to how much his heirs were inclined towards him. When all this has been arranged, the deceased is buried, either after one, or after two or three days (depending on what the Friends and Relations have agreed on this issue). Ahead of the Corpse a parcel of ..."
- p. 230 III/12-13  
SHOULD READ: "... laughing or talking as loudly as if there were no *dead person* around for whom one has to show some *regret*, even though it may only be pretence."
- p. 230 IV/5-6  
FOR "than a Funeral" READ "or a Feast"
- p. 231 I/5  
FOR "clear" READ "smouldering"
- p. 231 I/6  
FOR "privately" READ "secretly"
- p. 231 I/10-13  
SHOULD READ: "If, after this, they have agreed on the day to bury the deceased<sup>21</sup> publicly, it is announced to all the People, even in other Countries ..."
- p. 231 II/5-9  
SHOULD READ: "One of them being one of his Wives, and the other one of his principal Servants; but the most horrible of all is that some poor and wretched people are purposely sold for these devilish and damned Sacrifices: and those are generally people who through age or some other inability no longer can do service ..."<sup>22</sup>
- p. 231 IV/1  
AFTER "Horror that" ADD "in the country of Ante, at a place about two miles to the inland of Infuma<sup>23</sup>, personally"
- p. 232 II/3  
FOR "very distant" READ "a good distance"
- p. 232 III/2  
FOR "Garden of Rice" READ "Fence of Twigs"<sup>24</sup>

## LETTER XIV

- p. 234 II/4-5  
FOR "Insects and wild Fowl" READ "Poultry; the creeping [creatures] and the birds"

- p. 235 I/2-3  
FOR "not long since" READ "a few days ago"
- p. 235 I/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "If it were so, Sir, that Your Honor's curiosity were to move your Heart to look for another one in Amsterdam, I pray you may convince him to come hither. Your Honor may assure him that he ..."
- p. 236 II/11-14  
SHOULD READ: "in top of that, most of their Cows are of an unpleasant taste. Yet, people do not refuse to pay for a full-grown animal a hundred gold-guilders or fifty *Ryksdaelders*, and sometimes even more."<sup>25</sup>
- p. 236 IV/6-9  
SHOULD READ: "... is supplied with Hair of about a finger's length; hence this is a completely *inverted world*; because the people, that is the Negroes wear *Wool* and the *animals* [sheep] *hair*; because that of the Negroes looks more like *wool* than like *hair*"
- p. 237 I/8  
SHOULD READ: "six, seven, or eight *Ryksdaelders*"<sup>26</sup>
- p. 237 I/11  
FOR "fried Barley meal" READ "roasted corn"<sup>27</sup>
- p. 237 II/8  
SHOULD READ: "four or sometimes more *Ryksdaelders*"<sup>28</sup>
- p. 238 II/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "Now about the *Horses*: do not think that Your Honor will meet among them the peer of *Sejanus' horse* or even of that of *Alexander*"<sup>29</sup>
- p. 238 II/6  
FOR "the Northern Horses" READ "the *small Nordic Horses*"<sup>30</sup>
- p. 238 II/9  
FOR "the In-land Country" READ "in the *Interior*, in the previously mentioned *Countries*"
- p. 238 II/12-13  
SHOULD READ: "... go in an annoying manner, and they will not stir forwards unless one urges them constantly on with strokes of a cane"
- p. 238 III/4  
FOR "do" READ "did"
- p. 239 I/2  
FOR "three Pounds Sterling" READ "twelve to fourteen *Ryksdaelders*"

