

1793.

Phillips.

as firm as the *English* Horses upon smooth Ground. a He was a raw Boy, about twenty Years of Age, proud and empty; so that it raised the Author's Indignation much, to see the insolent Air with which he received the most abject and servile Homage paid him by the old experienced *Flan-derkin*.

St. Jago.
Bay.

SUNDAY, the third, *Phillips* went in his Pinnace to *St. Jago*. After they had rowed about seven Miles, they came, about a Point, into the Bay, near the Town. He ran-in right b against the Gate of the Town, and his Trumpets sounding a Levée, soon brought an Officer, who conducted him to the Governor's Palace, at the upper Part of the Town; where they saw no-body but some impudent Negro Wenches, who gave them many smutty Words in *English*, and taking-up their short Waistcloths, which reached only to the Middle of their Thighs, often shewed them their Merchandize. The Governor, who was at Church, alarmed by the c Trumpet, soon appeared, advancing at the Head of the Congregation; accompanied by two young Captains and the Priest, and a red Horse after him in pretty good Equipage. Having invited them in, he led them through a Court into a large Hut, where there was an Iron-Balcony facing the Sea, towards which it had a fine Prospect. After some Chat, the Captain sending his Officers away for the Purpose, a Collation was brought for him and his Brother: This consisted d of a Loaf of good white Bread, a Box of Marmalade served on a Napkin; and for Drink there was a squeeze-Cafe Bottle half full of *Madeira-Wine*, but so thick, foul, and hot, that the Author had much ado to drink it.

Governor's
Jenny Trout.

WHEN *Phillips* asked him for Cattle, he refused to part with any, except for Money, and confirmed what the old Officer at *Praya* had said, that no one was allowed to sell any but himself; yet he permitted him to buy Goats and Sheep, &c. of e the People in Truck. After this, he bought two or three *English* Walking-Canes, and eying a pretty clouded one, with a graved Silver-Head, which *Phillips* had in his Hand, he told him, those were Presents he had from *English East-India* Captains. Upon this *Phillips* could do no less than follow the Example of his Brethren, which was received with great Satisfaction by the Governor.

Tricks of
Pirates.

THE Captain invited him aboard, but he excused himself for not accepting the Invitation, from a Rule they had made against it, on account of some Privateers and Pirates, who having gotten the Governor aboard, would not let him come ashore till he had ordered-in what Provisions they demanded; for which they used

to give a Bill of Exchange, payable at London, 1693. upon *John a Noaks* or the Pump at *Aldgate*, as Phillips. Avery, the Pirate's Bill was, to the Governor of *St. Thomas's Island*.

PHILLIPS being in the Balcony with his Governor's Excellency, enquired if there was any good Authority. *Madera-Wine* to be bought? He said there was, and a *Portuguese* in a handsome Garb then walking in the Street under them, the Governor called to him and asked, if he had any Wine to truck for Merchandize? As soon as this Person saw the Governor he took-off his Hat, made a profound Bow, and falling upon his Knee in the Street, answered that he had a Barrel to dispose-of, but must have Cash for it. The Governor acquainting him that *Phillips* had none, and that he had no more to say to him, he rose, and making another humble Cringe walked-off with his Hat in his Hand till out of Sight. After this, the Author parted very good Friends, with a Promise to send him a *Cheshire-Cheese* next Day.

THE Governor was very low in Stature, a-His Person. about fifty Years old, and of a noble Family in *Portugal*. His Complexion swarthy, his Aspect mean, and his Cloaths very ordinary. He had a long black Wig which reached to his Middle, but somebody had plucked out all the Curls. He seemed to be a Man of good Parts, Experience, and Subtilty.

SECT. II.

They meet-with a Tornado. Cape de Monte. Cape Monserado, or Miserado. King Andree's Town. Odd Kind of Superstition. Their Way of Fighting. Sort of Snipes. The Sailors falsely accused: Cleared by a Stratagem. Great inland King. A Scotch Pirate. They proceed forward. Little Sestos. Captain Lumley and King Peter. The English in Fear of the Natives. Sanguin Town. River Sino. Wappo, the Captain's Brother, dies. Druin. The Red Cliffs. Cabo La ho. The People timorous. Negros painted: Reputed Man-Eaters: Yet shy: The Reason for it.

THURSDAY, the seventh of December, leaving the Cape de Verde Islands, they cleaned all, fore and aft, between Decks; and f having covered the Gratings close with Tarpaulings, burnt three Buckets of Tar between Decks to keep the Ship wholesome.

THE tenth, they met-with a Tornado, which a Tornado. are very common upon the Coast of *Africa*; but being the first he ever was in, it a little surprized him. They shift all round the Compass in half

1693. Phillips. an Hour, having never heard or seen such dreadful Thunder and Lightning. He was afraid the Ship would have been fired, it leaving a sulphureous Smell behind it; but they visited him so frequently afterwards, that he little regarded them. As he had always timely Notice of their Coming to haul up the Sails, he then let them blow their Fury over, which seldom lasted an Hour, and without much Danger, near the Coast of *Guinea*, where they generally blow off the Shore^a. These, with the extraordinary Thunder and Lightning, are a sure Sign of approaching that Coast^b; for, on the South Side of the Line, he sailed four hundred Leagues between two and three Degrees South Latitude, in his Passage from *St. Thomas* to *Barbados*; and met neither with them nor any Thunder and Lightning, but fine, steady, brisk Gales between South South-East and East South-East.

Cape de Monte.

THE twenty-second, they descried *Cape Monte*, seven Leagues off, to the East by North, and at Noon found the Latitude six Degrees, thirty-six Minutes North. The Cape was then North-East by North, four Leagues distant; so that being ten Minutes South, and six West of it, *Cape Monte*, by his Observation, (which he judged to be very good) must lie in the Latitude of six Degrees, forty-six Minutes, North; which is more northerly than it is generally laid-down in the Maps and Charts^c.

Cape Misericordia.

THE twenty-third, they saw *Cape Monserado*, from which Road Captain *Shurley* espied them, sent-off his Pinnace to intreat him to put-in there to his Assistance: He having, off the Cape, had his Fore-Mast and Fore-Yard split to Pieces with a Thunder-Bolt; and his Fore-Top Gallant-Sail set on Fire by the precedent Flash of Lightning^d. *Phillips* intended to wood and water at *Junco*, about twelve Leagues to the East, where is a good River and Plenty of Wood; but upon this Application, went in here, and anchored about a Mile and an half, South-East, from the Mouth of the River. Here he found one *Gubbins*, an Interloper^e, from *Barbados*, chiefly laden with Rum, to trade for Gold and Slaves. *Phillips* bought five hundred Gallons of it, cheap, and sold it to good Advantage. Here was, also, the *Stanier Sloop*, with Mr. *Colker* on board, who was Agent of *Cherborough*, and came thence to trade along the Coast for Teeth.

CAPE MONSERADO is about sixteen Leagues distant from *Cape Monte*, there being no high Land between them. It is a round

Mountain not near so high as *Cape Monte*. Within it, to the North North-East, is good Riding in twelve, ten, or eight Fathom Water. The best Anchoring is in nine Fathom, bringing the Cape to bear South, and an half, West of you, two Miles off.

1693. Phillips.

ONE Morning the Captain, with some of his Officers, went in a Pinnace about eight Miles up the River, to visit King *Andreo* at his Town. In the Passage, they saw several Monkeys on the Trees, leaping from one to the other; at some of which they shot, but killed none. The Town lies on the Larboard-Side of the River, going up, and about a quarter of a Mile from the River-Side: The Landing to it lying between two high Trees, where they were met by Roy *Andreo* and his Nobility, who conducted them through the Woods, to an open Plain where the Town lay, it being the only Spot he saw in these Parts free from Woods; so that he admired where grew the vast Quantities of Rice which they have.

THEY welcomed them on entering the Town, and then had them to their Council-Hall: Which, being raised with Clay four Foot from the Ground, they climbed up; and had some Blocks about half a Foot high, of divers Figures, brought them to sit on; as had King *Andreo*, and two or three of his *Grandeos*, the rest sitting behind cross-legged on the Ground.

BEING seated, they had some Punch made, Old Kind of and opened their Knapfacks to eat a Bit of *Superstition*. Neats-Tongue, and what other cold Provisions they had brought along with them. They invited his Majesty and his Lords to the Collation, and distributed some amongst them: But were surprized to see each of them go to a Hole in the Floor, which they eat upon, and, with great Devotion and Symptoms of Sorrow, drop into it a Piece of each Sort of the Meat, and Part of every Liquor, Punch, Beer, Brandy and Rum, given them by the Captain: After which, returning, they eat most voraciously, his Majesty and the Courtiers being very glad of the Roots and Parings of the Tongues, and what else the *English* could not eat. Upon Inquiry, they informed *Phillips*, that their former King lay buried there; and that the Hole reaching his Corpse, they meant to give him some of all Sorts of these Dainties, before they touched any themselves.

AFTER the Repast, the Captain ordered his Boat's Crew, &c. to exercise their Guns before the King, with which he was both much sur-

^a Some have been upon this Coast five or six Months, and never saw a Tornado.

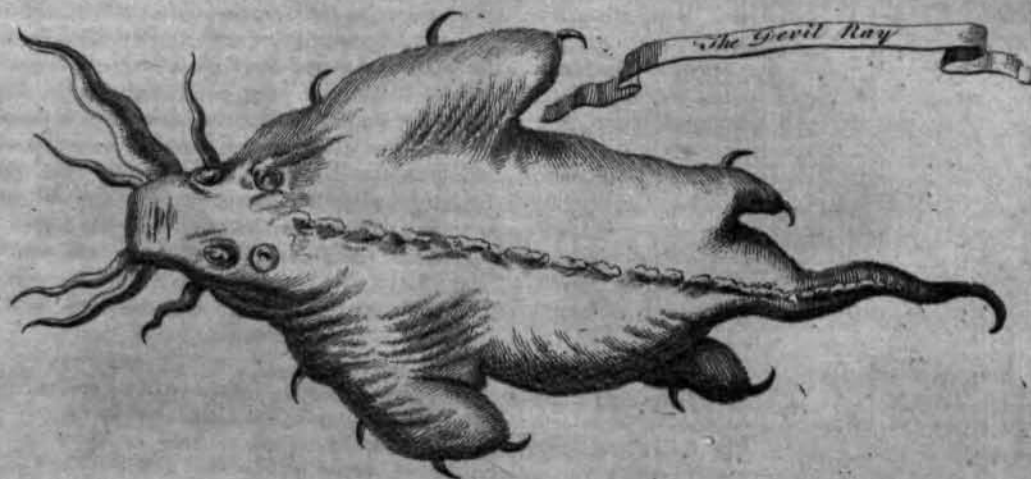
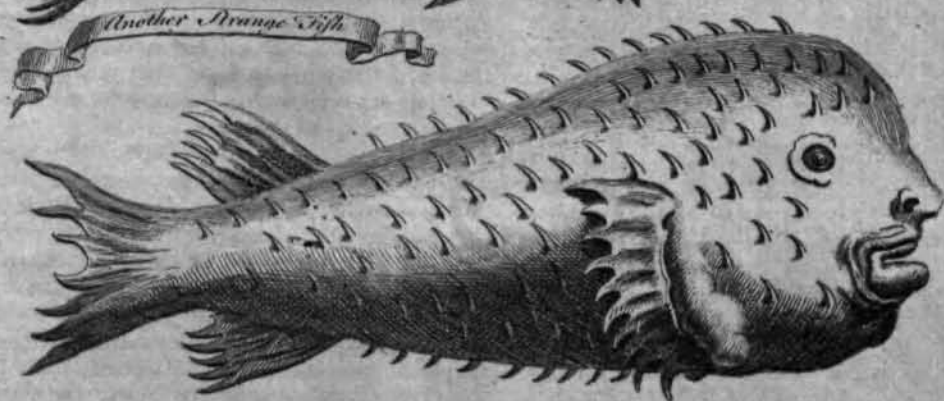
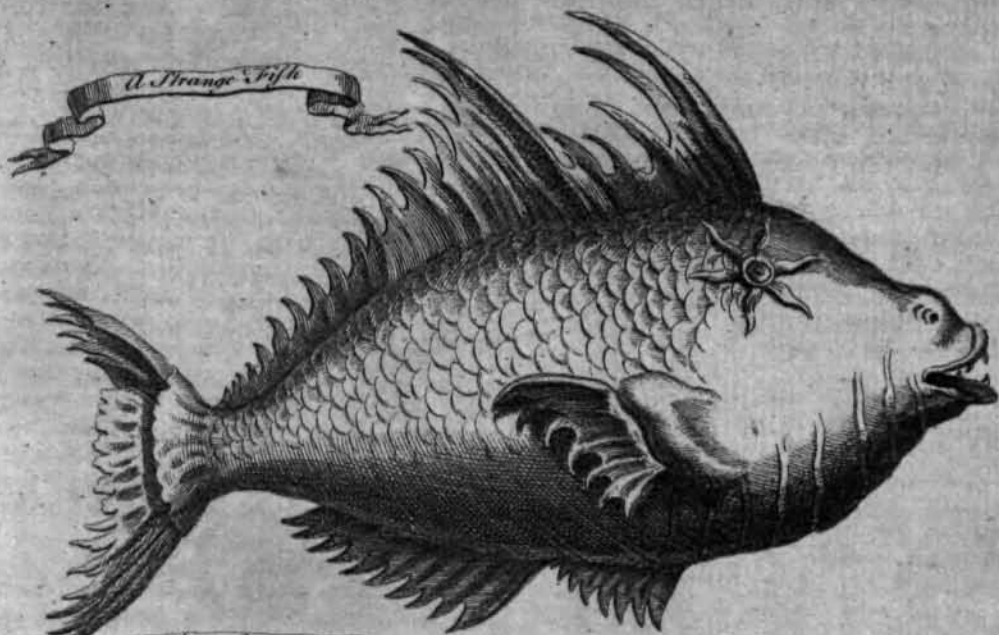
^b His Easting from *St. Mayo* to *Cape Monte*, was seven hundred and fifty-four Miles.

^c He had lost Captain *Shurley* in the Storm, November the first, and all the rest the Day before.

^d That is, a Private-Trader, so called by the Company.

^e One Voyage is

FISH of CAPE MESURADO, from Marchais.



1693.

Phillips.

prized and pleased, especially at their regular Volleys; and, in Return, commanded his Men to shew the *English* their Way of Fighting; which was after a confused Manner with Lances and Bows.

HERE were some Soldiers come from the River *Junco* to assist King *Andreo* in his Wars: Two of them had old Fuzees, with which they marched behind two others who carried Targets^a, the Muzzles of their Pieces peeping out between them: In this Posture they crept on very silently to discover (as it were) the Enemy; which as soon as they had done, the two Guns gave fire, their Lances were flung, and Arrows shot with a most dismal screaming Noise; and then they ran, in Confusion, back to their first Post, where having charged again, and put themselves into such orderly Disorder as they use, they renewed the Attack as before^b.

A Kind of Snipers.

THEY had good Diversion here in shooting small Birds, much of the Size and Shape of a Snipe: They were in such Flocks along the Sand, that they killed seven or eight at a Shot. They eat indifferently well, though some were very lean. At the Mouth of the River they hauled the Seyne often, and caught good Fish in Plenty. They had no Want of Venison; for Mr. *Colker*, the Agent of *Cherborough*, would send his *Grumettos*, or Blacks, a-hunting into the Woods, who would be sure to bring him a small Hedge-Deer or two before Night. One of his Blacks was their Interpreter, for here they could speak neither *English* nor *Portuguese*.

Sailors fully acquainted.

WHILE they were here, the Seamen were charged, by one of the meaner Negros, with stealing a Bag of his Rice. Complaint being made to the King, he came and acquainted the Captain therewith, requiring Restitution with much Earnestness and Dissatisfaction. *Phillips* convened all his Men then on Shore, to discover the Author: But finding they all declared they were innocent, he made his Report to the King, who began to be angry, telling them his Subjects should not be robbed, and demanded Satisfaction. Perceiving that their mild Carriage only made him more insolent, they resolved, at length, to affect being out of Humour, and let him see that they knew how to huff as well as his Majesty: Hereupon the Men being ordered to take their Guns in Hand, Agent *Colker* (who knew the Customs of the Country) shaking his Cane at the King, required him instantly to bring *Red-Water*^c: Protesting that the whole

Ship's Company should drink it for Proof of their Innocency; and that in Case they cleared themselves, his Majesty should make them large Amends for the Injuries done them. No soon^d was this Declaration made, but the Tune was changed; and the King, who saw them all resolute, as he thought, to drink the Liquor, became very humble and submissive. He told them the Person who had accused their Men was a Villain, and that he would have him punished, banishing him immediately from their Tents^d. So much did this Scheme work upon King *Andreo*; though in reality had he put them to the Test, none of them intended to try the Virtues of his *Red-Juices*^e.

WHILE they were here, there came one of the inland Kings to the Side of the Council-Room where they sat: He was of a large Stature, had a manly Look and good Features; in short, was the most majestic, handsome Negro *Phillips* had ever seen, (except the King of *Siboa*) though he was very old, with his Hair and Beard perfectly grey. His Head was covered with above a hundred little Horns, about an Inch in Length, tied to his Hair, and fitted with some red Composition or Paste, which was his *Fatish*, or God, to protect him from Evil. The Author eyed him from his first Appearance, being much pleased with his venerable Countenance; but little thought him of that Quality, by Reason *Andreo* and his Nobles took no Notice of him. About an Hour after he came, *Phillips*, upon Enquiry, finding he was a great inland-King, was much surprized at the ill-Manners of *Andreo*, his Brother-Monarch, and desired him to invite his Majesty in. The Captain finding him backward went himself, but not being able to persuade him to come-up to them, had a Bowl of Punch brought-out, of which the King drank very freely till he saw the Bottom. *Phillips* would have made another for him, but could not prevail-on him to stay, having a long Way home. He presented the Captain with a good Leopard's Skin, worth three or four Pound in *England*; which he returned by three or four Bottles of Rum, and as many Handfuls of Kowries. Upon this they parted friendly; but there was not the least Ceremony between King *Andreo* and him; being, as he afterwards understood, on no good Terms with each other.

AMONG the Natives, they found a *Scotchman* who could give no good Account of himself; and *Phillips* heard afterwards that he belonged to

1693.

Phillips.

^a Square Pieces of thin Board, four Foot long and two broad, by the Negros in *Jamaica*; and seems not so ill adapted to a very woody Country.

^b The Juice of a Tree, an Ordeal-Water in Use among the Negros.

^c At their first Landing they erected two Tents upon a Spit of Sand at the River's-Mouth, both for the Convenience of Trade and of their Carpenters, at Nights, while they were cutting Wood, p. 191. a.

^d *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 189, & seq.

1693.
Phillips.

a Pirate, a small Brigantine commanded by one a Herbert, who had run away with her from some of the Plantations in the *West-Indies*. He was first arrived upon this Coast to look for Purchase, when the Crew quarreling among themselves, many of them were slain and desperately wounded in the Conflict, there being none left, but this Fellow, who could any Way manage the Vessel. He ran her a-shore to the South-East of the Cape and saved his Life, the rest dying of their Wounds. He had a long flaxen Wig, a white Bever Hat, and other good Cloaths. He offered his Service as a Sailor, but had so much of the Villain in his Face, that neither *Shurley* nor *Phillips* cared to meddle with him, but Agent *Colker* took him, in the *Stanier-Sloop*, to *Sherborow*.

They pro-
ceeded.

THEY kept *Christmas-Day* merrily, each Ship firing all her Guns round. The twenty-eighth, came in here Captain *John Soans*, in the *Jeffrey*, and having supplied himself with some Wood, Water, and Rice, set sail again for the *Bight*. The third of *January*, having left a Packet of Letters, directed for Sir *Jeffrey Jeffries*, to be forwarded to *Europe* with the first Convenience, Agent *Colker* set sail for *Sherborow* on the fifth, and *Gubbins*, in the *Barbados Interloper*, for the *Gold-Coast*, the same Morning. By him *Phillips* sent Letters to the *African Company's* three chief Merchants at *Cape Corse-Castle*, signifying his Agreement with the Company to slave upon the *Gold-Coast*; and bespeaking their Diligence in procuring what Numbers they could for him against his Arrival there, with what else was needful. He was forced to stay here ten Days, after he had compleated his Business for Captain *Shurley*, to refit his Ship: Which done they both set sail, with the Morning Breeze, the ninth of *June*, 1694, for the Coast, and next Day Captain *Shurley* was taken ill of a Fever.

Little Sef-
tos,

THE eleventh, they passed *Cape Monserado*, and next Day came to an Anchor in thirteen Fathom Water, off *Picinini Setre*, or *Little Sestos*; but several Canoes coming a-board to invite them to *Sestos*, promising them a good Trade for Teeth, &c. they weighed and stood along Shore with a little faint Gale, several Canoes, with two Negros, coming aboard: But they had nothing except a few Fowls, Oranges, Bananos, and some small Elephants Teeth, which they asked more for than they were worth.

SATURDAY, the thirteenth, they anchored off the River of *Grand Sestos*, within three Miles of *Cape Baxos*, or the East Point of *Sestos*, which is very low and rocky, and went a-shore in his Pinnace with some Goods to trade: Captain *Shurley* likewise sent his Pinnace with his Purser in her, being so ill that he could not go himself.

* In the Original, *Cherborough* here and elsewhere.
as frequently elsewhere, or else *Cape Corce*.

ON the Point going into the River, about a Cable's Length from it, is a Negro-Town of about thirty or forty Houses; the Captain of which calls himself *Dick Lumley*, from Captain *Lumley*, an old Commander, who used the *Guinea-Trade* formerly: And about eight Miles up lies the Town where King *Peter*, their Monarch, lives. The Author, who did not go there, had been informed, that the Natives are very treacherous and bloody, as some of the *European* Traders had experienced. The Goods in Demand here are Brass Kettles, Pewter Basons of several Sizes, *Bijis*, or *Kowris*, Fuzees, *Welsh* Plains, red and blue, Knives, &c. They carried some of every Sort on Shore, but found nothing to traffic for except a few little Calves' Teeth not worth Notice, and yet held very dear. They bought some Hens, Limes, and Oranges. They were offered Rice also, but much dearer than that at *Monserado*, where they had furnished themselves. Meantime the Men hauled the Seyne in the River, and caught a great many good Fish.