- p. 239 III/4-6  
SHOULD READ: "... a Sheep in exchange for a fair-sized one. Many Negroes specialise in having a Dog-breeding school"<sup>31</sup>
- p. 239 IV/5-6  
SHOULD READ: "Creatures. After three or four *generations* they also stop barking altogether. Because the barking of a *Dog* born here resembles more an awful kind of howling or whining"<sup>32</sup>
- p. 239 V/4-5  
FOR "of them" READ "ours"
- p. 240 II/7-8  
SHOULD READ: "Proverbial Advice: Farmer hide your fowls, the Soldiers are coming ..."
- p. 240 II/10-11  
FOR "for four Shillings and Sixpence" READ "one *Ryksdaelder*"
- p. 240 IV/1  
FOR "Ducks" READ "tame ducks"
- p. 241 IV/10  
FOR "a Cherry" READ "cherries"<sup>33</sup>
- p. 240 V/2  
SHOULD READ: "but only by some of our Commanders, and then only very few"<sup>34</sup>
- p. 241 II/2-3  
SHOULD READ: "coming now to the wild ones, I shall speak of a little beast that is quite a little bigger than the last mentioned ..."
- p. 241 III/17  
FOR "separable" READ "removed" [secluded?]
- p. 241 III/26  
FOR "Writer concerning" READ "Editor of" [?]<sup>35</sup>
- p. 241 III/29-32  
SHOULD READ: "that for a long time *Pliny* was regarded as a fable-writer, but that nowadays very much of his writing is being confirmed by the research of judicious Travellers"
- p. 242 I/2-3  
SHOULD READ: "... some things truly; nonetheless, it is also undeniably true that very many of his theses are wild, groundless, and false"
- p. 242 I/17  
FOR "twelve or thirteen" READ "ten, twelve, or thirteen"
- p. 242 II/2-4  
SHOULD READ: "Orange trees, Bananas and Plantains, because

of the latter they not only eat the fruit, but also the whole stem"

- p. 242 III/1  
FOR "also" READ "unanimously"
- p. 243 I/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "will not be disagreeable to Your Honor, both on account of the said subject and of other curious encounters"
- p. 243 I/6  
FOR "by their pursuit" READ "by their adroit swimming, overtaking them quickly"
- p. 243 I/8  
AFTER "passed" ADD "very closely"
- p. 243 I/13  
FOR "betwixt the Eyes and the Ears" READ "between the Ears or in the Eyes"
- p. 243 I/16-17  
SHOULD READ: "place with such a ball it is completely flattened against the bone"
- p. 243 II/3-9  
SHOULD READ: "... Gold Coast, and, true to the great quantity of Elephant teeth which is being bought there, it is called the Tooth Coast. Then, up to the Gold Coast and there in the Countries of *Awine*, *Jummore*, *Eguira*, *Abocroe*, *Ancober* and *Axim*; in the said countries a multitude of them is killed every day"
- p. 244 II/2  
FOR "greater" READ "great"
- p. 244 III/6-10  
SHOULD READ: "the country of *Benin*, which has a common border with *Ardra* in the interior, as well as *Rio de Calbary*, *Camerones* and *Countries* and *Rivers* in that area are so tremendously full of these *Beasts*, that one can hardly imagine how the *Inhabitants* are still able or dare to keep house there"
- p. 244 IV/17  
SHOULD READ: "but what is the truth about this matter I must own ..." <sup>36</sup>
- p. 245 I/6  
SHOULD READ: "that it may take *four years* before one gets to see one"
- p. 245 II/9-10  
SHOULD READ: "... ignorant and clearly lying, that from that

moment I resolved to let him rest for any future *research on any kind of Animal*"

- p. 245 III/10  
SHOULD READ: "They behave also very much like the last mentioned Beasts"<sup>37</sup>
- p. 246 III/3  
FOR "by which means" READ "where" [i.e. at the stalls]
- p. 246 III/6-9  
SHOULD READ: "fully cooked in a *box*, to which a piece of *mutton* or *pork* is attached with a cord. These are arranged in such a manner that he [the animal] has to take the *meat* away in front of the *barrel* of the gun, and as soon as he takes it, the musket goes off"
- p. 246 IV/2  
FOR "Lama" READ "Shama" [no doubt a printing error.]
- p. 246 IV/4  
FOR "some" READ "one"
- p. 247 I/4  
FOR "and" READ "consisting of big"
- p. 247 II/1  
FOR "their colour is dark Brown" READ "They are of a dark color"
- p. 248 II/12  
SHOULD READ: "the legs of one being a little longer"
- p. 248 III/3-8  
SHOULD READ: "... beautiful and sweet Creatures, with very small black hornlets and thin legs; the latter are, relative to their body, rather long, but so extraordinarily thin, that those of some do not exceed the thickness of [the stem of] a Tobacco pipe at its thinnest. One of such, covered<sup>38</sup> with gold, I hereby send to you for want ..."
- p. 249 II/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "Few people are ignorant of the fact that harts run swiftly;"
- p. 249 VI/1  
FOR "Fat" READ "Barrel"
- p. 250 VII/2 to p. 251 I/2  
SHOULD READ: "... Fields here, which are in every respect like *Rats*, except that their size exceeds that of a *Cat*; we call them also *Bushrats*. They can always be found among freshly sown crops, to which they do a great deal of damage"
- p. 251 III/1  
FOR "Wild Rats" READ "Bushrats"

- p. 251 III/11-12  
FOR "where they come" READ "they can reach, wherever it may be"<sup>39</sup>
- p. 251 IV/6  
SHOULD READ: "one or two Ryksdaelders"<sup>40</sup>
- p. 252 IV/5-6  
SHOULD READ: "... Fingers broad, which they carry very nicely behind their body, up to the neck"
- p. 252 V/7  
SHOULD READ: "... same manner as Mr. Fokkengrog [Focquenbroch] was pleased to write about it, namely that it catches Fowls with its gate"<sup>41</sup>
- p. 252 VI/5  
FOR "Buttocks" READ "Arse"
- p. 253 II/9  
SHOULD READ: "... black, speckled with small round spots"
- p. 253 II/12  
FOR "Several" Read "Many"
- p. 253 II/14  
AFTER "Cocks or Hens" Add "At Moree and elsewhere they are thought to be *False Gods*."
- p. 253 III/9-10  
SHOULD READ: "or if he becomes aware of a person having been slain somewhere [he goes after the corpse]"
- p. 253 IV/2  
AFTER "Body" ADD "or simply finds one"
- p. 254 II/1  
FOR "apes" READ "Monkeys"<sup>42</sup>
- p. 254 IV/3  
FOR "pernicious" READ "cunning"
- p. 254 V/2-5  
SHOULD READ: "... Truth that *Monkeys* can speak quite well, but that they do not do it, in order not to have to work (which they do not like). From this Your Honor may measure the people's esteem for them."
- p. 255 II/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "sometimes sell them to one another for four Ryksdaelders or more, and if they were brought to us, we would not ..."
- p. 255 III/2  
FOR "Monkies" READ "such little Beardmen"

- p. 255 III/12  
FOR "tender" READ "delicate"
- p. 256 III/6  
SHOULD READ: "... are, including their *tail*, about a foot long"
- p. 256 VI/5-7  
SHOULD READ: "... to the contradiction of *fire* and *Salamanders*, which, like all other *Lizards* are of an *icy nature*;"
- p. 257 IV/7  
FOR "Case" READ "Cage"
- p. 258 I/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "upon which I hastily drew them in water or oil colors"
- p. 258 III/3  
FOR "Pencil" READ "Brush"<sup>43</sup>
- p. 258 III/9  
FOR "sudden" READ "humorous"<sup>44</sup>
- p. 258 IV/5  
FOR "some" READ "thirty-one"
- p. 258 V/10  
FOR "they" READ "the *Naturalists* also"
- p. 259 I/4-5  
SHOULD READ: "they veer out as far as it is bony, but if after that they still cannot reach the ground, they let themselves fall, plop on the ground"
- p. 259 II/5-8  
SHOULD READ: "... of imbibing the breeze. Then indeed did it stretch its mouth wide open, and showed through its *movements* as well as *multiple changes* the pleasure it enjoyed"
- p. 259 II/13  
AFTER "downward" ADD "at the same time"
- p. 260 I/7  
FOR "but" READ "that they only"
- p. 260 I/10-11  
SHOULD READ: "... Shell, but rather that they are soft and pliable, consisting of a thick membrane rather than a shell"