1693.
Phillips.Dick Lum-
ley and
King Peter.

THE Way of saluting here, as well as at *Tee English* *Monserado*, is thus: They take one's Thumb in Fear. and fore-Finger between theirs, and snapping them, cry, *Akky O! Akky O!* The People here were very furly and looked like Villains; so that he was soon weary of their Company, and went aboard about four in the Evening, standing to their Guns till they got out of the River and some Distance from the Shore: For they came-down in such Numbers, before they went-off, with Bows and Arrows, that they were in Apprehension of some Villainy intended them; which hastened their Departure, against the Peoples earnest Entreaties, but they offered them no Harm.

OFF *Cape Baxos* there lies a Ledge of Rocks two Leagues, or more, into the Sea. Here, the fourteenth, they met with so strong a Current, setting to the South-East, that it put them three Leagues to the East of the Cape. About three Leagues from *Sestos* Point they saw a great white Rock making like a Sail; and two Leagues farther another Rock, five Leagues short of *Sanguin*. *Sanguin* appears first at Sea in a Plot of high Trees. The Coast between *Sestos* and it is all rocky under twenty Fathom Water, and there is no anchoring in less than twenty-five.

THE fifteenth they anchored off of *Battowa*, where the Land grows higher than between it and *Sanguin*. Here, trying the Current, they found it set three Miles an Hour to the South-Eastward. Several Canoes came a-board from *Sanguin* River, where the Grain, or *Malaghetta* Coast begins, but they brought nothing with them. At ten, they were off the River *Sine*,

* Or, *Cape-Coast-Castle*; in the Original, *Cabo-Corce*.
That is, young Elephants. Phillips's Voyage, p. 193.
about

1693.
Phillips.

about twelve Leagues from *Sanguin*, which is a easily known by a Tree making like a Ship with the Top-sail loose; whence several Canoes came-off with Pepper, or *Malaghetta*, which is much like *Indian* Pepper, and perhaps as good. It was brought in Ozier Baskets. He bought a thousand Weight for one Iron-Bar (Value in *England* three Shillings and Sixpence) and a *Dashi*, or Present, of a Knife or two to the Broker. This he afterwards used for seasoning his Negros Messes to keep them from the Flux and dry Belly-Ach, which they are very subject to. About Noon they went off of *Kroe* for Cape *Palmas*, steering South-East by East, and next Day were athwart *Wappo*, whence came more Canoes with *Malaghetta*, of which he bought three hundred Weight for three two-Pound Pewter Basons.

WEDNESDAY, the seventeenth, they turned the Point of Cape *Palmas*, which is surrounded with Rocks, and the last Place of the Grain Coast, there being no more *Malaghetta* to be had beyond it. This Day died the Captain's Brother, who had been sick about eight Days of a malignant Fever, with which many of the Sailors were seized.

Captain's
Brother buried.

NEXT Day, about six in the Morning, being under Sail three Leagues South-East of *Growa*, the Deceased was nailed up in his Coffin; and the Pinnace being hoisted out, the Captain, Doctor, and Purser went in her to bury the Corps; the Colours of both the *Hannibal* and *East-India Merchant* being lowered half Way down, with Trumpets and Drums sounding and beating as is usual on such melancholy Occasions. They rowed about a Quarter of a Mile from the Ship to Leeward, and the Burial Office being read, the Captain helped to commit the Body to the Deep. Then the *Hannibal* fired sixteen half-Minute Guns, he being so many Years old, and the *East-India Merchant* ten Guns.

BEING at Anchor the nineteenth, they had a very hard Tornado which lasted about an Hour. There came two Canoes with several Teeth, but would not come aboard to trade, though, besides being shewn several Commodities, they were offered Brandy.

Druin.

NEXT Day they had another Tornado, and came to Anchor off of *Druin*, thirty Leagues from Cape *Palmas*. It may be easily known by great bushy Trees, and by a high Tract of Land behind it, the Land near the Coast being low, white Sand. At Noon they were a-breast of the first of the *Red Cliffs*: They are eleven in Number, not very high, and most about a Cable's Length asunder. No Canoes came a-board to trade since they doubled the Cape, though

The Red
Cliffs.

they anchored every Night, that they might not pass-by unseen, and steered close along-Shore in the Day.

1693.
Phillips.

THE twenty-first, at eight, they were a-breast of *Koetre*, a very low Swamp in the Land, and three or four Miles farther came to *Cabo La ho*. Here several Canoes came-off with Store of large, fair Teeth; but before they would venture aboard, required the Captain to come-down the Outside of the Ship and drop three Drops of Sea-Water into his Eye in Token of Friendship, which he performed in Hopes of a good Market: But seeing so many Men on Deck, they grew mistrustful and went into their Canoes again. However, the Captain, with much ado, prevailed on them to return; and giving them each a good Coge of Brandy shewed them his Commodities, and they brought in some Teeth: But while they were busy a bartering, a great Mastiff Dog he had on board hearing a Noise upon Deck, run, open-mouthed, barking out of the Steerage: Upon this, they instantly leapt-off the Quarter-Deck into the Sea, and swam a Distance off, followed by their Canoes, and leaving their Elephants Teeth behind. *Phillips* intreated them to return, holding their Teeth over the Ship's-Side, but they would not: Then he went down and dropt some Water into his Eyes, but to as little Purpose. At length, having brought the Mastiff Dog and pretended to beat him stoutly, they came on board, but you might read their Jealousy in their Faces; for nothing could stir but they were ready to take their Spring into the Sea, and had their Eyes in every Corner. However in Traffic they were subtil enough, holding their Teeth so high, that they could not afford to buy many.

THEY most hideously deform themselves with a Sort of dark, reddish Paint, with which they daub their Bodies in several Places. They plait some Flax into their Hair, making a small Sinnet from each Lock which hangs down to their Shoulders: Some tie them up in a Roll behind, as the *English* Women do their Hair, and others on the Top of the Head. *Phillips* was astonished, at their first Coming, to hear nothing but *Qua, Qua, Qua*, like a Company of Ducks, whence he presumes this Teeth Coast is called the *Quaquaa Coast*, reaching from Cape *Palmas* to *Bassam Picole*, where was the first Gold he met with.

THE Negros of these Parts are called the *Man-Eaters*; and his old Mate, Captain *Robson*, who had long used this Trade, told him, that they eat such of their Enemies as they take Prisoners, and their own Friends when dead. They

Reputed
Man-
Eaters.

* It is usual for the Doctor or Surgeon to read the Office on Deck.

† It is usual here to shew but few Men

1693. looked very savage and voracious. All their a
Phillips. Teeth were pointed like Bodkins, as he guessed,
filing them, since their Neighbour Negros
were not so. They are strong, well-limbed
Men, but the most hideous in Aspect of any he
ever saw.

EACH Canoa brings a Broker, who, as soon
as he enters the Ship, demands a *Dasbi* of a
Knife or two, under Pretence of bringing the
Trade to you; and at every Bargain he also ex-
pects a *Dasbi*. This is all he gets, the Merchant
allowing him nothing; but they are so teasing for
them, that they were forced to give them to be
quiet. The Author had no where upon the Coast
met Negros so shy as here, which made him
fancy they had Tricks played them by such Blades
as *Long Ben*, alias *Avery*, who had seized them,
and carried them away. The Goods they most
covet are Pewter Basons, the larger the better,
Iron Bars, Knives, and large screwed Pewter
Jugs, which they much liked.

SECT. III.

Pikinini La-ho. Bassam: Trade here. Meet a
Dutch Privateer. Another Dutch Ship. Af-
thani. Dutch Interlopers. Cape Apollonia.
Fright of a Dutch Factor: Cause of it. Ca-
noa sent from Cape Coast, or Corse. Fort of
Mina. A Negro Dancing. Cape tres Puntas.
Dicky's Cove. Sukkandi Fort and Castle.
Story of Johnson: His Mistress carried-off:
Himself murdered. Shuma: Dutch Insolence.
Another Instance. Kommendo. Ampeni. Pass
by Mina Castle. Arrive at Cape Coast.

Pikinini
La ho.

THE twenty-third, as they were under Sail,
three Canoes came-off from *Pikinini La-ho*,
about six Leagues to the East of *Cabo La-ho*; one
went aboard Captain *Shurley*, and the other two
came to *Phillips* with divers good Teeth: They
bought some, but very dear. They coveted the
same Sorts of Goods as at *Cabo La-ho*. This
was the last Place where he saw any Teeth; and
observed, that they brought their large Teeth
only for Shew, for they would sell none but the
small and middling ones.

THE twenty-fifth, two Canoes came from
Bassam Picolo to trade with Gold; of which they
took thirty *Achis* for Iron Bars, two Bars for
three *Achis*, each *Achi* being about five Shillings
Value. The Gold they took here was all in
Fatishes, which are small Pieces wrought in many
pretty Figures, which the Blacks tie to all Parts
of their Bodies for Ornament, and are generally
very good Gold. Dust nor Rock he saw none,
either here nor at *Bassam*.

THE twenty-sixth, some Canoes came and 1693.
promised Slaves, but brought none. Next Day Phillips.
a four-hand Canoa came aboard from *Bassam*,
and staid all Night. In the Morning he took of
them thirty-six *Achis* of Gold, and of two
more Canoes that came sixteen Ounces in *Fa-
tishes* for Iron Bars, viz. for one Bar an *Achi* and
an half, for a Dozen Knives one *Achi*, for a four-
Pound Pewter Bason one *Achi*, with several
Knives for *Dasbis* to those who traded briskly.
Here they could put the Bank-Weights upon the
Negros, but to Leeward they know the *Troy*-
Weights as well as the *English*, and have Weights
of their own, which they try all others by.
Likewise here the Goods yield a better Price than
there, by reason that they have not so many Op-
portunities of buying what they want; but then
they have but small Quantities of Gold.

MONDAY the twenty-eighth, Captain *Phil-
lips's* Men were most on the Recovery, having
lost none but his Brother; but Captain *Shurley*
had buried eight, and himself, with most of the
remaining Men, were very ill. Being becalmed,
they had a very thick Fog till the fourth of *Fe-
bruary*, the Weather most intensely hot, and not
a Breath of Wind scarcely, the Current setting
two Miles an Hour to the West for ten Days.

THE second, a Sail coming close upon them, Meet a
before they spied her, they saluted her with a Shot Dutch Pri-
thwart her Fore-foot to bring her to an Anchor; vateer.
which she taking no Notice of, they fired two
more into her, upon which the Captain brought-
to, and proved a Dutch Privateer. By her white
Paint and Building, they took her at first to be
a Frenchman. The Captain, *William Flemming*,
had a private Commission from King *William*:
He was a Trader upon the Coast, where he had
been above nine Months up and down without be-
ing able to dispose of all his Cargo: He was lately
come from *Angola*. The Ship, called *Jacob Hen-
drick*, had sixteen Guns, and forty-two Men,
who informed *Phillips*, that Captain *Gubbins* and
his Doctor, in the *Barbados* Interloper, were
both dead: That the Country was all in Wars;
so that the Roads being unsafe, there was little
Gold upon the Coast; and that the Negros had
taken the *Danes* Fort at *Akra*, killed one of the
Factors, and much wounded the other. *Phillips*
was taken with a Dimness in his Eyes, that he
could not see ten Yards off, and a Dizziness in
his Head, that he could not stand or walk with-
out Assistance.

WEDNESDAY the sixth, they heard seve- Another
ral Guns fired, and presently espied another Ship. Dutch Ship.
Phillips having fired a Gun athwart her Fore-
Foot, she immediately stood close under his Stern.
She gave an Account, that she belonged to the

1693.
Phillips.

Dutch West-India Company at *Amsterdam*, and was bound to the *Mina*; that he had been stopped five Months at *Plymouth*, and had been on his Passage nine Weeks, that he had fought a *French Privateer* fifty Leagues from *Scilly*, and that the *Earl of Torrington* was fled from *England*. This last, they did not doubt was false News, the *Dutch* having had no great Kindness for that old experienced and gallant Sea Officer, ever since the Time that through their own Rashness and Stupidity, they were so roughly handled by the *French Fleet* off of *Beachy* in 1690. This Ship had twenty-four Guns, and eighty Men, Seamen and Soldiers. At six in the Evening, they anchored, as they judged, off of *Asthanay*, twelve Leagues from *Bassam*. The Guns they had heard in the Morning, were fired by this last Ship at the *Dutch Interloper* that parted from them before, whom he fell-in with and gave Chace to, but the *Interloper* failed too hard for him.

Asthanay.

Dutch Interlopers.

THERE were above a Dozen *Dutch Interlopers*, at this Time, trading upon the Coast, notwithstanding their Company has an exclusive Grant of this Trade; with Power to attack and make-Prize of all private Traders, the Ship and Goods being confiscated to the Use of the Company: *Phillips* adds, that the Men are made-Prisoners in the Dungeon at the *Mina*, and the Captain with the principal Officers he thinks condemned to die; the General of the *Mina* being commissioned to try and put-to-Death any Criminals of that Nation, who by a Court-Martial may be thought to deserve it, without Appeal to *Europe*: The same Authority he also extends to the neighbouring *Negros*, especially those of the *Mina Town*, who are under the Cover of its Guns, which creates a great Reverence and Terror in them; whereas, the *English Agents* can only secure the Malefactor, and send him in Irons home to *England* to be tried there^b.

Their Boldness.

The *Dutch Castles* have frequently by Stratagem, seized some of these *Interlopers*, and used them with the utmost Rigour: Yet it does not whit deter them, they providing themselves with nimble Ships, which out-sail the Company's, and go well-manned and armed, and generally fight it out to the last Man rather than yield. *Phillips* says, he had seen four or five of them at a Time lying before the *Mina Castle* for a Week together a trading, as it were, in Defiance of it.

Cape Apollonia.

THE Author finding no Trade at *Asthanay*, went down to *Cape Apollonia*, where they were again disappointed, no *Canoe* coming off to them; at which they were surprized, as these two Places

were formerly noted for Plenty of Gold, very good, and a quick and beneficial Market.

1693.
Phillips.

THE thirteenth, doubling the Cape, they anchored at *Cape Axem*, about two Miles from the *Dutch Fort*; and the next Day, the *Dutch Factor*, Mr. *Rawlison*, came on board to enquire News from *Europe*. They asked him to stay, which he did, and proved a boon Companion, taking his Glass off very smartly, and singing and dancing several Jiggs by himself: But his Mirth was suddenly damp't upon Sight of a great twelve-Hand *Canoe* with a Flag, making from the East-ward towards them. *Phillips*, surprized at this extraordinary Change, asked him the Reason, and offered to fire upon the *Canoe*, if he apprehended any Thing amiss from her: But he desiring him to forbear, immediately leaped into a small *Canoe* that was selling Fish by the Ship's Side, and squatting himself down flat upon his Belly, made the Men row away to the West as fast as they could; and having taken a large Compass, landed about a quarter of a Mile from the Castle.

Dutch Factor
for freighted.

Phillips understood afterwards, that all this Hurry proceeded from his Fear that the great *Canoe* came from the *Mina Castle* with the Fiscal: An Officer in the *Dutch Factories*, whose Business it is to supervise all the Castles the *Dutch* have upon the Coast; to enquire what Government is kept, and to see that no clandestine Trade be carried on by the Factors, contrary to their Oath. In discharging this Trust, he uses as much Subtlety and Rigour as the severest old Searcher in the Port of *London*; and in case of a Discovery, not only takes all the contraband Goods away, but possibly seizing upon all the Gold the Factor has for the Company's Use, carries his Person to the *Mina*, where he is imprisoned; and the gentlest Usage he meets with is to be well fined, and forced to carry a Musket in the Castle as a common Centinel, another being put into his Government. It is the same likewise in case of any Neglect or Remissness in his Duty as Governor, such as lying-out or letting black Women in at Nights. The last of which though it be a common Practice in the *English Castles*, yet the *Dutch* seldom or never do it, although they all have Black or Mulatto Wives as well as the *English*, which they change at Pleasure. It is for these Reasons that the Fiscal is so dreadful to them.

The Cause of

THE great *Canoe* soon came a-board them, and brought Frank the Butler of *Cape Coast-Castle*, sent by the Company's Agents there to

Canoe from Cape Coast.

^a It does not seem properly to be cognizable by a Court-Martial, and must be owing (if so) to a special Clause in the Commission.

^b *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 198, & seq.

^c *Axem* is ten Leagues from *Apollonia*.

^d It is often called *Cape Corce*, or *Cabo Corce*, in the Journal, as before observed.

fetch.

1693. ^{Phillips.} fetch their Letter and Packets, together with a the Factors they had on board for the Castles. In their Way they called on Mr. *Buckerige*, who was Chief of *Dicky's Cove*, and came along with them. By this Canoa he received Advice from the Agents, to dispose of as much as he could of his Cargo, before he came there, where there was no Trade nor Gold, by reason of the Wars; and that there was no Probability of procuring any Number of Slaves upon the Gold Coast.

RAWLIFSON, some Time after he got ashore, sent a Canoa on the Scout, by which understanding his Mistake, he banished his Fear, and resolved to have the other Jug with them. Accordingly, they had him a-board, where he continued till late at Night, and was carried ashore well ballasted with Wine and Punch: But before parting he engaged *Buckerige*, *Shurley*, and *Phillips* to dine with him next Day at his Fort, where they went accordingly; and were met at their landing by *Rawlison's* Second, a young *Frenchman*, his Doctor, who conducted them to the Castle Gate, where they were received by himself with a Salute of nine Guns.

<sup>Fert of Mi-
na.</sup> They took a Walk before Dinner about the Castle, which is old and built upon a Rock after the *Portuguese* Fashion, from whom the *Dutch* plundered it. It had four Flankers, and about eighteen Guns in all, those towards the Sea good and long, and some of them Brads; the Walls are pretty high, and the Gate strong, which faces the Continent. In the Midst of the Fort is their Warehouse, Kitchen, and Lodging of the Soldiers, over which are three or four small Rooms for the Factors. A great Part of the Roof and Wall of that wherein they dined was fallen down. For Dinner they had some *Muscovy* Ducks, Kid, Fish, and Store of other Provisions. What *Phillips* liked best was a Yam-Pudding, which eat very gratefully, managed by the *French* Doctor, with Sugar and Orange Juice. They had Plenty of Punch and stummed *Rhenish* Wine: But a Drink called *Kokoro*, looking like thin Whey, and is a Sort of Palm Wine, he preferred to any other. He thought it drank like Mead or rather Verdy, or *White Florence* Wine, as they call it at *Livorno* (or *Leghorn*.) Dinner being over, and the King's Health, the *African* Company's, and theirs being drank, each with a Salvo of seven Guns, they were invited to take a Walk, where the *Negros* use to dance, about a quarter of a Mile from the Fort, under two or three very large Cotton-Trees, of which their Canoa's are made.

SEATS and Liquor being brought, soon after came the Musick, being three black Fellows, with the like Number of hollow Elephants Teeth; through which they made a hideous Bellowing, and were accompanied by another who beat a hollow Piece of Brads with a Stick. Then came Mrs. *Rawlison* the Factor's Wife, a pretty young Mulatto, with a rich Silk Cloth about her Middle, and a Silk Cap upon her Head, flowered with Gold and Silver, under which her Hair was combed out at Length. For the Mulattos covet to wear it so in Imitation of the Whites, never curling it up, or letting it friz, as the Blacks do. She was attended by the Second's and Doctor's Wives, young Blacks about thirteen. After the *English* had saluted them, they went to dance by Turns, in a ridiculous Manner, making antic Gestures with their Arms, Shoulders, and Heads, their Feet having the least Share in the Action. They began moderately, but quickened their Motions by Degrees, till at the latter End they appeared perfectly furious and distracted. Several other Women came to dance: Among the rest were two who had each a Jaw Bone of a Man, tied to the Wooden Handle of their Sword, which was stuck into their Girdle, and was about half a Yard long, and three Inches broad, resembling a Pruning Bill. The Bones they said belonged to some great Warriors they had killed in Fight, on which they much valued themselves. Being tired they took their Leaves and went aboard.

THE Tower is on the East Side, containing about an hundred Houses or Huts, straight along the Banks of a River, which empties itself into the Sea near the Castle, at the Mouth of which is the landing Place: The Author saw above an hundred Men and Women with Pails on the Side of this River, who told him were washing of Sand and Dirt in Search of Gold-Dust. Here they had but little Trade, therefore, the sixteenth, they set Sail and got about Cape *tres Capes tres Puntas*; keeping-off in twenty-two Fathom to avoid a Ledge of Rocks, that lie a good Distance out from the middle Cape. About twelve, they were off another *Brandenburg* Factory, and about three in the Evening, came to an Anchor in *Dicky's Cove*, about three Leagues East of Cape *Dicky's tres Puntas*; where there is the best and smoothest landing of any *English* Factory upon the Coast.

HERE *Buckerige* was building a small Fort on a great flat Rock, about half a Mile East of the Town. It was not half finished then, a few small Guns planted upon the Rock under the

* This is the best and cheapest Place for Ships that are bound to *Whidow* for Slaves, to furnish themselves with Canoa's, they being very scarce and dear to Leeward.
 * Sure this is like a true Kettle Drum.
 c *Phillips's* Voyage, p. 200, & seq.

1693. ^{Phil. ps.} Fort open, being all his Defence. The Town is a pretty large. They went ashore one Day, and dined with *Buckerige*, they filled some Water here, got a little Wood, and some Coney Stones for the Slaves to grind Corn upon. No Trade presenting they left this Place, and at eleven in the Morning were a-breast of *Tagaratha*.

THIS was the last Place upon the Gold-Coast, assigned them by the Company to dispose of their Windward Cargos; which Article had they observed, they must have brought most of it home again, for each of them had three thousand Pound Windward Cargos, and had not sold to the Arrival here: So that they were obliged to break their Instructions.

Sukkandi
Fort and
Castle.

About two, they anchored in *Sukkandi* Road in seven Fathom, about two Miles off Shore. On the Point stands a small *Dutch* Fort, commanding the Landing Place, much higher than the *English* Castle, and in Gun-shot of it.

THE twentieth, Captain *Shurley* and the Author went ashore at the *English* Castle, where they found Mr. *Johnson* in his Bed raving mad, through Repentment of an Affront put upon him by one *Vanbukeline* the Copeman or Merchant of the *Mina* Castle; which, as they were informed by his Second (who was a young Lad and had been a Bluecoat-Hospital Boy) was as follows.