## LETTER XV

- p. 261 I/3  
AFTER "Ducks" ADD "and green ones"
- p. 261 I/7-11  
SHOULD READ: "River Birds. Crowned Cranes of the Gold Coast, very fine. A big Bird, curious because of its ugly appearance, called *Pokkoe*. Another Bird of about the same size as the last one, but handsomer, of four kinds. Little seed-birds."
- p. 261 I/24  
FOR "Boardmanetjes" READ "Baerdmannetjes" [lit. "little beard-men"]
- p. 262 I/2  
FOR "Hays or Requiems" READ "Sharks"<sup>45</sup>
- p. 262 III/13  
FOR "Terrestrial Species" READ "those which mostly keep to the ground"
- p. 263 V/2  
FOR "bay" READ "reddish grey"
- p. 263 V/3  
SHOULD READ: "and are good to be eaten"
- p. 264 I/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "A little to the windward of our Fort at Axim is a fairly large Rock, about two or three musket shots from the shore"<sup>46</sup>
- p. 264 I/8-10  
SHOULD READ: "Every evening, about 6 o'clock, they come here to roost, and at daybreak they fly back to shore in quest for Food"
- p. 264 III/5  
AFTER "Names" ADD "here either"
- p. 264 V/4  
SHOULD READ: "... speckled Feathers on their head, which look like Hog's bristles"
- p. 264 V/9-10  
SHOULD READ: "Necks are adorned with Purple spots on either side of the Head, about half an inch wide ..."
- p. 265 III/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "... having a similar Bill, except that it is less curved, which is ..."

- p. 265 III/8-11  
SHOULD READ: "... on his Head like a *crest*; he has large eyes; *above* and *below* which are also *two rings* of the most beautiful *red color* one could imagine"
- p. 265 V/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "one finds here also a *Bird* unknown in our country, whose *body* is about the size of a *Goose*, also of a mostly white color, with black spots. We call them *Portuguese* and they are also eaten by a few people."<sup>47</sup>
- p. 266 III/2-7  
SHOULD READ: "... Kites; these steal besides what they are named after<sup>48</sup>, everything they see and can get hold of; namely, fish and meat; and that with such *daring* that they will take from the Negro women the fish with which they are sitting in the market or are going along the streets"
- p. 266 IV/2  
FOR "Fedase" READ "Fidase [i.e. of Whydah]"
- p. 267 II/1  
FOR "exactly" READ "easily"
- p. 267 II/10  
FOR "Alfoaches" READ "cheeks"
- p. 267 II/12  
FOR "as well" READ "like"
- p. 267 II/22-24  
SHOULD READ: "for while walking along the outworks of the Castle, at first we used to cause him ..."
- p. 267 III/3 to p. 268 I/3  
SHOULD READ: "... pecking and snapping fiercely at the Dogs and the *Boys*; he manages to make his nebs clatter nicely, as if one were clapping pieces of wood together, or rather like a leper's clapper"<sup>49</sup>
- p. 268 IV/1  
FOR "granivorous Bird" READ "a little corn or seed bird"
- p. 268 VI/4  
FOR "sharp" READ "short and sharp"
- p. 269 II/5  
FOR "Sky-colour" READ "violet"
- p. 270 I/2  
FOR "none" READ "no sparrows"
- p. 270 I/3  
FOR "but on" READ "to"

- p. 270 III/1  
FOR "very" READ "really sweet and"
- p. 270 III/9-10  
SHOULD READ: "... but that must have been in the days of Maerten Van Rossum.<sup>50</sup> For at present of one hundred we keep here, scarce ten survive after three years"
- p. 270 V/3-8  
SHOULD READ: "People here prefer those which are brought from areas like Benin, Calbary, and Cape Lopez. But such people forget that those are *much older* than the ones one can get here, and consequently not so docile. But to those people it seems no doubt that "all that comes from afar is no ... or ..."<sup>51</sup>
- p. 271 I/2  
FOR "Promontory" READ "Bight"
- p. 271 II/1-3  
SHOULD READ: "It would be as much as washing a *Blackamoor* [*Moriaen*], or, to say the least, unnecessary *Labor* to write much about these birds, considering that they are now so common ..."
- p. 272 I/1  
FOR "or Lowing" READ "and Sound"
- p. 272 I/2  
FOR "him" READ "it"
- p. 272 II/14  
SHOULD READ: "but one neither should, nor could, follow such people in making general statements"
- p. 272 IV/2  
FOR "Size" READ "Shape"
- p. 273 III/3  
FOR "taken" READ "caught and clubbed to death"
- p. 273 III/5-7  
SHOULD READ: "And many a time not only *Deer* and other *Animals*, but even *Men* were found in their *entrails*"
- p. 273 VII/1  
SHOULD READ: "In the Fantyn Country I, as well as many other people saw ..."
- p. 274 I/2  
SHOULD READ: "... to supply him with some. For besides ..."
- p. 274 I/7-10  
SHOULD READ: "*Claws* or *Spurs*. Probably they *served* him to *erect* himself with them and to increase the speed of his march or *creeping*. His *head* is nearly like that of a *Pike*

and has also *such rows of teeth.*"

- p. 274 II/3  
FOR "variegated with" READ "with a flame-like pattern of"
- p. 274 V/3-4  
FOR "Half a Fingers breadth" READ "about the size of half a [finger's] phalanx"
- p. 275 III/1  
FOR "Ports" READ "Forts" [probably a printing error]
- p. 275 III/3  
SHOULD READ: "... flat and reddish, intersected like other ..."
- p. 275 V/1-2  
SHOULD READ: "I would wish that the great Naturalist Mr. Van Leeuwenhoek<sup>52</sup> had such an opportunity, for I believe ..."
- p. 275 VI/2  
FOR "here" READ "there"
- p. 276 V/1-4  
SHOULD READ: "When one observes the way these little animals go about, it really looks as if they had some common speech among themselves"
- p. 277 II/1  
FOR "These Pismires" READ "the *Ants* of this *Country*"
- p. 277 II/3  
FOR "inflames to a great degree" READ "burns like fire"
- p. 277 III/2  
FOR "Crey-fish" READ "small Rhine-crayfish"
- p. 278 II/3-5  
SHOULD READ: "... plenty; although they are as full-bodied as ours, they are much less good. They also differ markedly in shape"
- p. 278 III/1  
FOR "small flat" READ "flat"
- p. 278 IV/3  
AFTER "C-- coverer" ADD "it would be a rather bit *Sock* on which this *Fish* would *fit*"
- p. 278 V/1  
FOR "Half-Koords" READ "Halve Koorden"<sup>53</sup>
- p. 278 VI/1  
FOR "Bream" READ "Rock-Bream" [*Steenbrzaams*]

- p. 278 VI/4  
FOR "Evertxen" READ "Evertzen"<sup>54</sup>
- p. 278 VIII/1-4  
SHOULD READ: "Another kind, not very different in shape, but much smaller in size, are called Beard-men ("Baerdman-netjes"), because they have on either side of their jaws two hairs, hanging down like a beard"
- p. 278 IX/2-6  
SHOULD READ: "... caught; but Saffer, also called King's fish, is fat and good and taste nearly like Eel. They are also consumed when gutted and dried, instead of [as a surrogate for] Salmon"
- p. 278 X/2  
FOR "Trouts" READ "Minnow"
- p. 279 IV/3-8  
SHOULD READ: "... two kinds of *Sardines*, big as well as small. Both are particularly fat in the right season; but the first are not very good, as there is much hair in them.<sup>55</sup> The latter, however, are very agreeable and good for making pickled or bloated herring ..."
- p. 279 V/5-7  
SHOULD READ: "... Man's Arms; these *Fishes* grow surprisingly fat. They are fairly good as food, except when they are too fat, which makes them taste oily"
- p. 279 VI/1-4  
SHOULD READ: "The second of this [species], which can only be distinguished by the smallness of their body and the lesser thickness of their head, are called *Harder* [gray mullet] and taste rather better than the former"
- p. 280 III/2  
FOR "Noordkapers" READ "Grampuses"<sup>56</sup>
- p. 280 IV/2  
FOR "a Yard or an Ell" READ "one and a half Ell"
- p. 280 IV/6-8  
SHOULD READ: "*Pins* or *Teeth* of about a *Finger's length* on a *side*, and nearly *always* of an *odd number*<sup>57</sup>, and therefore on the one side one more than on the other"
- p. 281 II/1  
FOR "Hayes or Requins" READ "Sharks" (cf. note 45)
- p. 281 II/2  
FOR "Sea-Dogs" READ "Seals"
- p. 281 II/11  
SHOULD READ: "... of their Flesh being tough and dry like wood"

- p. 281 V/1  
AFTER "over-board" ADD "at the said places"
- p. 282 I/2  
FOR "tell" READ "count"<sup>58</sup>
- p. 282 I/9  
FOR "mounting" READ "standing on"
- p. 282 II/2-4  
SHOULD READ: "... because the lower part of his Mouth is placed very far backwards; and therefore he cannot catch or attack anything from above"
- p. 282 III/2  
SHOULD READ: "hoist it *on board* with the *Tackle*, we are ..."