Story of
Johnson.

ONE *Taguba*, a noted Negro Wench in *Cape-Coast* Town being gotten with Child by some of the Soldiers of the Castle, was brought to-bed of a Mulatto Girl; who growing about eleven Years old, this *Johnson*, then a Factor at *Cape-Coast*, had a great Fancy for her, and purposed to take her for his Wife (as they take Wives in *Guinea*) and being about that Time removed to be chief Factor at *Sukkandi*, in order to make sure of the Girl, he took her there to live with him, till she was of Age fit for conjugal Embraces; using her with much Tenderness, and taking great Satisfaction in her Company for two or three Years: But when she was grown up, being a pretty Girl, *Vanbukeline*, by Bribes and Presents corrupted her Mother *Taguba*, and prevailed with her to go to *Sukkandi*, and under Pretence of making a Visit to her Daughter, to bring her off in a swift Canoa, which he had ordered to lie under the *Dutch* Fort there for that Purpose.

His Mistress
carried off.

THE Mother accordingly went, and having been kindly treated by *Johnson*, who suspected nothing, went with her Daughter to take a Walk. Being come near the Place appointed, the Watermen took her by Force into the Canoa, her Mother following, and carried them both away to *Vanbukeline*; who soon cracked the Nut, *John-*

son had been so long cooking to his own Tooth. When *Phillips* dined with the *Dutch* General at the *Mina* he saw her there, being brought-in to dance before them, very fine, bearing the Title of *Madam Vanbukeline*. This, and some other old Differences between him and the *Dutch*, had quite turned his Brain. The Author was afterwards informed, that the adjacent Negroes, at the Instigation of *Vanbukeline* and the *Dutch* General, had in the Night surprized and seized the Fort, cut *Johnson* the Factor in Pieces, and plundered all the Goods and Merchandize.

Himself mur-
dered.

They were entertained by the young Second, as well as he could; and then went a-board, when they quickly spied a small Ship, which proved to be the *Eagle* Packet-Boat, that sailed with them out of the *Downs*, bound with Letters for *Gambra*, *Sherborow*, and *Cape-Coast*. Coming to Anchor, they learned that her Commander, Captain *Perry*, died at *Gambra* with several of his Men, and was succeeded by *Brown*, his Mate, who told them, that Agent *Colker* parted with him at *Monserado*, and had a Scuffle with his Second at *Sherborow*, before he could get Admittance.

THE twenty-first, they anchored between *A-Shuma*, *bady* Point and *Shuma*, where some Canoes came a-board, with whom they had a good Trade for Gold. But the Negro-Merchants were afraid of having their Goods seized by the *Dutch* for trading with them; which, as *Phillips* was informed, they had often done, and that not only to such as bought out of the *English* Company's Ships, but also out of their Castle at *Sukkandy*, of which there was a late Instance; and the Negroes making Complaint at *Cape-Coast*, the chief Merchants there sent to the General at *Mina* to demand Satisfaction, assuring them the Goods belonged to the Company, but had been put-off with fair Promises only.

Dutch Inso-
lence.

INDEED the *Dutch* were very insolent upon this Coast, especially since the Revolution, endeavouring by all Methods to undermine and ruin the *English* Commerce there; treating the Negroes with great Severity, when they caught them trading with the *English*, though they never molested the *Dutch*. They have wrested *Kom-mendo* from the *English*, (a Place that lies the most convenient for the Gold-Trade of any upon the Coast) and still keep it, though the Company's Agents have Writings under the Hands of the Kings of the Country, which shew an undoubted Title to it, besides long Possession. Upon these Claims, a few Years ago, they attempted to repossess it. When the chief Agent passing by *Mina* Castle with Materials for that Purpose, the

Another In-
stance.

* In the Original, *Cape Corce*.
Leagues from *Sukkandy*.

* That is, during Pleasure.

In the Original, *Gaml*

* Two.
Dutch

1693. *Phillips.* *Dutch* had the Impudence to fire several Cannon-shot at his *Castle*, though he had the King's Jack flag flying in the Head of her; however he purchased his Design, and fell to intrenching and fortifying: But before they could raise Works for a sufficient Defence, they were so continually disturbed by the adjacent *Negros*, hired and instigated by the *Dutch*, who had supplied them with Arms and Ammunition, that they were forced to retire, with the Loss of some Men.

Kormando. The twenty-second, they lay a-breast the high bluff'd Cliffs between *Shuma* and *Kormando*, from both which Places they had a pretty good Trade in the Morning. But the Blacks were in great Fear of the *Dutch* still: For though some of them would buy two or three Balls of Perpetuanos, yet they would never take them whole; but would open them and put them in Bags they brought with them, so many in each as one Man could easily run-away with. In the Afternoon, they anchored at *Ampeni* Point between *Kormando* and *Mina* Town, within two Leagues of this last, lying fair for the Trade of both. Here they had a good Trade, and took above thirty Marks of Gold, each Mark being eight Sunces *Troy*.

Mina Castle. The twenty-fifth, they passed *Mina* Castle, saluting it with seven Guns, and anchored in the Middle between that and *Cape Coast*, about a League from each. Here they met with the best Trade of all, the *Negros* coming to them from all the Towns to the Eastward as far as *Kormantin*.

Cape Coast. The twenty-seventh, they anchored in *Cape Coast* Road, saluting the Castle with fifteen Guns, which they returned.

S E C T. IV.

The Captains entertain the Factors at Cape Coast. Several Deaths. A Trumpeter and Serjeant fight. Commissioned Pirates. Exploit of King Saho. A Cape Coast Marriage. A Tornado. Anishen. Animabo. Agay. Kormantin Castle. Winiba. Visit to the Queen. Quamboer Negros. Wild Deer. Come to Akra. Danes Fort surprized, by the Negros. The Black General's Entertainment and Standard. The Fort restored. Two Dutch Ships destroyed by Avery the Pirate. Captain Shurley dies. A tame Tyger. Violent Tornado. River Volta. Allampo Coast and Negros.

The Captain's Entertainment. **T**HEY staid twenty-nine Days at *Cape Coast*, during which Time Captain *Phillips* took an exact View of the Castle and Fac-

tory, which is the chief *English* Settlement in all *Guinea*. Before their Departure, Captain *Shurley* and he entertained the Agents, Factors, and other Officers at Dinner in a square Summer-House, which stands in the Middle of the Castle Garden; for their Guests would not venture on board, for fear of any Accident in their Absence. Each of them had six of their Quarter-Deck Guns brought ashore, firing eleven at every Health.

General Deaths. While they staid here, Mr. *Clayton*, the Chief of *Fredericksburg* or the *Danes-Hill* Fort, a strong Man, died in three Days of a Fever. He was buried with the usual Ceremony in *Black Jack's* Garden, which is nearer the Fort than the other, and the common Burying-Place of the Whites. He was succeeded by Mr. *John Rootsey*, a *Barbadian*, who came over with their Ships.

At *Cape Coast* they landed thirty Soldiers for the Company, in as good Health as they left *England*; but in two Months Time near half of them died.

Trumpeter and Serjeant fight. WHILE the Author lay here, *William Lord*, a Trumpeter of his, in a drunken Quarrel fought a Duel with one of the Serjeants of the Castle, and thrust him into the Belly, for which he was clapped into the Dungeon. *Phillips* (upon Application made to the Agents) visited the Serjeant with his Surgeon, who searching the Wound found it not dangerous; the Sword having entered about five Inches slanting, without touching any of the Entrails. Whereupon *Lord* was released. This, though a stout Fellow, being a most dissolute, wicked Wretch, the Captain was forced to keep him in Irons upon the Poop, all the Voyage from *St. Thomas* to *Barbados*, where he purposed to put him a-board a Man of War; but was prevailed on to forbear, to his great Vexation afterwards: For he soon got ashore there, and ran-away from the Ship, concealing himself till he had spent all his Money; and then entered himself, as several other of his Men did, on board a small *New-England* Frigate of twenty Guns. She was an excellent Sailor, which some *Barbados* Merchants bought, manned, and fitted out in a warlike Manner, and brought Colonel *Ruffel* the Governor, to be Part Owner with them, who gave her his Commission.

Commissioned Pirates. THE Pretence of the Voyage was for *Madagascar* to purchase *Negros*; but *Phillips* had been well assured, that her Design was for the *Red-Sea*, to make the best of her Market with the *Mogul's* Ships; which having done, and bought a few *Negros* for a Colour, she might safely return to *Barbados*, as the Governor was inte-

1693.
Phillips.

rested, and so near a-Kin to the *English* Admiral. *Phillips* sold a certain Judge and Merchant there at that Time, a large Parcel of Fire-Arms for her Use, more than was usual or necessary for such a small Vessel to carry, only for her Defence on a trading Voyage. What became of her he knew not. The rest of the Merchant-Ships lost several of their Sailors on the same Occasion, viz. this, together with the Plague and Men of War's Press for the King's Service, made Hands so scarce, that an ordinary Seaman would demand thirty Pounds for the Run to *England*, which is generally made in six Weeks, besides insisting to be discharged at the first Port in *England* they put into. Captain *Sinclare*, of the *Leers* Frigate, in *Phillips's* Hearing, offered to pay Captain *Thomas Sheirman*, Commander of the *Tyger* Man of War, (under whose Convoy he was to come home) for the Loan of ten of his worst Hands, a hundred Pounds down, and to give the Men what Wages they should demand; which *Sheirman* refused to do, on any Terms whatever.

At *Cape Coast*, they took-in Part of the *Indian* Corn, ordered for the Provision of their Negroes to *Barbados*, the Allowance being a Chest which contains about four Bushels for every Negro. It is charged to the Company at two *Achis* per Chest, bare Measure, though he could have bought better of the Blacks for heaped Measure. Palm-Oil is cheaper at *Whidaw* than here, but d cheapest at the Island of *St. Thomas*.

Exploit of
King Sabo.

WHILE they lay here, the King of *Sabo*, and *Nimfa*, the General of the *Arkanis*, with about twenty thousand Blacks, in their Return from the Wars against the King of *Futta*, (whom they had routed out of his Country, and forced to seek Protection at *Mina* Castle) made his Brother King, who soon followed them to *Cape Coast* Castle, where he took the *Fatisb* to be at constant Enmity with his Brother, to be ever true to the *English* Interest, and not to molest the *Arkanis* in their Trade, which was the Occasion of the War with his Brother.

A Cape
Coast
Marriage.

THERE happened a Wedding here one Day worth taking Notice of. The Gunner of the Castle, either tired with, or disliking, his Wife, turned her away, and took another, who was Daughter to Captain *Amo*, one of the *Cape Coast* *Kapashiers*. The Ceremony consisted in only giving a Treat to the Castle Officers and some of her jetty Relations, with a Cloth to herself; and thus they were Man and Wife. But the Girl, who was not above twelve Years old, disliking her Husband, could not be persuaded to bed with him, which fretted the Gunner to such a De-

gree, that he grew angry with her. However, perceiving rough Means would not do, he bought three or four Yards of red, flowered Silk from the Ships, which, shewing his Wife, he promised to give it her for a Cloth, upon her passive Obedience. The Beauty of the Silk dazzled the Eyes of the Girl, and removed all Difficulties; for next Morning the Lady was in her Silks and both good Friends.

1693,
Phillips.

HAVING landed all the Castle Cargo, which *A Tornado* took them up a great deal of Time, the twenty-fourth of *April*, *Phillips* left *Cape Coast*. In his Way to the Ship, he was taken by a severe Tornado: The Sea running very high, for Fear of the Boat, (which carried two Chests of Gold for the Company) they rowed right before the Wind, and were driven half Way to *Mina* Castle. By ten at Night, the Wind abating, they turned about, and found the Ship at Anchor off *Danet-Hill* Fort. Being gotten on board, they next Morning took Leave of the Castle with fifteen Guns. The twenty-sixth, they passed by *Mauri*, or Fort *Nassaw*, possessed by the *Dutch*, about a League from *Cape Coast*: It stood high, and looked like a modern Fortification of sixteen or twenty Guns. About nine, passing by *Anisben*, where the Company have a small Factory, which is a thatched House, they arrived, an Hour after, at *Animabo*, a League distant.

PHILLIPS having saluted the Castle with seven Guns, which returned the same Number, went ashore to ask Mr. *Searl*, the Factor here, for the Corn assigned him by the Merchants at *Cape Coast*, to compleat their Quota of seven hundred Chests each. He readily complied, as did Mr. *Cooper*, an ingenious young Gentleman at *Aga*, about half a League East of *Animabo*. Both dined with him aboard, with their Wives, who were Mulattos, as was Mr. *Ronan's* at *Cape Coast*. This, he says, is a pleasant Way of marrying; for they can turn their Wives off, and take others at Pleasure, which makes them very careful to humour their Husbands, in washing their Linen, cleaning their Chambers, &c. and the Charge of keeping them is little or nothing.

WHILE they lay here, they had frequently the Company of Mr. *Fassman*, the *Dutch* Governor of *Kormantin* Castle, to dine, and were handsomely treated by him one Day at the Castle. It is a pretty, neat Fort of about twenty Guns, lies much higher than that of the *English*, and about a League to the East of it. *Phillips* had two little Negro Boys presented him here by the Factors, and two before at

* *Phillips's* Voyage to *Guinea*, p. 205, & seqq.
By others, *Mourree* and *Mourees*.
VOL. II. N° LIX.

By the Author written, *Capashiers* and *Cappashiers*.

1693.
Phillips.

Cape Coast, with good Store of Muscovy Ducks, and other fresh Provisions.

At the third, Captain Shurley and the Author having gotten off an hundred and eighty keels of Corn each, sailed forward. As they went along-shore, several Canoes came off, but there was little Trade, the People wanting Gold.

Winiba.

THE fourth, they anchored at Winiba, where Mr. Nicholas Buckerige, the Factor, had promised them Canoes for their Use at Whidaw. Accordingly they got each of them one five-hand Canoe, which they fitted with Trees and Timbers to strengthen them. Here they haled their Long-Boat ashore, and trimmed her, being leaky and much Worm-eaten. They filled some Water, and cut good Store of Fire-Wood by the Queen's Permission. This Queen is about fifty Years old, as black as Jet, but very corpulent. They went with Buckerige to pay their Respects to her under a great Tree, where she sat. She received them very kindly, and made her Attendants dance after their Manner before them. She was free of her Kisses to Mr. Buckerige, whom she seemed much to esteem, and truly he deserved Respects from all who knew him, being an extraordinary, good-humoured, and ingenious Gentleman, and understood this Country and Language very well. They presented her with an Anchor of Brandy each, and some Hands of Tobacco, which she received with abundance of Thanks and Satisfaction. She was so extremely civil before they parted as to offer each of them a Bedfellow of her young Maids of Honour, while they continued there, but they modestly declined her Majesty's Offer, and that Night lay ashore with Buckerige. Next Day they were forced to keep a Fast, for while the Cook was dressing Dinner, where, among other Things, there was a young Pig roasting at a quick Fire, the Flame of it reached the dry Palm-Branches that thatched the Kitchen, which immediately took Fire, and spread so furiously, that in less than a Quarter of an Hour their Dinner and Kitchen were converted to Ashes.

Mr. BUCKERIGE lived here in a little thatched House, without any Defence but the Mud-Walls, and was often in great Fear and Hazard of being destroyed and plundered by the Quamboers. These are an inland People, who frequently make Ravages towards the Sea-Side for Booty, and had sent him some threatening Messages; though the Queen assured him, that she would lose her own Life before he should suffer any Injury: However, he little depended upon that, but was very glad their Ships were there for a safe Retreat upon Occasion. One

Night he had packed-up all the Company's Goods ready to come on board, but it proved a false Alarm: He was building a square Fort for his Security about a Musket-shot from the Sea-Side, upon an Eminence: He had then raised the Walls about eight Foot high, covered them with Palm-Branches against the Rains, and dug a Tank within; but not having Workmen nor other Necessaries from Cape Coast, the Building went on but slowly to his great Vexation. The Bricks he made here were sad crumbling Trash; but the Lime, made of Oyster-Shells, proved a strong Cement.

HERE the Author saw many Guinea-Hens, and various other Fowl, but was pleased most with the Herds of wild Deer ranging the Plains. He saw at least five hundred at once, but so wild, that they could shoot none. Mr. Buckerige told them, the Negros used to lie Perdue near the Fountain, where they drank, and shoot them: Upon which the two Gunners of the Ships having both been old Deer-Stealers in England, being furnished with all Necessaries, went to work, undertaking to do great Feats, but next Day returned laden with Excuses, instead of Venison. Here are likewise large Baboons, some as big as great Mastiffs. They go fifty or an hundred together. They are dangerous to be met with, especially by Women, whom (as the Author was credibly assured) they often seize and ravish to Death, by lying with them one after the other.

Mr. BUCKERIGE had a good Trade here for Gold, and the same Goods are in Demand here as to Windward on the Gold-Coast.

THE ninth, they set-sail (having Buckerige along with them on a Visit) for Akra, where they arrived the twelfth. Here Mr. John Bloome, the Factor, ordered them the Remainder of their Corn. They got this aboard, filled some Water, and had pretty good Trade, which encouraged them to stay till the seventeenth; in which Time they took fourteen Marks of Gold, as they had done thirteen more in their Way from Cape Coast here: Having in all taken in Exchange for as much of his Windward Cargo as they could dispose of, an hundred and thirteen Marks of Gold on Account of the Company, and the Owners of the Ship. Phillips bought a five-hand Canoe of the Black General, who had seized the *Danes* Fort here, forced the General to fly to the Dutch, murdered his Second, and several of his Soldiers, and then traded with the Dutch Intestlopers, whom he supplied with Water and other Necessaries, which they could get no-where else, except at St Thomas, or Prince's Island. When the Castle was surprized, there was Store of

1693.
Phillips.Visit to the
Queen.The Quambo-
boers Negroes.

Or, Pond of Water.

Merchandize

1693.
Phillips.

Merchandize of all Kinds in it, and above fifty Marks of Gold, as *Phillips* was informed by the *Danes* General, who soon left the *Dutch*, and came to Cape *Const* Castle; where, finding no *Danish* Ships, he accepted of the Offer *Phillips* made him of his Passage, gratis, to *Europe*; though he said he was in great Fear of being called to an Account in *Denmark* for the Loss of the Castle.

By the Negro.

It seems, it was surprized by a Parcel of *Negros*, privately armed, who got in under Pretence of Trade; and having stabbed his Second, while he was shewing them Goods, dispersed to secure all the others in the Castle, a Party lying concealed without to assist them upon Signal given. The General hearing the Tumult, came-out of his Chamber Sword in Hand to see what was the Matter, and was immediately assaulted by two Blacks; against whom he made good his Ground for some Time, calling-out for Assistance: But none coming, and more Blacks pressing-on, he flung himself out of a Window, and fled to the *Dutch* as before-mentioned, after he had received several Wounds, one of which had disabled his left Arm.

The Black General's

THIS Black General (now become Governor) sent two of his Servants to invite Mr. *Bloome*, Mr. *Buckerige*, and the Captain, to dine; which they accepting, were carried in Hammocks he had sent to attend them. The Guard at the Castle-Gate demanded their Swords, which all delivered but *Phillips*, who refused. The General having been acquainted with it, came and told him, that was always his Custom. The other replied, that might be, but it was never the Custom of *English* Commanders to part with their Swords upon any Account whatever; in which, finding him resolute, the General seemed satisfied, and led them in, shewing them the Way into the Dining-Room, which was by climbing a Ladder, and entering through a Hole, or Scuttle. When they were ascended, he drank to them, and all the Guns in the Fort were discharged. After they had walked about a Quarter of an Hour in the Castle, *Phillips* pulled-off his Sword of his own Accord, and gave it his own Boy to hold; which, he perceived, the King took very kindly.

Entertainment and Standard.

THEY were treated with Plenty of Punch and Victuals, which were pretty well dressed: For the Governor had been Cook to one of the *English* Factories, and now went very often into the Kitchen to give the necessary Orders; though at Dinner he was in great State, having a *Negro*-Boy, with a Pistol on each Side him, for a Guard. He drank the King of *England's*, the *African* Company's, and his Guests Healths fre-

quently, with Volleys of Cannon, of which he fired about two hundred during their Stay there.

1693.
Phillips.

The Flag he had flying was white, with a black Man painted in the Middle brandishing a Scimitar. The Castle was old and much out of Repair, and about sixteen Guns, but much out of Kelter. It lies about four Miles to the East of the *English* Castle. In their Way back they killed four Hares with Clubs. This Vermin frequent in vast Numbers the Sedge and Furzes, which are hereabouts very thick. Mr. *Bloome* had a little Spaniel that would help him to three or four in an Hour's Time; but *Phillips* thought them very insipid Meat.

NEXT Day there arrived two *Danish* Ships, of twenty-six Guns each, sent on Purpose from *Denmark* to treat with the Black General about surrendering the Fort, in order to settle it again; for which End they had brought a Governor, Soldiers, Provision, Ammunition, Merchandize, &c. but he was too exorbitant in his Demands while *Phillips* staid there. However he learned afterwards, that the Fort was delivered-up to them, upon signing an Instrument, to quit all Pretensions of Reparation or Satisfaction from the Black General, or his Accomplishers for seizing the Castle, as also for the Merchandizes and Goods, and fifty Marks of Gold that were in it, and to pay-down fifty more at the Delivery; all which they performed, and having resettled it, went for *Whidaw* to purchase Slaves: But in their Way thence to the *West Indies*, putting into the Island of *Princes* for Water, *Avery* the Pirate fell-in with them, fought, took, plundered, and burnt them, which was the unhappy End of their Voyage. The poor *Danish* General went from *Phillips* aboard his Countrymen, though not without Reluctancy, in Fear of being harshly treated in *Denmark*; but it seems *Long Ben* prevented that.

Ship destroyed by Avery.

CAPTAIN *SHURLEY* died here, having been long sick of a Flux. He was handsomely buried in *Akra* Castle, a la *Soldado*, his own Ship firing half Minute Guns all the while the Corps was towing ashore. *Bloome*, *Phillips*, *Buckerige*, and the Chief of the *Dutch* Factory held-up the Pall. After he was buried, his own Ship fired thirty Guns, the *Hannibal* twenty-six, *Akra* Fort twenty, and the *Dutch* and Blacks Fort sixteen each. He was very averse to making a Will, and took it amiss when *Phillips* urged him to it. He left the Command of his Ship to his first Mate, Mr. *Clay*; and as to his own Concerns, said, his Purser, Mr. *Price*, knew how all lay.