## NOTES

1. This term is used elsewhere in the text as well. It is curious that Bosman should consistently have used the term "friends" ( *vrienden*) where obviously relatives or relations (*familieleden*) were meant, and also translated as such into English. Perhaps it is an expression of Bosman's doubt about what constitutes the real family in the traditional West African context -- a concept which is certainly more comprehensive than the European family.
2. "To eat from the big beast" is not a proverbial expression in modern Dutch, but the meaning is clear; to be addicted to.
3. *Swager*: a rather strange concept of "in-law"!
4. *gevoelige en klinkende reden*: a pun. *klinken* is employed for the sound of coins in a purse too. (*klinkende mant* = hard cash)
5. The German expression "*potstausend*" means something like "the deuce", but the meaning of "*slapperment*" is not clear.
6. *Lieutenants* (*Luytenants*) is to be understood in the literal translation from the French words: "keeping the place of"
7. An obvious reference to the supposedly adulterous character of French ladies and their *occu* husbands.
8. By using the word *iemand* (= someone, a person) in the first instance, Bosman did not want to make an exception for Europeans having children with black women. On the other hand, by using the word "Negro" in the second phrase he probably implied that this need only applies to Africans, as children of Europeans with African wives, whether free or slaves, were automatically free.

9. Among the Fante it is indeed not unusual for sons, especially the first born, to be named after the father's father or the father's elder brother, but very uncommon to be named after the mother's father. Eldest daughters may be named after the mother, the mother's mother, the father's mother or the father's sister. But it is very unlikely that in Bosman's time children were named after both their grandparents, as he suggests. (Information from Dr. J.K. Fynn)
10. Meniste Sister: Perhaps Mennonite sister. The Mennonites, successors to the Anabaptists, took their name from the Frisian preacher Menno Simons, and constituted a peaceful but very strict protestant sect.
11. *Paapse Klop*: Roman Catholic beguine or lay sister; *Geuse Qesel*: Dutch puritan. "Geuse" is derived from the French word "gueux", meaning "beggar". At the beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands, a group of noblemen presented a petition to Philip II's aunt Margaret of Parma, his Regent in Brussels. Many members of the Dutch nobility, living a luxurious life but often heavily in debt, were said to have joined the revolt for economic rather than moral reasons, and one of Margaret's advisers is believed to have remarked on that occasion that those noblemen were nothing but "beggars". Promptly the word "Gueux" (corrupted to "Geuzen") became the rallying cry of the Dutch rebels.
12. "*bewimpeld*" (lit. "provided with a pennant") is not really part of the Dutch vocabulary. But *onbewimpeld*, its opposite, means open, undisguised; Bosman simply wants to say that his words were sufficiently veiled not to cause offense.
13. Meaning not quite clear. "*Menschen die wel wit mogen zien*" could also be translated: "people who may easily appear white", i.e. people who easily become pale (with anger?)
14. From this last remark one could only draw the rather surprising conclusion, that even Bosman's good friend and correspondent, Dr. Havart, for whom he seems to have had nothing but praise, belonged to the group who censured Bosman for his uncouth language.
15. The Dutch text shows more clearly than the English version that Bosman himself was no longer in a position to have any influence on the Directors of the Company.
16. For Focquenbroch see HA 2(1975), p. 213n11. The Dutch text of Focquenbroch's poem reads:

*Dat al de Menschen in't gemeyn,  
De Docters als de Duivel haten,  
So haest zy slegts geneesen zyn.*

17. The scattering of exorcised food, as described on pp. 147-48 of the English edition.
18. This is one of the earliest recorded instances of European delegations being sent into the interior. The Portuguese are also believed to have sent ambassadors to states in the interior, but very little is known about these. K.Y. Daaku, in his *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast* (Oxford, 1970), p. 68, suggested that these events took place in 1692, probably basing his statement on Bosman's "about eight years ago." In an attempt to find more details about this mission, I searched among various papers of that year but could not find any references to it; but then it is quite possible that Bosman wrote this letter in 1701 or even 1702, or that his estimate of "eight years" was not correct.
19. A schoolmaster of Utrecht, who published *Curious Observations ...* (cf. p. 302 of Bosman, 1967) in 1682. (See Bosman (1967), p. 535 for details.)
20. It is rather interesting that after his denial of the role of the devil, Bosman should compare these women with devils. Dutch (as well as American) puritans of those days had a kind of obsession with the devil.
21. Though Bosman does not explicitly speak of the deceased as a King, it seems obvious from what follows that such a personality was meant here.
22. This, to say the least, is doubtful. Curiously enough, the opposite argument was often used later in the eighteenth century by defenders of the slave trade: the slave traders "saved" a large number of healthy young men and women from "cruel slaughter!"
23. Infuma is the African name for Dixcove. In view of the following sentence, it is perhaps not so surprising that the English translator left this phrase out. On the other hand, it is also remarkable that Bosman did not mention Butri, which is only a few miles east of Dixcove, but which was under Dutch authority.
24. "*een tuintje van ryzen*": the translator's mistake is understandable. *Tuin* (diminutive *tuintje*) is indeed the common word for "garden", originally meaning "fenced area". The German word *Zaun* still means "fence", and even the English word "town" has the same origin. The Dutch word for "rice" is *rijst* (*ryst*), but *rys* (pl. *ryssen*) in modern

Dutch better known as "*rijshout*" stands for the long tough boughs of willow-trees which are used for the reinforcement of dikes. Here twigs are obviously meant.

25. The gold-guilder was worth more than the trade-guilder of about two shillings. The *Ryksdaelder* (Imperial Dollar) was (and still is) worth 2½ guilders. Fifty *Ryksdaelders* was therefore worth about £ 12:10/-. The English translator could have said twelve guineas.
26. i.e. £ 1:10/- to £ 2.
27. Which is more likely, as barley would have had to be imported.
28. i.e. £ 1 or more
29. *Sejanus'* Horse or Alexander's Bucephalus: the horse of Seius (*equus Seianus*) was a horse that brought its successive owners ruin. The English translator according to a Roman proverb, apparently wanted to show off his erudition by adding the name of the famous horse of Alexander the Great, which was said to have been endowed with human courage and intelligence.
30. *Noordsche Paardjes*: "Northern" would be "*Noordelijk*" or "*van het Noorden*"; Bosman may have likened the small horses he saw on the Guinea Coast to Scandinavian ponies.
31. "*een Queekschool van Honden*": This pun cannot really be translated. A *kweekschool* is a teacher training college, but *kweken* means also "to breed".
32. In Bosman's time dogs of European pedigree must have constituted a small minority among the dog population of this part of the world, and if they mated, it was probably always with local dogs. The Barkless Basenji is a breed developed in Europe from indigenous African domestic dogs and is much like the west African "bush-dog", which indeed howl more and bark less than European dogs.
33. *karssen* (mod. Dutch *kersen*) certainly means "cherries", but "*karsepitten*" or cherrystones is probably meant.
34. In this connection it is interesting to note that in Gã the word for turkey is *karakunu*, which is obviously derived from the Dutch word *kalkoen*. In comparison with Portuguese (and of course English), Dutch (and Danish) have "loaned" very few words to the coastal vernaculars, as Portuguese remained for a long time the *lingua franca*. That the Dutch word for turkey rather than the Portuguese word was adopted, indicates therefore that the turkey made its entry on the coast at a rather late date.