BLOOME informed the Captains, that there are more Lions, Tygers, Musk-Cats, and other fierce Creatures hereabouts, than in any other

* *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 208, & seqq.

Avery's Nick-Name.

1693. Part of Guinea. The same Gentleman had sent a the Bank against the Point of it as any where 1693.
 Phillips. hence a young Tyger to Mr. Ronan at Cape
 Claff, which was very tame, and Mr. Ronan
 presented it to Phillips; who kept him in a
 A tame Tyger. wooden Cape aboard, feeding him with Guts of
 Fishes, and other Garbage, for he would eat no-
 thing but Flesh. He was so very gentle, that any
 of the white Men might play with him through the
 Cage with their Hands; but at the Sight of the
 Blacks would be outrageous. The Author says,
 he had frequently put his Hand in his Mouth, b
 taken him by the Tongue and Paw, without be-
 ing offered the least Injury: He would play wan-
 tonly, and suffer himself to be stroked like a Cat,
 which he did in all Respects resemble; but that
 he was finely spotted like a Leopard, about the
 Size of an ordinary Greyhound, and as slender
 in his Limbs and Body: But at length he dis-
 covered himself to be a true Tyger, and that
 there was no changing of Nature. Phillips had
 likewise purchased two Civet-Cats, which exact-
 ly resembled Foxes, being of the same Size, only
 they were of a light, grey Colour. They were
 kept in Wooden Coops, fed with Flour and
 Water boiled, but smelled so strong, that he
 never could come near them. They bought
 several Monkeys, Baboons, and Parrots, for a
 Piece of Eight each, of a Dutch Interloper, who
 was come from Angola, where the best green
 Parrots are reckoned to be.

Violent Tor-
 nado. THE sixteenth, they met with an extraordi- d
 nary fierce Tornado, in which they broke their
 best Bower and Stream-Cable. Next Day, in
 weighing-up the best Bower-Anchor, their Sheet-
 Cable, which was new, of sixteen Inches, and
 never wet before, broke within three Feet of
 the Haufe-Hold. This is the worst holding
 Ground that ever he knew, which obliged them
 to weigh the Stream-Anchor every Night and
 Morning, lest it should settle so far into the Clay
 as not to be got-out. Few Ships come here but
 what leave their Anchors behind them, as Phil-
 lips did now his best Bower. Setting-sail the Cur-
 rent drove him about four Leagues to the East of
 Akra, notwithstanding all his Endeavours to keep-
 up to Windward.

River Volta. THE eighteenth, they were abreast of the
 River Volta, where the Water shoaling very
 much, they snatched-off and kept the Lead going
 every Glais. When they were over the Bank
 of Sand, (which the violent Stream of that vast f
 River has carried above three Leagues into the
 Sea) the Water deepened. The Author had
 been told, that by Means of the River's Current,
 the Water was fresh at Sea for two or three
 Leagues; but upon Trial he found it as salt upon

1693. Phillips. The nineteenth, being on the Alampo Coast, a Canoa came-off with three Women and four Children to sell: But they asked very dear for them, though they were not worth buying, for they were mere Skeletons, and so weak, being Hunger-starved, that they could not stand. The Master of the Canoa promised two or three hundred Slaves, if he would come ashore and stay two or three Days; but judging of the rest by the Sample he brought, and being loth to trust People, where they did not use to trade, and had no Factory, they declined it.

Alampo Coast and Negros. THE Author observes, that the Natives here are reckoned the worst and most washy of any brought to the West Indies, where they yield the least Price; but he knew not why, for they seemed to him as well limbed and lusty as any other Negros. The only Difference he perceived was, that they were not so black, and are all circumcised, which no Negros else upon the whole Coast, as he could perceive, were. The Golden Coast, or (as they call them) Korman-tin Negros, are most in Demand at Barbados, which will yield three or four Pound a-head more than the Whidaw or (as they are called) Papa Negros; but these are preferred before the Angola, as they are before the Alampo, which are accounted worst of all.

THE Author observes, that the Natives here are reckoned the worst and most washy of any brought to the West Indies, where they yield the least Price; but he knew not why, for they seemed to him as well limbed and lusty as any other Negros. The only Difference he perceived was, that they were not so black, and are all circumcised, which no Negros else upon the whole Coast, as he could perceive, were. The Golden Coast, or (as they call them) Korman-tin Negros, are most in Demand at Barbados, which will yield three or four Pound a-head more than the Whidaw or (as they are called) Papa Negros; but these are preferred before the Angola, as they are before the Alampo, which are accounted worst of all.

SECT. V.

Whidaw, or Quedaw. The Natives thievish. Musquitos intolerable. The Captain goes with the Factor to visit the King. His Throne and State. English, their Audience and Entertainment. The King's Subtlety. Prices for Goods agreed-on. Sickness of the English. Manner of buying and marking Slaves. Captain of the Slaves, and of the Land. Negros dread Slavery. Apology for them. The Kaboshir's Dues. Method of poisoning. A subtle Drug. Merry Story: Portuguese, great Poisoners.

THE twentieth, they arrived at Whidaw, Whidaw, or Quedaw, (about sixty Leagues East of Akra) and next Day the two Captains, accompanied by their Doctors and Purfers, and about a Dozen Seamen, armed for this Guard, went ashore in order to reside here till they could purchase one thousand three hundred Slaves to compleat seven hundred for the Hannibal, and six hundred and fifty for the East India Merchant, according to their Agreement with the Com-

* Phillips's Voyage, p. 211, & seq.
 French, Juda.

† The true Name is Fidá, or Fidaw. It is called, by the

1693. pany, in procuring which they spent about nine a
Phillips. Weeks.

THE Factory lying about three Miles from the Sea-Side, Mr. *Joseph Pierſon*, the Factor, ſent-down Hammocks to attend their Landing, with ſeveral armed Blacks for their Guard. Theſe Hammocks are ſlung on a Pole, the Ends are carried-on the Heads of two Negros, who walk or run very ſwift. This Way of travelling is rarely uſed any where but in *Africa*.

The Natives
thouſh.

THE Factory ſtands in the Marſhes, and is very unwholſome, but yet proved beneficial to the Captain, by houſing their Goods, which came aſhore late, and could not arrive at the King's Town (where he kept his Warehouse) before it was dark. In this Caſe they would be very liable to be pilfered by the Negro-Porters, who carried them, and were moſt exquisite at Conveyance; for in the Day-Time they would ſteal the *Kouris*, although watched by the Whites. They had Inſtruments like Wedges made to force aſunder the Barrel-Staves, and let the Shells drop-out; and when any of the Whites drew-near, they preſently took-out the Wedge, and all appeared cloſe again. Theſe Porters had always their Wives and Children to carry-off the Plunder. This they complained of to the King, but the Negros could not forbear their old Habit, although they were often cruelly beaten, and ſome of them baniſhed.

Muſquitos
intolerable.

THE Factory proved beneficial to them alſo in being at Hand to receive the Slaves, who were often returned from the Sea-Side, when the Canoes could not come aſhore to fetch them, on account of the bad Weather, or Sea running high; ſo that ſometimes they ſhipped-off an hundred of both Sexes at a Time.

HOWEVER, it is a moſt wretched Place to live in, by reaſon of the neighbouring Swamps, whence proceed noiſome Stinks, and vaſt Swarms of Muſquitos; which are ſo intolerably troubleſome, that if a Perſon does not take Laudanum, or ſome other Opiate, it is impoſſible to get any Sleep: This one Night the Author lay there, was the moſt uneaſy that ever he felt; for he had not lain-down above an Hour in the Factor's Bed, before he was ſo tormented by thoſe little Animals, that he was forced to get-up again, dreſs himſelf, put Gloves on his Hands, and tie a Handkerchief over his Face till Day-light, which yet could not ſecure him from their Stings.

Gods with
the Factor

MR. *PIERSON*, who was a briſk Man, had good Intereſt with the King, and Credit with the Subjects: Being acquainted with their Temper, which is very daſtardly, he knew how to treat them both rough and ſmooth, as Occaſion required. Moſt of his Slaves, belonging to the Factory, were Gold-Coaſt Negros, who are very bold, brave, and ſenſible: They were like-

a wiſe firmly in his Intereſt; ten or eleven would beat the beſt forty Men the King of *Whidaw* had.

1693.
Phillips.

FROM the Factory to the King's Town, about four Miles, through very pleaſant Fields full of *India* and *Guinea-Corn*, Potatoes, and Yams in great Plenty, of which they have two Harveſts yearly.

ON the Way thither one meets with ſeveral little Villages, or Groups of Houſes, by the Negros called *Krums*, which have each of them a Captain. Few of the Houſes are above five Yards high. They have no Lights, except the Cheef's, which may have a Hole in the Wall, and are much like the Sheep-Cots in *Wales*; having, for the moſt Part, but one Room, where they eat and ſleep together generally on the bare Ground. The *Kaboſhirs* may have a Mat ſpread under them, and a Stone or hard Bundle for a Pillow.

AT their landing the King ſent two of his *Kaboſhirs*, or Noblemen, with his Compliments to the Factory; who ſignified to them, by a Foot-expreſs to their Monarch, that they would wait on him next Day. Not content with this Anſwer, he ſent two more of his *Cavidees* to invite them to come that Night; ſaying, he waited for them, and that all former Captains uſed to attend him the firſt Night: Whereupon, being unwilling to give his Majeſty any Offence, all thoſe who had landed, together with Mr. *Pierſon*, were carried to the King's Town.

THEY were met at the Palace-Gate by ſeveral *Kaboſhirs*, who ſaluted them with the uſual Ceremony of firſt clapping their own Hands, then taking and ſhaking theirs very cordially. Entering the Palace-Yard, all the Nobles fell-on their Knees near the Door of the Room, where the King was, clapping their Hands, knocking the Ground with their Foreheads, and kiſſing it, which they repeated three Times, the uſual Ceremony on approaching his Majeſty. Then riſing, they led the *Engliſh* to the Room, which they found covered with the Nobility on their Knees; and thoſe who introduced them falling on theirs, crawled to their ſeveral Stations, and ſo continued all the Time of their Audience. This was the Ceremony whenever they ſaw the King.

HIS Majeſty peeping-out behind a Curtain beckoned to the *Engliſh*: Whereupon they drew cloſe to the Throne, which was of Clay, raiſed about two Foot from the Ground, and about ſix Foot ſquare, ſurrounded with old dirty Curtains always drawn, for he would not allow his *Kaboſhirs* to ſee his Face. He had two or three little black Children with him, and was ſmoking Tobacco in a long Wooden Pipe, the Bowl of which ſeemed big enough to hold an Ounce. He reſted on his Throne with a Bottle of Brandy, and

Throne and
State.

1693. Phillips. and a little dirty Silver Cup by his Side. His Head was tied about with a Roll of coarse Calico, and he had a loose red Damask Gown to cover him. He has Gowns and Mantles of rich Silver and Gold; brocaded Silks, trimmed with flowers of small party-coloured Beads: Presents, as he said, made by white Captains who traded there, and he often shewed the great Variety he had of these: But his Majesty never wore Shirt, Shoe nor Stocking in his Life.

English,
Phillips.

THEY saluted him with their Hats; and he took them by the Hands, and said, *He longed to see them, for he loved Englishmen dearly; that they were his Brothers, and he would do them all the good Offices he could.* They thanked him by his Interpreter, and assured him of the Company's Affection in England; who, notwithstanding there was more Plenty of Negroes at many other Places, that begged their Custom, yet had rejected all their advantageous Offers, and sent them to trade with him to supply his Country with Necessaries: Therefore they hoped he would dispatch their Cargo of Slaves, which was the Making of their Voyage, and oblige his *Kabshirs* not to impose upon them in the Prices, all which they should faithfully relate to their Masters when they got to England. He answered, *That the African Company was a very good, brave Man; that he loved him, and that he should be fairly dealt with:* But he did not prove as good as his Word; nor indeed, though his *Kabshirs* shew him so much Respect, dare he do any Thing but what they please.

And Enter-
tainment.

HE desired them to sit down upon a Bench close by him, which they did: Then he drank to his Brother, the King of England's Health, the African Company's, the Captain's Welcome, &c. in Brandy and *Pitto*. This is a pleasant Liquor made of Indian-Corn soaked in Water: some so strong that it will keep three Months, and two Quarts will fuddle a Man. It drinks much like new Ale. They had not staid long before there came a Repast on a little square Table, with an old Sheet for a Cloth: old battered Pewter Plates and Spoons: *AM* a large Pewter Basin of the same Hue with his Majesty's Complexion, filled with stewed Fowls and Broth; and a wooden Bowl of boiled Potatoes to serve instead of Bread. They had no Napkins, Knives, nor Forks; for they always tear their Meat with their Fingers: Besides, the Fowls were boiled to such Malt, that they would not bear Carving. They had no great Stomach to their Dainties; however, in Complaisance, they supped two or three Spoonfuls of the Broth, which was very well relished with *Malebett* and red Pepper.

1693. Phillips. THEY often drank to his Majesty out of a Cup made of a Cocoa Nut-Shell. All the Plate they saw was a little Silver Dram-Cup. He would bow to them, kiss his Hand, and burst out often into a Scream of Laughter. When they had done, he gave some of the Fowls out of the Broth with his own Hands to the little Children with him, and the rest among his Nobles; who scrambled for it on their Bellies like so many Dogs, making Spoons of their Hands, which they would dip into the Broth, and then lick them. A very nauseous Sight to Phillips.

AFTER Dinner the King asked for Captain *Shurley*, and being told he died at *Akra*, he suddenly burst into loud Howling and Crying; wringing his Hands, and often wiping his Eyes, though no Tears came out; saying, *Shurley was his great Friend.* He said, the Gold-Coast had poisoned him. Then he told them of Mortar-Pieces, Pictures, Silks, and many other Things, Captain *Shurley* promised to bring him for Presents: And when Mr. *Clay* said there were no such Things on board, he seemed to be angry; replying, that he was sure they were brought; but because *Shurley* was dead, he intended to keep them for himself. To appease him, *Clay* promised to present him with Blunderbusses, Silks, &c. which he had from that African Company for that Purpose. After the King had enquired what Sort of Goods they had, and how many Slaves they wanted, they took Leave.

IN the Morning, according to Promise, they attended his Majesty with Samples of their Goods, and made their *Palavera*, or Agreement about the Prices, that is, how much of each Sort of Goods for a Slave; but not without Difficulty, he and his *Kabshirs* exacting very high; yet at length concluded at one hundred Pound of *Kowris* a-Head, which were charged to him at four Pound a hundred. Then they had Warehouses, a Kitchen, and Lodgings assigned them: But none of their Rooms had Doors till they made them, upon which they put Locks and Keys. Next Day they paid their Customs to the King and *Kabshirs*. Then the Bell was ordered to go about to give Notice to all People to bring their Slaves to the *Trunk* to sell. This is an Iron Bell like a hollow Sugar Loaf, the Cavity of which would contain about fifty Pound of *Kowris*: It was beaten with a Stick and gave a small, dead Sound.

EVERY Morning, during their Stay, the King invited them to Breakfast, where they always found the same Dish of stewed Fowls and Potatoes. He also sent them a Hog, Goat, Sheep, or Pot of *Pitto* for their Table every Day; and

* Phillips's Voyage to Guinea, p. c. + figg.
put or Quarrel. * This is a Sort of Exchange,

* *Palavera*, in the Western Parts, signifies a Dis-

1693.

Phillips.

Sickness of
the English.Manner of
buyingAnd marking
Slaves.

they usually returned his Civility with three or four Bottles of Brandy, which is his *Summum Bonum*. They had their Cook ashore, and eat as well as they could, Provisions being plenty and cheap, but soon lost their Stomachs by Sickness; most of the Men having Fevers, and Phillips himself a violent Head-Ach: So that he could hardly go to the *Trunk* without Assistance, and there often fainted with the Stink of the Negroes; it being an old House where all the Slaves are kept together, and evacuate where they lie, so that no Jakes can stink worse. Being forced to sit there three or four Hours at a Time quite ruined his Health, but there was no Help. Captain Clay and the Author agreed to go thither by Turns, each his Day, to prevent Quarrels and Underminings, whereby the Prices are enhanced; the Blacks well knowing how to make use of such Opportunities, and, as they found, continually tried to create Misunderstandings between them with that View.

At the *Trunk*, the King's Slaves were first offered to Sale, which the *Kaboshirs*, in a Manner, forced them to buy before they would shew them any other; saying, they were the *Reys Cosa*, and must not be refused, though they were not only generally the worst, but the highest prized: But this being one of his Majesty's Prerogatives, there was no Remedy for it. This done, the *Kaboshirs* brought their Slaves, each according to his Rank and Quality. The Surgeon examined well to see if they were sound, Wind and Limb, by making them jump, stretch-out their Arms swiftly, looking in their Mouths to judge of their Age, for they are all shaved close before they come to Market, and well liquored with Palm-Oil; so that it is no easy Matter to know an old Slave from one middle-aged, but by the Teeth Decay. But the greatest Care is to buy none that have the foul Disease, lest they should infect the rest aboard: For though the Men are separated from the Women by Bulk-Heads and Boards to prevent Quarrels, yet they will come together. That Distemper they call the *Yaws* is very common, and has almost the same Symptoms with the Clap; wherefore the Surgeon is forced to examine both Sexes with nicest Scrutiny.

HAVING thus selected those they liked, they agreed in what Goods to pay for them. The Prices having been already settled, saved Abundance of Wrangling. They gave the Owner a Note, signifying their Agreement on the Sorts of Goods, upon Delivery of which, next Day he received them. Then they marked the Slaves bought in the Breast or Shoulder with a hot Iron, having the Letter of the Ship's Name on it, the Place being first anointed with Palm-Oil. It

caused but little Pain, the Mark being usually well in four or five Days, appearing afterwards very plain and white.

WHEN they had purchased fifty or sixty, they sent them aboard, there being a *Kaboshir*, entitled, *Captain of the Slaves*, whose Care it was to secure them to the Water-Side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the *Marine* any were lost, he was bound to make them good, as was the Captain of the *Trunk*, if any ran away while under his Care: This last has Charge of them after they are bought, till the Captain of the Slaves carries them away. These are two Officers appointed by the King for this Purpose, to each of which every Ship pays the Value of a Slave in what they like best for their Trouble when they have done trading. They discharged their Duty very faithfully, for of one thousand three hundred Slaves purchased there, they lost not one.

THERE is likewise a Captain of the Land appointed to take-care that the Negroes do not plunder the Merchandize brought ashore to trade with, being often forced to leave Goods a whole Night on the Shore, for want of Porters to bring them up. Notwithstanding his Care and Authority, they often came-by Loss, and could have no Redress.

WHEN the Slaves were come to the Sea-Side, the Ship's Canoes carried them to the Long-Boat, which conveyed them on Ship-board; where the Men were all put in Irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their Mutiny, or swimming ashore.

THE Negroes are so loath to leave their own Country, that they have often leaped-out of the Canoe, Boat and Ship, into the Sea, and kept under Water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken-up and saved by the Boats which pursued them: Having a more dreadful Apprehension of *Barbados* than they can have of Hell; though in reality they live much better there than in their own Country. They had likewise seen several of them eaten by the Sharks; of which a prodigious Number kept about the Ships in this Place; and the Author had been told would follow her hence to *Barbados* for the dead Negroes thrown over-board in the Way. Phillips says, they saw some every Day in their Passage, but could not affirm they were always the same.

THEY had about twelve Negroes, who willingly drowned themselves; others starved themselves to Death: For it is their Belief, that when they die they return to their own Country and Friends again. Phillips was advised to cut-off the Legs and Arms of some to terrify the rest,

* But not long.

b Phillips's Voyage, p. 21. & seq.

1693. (as other Captains had done) but could not think a
 Phillips. of treating, with such Barbarity, poor Creatures,
 who being equally the Work of God's Hands, are, no doubt, as dear to him as the Whites. Neither could he imagine why they should be de-
 fised for their Colour, which they have from Nature; or, that White is intrinsically a better Hue than Black. He observes, that all Sorts of People are prone to judge favourably in their own Case; and that the Blacks, in Contempt of the Colour, say the Devil is white, and so paint b him.

The Kabo-
 their's Duty. FOR every Slave the *Kaboshirs* sold them pub-
 licly, they were obliged to pay Part of the Goods received for such to the King, as Toll or Custom, especially the *Bujis*, of which he would take a small Dish-full out of each Measure. To avoid this, they would frequently send for the Captain to their Houses in the Night, and dis-
 pose of two or three Slaves at a Time, and he as privately sent the Goods agreed on for them. But this they did not much practise, for Fear of offending the King, who forbids them trading any where but at the *Trunk*. Having sold some of his Wife, or Subjects, he would sometimes relent, and desire them to exchange them for another, which they freely did often, and he took it very kindly.

Method of
 poisoning. THE Author made a strict Enquiry into their Art of poisoning, so much dreaded and talked of in the World. With this View he talked to d several *Kaboshirs*. He took them one at a Time into his Warehouse; where, after he had well-warmed them with Brandy, and other strong Li-
 quors, (the Key of most Secrets) expressed abundance of Kindness to him, and made him some Presents, he desired them sincerely to tell him how they poisoned white Men; whether it was a common Practice, and what Antidote they knew most prevalent to dispel it. All that he could get from them was, that there was Poison to be e bought far-up in the inland Countries, but so dear, that as much as would serve to poison a Man would cost the Value of three or four Slaves; that the common Way as they were in-
 formed, was to mix it in Water, or other Li-
 quors the Party drank; that generally the small Ball of Poison was stuck under the Nail of their little Finger, (which they wear at a great Length) and insensibly drops into the *Kalabash*, or Cup; that it would instantly dissolve, and was of such prodigious Strength, that nothing could prevent its Force, if it was rightly prepared. They ad-
 ded, that they never knew it practised in that Country; and believed the chief Reason was the Scarcity and Dearness of it.

A subtle
 Drug.

1693. PHILLIPS, at his first Audience, desired Phillips. the King would take-care they should have no
 foul Play offered them by Poison: At which he laughed, and said, there was no such Thing in all his Dominions. Yet the Author observed, that he would not drink out of the same Cup with the *English*, and his *Kaboshirs*, nor taste of their Brandy out of the Bottle till they drank first.

ON the contrary, his *Kaboshirs* would drink out of any Cup he would give them, and visit the Factory three or four Times a Day; where they must each have a large Glass of Brandy, which they tossed-off freely. When the *English* went to the *Trunk*, they were obliged to carry three or four Bottles of Brandy to bind the Bar-
 gains-with; and those Gentry would often beg Liquor, under Pretence that they had married a new Wife, and must make merry, which was al-
 ways given them to keep them in good Tem-
 per.

UPON this Occasion the Author relates, that Merry Story. the uxorious old King of *Whidaw* sent for him privately one Night, and told him, that having married a pretty young Girl, whom he was to bed that Night, he desired a Present of a Rundlet of Brandy, to give her Friends to make merry, and withal an Order to his Doctor to prepare him a cherishing Draught. Both his Demands were complied with, and the Surgeon administred him a proper Cordial, which effectually answered the old Man's Intentions, and the next Day he spoke greatly in Praise of the Doctor, whom he pre-
 sented with two good Cloaks.

In the Island of *St. Thomas*, the Portuguese Portuguese
 are so exquisite at poisoning, that Phillips had Poisouers. heard, that in cutting Meat from the same Joint with the same Knife, the Piece they carve for their Enemy shall be poisoned, the rest not; one Side only of the Knife being poisoned. How-
 ever, he confesses, he could neither assert this for Truth on his own Knowledge, nor say, that ei-
 ther himself or Men received any Injury that Way, when he touched at that Island*.

S E C T. VI.

The King of *Whidaw*'s Seraglio. His Jealousy. French Factory. A Negro Ordinary. Noisy Devotion. Wooden Gods helpless. Negroes Apology for them. Their Fatishes and Oaths. Ar-
 hani. Their Trade interrupted: Occasions a War. Fatish, or Oath, taken by a King. The Victors Triumph. Fatishes, or Oaths. Guar-
 dian Beasts. King's Faithman: His Method to appease the Sea, and charm away Death.

1693.
Phillips.*The King's Person. His Kaboshirs. Bad Land-
ing at Whidaw. Instruction for Traders.**King's Se-
rapia.*

THE King's Wives live in a Town by themselves, and the Author, with others in Company, walked by it, and looking over the Wall, saw several of them at Work, and talked with them. The *French Factor* (being too forward) went to open the Gate, which was fastened with Withs; whereupon, all the Women ran screaming away, and immediately some *Kaboshirs* came from the King to desire they would forbear and walk-off, which they willingly did, all but the *Frenchman*, who could hardly be persuaded.

*And Ja-
dely.*

NEXT Morning at Breakfast, the King took Notice mildly of their Rudeness, it being against the Laws for any Man to go near his Wives Town: But said, that he excused it in them as being Strangers; however, desiring them not to do the like for the future. This they promised, and expressed a Concern for having unknowingly disobliged him. He accepted their Apology, but resented it highly in the *Frenchman*, who, he said, knew the Law, and should not have led them there, threatening to make him suffer for it. Upon which, to excuse him, *Phillips* took all the Blame to himself, assuring his Majesty, it was he led them there accidentally; and that he had no other View in looking over the Wall, but to see what a brave Town he had for his Wives, that he might give an Account of it, when he returned to *England*. The King then took him by the Hand, and said, if that was all, he was sorry he had mentioned it, and would not be angry with the *Frenchman*.

*French Fac-
tory.*

THIS poor *French Factor* and his Second live in a little Mud House near the King's. There had not been a *French Ship* there in three or four Years; so that they had no Livelihood but from the King's Bounty, and no Opportunity to go thence. The Captain had them most Days to Dinner, and gave them some Provisions at parting, offering to carry them to *Barbados* in the Way to *Martinico*; but fearing ill Usage there, being Enemies, they would not venture.

NEAR the King's Town are thirty or forty large Trees planted in some Order and Line, which make the pleasantest Walk in this Country; the Branches being so thick that they keep the Sun off, and draw a fine cooling Air. Under these Trees the Author spent most of his Time. Here a small Market was kept, and among other Things in it, he observed an Ordinary, which for the Novelty he describes.

It was kept at the Foot of one of the largest Trees: The Master thereof had for a Table a Piece of flat Wood, about a Yard Diameter, which was placed on the Ground. The Meat was Beef and Dog-Flesh boiled, wrapped up in a raw Cow Hide, and placed on one Side; on the other, an Earthen Crock with boiled *Kankis** in it to serve for Bread. When any one came to eat, he would down on his Knees by the Table, and lay eight or nine *Kowri* Shells thereon: Then the Cook very dextrously cut him the Value of what he pitched-on in small Bits, giving him his Piece of *Kanki* and some Salt; if that did not satisfy his Stomach, he would lay down more Shells, and have more Meat. The Author had seen eight or nine round his Table at once, whom he served very handily, and without the least Confusion. For Drink they went to the River; nor do the *Negros* usually drink till after their Meal.

1693.
Phillips.*A Negro
Ordinary.*

THE King had two little Dwarfs, who would often come begging *Kowris* of the *English*, who durst not refuse them, though they deserved hanging more from them; having been continually disturbed by them every Night, with a most unnatural Sort of Howling under the Trees by their Lodgings: Nor could they ever be prevailed with to forbear, alledging, they were praying for their King to the *Fatish*, who often spoke to them, out of a great Wooden Image^b by the Palace, they had endeavoured to carve it like a Man, but it resembled more a Devil, both for Shape and Noise.

PHILLIPS having been often told, that this Figure spoke every Night to the *Kaboshirs* and Devotees, gave them to understand, that he would gladly hear it, and to that End would go along with them when they pleased. They said, the proper Time was in the Night. Accordingly, about Midnight, he once went along with them, but for Fear of Tricks took four of his Men well-armed with Pistols and Cutlasses. The *Negros* coming to the Image made Abundance of profound Bows and other Reverences, while the Captain stood by expecting the Voice. After waiting half an Hour, he asked them why it did not speak? They replied, it would speak presently. He staid two Hours more, but not a Word from the Stock; at which the Blacks seemed much surprized, saying, they never knew it so long without speaking before. He began to be impatient of waiting so long, therefore ran the Ferrel of his Cane into the Mouth of it, and turned it therein several Times; which they wished him to forbear, lest it should do him Harm. He told them, he saw only a Piece of

* That is, rotten Fish, mixed with Maez Flour, in the Original spelled *Kanky*.
Contrivances of their Priests, like the *He-ry* or *Mumbo Jumbo* of the *Gambra* *Negros*.

^b This is one of the

1693. Wood, and nothing to be afraid of, and there-
 Phillips. fore if it could speak, he was resolved to make
 it. Whereupon, he took-out one of his little
 Pistols, (which he always carried loaden in his
 Pockets here for Fear of Surprize) and firing at
 the ill-favoured Image, sent-in a Bullet under
 its left Eye. When the Negros saw him going
 to shoot, they all ran-away. He and his Men
 staid about half an Hour after, but not a Sylla-
 ble of Complaint of the Wound or any Thing
 else could they hear, so they even left the sense-
 less Log* and went to-bed.

NEXT Morning, they were all astonished to
 see the Captain alive; when he saw the King
 next, he told him the whole Passage. His Ma-
 jesty very gravely assured him, that it spake every
 Night to the Blacks, but would not to the White
 Men*. Phillips answered, if it could have spoken,
 surely it would when he shot it; but that the
 Truth was, being nothing but a Piece of Wood,
 it was not possible for it to speak. The King re-
 plied, he knew the Figure was Wood, but that
 it was most certain the *Fatish* or God used to
 speak out of it. That himself had often heard it,
 and wished the *Fatish* might do him (the Cap-
 tain) no Mischief for abusing it. Phillips told
 him, that he defied the *Fatish*, and feared no
 Harm but from his Subjects Poison: But as to
 that, the King assured him he need not fear in
 the least.

PHILLIPS often saw little Figures of Clay
 about their Houses, with Oil, Rice, Corn and
 other Offerings before them: Also Goats ript
 open, spread and hung on Trees, as Sacrifices to
 the *Fatish*. In short, they have so many Things
 they call *Fatishes*, that he could never understand
 the Meaning of the Word. On the Gold-Coast
 when they make any solemn Promise or Oath,
 they take about six Spoonfuls mixed with some
 Powders of divers Colours, which the *Fatishman*
 puts into it. This Potion is to kill them the Mi-
 nute they break the Oath, and which they firmly
 believe. Captain Shurley used to make his Ne-
 gros a-board take the *Fatish*, that they would
 not swim ashore and run-away, and then would
 let them out of Irons. His Potion was a Cup
 of English Beer with a little Aloes; which ope-
 rated upon their Fatch, as much as if it had been
 made by the best *Fatishes* in Guinea. For my
 Part, (says Phillips) I put more Dependance
 upon my Shackles than any *Fatish* I could give
 them.

AT Cape Coast Castle, he saw the *Fatish* in all
 its Circumstances given to the new King of Fut-
 to, by Messieurs Platt, Roman and Mursis, the

African Company's three chief Merchants there, 1693.
 the King of *Sabo*, and *Nimfa*, the General of Phillips,
 the *Arkanis*. The Occasion of which, as well as
 he could learn, was as follows.

THE *Arkanis*, who are the best Traders the *Arkanis*
English deal with, and have the purest Gold, are Trade inter-
 inland People; and were obliged, for carrying-on rupted.
 their Trade to the Castles and Ships, to pass
 through other Princes Territories. Among the
 rest, the King of *Futto*'s was one, which was
 granted for some Time without Molestation.
 But at length, the *Futto* Negros designing to
 make a Prey of the *Arkanis* (at the Instigation of
 the *Dutch* at the *Mina* Castle) refused them Pas-
 sage, and would force them to buy at a much
 dearer Rate worse Goods, which they had from the
Dutch. The *Futtoers*, upon the *Arkanis* refusing to
 deal with them, abused the Traders and plundered
 their Gold.

THIS brought on a War betwixt them; in Occasions a
 which, the *Arkanis* appointed one *Nimfa*, a Har-
 chief Trader, and best qualified in other Respects
 for the Post, to be their General; and commu-
 nicating their Designs to Cape Coast, the Mer-
 chants there promised to supply them with Arms,
 Ammunition, and other Necessaries for their
 Expedition. The *Arkanis* likewise hired the
 King of *Sabo* and his Subjects as Auxiliaries. This
 Prince was one of the most majestic and warlike
 Negros Phillips had ever seen, who had been as-
 sured, that his Actions in the Field corresponded
 with his Presence. The *Arkanis*, thus joined by
 the *Sabo* and several Cape Coast Negros, under the
 Command of Captain *Hansiko*, Captain *Amo*, and
 others of the Castle *Kabobiers*, made up an Ar-
 my of twenty thousand Blacks, and marched di-
 rectly against the King of *Futto*, who, in his
 Defence, had raised such another Army. They
 had many small Skirmishes, pickeering with each
 other; for the Negros do not care to come to a
 fair set Battle, but watch to get Advantages by
 Ambuscades and Surprizes. In this, the *Arkanis*
 and *Sabo* Men were so successful, that they forced
 the King of *Futto* to fly to the *Mina* for Protec-
 tion.

In the Interim, *Nimfa*, and the King of *Sabo*, Solmn Fa-
 entered his chief Town triumphantly, plundered tish, or Oath.
 and burnt most of it, and constituted his Brother
 King in his Stead; and having obliged all the
 great *Kabobiers* in *Futto* to take the *Fatish* to be
 true to their new King, they brought him along
 with him to Cape Coast Castle, there to take the
Fatish, or Oath; which was, to be true to the Eng-
 lish, and promote their Interest in all Kinds; to be
 at eternal Enmity with his Brother the late King*;

* This was certainly a very rash Action; and such an Affront to a senseless Idol in a Popish Country, would
 have cost him his Life. The more ridiculous Excuse may serve the Popish Priests on the like Occa-
 sions, only putting in Heretic for White Man. Phillips's Voyage, p. 222, & seq. An Un-
 christian Covenant.

1693.

Phillips.

to preserve an inviolable Friendship with the Country with their Gold and Goods without Molestation. These Articles engraved on Parchment in the Name of the Royal African Company of England, *Nimfa*, and the King of *Sabo*. The King of *Futto* signed by making his Mark; and Captain *Shurley*, *Phillips*, and divers of the Factors, and the Castle *Kaboshirs* witnessed them. Then the King of *Futto* took the *Fatish* on his bare Knees to keep them inviolably; which was six Spoonfuls of Water, wherein the *Fatisher* had put about a Dozen Sorts of Powders, none but himself knowing what they were; and having stirred them well, gave the King of *Sabo* his Potion: Assuring him, that upon the least Infringement of the Articles, he would in the twinkling of an Eye drop down dead as a Door-Nail; which the Prince seemed firmly to believe. This new King of *Futto* had a very dull, drowsy Mien; and was carried every where upon a Negro's Back, his Foot being sore with a Worm.

The Visitors
Le. an. ph

WHEN the King of *Sabo* and *Nimfa* came first to Cape Coast, in Return from the War, they were saluted by the Castle and the Ships, with nine Guns each, which they answered with small Shot. They walked under Canopies with several Horse-Tails tied to them; and their Men continually shooting before them, till they came to the Castle-Gate. Here having flourished their Swords antickly, they entered; and with great Respect kissed all the Hands of the *English*, who shook them by theirs, bidding them welcome. The Agents ordered a Hog'shead of Brandy to be set on End without the Castle, and the Head knocked-out, for all the Army to drink the *African* Company's Healths.

THE King of *Sabo* had two Wives always accompanying him to the Wars, who were with him now, and often picked his Head publicly and eat the Lice, which is a common Custom here; nor is it any Shame among them to be lousy.

Fatishes or
Cburns.

THE Author says, he has given the best Account he could of this Sort of *Fatish*, and the Occasion of it. They have little Pieces of Gold, exquisitely made, in divers Figures, which for Ornament the Blacks wear tied to their Hair, and about their Necks, Wrists, and Small of the Leg; and these they call *Fatishes*: Also every Negro has some Creature or other he pays

his Devotions to, admits and supposes to be his Guardian, to take-care of him and keep him from all Harm^b, which he calls his *Fatish*. That of General *Nimfa* was a Cow; and there being one killed to entertain them before their Departure from the Castle^c, the Agents could not persuade *Nimfa*, who had the Favour of sitting at Table with the Kings of *Sabo* and *Futto*, to touch a Bit, nor so much as to look on the Meat^d; his Reason was because it was his *Fatish*, which he was sorry they had killed. Others have a Dog, Sheep, Leopard, or what else they fancy for their *Fatish* to keep them from Harm. And at *Monserado*, the Author was told by a Negro of Quality, who had a Slip of Leopard's Skin about his Arm, that it was his *Fatish* to keep him from the Thunder, which is very dreadful there. Others wear Tygers-Teeth, Goats-Horns, full of a reddish Paste, Bones of Fishes, &c. all which have their peculiar Virtues to defend them from some imminent Danger or other^e.

1693.

Phillips.

Guardian
Beasts.

The King's *Fatishman* here pretends to great Power and Skill. *Phillips* happening to be in the rainy Seasons, when the Sea is most turbulent, it chanced to be one Time to exceeding boisterous, that the Canoes were not able to bring any Goods for eighteen Days. This made the *Kaboshirs* backward in selling Slaves, by reason the *English* had no Goods ashore to pay for them; and they refusing to give Credit till the Goods could be landed, made their Complaint to the King; who desired them to be easy, and he would make the Sea quiet next Day.

Fatishman
Method

ACCORDINGLY he sent his *Fatishman* with a Jar of Palm-Oil, a Bag of Rice and Corn, a Jar of *Pitto*, a Bottle of Brandy, a Piece of painted Calico, and several other Things, to present the Sea. Being come to the Sea-Side, (as the Author was informed by his Men, who saw the Ceremony) he made a Speech to it, assuring it, that his King was its Friend, and loved the white Men; that they were honest Fellows, and came to trade with him for what he wanted; and that he requested the Sea not to be angry, nor hinder them to land their Goods; he told it, that if it wanted Palm-Oil, his King had sent it some; and so threw the Jar with the Oil into the Sea, as he did with the same Compliment the Rice, Corn, *Pitto*, Brandy, Calico, &c.

To appease
the Sea,

It happened next Day, that the Sea was somewhat smoother, and they got ashore some Goods,

* These are like the *Grigris* or *Gregories* of the *Gambra*, and other Western Negroes; or the *Teraphim* of the *Jews*.

^b The *Romish* Clergy appoint Guardians for Beasts; the Negroes make Guardians of Beasts.

^c This is the greatest Token of Respect that can be shewn a Friend in this Country, which the Dutch General at the *Mina* Castle shewed Mr. *Roman*, Captain *Shurley*, Captain *Freeman*, and *Phillips*, when he invited them to dine there, a Cow being killed and dressed all at once.

^d This answers to *Cicero's* Observation, that no Man is so foolish as to eat the very Thing which he worships. But there are such Fools among Christians, if there be not among Heathens or Negroes.

^e *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 124, & seqq.

1693. which the old King was very proud of, and attributed to his *Fatishman*, though it really proceeded from the Moon's being near the Wain; at which Time, in all these Southern Countries, the Gales are more faint, and the Sea calmer than at Full and Change: However, the Captain was glad he had his Goods to trade. This *Fatishman* boasted, that he could make it rain Corn, or Salt, if he pleased: Upon which *Phillips* promised large Gratuities for one Instance of his Skill, but could not prevail.

And charm
away Death:

THE following Story *Phillips* had from Mr. *Pierfon*: He came Second to one *Smith*, then Factor, who, soon after his Arrival, fell very ill of the Country malignant Fever; which the King, who greatly esteemed him, hearing of, sent his *Fatishman* to charm Death away. The *Fatishman* coming to *Smith's* Bed-Side, first acquainted him with his Errand: Then went to the Hogyard, where they bury the white Men; and having carried with him some Brandy, Rum, Oil, Rice, &c. he cried-out aloud, *O ye dead white Men who lie here, you want to have this Factor, who is sick, to be among you! but he is our King's Friend, and he loves him, and will not part with him as yet.* Then he went to Captain *Wiburn's* Grave, who built the Factory, and cried, *O you Captain of all the dead white Men who lie here, this is your Doings! You would have this Man to bear you Company, because he is a good Man; but our King will not part with him: No, you shall not have him yet.* Then making a Hole in the Ground over his Grave, he poured in the Brandy, Rum, Oil, Rice, &c. telling him, *If he wanted those Things, there they were for him; but the Factor he must not expect, nor should have; with more such Nonsense.* After this, he went to *Smith*, and assured him, he should not die: But growing troublesome to the sick Man, *Pierfon* turned him out of the Factory, and in two Days after poor *Smith* made his Exit.

The King's
Person.

THE King of *Whidaw* was about sixty Years of Age, as near as *Phillips* could guess; for none of the Negroes know their own Age, nor do or can they keep any Account of Time. He was of a middle Stature, and spare; his Hair and Beard grey; his Aspect very ordinary and mean; and so the Author believed was his Heart: He seemed of a good, free Temper, and full of Mirth and Kindness, especially when he intended to beg a Boon. He never went out of his Palace while they were here: But in his Palace-Yard would walk bare-foot through the Mud and Water with as little Condemn as any of his poor Subjects, of whom *Phillips* had been told he could raise forty thousand in twenty-four Hours.

His chief *Kabobhirs* were Captain *Springgatha*, 1693. about eighty Years old, and a politic Blade. *Phillips.* He expected to reign next, and governed the present King as he pleased. They found more Opposition and Quirking from him, in settling their Trade*, than from the King and all the other *Kabobhirs*.

His Ka-
bobhirs

THE next is Captain *Charter*, the King's great Confident; who formerly was a Boy to Mr. *Charter* the Factor, whose Name he took, and was very proud of. He was a very handsome, sensible Black, about thirty Years of Age, and a generous Trader. He sold them more Slaves than all the other *Kabobhirs* put together: The Blacks have fixed their Eyes on him, *Springgatha* being very old. Next to *Charter* is Captain *Tom*, the Interpreter, Captain *Biby*, Captain *Aywa*, and divers others who attended the King. Among the rest was King *Tom*, (Brother to the King of *Great Arda*) who being banished for some Crime, took Sanctuary here.

FROM the Road, where Ships ride, there runs such a prodigious Surf on Shore, that a Man risks drowning every Time he goes to Land, and comes-off, the Canoes frequently oversetting: However, the Canoe-Men are such excellent Divers and Swimmers, that they preserve the Lives of those they have any Kindness for; but such as they owe a Spite to, they leave to shift for themselves.

Bad Land-
ing at Whi-
daw.

EVERY Commander buys his Canoes on the Gold-Coast, and strengthens them with Knees and Weather-Boards, fore and aft, to keep-out the Sea, they plunging very deep when they go against it. They are made of the Trunk of a Cotton-Tree hollowed, from a two to a twelve-hand Canoe; the largest being not above four Foot broad, but twenty-eight or thirty long: Those that are most fit for the Use at *Whidaw*, are five or seven-hand ones, of which each Ship, that buys many Slaves, ought to carry two: For they are very incident to be stayed by the great Sea, when they over-set, and here is none for Supply; and without them there is no landing, or coming-off for Goods or Men. The Canoe-Men are brought by the Commander likewise from Cape Coast, being seven in Number; of which one is Boatwain, being one of the most skilful Canoe-Men in *Guinea*: He always steers the Canoe, and commands the rest, giving Orders when to row, or when to lie on their Paddles, to watch a smooth, or shun a great Sea. Their Pay is certain and stated, half of which is paid in Gold at Cape Coast, and the rest in Goods: When you have done with them at *Whidaw*, it is customary to give them one Canoe to carry them back; and the other is generally cut-up for Fire-

Insults
for Traders.

* He means, as to the Value and Sorts of Goods.

1693.
Phillips.

Wood, for you can rarely sell it. These Canoa-
Men lost Phillips six or seven Barrels of Kowris,
above an hundred Bars of Iron, and other Goods,
by the over-setting the Canoa in landing them;
which he could never recover, or have the least
Satisfaction for; but was forced to give them good
Words, lest they should in Revenge play more
such Tricks *.

S E C T. VII.

*They take-in Water. Leave Whidaw. Island of
Princes. Cape St. John. A Grampus and
Thresher. The Tyger breaks loose. Cape Lope
Gonsalvo. St. Thomas and the Catras. Phil-
lips's Visit to the Governor. Sails for Barbados.
Death of Negros by the white Flux, and Small
Pox. A Hurricane. Plague at Barbados. They
sail for England. Arrive at Scilly. Sad Ac-
cident. The Hannibal in Danger. Puts-in at
Spithead. The Author loses his Hearing. Tries
Remedies in vain.*

Take-in
Water.

PHILLIPS kept two Men ashore here con-
stantly to fill Water, who lay and eat at
the Factory. They filled his small Hogheads in
the Night, and rolled them over the Sand to the
Sea-Side, ready to raft-off in the Morning before
the Sea-Breeze came-in, which is the only Time.
There is no other Way to get it off but by raft-
ing; and in hauling-off to the Long-Boat, the
great Sea would often break his Raft, and stove
the Cask. The Long-Boat was chiefly employed
in bringing Water aboard, which was started in-
to the Buts in the Hold; and the small Cask sent
ashore again next Morning, of which he had
two Gangs on purpose. He had a little Deal-
Yawl which did great Service in bringing-off
Cows, Hogs, Slaves, Letters, &c. from the
Canoas, with only two Boys in her.

Leave Whi-
dow.

JULY the twenty-seventh, having bought
seven hundred Slaves, viz. four hundred and
eighty Men, and two hundred and twenty Wo-
men, the Author took his Leave of the old King,
(who dismissed him with great Civilities,) and in
Company of the *East India Merchant*, which had
bought six hundred and fifty Slaves, set-sail for
the Isle of *St. Thomas*, where they were to lay-
in Provision.

Island of
Princes.

AUGUST the second, they passed the South-
End of *Princes Island*, which is very high and
mountainous, Easting from *Whidaw* ninety-nine f
Leagues.

THE fourth, they fell-in with the Land in
fifty-seven Minutes, North Latitude, by Ob-
servation, being a low, even Tract, full of Trees,
with a small Island at the South-End of it, which

Phillips took to be Cape St. John's in the Bight. 1693.
This Night he lost Sight of the *East India Mer-*
chant, the having tacked by reason of several
Grampusses a-head of the Ship; which the Men,
who looked-out, took for two Rocks. This Sea
abounds with Grampusses, which are as big as
small Whales, and much enamoured with Ships:
For they will follow and wantonly play about
them; supposing them, as he presumes, to be
some great gigantic Brothers of the watery Ele-
ment. They had good Diversion in seeing a Fish,
called the *Thresher*, combat these Grampusses;
for wherever they meet, they quarrel. As near
as he could guess, the *Thresher* is about four
Yards long, but very slender. In engaging, it
rises an End quite out of the Water; and falls
upon the Grampus with such Violence, that they
could hear the Noise, and see the Breach in the
Sea, which the Blow made, above a Mile.

PHILLIPS had a Seton made in his Neck
on the fifth, to ease his Head-ach, having ob-
tained Blisters and other Remedies to no Purpose.

THE sixth, they crossed the Line. The Ne-
groes being all upon Deck at Dinner, the young
Tyger above-mentioned broke-out of his Cage
upon the Quarter-Deck; and seizing on a Ne-
gro Woman's Leg, in an Instant tore the Calf
quite off. This one of the Quarter-Masters per-
ceiving, ran-in, and giving him a little Blow
with the Flat of his Cutlass, he couched down
like a Spaniel Dog; and the Man taking him up
in his Arms, dragged him along, and without
any Resistance or Harm pent him up in his Coop
again. This Tyger's Fondling with the Whites
and Enmity with the Blacks has been taken-No-
tice of already; and now they were always ob-
liged to hang an old Sail before his Cage, while
the Slaves were at Dinner, else there was no pa-
cifying him.

THE eighth, they descried *Cape Lope*, six
Leagues to the South-West by West. They
were then abreast of a great white Sand upon
the Shore, reaching far-up the Land, which he
judged to be the *Grote White Pleken*, in the
Dutch Waggoner, about the River *Gabon*. There
runs a Sand off it a great Way into the Sea, which
made them have no more than ten Fathom Water
at that Distance; but there is no Danger, the
Soundings being gradual into the Shore. *Cape de
Lope Gonsalvo* being five Leagues due South, he
observed the Latitude to be thirty-five Minutes.

PHILLIPS designed to have laid-in Wood
and Water at this Cape: But the Uncertainty of
the Winds, and the Current setting to Leeward,
added to a great Mortality among his Negros,
and the Want of some Provisions, determined
him to stand-over for *St. Thomas*, about forty

1693.
Phillips.St. Thomas
and the Ca-
vans.It fits the
Caventry.Sail for
Barbados.

Leagues distant. Accordingly, the ninth directing a his Course that Way, on the eleventh, he saw the Island bearing North-West by West, and the *Cutras* North-West, distant about six Leagues. Coming near he bore-up along the Shore towards the Town, having gradual Soundings from fourteen to seven Fathom: But a little to Windward of the Town, of a sudden, he had but five Fathom; upon which edging-off and still shoaling his Water, he let-go his Anchor in four and an half Fathom right abreast of the Castle. However he observes here is no Danger, there being no less Water in two Miles round, but it grows deeper into the Shore, as he found afterwards by Soundings.

THE same Day he went to visit the Governor (the General being dead.) He received him civilly, and, after some Questions of Form, gave him Leave to supply himself with Wood, Water, and Provisions. At the same Time he told the Captain, that the usual and best Road for Ships was under the Castle; hinting as if he thought his not riding there proceeded from an Unwillingness to be under the Command of its Guns: Therefore, to remove his Jealousy, *Phillips* came-up to the Castle, which he saluted with five Guns; but put all the Negro-Men into Irons lest they should swim away, being so near the Shore.

THE most convenient Time to fill Water here is in the Night, by reason the Women of the Town are washing Cloaths, and otherwise muddling in the Water all Day: Therefore, the Cooper, with two Seamen were ashore for this Purpose. But one of the Men armed, was constantly kept to watch in the Night; else the *Portuguese* (who are the greatest Thieves in the World) would have stolen all their Iron-Hoops off.

HIS Negroes died so fast, that having completed his Business he was forced to leave the *East-India Merchant* behind, and set-sail, the twenty-fifth, for *Barbados*. The Work of which Voyage he gives all together in a Table, making the Total Westing, from *St. Thomas* to *Barbados*, four thousand and seventy-five Miles, sixty-seven Degrees, fifty-four Minutes; or Leagues one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight. It may be observed, in general, that they had a good Passage, and never went three Degrees to the Southward of the Line: But the more Southward they went the stronger were the Winds, and the more they veered to the Eastward, and felt it very cold considering the Latitude. From the twentieth of *October* they sailed in thirteen Degrees twelve Minutes, North, the allowed Latitude of *Barbados*, till the fourth of

November they descried it bearing off them West by North, distant seven Leagues. He had then very good Observation in thirteen Degrees twelve Minutes, North; so that he makes the Island to lie in thirteen Degrees eight Minutes, and the meridian Distance from *St. Thomas* sixty-eight Degrees forty-nine Minutes, West: Whence, he concludes, those must be mistaken who assert, however positively, that its Longitude is but sixty or sixty-two Degrees West from *Cape Lopez*, being sure that he kept his Reckoning with all the Care and Skill Navigation could afford him.

THEY arrived at *Bridgetown*, *November* the fourth, having spent, in their Passage from *St. Thomas*, two Months and eleven Days. In which Time there happened such Sickness and Mortality among his Men and Negroes, that of the first he buried fourteen, and of the last three hundred and twenty. This was a great Detriment to his Voyage, the Company losing ten Pounds by every Slave who died, and the Owners of the Ship ten Pounds ten Shillings; that being the Freight agreed to be paid them for every Negro delivered alive ashore to the Company's Agents at *Barbados*: Whereby the Loss, in all, amounted to six thousand five hundred and sixty Pound *Sterling*. The Captain delivered alive three hundred and seventy-two, which, being sold, came-out at about nineteen Pounds a-Head upon an Average.

THE Distemper both Whites and Blacks chiefly died of, was the White-Flux; which was so violent and inveterate that no Medicine would, in the least, check it; so that they reckoned them dead Men as soon as seized. It began about a Week after they left the Island of *St. Thomas*, and as to the Whites, next to the Malignity of the Climate, he could attribute it to nothing else but the unpurged black Sugar, and raw, unwholesome Rum they bought there, of which they drank in Punch to great Excess, in spite of all his Endeavours; for he not only chastised several, but flung overboard what Rum and Sugar he could find. He was forced to clap in Irons, *Lord*, his Trumpeter, (before celebrated) who was the Promoter of it; and, among other Enormities, went in one of his drunken Fits, with his Knife, to kill the Boatswain in his Bed: Yet this Mortal, though he remained fettered upon the Poop, Day and Night, for two Months, without any other Shelter than the Canopy of Heaven, was never troubled with any Sickness all the Time, making good the Proverb, That *Naught's never in Danger*.

THE Small-Pox is the other epidemic Distem-

* *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 229, & seq. notes.

† There is but a Mile Difference between the Miles and Mi-

1693.
Phillips

per which Negros are incident to in this Voyage: a But it went through their Ship without the Loss of above a Dozen. All the Assistance they gave the Diseased, was as much Water as they would drink, and some Palm-Oil to anoint their Sores. One Thing is very surprizing, says the Author, in this Distemper among the Blacks; that though it immediately affects those of their own Colour, yet it will never seize a white Man: For there were several white Men and Boys aboard who never had that Distemper, and were constantly among the Diseased, yet none of them caught it; though it be the very same Malady, in its Effects and Symptoms, as in *England*, beginning with a Pain in the Head and Back, Shivering, Vomiting, Fever, &c.

Negros noisome.

BUT what the Small-Pox spared the Flux swept-off, to their great Regret, after all their Pains and Care to give them their Messes regularly, and keep their Lodgings clean and sweet as possible; what is worse, after enduring much Misery and Stench so long among a Parcel of Creatures nastier than Swine. No Gold-Finders can suffer such noisome Drudgery as they do who carry Negros, having no Respite from their Affliction so long as any of their Slaves are alive; and yet, by their Mortality, says *Phillips*, our Voyages are ruined, and we fret ourselves to Death, to think that we should undergo so much Misery and take so much Pains to so little Purpose ^b.

A Hurricane.

ABOUT three Weeks before he arrived at *Barbados*, there happened a very severe Hurricane, which had put most of the Ships in the Road ashore, of which he saw about eight or nine beat to Pieces among the Rocks. The *Bristol* Man of War, Captain *Gurney*, split his Cables and got-out to Sea before the Violence came-on, and returned when it was over. The *Play-Prize*, Captain *Bowles*, with two or three more Ships rid it out; and the *Tyger*, Captain *Thomas Sherman*, who had departed the Island with Colonel *Kendal*, the late Governor, for *England*, met with such Violent Storms, that he lost his Mast, and was forced to put-back again to refit.

Plague at Barbados.

BARBADOS, which is a pretty, pleasant Spot, and then inhabited by a great many worthy, hospitable Gentlemen, was yet violently infected with the Plague; so that in the late War it proved a perfect Grave to most new Comers, who were generally seized with the Pestilence, of which very few recovered. Captain *Thomas Sherman*, in two Years that he lay there, buried six hundred Men, though his Complement

was but two hundred and twenty, still pressing new Men out of the Merchant Ships that came-in. *Phillips* lost about eighteen of his Crew; and expecting to be seized with the Distemper himself, did not scruple to visit all his Friends and Acquaintance who were infected. This possibly, in his own Opinion, was the Reason that he escaped, by accustoming himself to the Town and most infectious Air from the Beginning, which he did by Advice of Colonel *Kendal*; while those who kept in the Country, in better Air, for Fear of it, were commonly infected, when they came on any Business to Town. There died about twenty Masters of Ships during his Stay here; of which Number were the Captains *Gurney* and *Bowles*, who commanded the *Bristol* and *Play-Prize* Men of War ^c.

1693.
Phillips.

PHILLIPS having embarked near seven hundred Hogsheds of Sugars, at nine and ten Shillings per hundred Freight for *Muscovadoes*; and eleven Shillings Fir clay'd; some Cotton at two Pence per Pound, and Ginger at eight Shillings per hundred, on the second of April, he got ready to sail in Company of about thirty other Ships, (seven of which carried twenty-eight Guns and upwards) under Convoy of the *Tyger* Man of War. They were ordered by Captain *Sherman* to make the Line of Battle in Case they met an Enemy; he being pleased to appoint the *Hannibal* to lead-on the Starboard-Tack, and Captain *Buttrom*, in the *Faulconberg*, on the Larboard-Tack, in Case of engaging, while himself kept the Center; and the other Ships of the Line were disposed for Seconds. They parted with a Discharge of all the Cannon round the Town; and the third set sail for *England*, with the *Chester* Man of War in Company: Which Colonel *Codrington*, General of the *Leeward Islands*, had sent from *Antigua* to strengthen their Convoy till they were past the Island *Diseada*; upon Advice he had received, that there was a Squadron of French Men of War from *Martinico* waiting for them thereabouts.

UPON the twenty-second of May they made *Arrive at* the Island of *Scilly*. *Phillips* had been seized *Scilly* with violent Convulsions in his Head the nineteenth Instant, and, by this Time, the Hearing of his left Ear was much impaired. He had lost the Hearing of his right upon the Coast of *Guinea* by a former Fit; and now having none to look after him (his Doctor being dead of the Plague in *Barbados*) his Deafness increased daily. There was nothing remarkable in the Passage,

^a Too hasty a Conclusion, perhaps, from one Instance, which might be owing to the Mildness of the Distemper.

^b The Captain, Surgeon and Mates are usually allowed to purchase some Slaves on their own Account, which are kept at the Ship's Expence; and which are observed (especially the Captain's) seldom or never to die.

^c *Phillips's Voyage*, p. 234. & seq.

but

1693.
Phillips.

Sad Accident.

Ships in Danger.

Put in at Spithead.

but the Death of Mrs. North, Colonel Ruffel's Daughter-in-Law; and the Misfortune which befel one of his Cabin-Boys, who playing with the Tyger in his Cage, at length scratched his Hand against the Point of a Nail, so that it bled a little: As soon as the Tyger saw the Blood, he seized upon his Hand^a, and, in an Instant, tore it to Pieces, almost as far as the Wrist, before he could be disengaged. It was dressed by the Surgeon till the Author put into *Falmouth*, where, May the twenty-fourth, he left him to be taken Care of, and parted thence the twenty-eighth. Coming out of the Harbour his Mate ran the Ship aground, but soon got afloat again.

THE twenty-ninth, in the Morning, they passed by *Plymouth-Sound*; and, in the Evening, off the *Start*, joined the homeward-bound *Bilboa-Fleet*, under Convoy of Captain *Hughes*, in the *Rochester*, and Captain *Guy*, in the *Crown* Men of War; with whom they continued till they came to the East of *Beachy-Head*. Here the Wind taking them short at East North-East, they thought to tide it into the *Downs*: Accordingly his Mate, who was drunk, standing with the Ship off-Shore, and Captain *Gillum*, a *New-England* Man of twenty-eight Guns standing in, the two Ships drew nigh: But both, through Obstinacy, refusing to bear-up, or tack in Time, they ran aboard each other, Stemlings entering her Midships, and beat-in her Side to such a Degree, that *Gillum* was forced to bring his Ship upon the Heel with his Guns to keep her from Sinking. As for the *Hannibal*, her Head and Bolt-sprit, Fore-Mast and Fore-Top-Mast were carried away; the three Boats that were astern sunk; and had she not been a strong, well-built Ship, it was enough to have sunk her too.

PHILLIPS was in Bed, extremely sick, and knew nothing of the Accident; but, seeing his Steward come into the Round-House much af-

frighted, got out of Bed; and crawling to the Cuddy beheld his Ship, like a Wreck, floating in the Sea. Upon this, making the usual Signals for Distress, the *Rochester* and *Crown* bore down; and Captain *Guy* (who had formerly been Lieutenant of the *Hannibal*, when she was a Fourth-Rate in the King's Service) towed her after him for *Spithead*, where she, with great Difficulty, arrived: The old drunken Beast of a Mate lying dead drunk asleep upon the Fore-Castle, while his own and the Men of War's Men righted his Ship and set-up Jury-Masts, &c.

THE Grief for this last Accident quite deprived Phillips of his Hearing: However he sent a Letter to his Owners, desiring them to provide another Captain to take Care and refit the Ship for her Voyage to *London*. Whereupon Captain *John Hereford* was dispatched with proper Officers, to whom he resigned the Command; and delivering the two Chests of Gold he had aboard to the *African Company's* Servants, who came with a Guard for it, he went along with them, in the Coach, to *London*, in order to recover his Health and Hearing.

WHEN he came to Town, he was recommended to a great many applauded Physicians, who all pretended they would cure his Deafness: But after he had been tormented by the Apothecaries with Doses of nasty Physic every Day, for four or five Months, and butchered by the Surgeons with Blisters, Issues, and Setons, &c. and spent about an hundred Guineas amongst them without reaping a Farthing Benefit, he resolved to shake Hands with the Doctors and retire into the Country. Accordingly he settled his Affairs in *London*, and being rendered unfit for his Employ, went down to *Wales* among his Relations at *Brecknock*, his native Town, there to spend the rest of his Life as easily as he could under his hard Misfortune^b.

^a This confirms what has been already observed of the *Lion*, p. 340. c. & seqq.

^b Phillips's Voyage, p. 237.

1701.
Loyer.1701.
Loyer.

C H A P. III.

*Abstract of a VOYAGE to Iffini on the Gold Coast, in 1701.**With a DESCRIPTION of the Country and its Inhabitants.**By Godfrey Loyer, a Jacobine.**Now first done from the French.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE Relation of this Voyage was printed at Paris, in Octavo, 1714; containing two hundred and ninety-eight Pages, besides the Preface and Licences^a. It is divided into Articles, and set-off with Cuts, but has neither Table of Contents nor Index. The Author himself was Apostolic Prefect of the Missions of preaching Friars to the Coasts of Guinea. His Preface, consisting of no more than three Pages, has nothing remarkable; and seems to have been written only for Form-Sake, or to please the Book-seller. He touches on the common Topics to engage his Reader, professing Fidelity, and that he delivers every Thing as an Eye Witness. He likewise allures his Curiosity, with the Hopes of meeting with some remarkable Adventures, and many Observations of Countries, which will be quite new to him. "The Reader will, no Doubt, be surprized, says Loyer, to hear of Kingdoms whose Monarchs are Peasants; of Towns built with nothing but Reeds; of Vessels for sailing, each composed out of a single Tree: Above all, he will wonder to be told of a People who live without Care, speak without Rule, transact Business without Writing, and go-about without Cloaths; People, of whom some live in the Water like Fish, and others in Holes of the Earth, like Worms, whose Nakedness, and almost Insensibility they possess."

THIS Author gives the best Account of any to be met with concerning the Country about Iffini and its Inhabitants, which he has delivered in that plain, unaffected Manner, which generally accompanies Sincerity. The Contents or Heads of the Articles, into which his Relation is digested, are as follow:

Preliminary Voyage to the American Isles, p. 1. Author's Departure for Iffini, 14. Description of Teneriffe, 31. Description of Goree Isle and the adjacent Coast; of the King, and Manners of the People, 41. Of Cape Bernard and Rufes, 50. Of the Kingdom of Sestro, 82. The solemn Reception given by Akafini, King of Iffini, to M. Damou, 111. King of Iffini; his Palace; the Conversations he holds with his Courtiers; his Wealth and Power; Succession to the Throne, 122. Of the Natives, their Stature, Disposition, Genius, Industry, Temper, and Dress, 137. Of the Women, their Inclinations, Marriages, Education of Children, and Dress, 150. Of the *Veteres* and *Kampas*, 157. Of their Houses, Furniture, Utensils; their Bread, *Koros*, Palm-Wine, and Oil, and how they are made, 166. Iffini, a Kingdom of the Gold-Coast; why it has changed its Place, and how, 178. The Soil and River of Iffini; its Fruits and Vegetables; Air, Climate and Diseases, 185. Of its Quadrupeds, Birds, Fish, and Insects, 203. Of its Merchants and Trade, 219. Of their Civil and Criminal Justice; Method of getting-in Debts, and their Punishments, 222. Of their Remedies and Medicines; their Deaths and Funerals, 234. Of their Religions, Belief, *Fetishes*, Superstitions, Oaths, and their *Ofun*, or High-Priest, 242. Of their Wars, Weapons, martial Instruments; and how the Dutch attacked the French there, on November the thirteenth, 1702, 258. The Author's Return to France, 282.

^a The Title of the Book runs thus: A Relation of a Voyage to the Kingdom of Iffini, on the Gold-Coast of Guinea, in Africa: With a Description of the Country, the Temper, Manners, and Religion of the Natives; and whatever has happened remarkable in the French Settlement there. The whole exactly collected on the Spot, by the Reverend Father Godfrey Loyer, Apostolic Prefect of the Jacobine Missions to the Coast of Guinea, and a Brother of the Convent of the Annunciation at Rennes in Bretagne: With Cuts. Paris, printed by Senouze and Marol, 1714, with Privilege.

1701.

Loyer.

THE Cuts are eight in Number, of the Size of the Page, very poorly executed, and, indeed, of no great Significancy.

FRONTISPIECE. Mr. *Damou's* Audience of King *Akassini*. Negros, and Negro Houses, p. 51. A Negro House, 52. A Negro dressed, and another naked, 62. Negro riding on a Camel, 88. Negro Houses, 92, 111. Negros climbing the Palm-Tree, 175.

S E C T. I.

Mission of Guinea: Loyer chosen for it. Aniaba, or Louis Hannibal, pretended Prince of Iffini. Leave France. Great Storm. Ships in Danger. Meet a Sally Rover: Escape her. Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe: Visit to the Governor. King of Kayllor, or Kayor. Great Sestro, or Paris. Portuguese Vessel: In great Distress. Quaqua Coast. Land in Iffini. Reception by the King.

Mission of Guinea.

IN August, 1687, Father *Gonsalvez*, a religious *Jacobine*, Native of *Puy en Velay*, embarked at *Rochelle*, with some other Priars, on a Mission to *Guinea*. They arrived safely at *Iffini*, December the twenty-fourth the same Year; where *Gonsalvez* and his Companions were favourably received by *Zena*, who then governed this little Kingdom. This Prince gave Father *Gonsalvez* two young Negros, one of which was supposed to be his Son, who afterwards appeared in *France* by the Names of *Aniaba* and *Roanga*. *Gonsalvez* took Care to send them by the Return of the Company's Vessels; and leaving Father *Henry Cerizier* at *Iffini*, (where the King had assigned them an House with some Lands, and six Slaves to serve them) he went with the other Missionaries to *India*, where they all died at the End of eighteen or twenty Months, not without Suspicion of Poison. *Cerizier*, who was left at *Iffini*, died some Years after there; and, as *Labat* hints, the same Way.

Loyer chosen for it.

By these Means the Mission remained without Labourers till the Year 1700, when Father *Godfrey Loyer*, a *Jacobine* of *Rennes* in *Brittany*, who had been for some Years employed in the *American* Isles, being at *Rome* on account of the Jubilee, was, at the Command of *Innocent* the Twelfth, appointed by the College de propaganda

Fide, Apostolic Prefect of a new Mission to the Coast of *Guinea*. *Labat*, who was of the same Order and Community, says, that he obtained this Title at his own Request, and was assisted in his Project by a handsome Sum of Money, which the Court supplied him with. Furnished with these Powers, he returned to *Paris*, where, while he solicited the Court for a Permission to go in the Company's Vessels, a favourable Opportunity offered, by the King's sending back Prince *Lewis Aniaba* to his Kingdom of *Iffini*.

THE King had given him an Education suitable to his real, or supposed Birth, and he had served in the *French* Troops as a Captain of Horse: But *Zena*, his Father, being dead, it was judged proper to send him back, and the King gave him an Equipage suitable to his Rank, with Furniture and Attendants, and two Men of War to convoy him; the Company, no doubt, expecting, out of Gratitude, he would support their Commerce, and favour the new Settlement they had projected. The Marquis de *Ferrolle*, Lieutenant-General of the *Leeward* Isles, having presented *Loyer* to this Prince, and communicated the Design of his Voyage, he replied, that he was highly pleased, that since a Religious of the Order of *St. Dominic* had brought him a Heathen to *France*, one of the same Order should reconduct him a *Christian* to his own Country.

LOYER, after concerting Measures with the Chevalier *Damou*, who was appointed Commander of the *Poly*, a King's Ship destined for this Expedition, set-out for *Orleans*; from whence he went down the *Loire* to *Angers*, and thence by Land to *Rennes*, to take Leave of his Relations: After which, he went to *Rochelle*, the Port of Embarkation. Here he found Father *James Villard*, a Religious of the Province of *Paris*, whom he had engaged at *Lyons* to attend him in this Mission. Soon after, Prince *Aniaba* and the Chevalier *Damou* being arrived, and all Things ready, they embarked April the eighteenth, 1701, and next Day sailed from the Road of *Chedebois* with a favourable Wind. The twentieth, passing by the Fort of *Belle Isle*, the next Day they anchored at the Isle of *Groats*, two Leagues from Port *Lewis*; where they lay till the twenty-seventh to take-in Refreshments, and wait for two Vessels belonging to the Company of *St. Domingo*, whom they were to convoy as far as the

* *Labat* says, they were five in Number, and that he had been encouraged to this Attempt by his good Reception at *Iffini*, which he had before. See *Marchais Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 2. p. 204.

† This *Zena* was King of the *Iffini* Negros, who retired for Protection to the *Veteres*. See *Marchais*, ubi supra, p. 204, published by *Labat*.

‡ *Labat* says, that he sent them to *France* to be educated suitably to their Birth and Quality.

§ *Labat* says, under the Care of one of his Religious.

|| *Marchais*, ubi supra, vol. 2. p. 205.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 206.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 207.

§ *Loyer*, for the Credit perhaps of his Religion or King, considers this Person as a sovereign Prince, who yet by other Authors, even of his own Nation, is given-up as an impostor.

1701.
Loyer.

Coast of Africa. These were the *Impudent* a commanded by the *Sieur Eaffet*, and the *Hollande*, by the *Sieur de Carle*, each carrying twenty Guns and two hundred and fifty Men².

A great
Storm.

APRIL the twenty-seventh, they left *Groas* with a fair Wind, but the two following Days it became variable, and blew so hard, that they were obliged to take in their Sails, and drive before the Wind. On the twenty-ninth, at Night, they reach'd Cape *Finistère*, and found the Sea so tempestuous, that at two in the Morning it carried away a Part of the Stern, with the Arming, and broke the Doors and Windows of the Council-Room; where there entered so great a Quantity of Water, that two of the Passengers, who lay there, were carried with their Matresses to the Foot of the Mizen Mast. The Alarm on Board was general. *Loyer*, who was then asleep with his Apostolical Comrade in the Gunner's Cabin, was awakened by the Water which flashed in upon them, as well as by the Cries of the Sailors, and Workings of the Ship. In this Extremity they gave themselves over for lost; but by the good Conduct of the Officers escaped the Danger.

Ships in
Danger.

THE two Vessels under their Convoy did not fare so well. The *Impudent* lost her Main-mast, and was obliged to throw over-board Part of her Cargo, consisting of Goods, Flour and Boards, designed for the Settlement at *Iffini*, which was in the End a great Loss to them. They also cast away their Oven and Kitchen Utensils. The Sailors were reduced to Despair, when the *Sieur Gazan*, Ensign of the Ship, made a Vow in the Name of the Crew, to walk in his Shirt, with a Rope about his Neck, from the first Port they touch'd at, to the next Church, to return Thanks to God; which Vow he very edifyingly performed at *Santa Cruz* in the Isle of *Teneriffe*.

Met a Sal-
ty Rover.

THIS Danger was followed by a new one of another Kind. May the first, at one in the Morning, the *Poly* perceived near them a Vessel, which, by the Lights it carried in its Shrouds, they took to be the *Hollande*, one of their Convoy. But by the Manner of its Sailing they quickly found it a *Salty Rover*; this being the usual Latitude they cruise in. Their Suspicion was confirmed by its not answering the Signals they made. The Crew presently got to their Arms, but found them so wet by the late Storm, that they were unserviceable. Mean time the Vessel boarded them, but missing its Aim, the Sea running high, they broke their Bolt-sprit against that of the *Poly*, without any Damage but carrying

away the Remainder of the Arming, which the Storm had spared.

1701.
Loyer.

Escape her.

MEAN time the *French* endeavoured, but to no Purpose, to fire at the Enemy, and to demand what he was; who answered sometimes, from *Flambourg*, at others, that he was *Dutch*, *English* and *French*. By good Luck he was so disabled that he would not board them again, otherwise they must have been lost, being in no Condition of Defence. It was proposed to wait till Day to engage the *Rover*; but the Chevalier thought it more prudent, to bear away and continue his Course. May the seventh, they passed in Sight of *Forteventura* and *Lancerotte*, two of the *Canaries*. To the North-West of *Forteventura* you see a Point, on which are four small Mountains, the last of which forms the Point, which appears divided to the South-West, and like an Isle. The same Day at nine in the Morning, they saw a Vessel, making full Sail to them, whom believing to be a *Sally Man*, they prepared to receive, putting-out *English Colours*; but when she came within a League, and had examined them, she bore away^b.

AT six in the Evening, they discovered the Isle of *Teneriffe*, and next Day anchored at *Santa Cruz*, where they found a Ship of *St. Malo's*. There were then in the Road several other Merchant-Ships, chiefly *Spanish*, and an *English East-India Man* richly laden with Silver Coin; who on Sight of the *French* prepared to sail. But the *Spanish Governor* perceiving it, fired a Gun with Ball, to forbid her going, and to signify he took them under his Protection; on which she anchored again, and *Loyer* left her there. The Chevalier *Darnet* came to Anchor in forty-five Fathom, brown Sand, within a Cannon-shot of the Town; and sent his Ensign ashore to compliment the Governor, and know if he would give Gun for Gun, in case they saluted the Fort. The Governor replied, we might begin, and he would do all he could to convince the Chevalier of his Esteem. On this they fired eleven Guns, which the Fort returned with the same Number, hoisting the *Spanish Flag*.

Santa
Cruz in Te-
neriffe.

LOYER went to visit the Vice-Roy of the Island, who then was the Count de *Palmas*, and resided at *Laguna*. He received the Missionaries civilly, and expressed a great Satisfaction at the Duke of *Anjou's* Accession to the Crown of *Spain*. The *Sieur Peter Mustelie*,^c French Consul, regaled his Countrymen^d in 1701, recently. This Gentleman, who was a Native of *Boulogne* in *Picardy*, had married a *Spanish Lady* here, by whom he had several Children. To honour the

Visit to the
Governor.

^a Loyer's Voyage d'Iffini, p. 14. & seq.
towards Director-General at *Santa Cruz*, 1712, and died at *Sancho* in *Galicia*. See before, p. 148. a.

^b Loyer's Voyage, p. 20, & seqq.

^c He was af-

1701. Chevalier Damou and his Officers, he shewed a
Loyer. them (contrary to the Custom here) his eldest
Daughter richly dressed and covered with Jewels
to the Value of ten-thousand Livres; but her Be-
haviour was so modest and agreeable, that it was
yet more charming than her Dress. May the
tenth, having taken-in the necessary Refresh-
ments, they sailed from Santa Cruz in the Even-
ing; the eighteenth they passed near the Mouth
of the Sanaga, and lay-by, for fear of overshoot-
ing Cape Verde. Next Day at Noon they an-
chored at the Isle of Gorée in thirteen Fathom^a.

Kingdom of FROM the River of Sanaga as far as seven or eight
Kayllor. Leagues to the South of Cape Verde, all the Coast
belongs to the Kingdom of Kayllor, which is in-
habited by the Jalofs^b, a People governed by an
absolute Prince, called *Damel Fal Biram*^c; a
Name of Dignity they give him. This Monarch
calls himself King of Kayllor, and *Baal* or *Jain*,
which last Country belongs to another People
called *Sereres*, Neighbours to the Jalofs, with
whom they are continually at War. Before the
Europeans had Forts on this Coast, the usual Re-
sidence of their King was fifteen Leagues up the
Country: But his Commerce with the Whites
has brought him nearer the Sea, so that he now
usually lives at *Rufiko*; where he has a neat
Dwelling adorned with handsome Mats of dif-
ferent Colours prettily clouded, which they make
here to Perfection. This King, on the least Pre-
tence, sells his Subjects for European Goods, es-
pecially Brandy; of which he is so fond, that it
is said he drinks six Quarts a Day, a Thing ex-
ceeding all Belief. He is so tyrannically severe,
that he makes a whole Village responsible for the
Fault of one Inhabitant; and on the least Offence,
sells them all for Slaves.

Cape Ber- THEY went ashore also at Cape Bernard,
nard. two Leagues from Gorée, where there is a Negro
Village with a French Factory or Warehouse; the
Chief of which received them as well as his
Habitation would allow, which was but indiffer-
ently. After this, they went to pay the *Al-
kair* his Duties, which are a Bottle of Brandy
(called by the Natives *Sangara*) for every Boat-
Load of Wood or Water; but they found he
was gone to the Wars along with the *Damel*.
May the twenty-second, they weigh'd and came
to Anchor at *Rufiko*, a larger Town than that
at Cape Bernard^d. Here they continued till the
twenty-fifth in the Evening, when they sailed,
and, June the twenty-sixth, discovered the Hill of *Ses-
tro*, like a small Island, and in the Evening
came to Anchor a League to the West of Great
Sestro, or *Paris*, in eleven Fathom, *Sestro* River
bearing due East.

Great Sea,
Sestro, or
Paris.

1701. JUNE the twelfth, early, three Negros came
Loyer. on board in a Canoa with three *Ananas*, to en-
quire from whence they came, or rather to get
some *Dashis* (or Presents) of which they are
very greedy. One of them seeing M. *Aniaba*
drink Tea, wanted some, but was told it was
only for the Whites. He was not content with
this Reason, but pointing to *Aniaba*, replied,
that since that Negro drank it, why might not
he do so? *Aniaba* seemed not a little shocked at
this Freedom: But that did not hinder his going
ashore; and, for the eight Days they staid, lead-
ing with the Negresses a Life, that could edify
no body. They found here two English Vessels,
one at Anchor, and the other weighing as they
entered, who saluted them with three Guns^e.

MAY the fifteenth, early, they saw two Vessels
crowding-in with full Sail, who came to An-
chor near them. One was English, and the other
Portuguese. As their Boat returned with Water
from Shore, the Portuguese Captain, who was a
Free-Black, hailed her, and came in her on board
the Chevalier Damou with an Interpreter, whom
all the Crew took to be a *Provincial*, though he
stoutly denied it. The Captain informed them
he was bound from the Bay of *All-Saints* in *Bra-
sil*, to take-in Negros; but that in returning he
had met such a hard Gale, as had carried away
his Mast, and obliged him to stand-in for the
Coast; adding, that his Ship made-Water so
fast, that without the Assistance the English Ship
had given him he must have sunk; and that the
Condition his Vessel was in made him resolve
to abandon her, if the Chevalier Damou would
grant him a Passage and a Certificate of the Case
he found him in.

THE Chevalier immediately sent his Car-
penters on board the Portuguese, who found
neither Nail nor Hammer to mend the Leaks,
and all the Rigging rotten and broken. They
wrought two Days at her to fit her as tight as
possible, after which the Chevalier advised the
Captain to sail for *St. Thomas* (a Portuguese Isle
under the Line) where he might lay-up his
Bark, and dispose of eighty Slaves he had on
board. After this he gave him a Quintal of
Biscuit, and fifty Pound Weight of salt Meat for
Store, desiring him to come to him at *Issini*,
and he would assist him farther; which he pro-
mised, but was not so good as his Word.

JUNE the eighteenth, they weighed from
Sestro, and by the twenty-first doubled Cape
Palmas, where they anchored. The Natives of
this Teeth or Ivory-Coast are called *Quaquas*,
from their often repeating this Word, which
signifies, *Servant*^f; and are reckon'd very sa-

^a Loyer, p. 29, & seq.
p. 47, & seq.

^b In the French, *Geloffes*.
^c The same, p. 79, & seq.

^e *Latir Fal Sukabi*, in *Lohat*.

^f Or, Your Servant, by Way of Compliment.
vage,

1701.

Loyer.

vage, being *Cannibals*, who devour all the Whites they can catch. The Coast is very dangerous also on Account of Rocks. They bring-off to sell in their Canoes Pepper, Millet, Rice, Poultry, Parrots, Monkeys, a great deal of Ivory; which they exchange for Knives, Brandy, and Hatchets, also Iron Ware, and Cotton Cloths, or *Paignes*. The twenty-second, early, they sailed, and the next Day Afternoon anchored; sending their Boat on board a small *English* Vessel in Sight, who crowded Sail from them. Their Boat coming-up with them, found the Crew under Arms, believing them to be Pirates; but seeing their Mistake, welcomed them on board, and told them they were near *Iffini*.*

They land in Iffini.

HOWEVER, not trusting to this Information, and seeing several Negros on the Shore, they sent their Boat; and their second Carpenter, a Free Black ventured to swim ashore to get Intelligence. With great Difficulty he returned to the Boat, and brought Word, that the Coast they saw was in the Kingdom of *Abassam*, ten Leagues from *Taquebua*^b, where the Country of *Iffini* begins. *June* the twenty-fifth^c, they weigh'd, and about Noon anchored near *Taquebua*, where, notwithstanding the Sea ran so high, a Canoa came on board; who finding they were *French* come to settle there, and knowing *M. Damou*, who had been several Times on the Coast, *Amonin* their Steersman and the rest rowing thrice round the Ship, jumped boldly on Deck, singing and dancing for Joy. The Chevalier, to please them, saluted their Village with three Guns. After eating and drinking, they returned ashore with the News of the *French* being arrived. They were two Months and some Days in their Passage.

Description by the King.

THE rest of the twenty-sixth was spent in Negotiations of the Negros back and forward, of whom nine or ten lay on board, and in the Night performed the Ceremony of *Aquio Mingo* to all the Crew. This consists in shaking Hands, so as to make the Joints of the Fingers crack, and repeating those Words which signify, *Your Servant, my Friend*. Next Day *M. Damou* and Prince *Aniaba* went ashore, with some Soldiers, and the twenty-eighth Captain *Akafini* King of *Iffini* came from *Affoko*, the Capital of the Country, attended by his chief Men and many Slaves. He received the Chevalier with the greatest Marks of Kindness and Regard; thanking him particularly for the King's Goodness to *Aniaba*, and granting him Liberty to build a

a Fort^d in his Country, where he should think most proper^e.

1701.

Loyer.

S E C T. II.

Place for a Fort. Author in Danger; both at Sea and Land. Way of passing Lands. They go to Court. Audience of the King. Hall and Throne. King's Person. Dress of his Wives. Demands of the French. King's Answer. A second Audience. The Fort described. Left ill-provided.

THE two following Days were spent in gaining the Friendship of the great Men; and having agreed all the necessary Measures for a Settlement, the Chevalier returned on board, *July* the first, well pleased with his Success. The next Morning, they weighed, to go anchor three Leagues lower, below the Mouth of the River, opposite a narrow Peninsula, two Leagues long, and about eighty or an hundred Paces broad, between the Sea and the River. It was here the Place was marked, where the Fort was afterwards built. *July* the third and fourth, the Sea running high, made it impracticable to land. This is common on this Coast in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, when it is very hazardous to land. *July* the fifth, the Sea being a little calmer, the Chevalier *Damou* sent ashore *M. de Gabarel* his Lieutenant, to examine the Ground, proper to build a Fort.

Author in Danger.

Loyer and *Villard* went with him, and when they reached the Bar, they were forced to go into the Negro-Canoes, no other Boats being able to pass; but scarce had they reached the great Waves, when the Canoa went *Kikribu*, (a Term the Negros use, when these Boats overturn) and plunged them all in the Sea. By good Luck they had not far to swim, and the Negros assisted them to get ashore. They lost nobody, but their Cloaths were all wet, or lost, and when they got to Land, they found no Covert, so that they remained all Day exposed to the Heat of the Sun. Some Hours after they landed, Captain *Yamoké*, the King's Brother, *M. Aniaba*, and several Negros came to see them, and would have carried them to *Affoko*. But the *Sieur Gabarel*, having Orders not to leave the Place, they were forced to pass the Night under so heavy a Rain, which continued till Day, that two *Frenchmen*, who were with *him*, and had been several Years in the Country, assured them,

* *Loyer's Voyage*, p. 94, & seq.^b In the *French, Takuché*.^c *Labet* fixes their Arrival at*Iffini*, *July* the fifth. See *Marchetti's Voyage*, vol. 2 p. 208.^d *Labat*, who has given the History of^e *Loyer*, p. 100, & seq. See the same Voyage.

there:

1701. there had been no such Showers for six Years before.

A Sea and Land.

To crown their Misfortunes, they had nothing to eat, though they were all hungry, and it was late at Night, when M. de Mesnil de Champigny, who was designed Governor of the new Settlement, returned from *Affoko*, and gave them some Bits of wet Biscuit he carried with him, which was a great Refreshment. This Gentleman died three Weeks after.

NEXT Day, Captain *Yamoké*, the King's Brother and Successor, with Captain *Emond* and M. *Aniaba*, attended by a great Number of Slaves, carrying large Umbrellas of different Colours, came to see them as they lay the Night before without Tents or Covering. But they brought them no Provisions; on the contrary, they asked them for Brandy to drink and to carry away, which they gave them to gain their Good-Will.

Way of passing Land.

AFTER they had drank as much as they inclined, Captain *Yamoké*, calling the *French*, who were then ashore, to the Number of twelve or fifteen, sent to have the Branch of a Tree cut. This he gave to Captain *Emond*, who planted it in the Earth before them, and then he made all the *French* touch it; declaring in the Name of the King (*Akafini*) and all his Nation, that he delivered this Ground to the *French* to build a Fort, or dispose of it as they thought proper, of which Donation he took the Assembly to witness. This passes with them as an authentic Deed of Gift, having no Writings. The *French* thanked them for this Mark of Friendship, and desired them to continue it. After they had staid here two or three Hours, they returned to *Affoko*. July the sixth, the Chevalier *Damon*, with several of his Officers landed, and brought Tents ashore with him. Captain *Emond* received him as he came out of the Boat, and then he caused his Slaves immediately to erect an Arbour of Reeds, thatched with Palm-Leaves; to which the *French* retired, till their Tents were put-up, and every one incamped, till a further Settlement could be provided. In the mean Time, the King having assembled his *Kaboshirs**, or *Grandeers*, prepared to give the *French* an Audience, which was performed the ninth, in the following Manner.

They go to Court.

THE King *Akafini* sent Captain *Emond* to M. *Damon*, and the *French* with him, to invite them to *Affoko*; a Kind of Town, seated in an Isle of the same Name, formed by the River of *Iffini*, about two Leagues above the Place, where they were encamped, and where the King and the principal *Kaboshirs* reside. They were conveyed in a large Canoe to the Sound of Drums and

Trumpets, which made such a Noise, that there was no hearing. As soon as they arrived at *Affoko*, the *Negros* crowded to the Shore to see them; and they were carried to Captain *Yamoké*'s House to rest themselves, while the King prepared to give them Audience. Every Thing being ready, M. *Damon* and his Attendants crossed three Courts to get to the Palace through a double Row of Negro Soldiers, armed with Sabres and Muskets, which they held presented and cocked. In this Manner they were conducted to the Hall of Audience, where the King was seated on a Kind of Throne.

M. *DAMOU* having made his Bow to his Majesty, presented F. *Loyer*, who made his Reverence, as did all the *French*, to the Number of ten or twelve. The King did the two first the Honour of presenting them Chairs. The rest placed themselves as they could. Thus they sat for an Hour on both Sides without speaking. Indeed the Trumpets, Drums, and other Music made such a horrible Noise, that no body could hear. All the *Kaboshirs* were placed in Order on the Ground, or on small Stools about half a Foot high. Captain *Yamoké* was seated on the King's Right Hand at the Corner of the Throne, and M. *Aniaba* on the other, on a Seat a little lower. Captain *Emond* sat near the *French* on a Stool opposite to the King.

THE Hall of Audience was a small Sort of Barn built of Reeds, and thatched with Palm Leaves, about fourteen or fifteen Foot high, twenty long and fifteen broad, the Ceiling or Roof on all Sides sloping to the Ground. This Hall was neither ornamented, furnished, or floored, the Bottom being a moveable Sand. The King's Throne was a Bedstead bought of the *English* for this Use, supported by four wreathed Posts, painted black to resemble Ebony. This Bedstead, which had neither Canopy, Tester, nor Curtains, was placed at the End of the Hall, and set up, God knows how, with some rough Planks, covered with three or four Tygers Skins. On the Midst of this Bed, was placed the King, with his Feet hanging to the Ground, and a Pipe in his Mouth about a Fathom long, in which he smoked continually; which is with them the noblest Posture.

THE King was naked, except a *Pagne* of white Cotton striped with Blue, which covered his Middle. He had on a black Hat laced with Silver, and a white Feather in the *French* Mode. His grey Beard was twisted into twenty small Locks, which were threaded with sixty Bits of *Aygris* Stone, bored, round and long. This is a Kind of Precious Stone found amongst them,

1701. Loyer.

* In the *French*, *Copachiers*. So *Phillips* commonly writes *Cappashiers*.
Loyer.

* Loyer's Voyage, p. 104.

1701.
Loyer.

which has neither Lustre nor Beauty, and looks like our glass Beads^a; but these People esteem it so much that they give in Exchange its Weight in Gold. By this Reckoning the King's Beard was worth a thousand Crowns. On each Side of the King, on the same Throne, but a little backward, sat the King's two favourite Wives, each carrying on her Shoulder a large Sabre with a Gold Handle, from whence hung the Figure of a Sheep's Skull of Gold, as big as the Life, or bigger. On the Sheath was a large Shell of the same Metal, round which was strung an hundred of Tygers Teeth bored.

Dress of his
Wives.

THESE two Women had large Gold Necklaces and Bracelets, with Plates of the same Metal, shaped so as to fit their Breasts, which were fastened by a Gold Chain. Their Hair was braided or interlaced with several Gold Toys; but like the rest, they were all naked, except Cotton *Pagnes* round their Waist. Behind these stood six other Women adorned with Gold Mannillas and Bracelets, but not so richly as the former. Each of these is appointed to carry something for the King's Use. One has the Care of his Pipe, another his Brandy Bottle, of which he is very fond, and so of the rest. At the Foot of his Throne on each Side just below him, were two Men armed with Sabres, and richly adorned with Plates and Necklaces of Gold, each holding in their Hand an Aslagaye adorned with the same Metal^b.

Demands of
the French.

AFTER the King had smoked-out his Pipe, he made the Music cease, which had continued without Interruption till then; and sent M. *Banga*, who serv'd as Interpreter, to ask what brought the French there, and what they desired of him? They replied by the same Interpreter, that the Desire of paying his Majesty their Respects, had brought them to *Affoko* from their Ships: But that the Motives of propagating their Religion, and settling a good Trade among his Subjects, had brought them from France; hoping that his Majesty would second their Monarch's good Intentions, of which *Aniaba*, then present, and *Banga* the Interpreter were Witnesses.

The King's
Answer.

THE King in Return expressed his Gratitude for the French King's Kindness to him and his Subjects. About three quarters of an Hour passed in these Compliments on each Side, without the King's speaking to the *Kaboshirs*, who seemed very attentive to what passed. After this, the King rose abruptly from his Throne, all the rest remaining still in their Places, except Captain *Yamoke* his Brother, Captain *Emond*, and two or three principal Persons who followed him. Soon after, he sent for M. *Damou* and F. *Loyer*, and intreated the former to be reconciled

to M. *Aniaba*, who had disobliged him by his ill Behaviour; this M. *Damou* readily granting, they shook Hands, which terminated the Audience. From thence they were reconducted to the House of Captain *Yamoke*, who regaled them with Fish, well dress'd with Palm-Oil, a wild Hog, and Poultry. All the Day and Remainder of the Night was spent by the Negros in Dancing, to divert them. Next Morning by three a Clock they were at the Gate again, making the same Racket.

1701.
Loyer.A Second
Audience.

JULY the tenth, at eleven in the Morning, they had a second Audience of the King, in Presence of his *Kaboshirs*; when rising abruptly, as he did before, he conducted them with his Great Men, (leaving his Wives and the People in the Hall of Audience) into a small Court, beneath a Coco Tree, where every one sat down with him. There he freely asked M. *Damou*, what Service he could do them towards building their Fort? M. *Damou* intreated him to give Order for cutting large Stakes; and that the Slaves of the *Kaboshirs* might bring them down to the Shore: Which they consented to, on Condition of a small Present to each; and soon brought two or three Boat-loads of large Palisades, each fifteen or sixteen Foot long. The fourteenth the French began to build the Fort; one of the Curtains of which was traced the same Day, and flanked with two Bastions, each designed to mount four Eight-Pounders, and some Pedereros.

AKAFINT^c King of *Iffini* was then above seventy, well made, corpulent, of a majestic Presence, and a Man of Genius. He was rich and covetous, though he had but few Children. His Brother *Yamoke* was to succeed him, and Captain *Emond* his Nephew, according to Appearances, wished for the Death of both, to take Possession of the Throne^d. As these three Chiefs had a great Affection for the French, it is certain, if a right Use had been made of those Dispositions, the Settlements here might have been extended and improved to great Advantage. The following Description of the Fort we have taken from *Labat*.

THE Place chosen for the Fort was a long Peninsula, which had the Sea to the East and South, and the River to the West. It was join'd to the Continent by a narrow Isthmus, about an hundred and fifty Paces broad. The Land, though appearing dry and barren, the Surface was covered with large beautiful Trees, and the Ground where it was open bore good Grass. This Peninsula was easy to fortify: The Part washed by the Sea, was secured by the Rocks, on which the Waves continually broke in a tem-

The Fort
described.^a *Reffuide de Verre.*
p. 209.^b *Loyer's Voyage*, p. 111, & seqq.
^d *Loyer*, p. 117, & seqq.^c *Marchais Voy. en Guinée*, Vol. II.
rable

1701. rible Manner; and the Side next the River by a Loyer. the dangerous Bar; so that it was only accessible by the Neck of Land. The Fort was composed of a Curtain and two half Bastions, made of Palifados about ten or twelve Foot high, terrassed indifferently with Earth on the Inside, and Without a Ditch: On each Bastion was mounted four Three-Pounders, with some Pedereros. Behind this slight Retrenchment were some Huts for the Officers, with very small Storehouses for the Goods and Provisions, yet large enough for what they had. However the Garison was left with strong Assurances of abundant Supplies of every Kind in eight or ten Months.

Left ill-provided.

THE Vessels, which had carry'd over Prince Aniaha being returned to France, the Company were so disgusted at their Loss in this Undertaking, that they thought no more of their new Settlement at *Iffini* till the Year 1705, when a French Man of War was ordered to bring away the French that were left, and abandon the Fort and all in it to the Negroes; which was executed accordingly. On this Occasion *Labat* censures the Conduct of his Countrymen, declaring, that after the Promises which they had made the Natives of *Iffini*, they should have behaved better. He adds, that to the Praise of the latter, they remained faithful to their Alliance, while they had the least Hope of the French fixing with them. This appeared by their Opposition to the Dutch, who did all that was possible to gain them over. Thus far *Labat*.

It was the Report of their weak Condition which (in the same Author's Opinion) brought the Dutch from *el Mina* against them next Year.

SECTION III.

The Dutch from *Mina*, attack the Fort. It is sward by Bees. The Negroes Bravery. Aniaha's Ingratitude: And Imprudence. Prisoners exchanged. The French reproached. The Author Shipwrecked. Brasil Ships cast-away. They meet a Privateer. The Ship taken. Loyer escapes to Shore. News of his Colleague. Fort at *Iffini* abandoned by the French. Farther Account of Aniaha: His Original.

IN Effect, the Sieur *William de Paimé*, the Dutch General at *el Mina*, being aware of the ill Consequence the French Settlement at *Iffini* would be to the Dutch Trade, used all Methods to engage the Negroes to desert the French; or, at least, not to assist them when they were attacked. But neither Promises nor more solid Presents prevailing, the Dutch General resolved to try to drive them away by open Force. For this End he appeared with a Squadron of four Ships, November the fourth, 1702, in Sight of the Fort, and anchored at *Taquebua*, three Leagues distant. The fifth, one of his Ships weighing, stood with French Colours across the Bay, and came to Anchor within Cannon-Shot of the Fort, which it saluted with three Guns: But the French making no Reply, the rest of the Day he fired four Guns from Time to Time, as if to assure them he was French. At the fourth Salute, the Fort fired one Gun, and hoisted the French Flag to oblige the Vessel, if they were French, as they pretended, to send their Boat ashore. But the Captain finding himself discovered, returned to the Squadron, after two Days waiting at Anchor; and the Dutch General in vain tried all Methods to corrupt the Negroes: But the French by fair Promises, and pretending they soon expected eight or nine Ships, kept them firm to their Interest; so that the Hollander, enraged at their rejecting his Offers, fired two or three Broadfides at them, and weighing Anchor, prepared to attack the Fort.

1701.

Loyer.

Dutch from

Mina.

THE Negroes in the mean Time crowded together by Land, intreating the French to defend themselves vigorously with their Cannon, and leave the rest to them; saying, they would take Care of the Enemy if they offered to land. Every Night they kept a good Guard on the Coast, to oppose a Descent; and when the French Garison went the Rounds at Night, a Body of fifty Negroes joined them, who received Orders from the Governor. November the eleventh, the Dutch Squadron moored before the Fort, at three; next Day was spent by them in sounding the Road, and by the French in preparing for a Defence. The thirteenth, at eight in the Morning, they stood nearer, and the Fort hoisting the French Flag, fired two Guns with Ball. The first Shot

Attack the

Fort.

* See *Marchais Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 2. p. 210, & seq. one, who was at *Iffini* towards the End of the Year 1701, having asked the Blacks how they agreed with the French, they answered, that all the *Kabassiers* and their Subjects were gone from thence, and had settled a Mile above the Village: That they did not entertain the least Correspondence with the French; and that the latter had only a bare Lodge on the Shore, encompassed with Palifados, and provided with five Pieces of Cannon, guarded by eight Men: That this small Garison had been well furnished with Provisions left there by the French ships, but were sometimes in great Want of Water, which the Natives always endeavoured by Force to keep them from.

^b *Barbot*, on the contrary, informs us, that that all the *Kabassiers* and their Subjects were gone from thence, and had settled a Mile above the Village: That they did not entertain the least Correspondence with the French; and that the latter had only a bare Lodge on the Shore, encompassed with Palifados, and provided with five Pieces of Cannon, guarded by eight Men: That this small Garison had been well furnished with Provisions left there by the French ships, but were sometimes in great Want of Water, which the Natives always endeavoured by Force to keep them from.

^c *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 420.

^d This was in May 1702, as he went

pierced

1702.
Loyer.

pierced their Arming through and through, and a had near killed a Portuguese Officer: The second wounded Part of the Admiral's Rigging, and damaged his Main-Mast. They returned the Salute with all their Artillery, firing in a furious Manner, which was answered so vigorously by the French, that the third Shot from the Fort lodged between the Decks of one of their Vessels, and broke the Master's Thigh. The rest, especially the Admiral's Ship^a, were so much damaged, they could hardly float, and had all been sunk, if the French had not wanted Ammunition, as well as Provision; on which last Account they were so reduced with Hunger, that they were obliged to sell their Cloaths for Sustenance^b.

Is saved by
Bees, and

IN short, having but two Barrels of Powder left, which they thought proper to save for their small Arms, they were obliged to discontinue their Fire; while the Dutch plied them with Cross-Bar Shot, discharging near one thousand one hundred Shot, though with little Damage to the Wooden Fort. At two, in the Afternoon, an Accident happened, which, in all Appearance, should have ruined the Besieged, and yet was the Occasion of their Deliverance. In the Fort, near the Chapel, they had a large Beehive, which being overthrown by a Cannon-Ball, the little Animals finding themselves so suddenly dislodged in a bright, calm Day, fell with such Fury on the Garison, that they were obliged to quit the Fort. The Enemy thinking they were deserting the Place, the Dutch General immediately ordered six armed Canoas to land fifty Men. Mean Time the Garison re-entered the Fort by one of the Embrasures of the Bastion to the River, where the Dutch could not see them.

The Negroes
Bravery.

THE Negroes on their Side, seeing the Dutch prepare to land, sent to desire the French not to surrender, or fire on those who landed, for fear of hurting them; adding, that they should see how they would receive them. It seems they had laid an Ambuscade in the Bushes near the Shore, where they expected the Dutch: They suffered them to land quietly, but as soon as they prepared to advance, Yamoké, the King's Brother, Captain Emond, and the rest of the Negroes, fell on them with such Fury, that they gave Way at the first Shock; and, notwithstanding their being supported by the Fire from their

Fleet, not one of them returned to give an Account. The Negroes took two large Canoas^c, with their Loading, their Colours, Drum and Trumpet, and killed all that fell in their Hands; except two, whom they brought away Prisoners, and nine who fled for Quarter to the Fort, which was granted them by the French. The Negroes cut-off the Heads^d, Feet and Hands of the dead Bodies, after first stripping them; leaving the mangled Carcasses exposed to the View of the Fleet, and returning in Triumph with their Spoils. The Dutch General, discouraged by so unsuccessful an Attempt, weighed Anchor the same Day, and returned to *el Mina*, having lost, in this Expedition, the *Sieur de Me-deius*, his Engineer^e, who commanded the Troops, and some of his best Men^f. This Disappointment was the more vexatious, as he thought himself sure of Success, being informed by the Negroes, that the Fort wanted Ammunition and Provision, which was true enough.

THE Negroes in this Encounter lost but three Men, one of them the King's^g eldest Son, who had his Leg taken-off by a Cannon-Ball, of which Wound he died in three Days. The French had not a Man killed.

M. ANIABA had sent, before this Engagement, to know of M. de la Vie, if he should come to his Assistance. The Governor sent for Answer, that in case he came, he would do them Honour; that if he did not, it would be a Disgrace to France, as he had commanded a Troop in that Service: But he thought fit to be out of the Way for three Days, and then came to felicitate the Governor, without making the least Apology for his Absence, which the other took no Notice of it^h.

To say Truth, (says Labatⁱ) Aniaba, after being educated fourteen Years in France, and receiving the greatest Obligations from the King, had, as soon as he returned to *Iffini*, forgotten all Sentiments of Gratitude, and cast away, with the French Dress, all Notions of Honour, and the Romish Religion. The Missionaries and the Governor, who had expected better Things of him, had often reproached him with this Change, to no Purpose. It was even suspected he held a secret Intelligence with the Dutch, and that he openly espoused their Interest at Court. As his

^a Labat says, he was obliged to draw-out of the Line to repair his Damage, p. 215.

^b Loyer's Voyage, p. 264, & seq.

^c Labat says, the three other Canoas were broken in Pieces.

^d Labat, in the same Place, says, The Negroes cut off these Heads.

^e He was killed by the French Governor.

^f The Paris Gazette October the

seventeenth, 1703, says, they had twenty-five Men killed, and among them their Engineer, and eleven taken,

leaving their Canoas behind. See Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 430.

^g Labat says, that the French Governor sent to thank King Akafini for the Succour he had sent, and the King received the Compliment kindly, sending his Brother Yamoké to congratulate the French on their Victory. Marchais, ubi supra.

^h Loyer, ubi supra, p. 272, & seq.

1703. Conduct appeared so ungrateful, the Chevalier a no Hand in this Agreement, which rid them of 1703.
 Loyer. *Damou*, who had the Charge of the King's Pre- the Burthen of maintaining the Prisoners out of
 sents for him, as soon as he was settled on the their narrow Stock. With this Envoy came to
 Throne, thought fit to distribute them to King *Afoko*, *Afamiſhú*, Queen of *Ghiemray*, near
Akafini, his Brother *Yamoké*, and Nephew *E- Cape Apollonia*, to the East of *Iffini*, who asked
mond, who all appeared more attached to the the *French*, when they expected their Ships? They
French than the Apostate. The rest he carried answering, that they looked for them every Day;
 back to *France*, especially a Picture of the King, the replied, if the *French* had as much Honour
 set with Diamonds, and *Aniaba* was left to his as Honesty, all the Coast of *Africa* would be
 ill Destiny. theirs: But that it was their Way to promise
 much, and perform little, which hindered their
 Friends from depending on them.

And Im-
 poflible.

THE Chevalier *des Marchais*, who was well ac- quainted with *Aniaba*, informed *Labat* of these
 Circumstances relating to him. By his Account this Adventurer was brought to *France* by Cap-
 tain *Comperé*, Master of a trading Vessel, who designed him for his Valet; but he was stolen
 from him by some People, who found an Interest in passing him for a Prince at *Paris*, and the
 Court. The Youth was easily persuaded to personate a Character, so beneficial and honourable
 to him. Being thus educated, and sent back to *Iffini* with such Pomp, he was stripped by his
 Countrymen, who forced him to return to their Way of living. The Chevalier was of Opinion,
 that as he had had the Command of a Troop of Horse in *France*, he should have been made Go-
 vernor of the Fort at *Iffini*; but his after Con- duct shews, that this Opinion was ill-founded.

Prisoners ex-
 changed.

THE *Dutch* General wrote two Letters to the *French* Commandant at *Iffini*: In the first,
 dated from *Axim*, November the fourteenth, the Day after his Defeat, he intreated he would use
 the Prisoners well, and settle a Cartel for their Exchange: But as these Letters came through
 the Hands of *Akafini*, and the Answers must have been sent the same Way; and as the *Negros*
 were very jealous of the *French* intending to make a separate Peace with the *Dutch*, it was thought
 not proper to give the Umbrage; but as the Gar- rison depended on them for Provision, to leave
 the Terms of Peace and the Disposal of Prisoners wholly to them. For these Reasons no Answer
 was returned to the *Dutch* General's Letter, who growing impatient, sent Ambassadors to *Akafini*;
 and after several fruitless Messages back and forward, at last he deputed a *Kabesbir* in the *Dutch*
 Company's Service, called *Kofik*, all covered with Chains and Plates of Gold, with full Powers to
 treat for the Ransom of the Prisoners.

The French
 expected.

THIS Envoy managed Matters so well, that he not only obtained the Prisoners Release,
 without any Ransom, but forced King *Akafini* to pay-down, by way of Damage for the Insult,
 ten *Bendes*, or four thousand Livres in Gold, with which, and the Prisoners, he returned, Ja-
 nuary the seventeenth, 1703. The *French* had

FATHER LOYER seeing no Hopes of Succour from *Europe*, embarked in March, 1703, on board
 a sorry *Portuguese* Bark, which touched at *Iffini* to trade for Slaves. This Vessel, which was
 scurvily equipped, had the Misfortune, after sail- ing about an hundred and fifty Leagues, to found-
 er. The Slaves and Part of the Crew were lost. Loyer, with ten more, escaped, nine of
 whom were *Portuguese*, and the other a *French- man*, belonging to *Bayonne*. These got on board
 another *Portuguese* Bark, bound to *St. Thomas* under the Line, where they staid six Weeks,
 and from thence got a Passage to the Bay of *All- Saints* in *Brazil*. There Loyer, broken with the
 Fatigues he had endured, was seized all over with a Palsy, which confined him a Year to his
 Bed; but by the Cure of M. *Verdeis*, *French* Consul there, joined to the Strength of his Con-
 stitution, he recovered, and embarked on board the *Setuval*, a Ship belonging to the *Brazil* Fleet,
 commanded by Don *Antonio Sausa*.

THIS Fleet consisted of forty Sail, seven of which were lost in a Storm off Cape *St. Augustine*,
 among whom was the Admiral-Ship, newly built in *Brazil*, in which Loyer was to have gone.
 In this Ship, which mounted forty Guns, there perished three hundred Men, and thirty-six A-
 robes of Gold, (each weighing thirty-six Pound) which were the King's Duty of a Fifth from the
 Mines of *St. Paul*, near *Rio Genere*. The *Setuval* lost her Main-Mast in this Storm, which
 lasted three Days; but after an hundred and eight Days Navigation, she arrived at *Lisbon*, where
 Father Loyer landed and rested some Months, both to recover his Strength, and to wait an Op-
 portunity of a Vessel for *France*; for the War was then broken-out.

BEING disappointed of his Expectation, he procured a Passport from the King of *Portugal*
 to go by Land, travelling through *Coimbra*, *A- veyre*, *Porto*, and *Viana*. He left *Portugal*,
 crossed the River *Minho* at *Villa Nova*; three Leagues beyond which he reached *Tuy*, an Epis-
 copal-Sec in *Gallicia*. From thence he went to

* *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 2. p. 217. & seq.

† *Loyer's Voyage*, p. 277. & seq.

‡ *Ja-*

Ponte

1706. *Ponte Vedro* and *Compostella*, where he paid his Devotions at the Tomb of the Apostle *St. James*. From thence he travelled to *Corogne*^a, to look for a Vessel. After three Weeks Stay there, he embarked aboard a Vessel belonging to *Nantes*, commanded by one *Lingart*. They sailed July the twelfth, 1706, but had scarce gotten fifteen Leagues, when there came-up with them a Privateer under French Colours; who, as soon as he was within Shot, hoisted a Dutch Flag, and poured-in a Broadside.

Meet a Privateer.

The Ship taken.

Loyer escapes to shore.

News of his Escape.

LINGART affrighted ran close in Shore, where he came to Anchor, while the Privateer, who still fired, followed to lay him on board. The French, on the other Hand, fired but weakly, the Sailors preparing to save themselves with what they could ashore. At the same Time a Broadside from the Privateer hitting their Stern, killed Captain *Lingart*, and dangerously wounded two or three more; on which the rest struck, and the Privateer prepared to send his Boat on board. Mean Time Father *Loyer* took the Opportunity of a Fisher-Boat belonging to *Barrez*, a small Village about fifty Paces from the Ship; which, for the Sake of a few Piaffres, offered to set them ashore before the Enemy boarded her. Into this Boat *Loyer* escaped, with a Merchant of *Sau-mur* and his Son, a Youth of fifteen Years old, and, unperceived by the Crew, got to Land. The Boat would have returned for another Fare, but it was too late. *Loyer* and his Companions went to the House of the Priest of the Parish of *St. Esteven de la Valle*, about a League and a Quarter from the