35. "*uitschrijver*": lit.: copyist. The word for editor is really *uitgever* (which is also the word for publisher). The editor to whom Bosman refers here is probably Isaac Casaubon, who wrote a commentary on the *Historia Augusta* early in the seventeenth century.
36. Male tusks do grow fast and reach great size; those of females are much smaller. Ivory would not last long on the forest floor without cracking or breaking down. The word "creval" may in fact mean "cracked ivory" (cf. the French verb *crever*).
37. "*even sodanige gebaerden ... over sig*" lit.: (have) just such gestures .. about them. *gebaerd* does mean "bearded", but that would not make sense here. The word *gebaerde* (mod. Dutch *gebaar*), gesture, probably has a common root with the English word "bearing".
38. "*met Goud beslagen*": the verb *beslaan*, (p.p. *beslagen*) means "to cover, to plate" as well as "to shoe" (a horse). It is of course possible that only the hoofs of the duyker's leg Bosman sent to his friend were "shoed" with gold.
39. Perhaps the giant rat (*Cricetomys amini*) called in Fante *Kisi* but in Wassa, Sehwi, and Brussa *Boté*. As Bosman stayed for a long time at Axim it is possible that he knew only of the latter (western Akan) name.
40. The Dutch were willing to pay a high price for these civet cats because their musk was such an important ingredient for perfume. The "*Katteplaats*" or "Cat Yard" on the Northside of the main building of Elmina Castle was used for the breeding of these animals on a commercial scale. If in Bosman's days civet cats were so well known in Holland that they needed no introduction, this would certainly not be the case at present.
41. *Koekoeboe*: probably a mongoose. The story about mongooses catching chicken with their red anus is widespread but untrue. Bosman used the rather unusual expression "*poort*" (gate) for "anus" or "arse". This must have puzzled the translator so much that he may have thought better to leave the passage out altogether.
42. There is in the Dutch language no distinction between monkeys and apes; both are called *apen*, though apes could be specified as *mensapen* ("man-apes").
43. The Dutch word for "brush", *penseel*, no doubt has a common root with the English word "pencil" (which in Dutch is called *potlood*).

44. *Geestig* means humorous in modern Dutch. *Geest* means ghost, spirit. In antiquated Dutch *geestig* could also stand for ghostly or even spiritual (in mod. Dutch *geestelijk*).
45. *Haai* (*Haay*) is the Dutch word, and *requin* the French word for shark.
46. In the English edition the word *boven* was translated literally, "above", but the term meant also "to the windward"; the Windward Islands are still known as the "*Bovendewindse Eilanden*." The mentioned rock is indicated on several detailed maps of the period as the *Duyveclip* or Pigeons' Rock.
47. It is not clear which bird is meant here, but unlikely to be a pelican (as suggested by Fage and Bradbury), as that bird is very rare in this part of the world.
48. Kites are called *Kiekendieven* or Chick-thiefs in Dutch
49. Beak-clapping is characteristic of storks. Marabou-storks, though normally birds of the savanna, would eat fish when offered. This bird may well have been left at the Castle as a present by a trader from the interior. The name Pokkoe (Opoku?) may have been a proper name given to this apparently domesticated animal by children of Elmina-town.
50. A Dutch mythological figure; hence, in time immemorial.
51. "*Al wat van ver komt, is gewis, dat geen ... of ... en is.*" Obviously an old folksy proverb in which the words represented by dots are unprintable.
52. A famous contemporary of Bosman's whose name is particularly linked with the invention of the microscope.
53. Big fishes known in Portuguese as *Albacora* which was corrupted in Dutch as "*Halve Koorden*" (lit. Half Chords). Big fishhooks for catching big sea-fish are still known in Dutch as "*halvekoord haken*". Cf. Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe*, ed. S.P. L'Honoré Naber (Hague, 1915), p. 161n3.
54. *Jan Evertzen* was a famous seventeenth-century Admiral. It is not clear why this fish is called Jac(ob) Evertzen. *Roojeud* may be a misspelling for *Rooyard*, meaning red (-haired) person.
55. Obviously, hair-thin bones are meant.
56. I.e. spouting North Cape whales. *Noordkapers* was also the term applied to Scandinavian corsairs.
57. *oneven* is both "uneven" or "rugged" and "odd". The latter meaning is probably to be applied here, though "on a side"

or "on one side" is rather misleading: on *either* side would have been better.

58. To count is *tellen* in Dutch.

N.B. At p. 147 II/5 [see *HA*, 4(1977), p. 248], Bosman referred to the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) who published his *China Illustrata* in Amsterdam in 1667, and it was quickly translated into several languages. For the work and its influence see Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: the Jesuits at the Court of China* (New York, 1966), pp. 246-47, 279.

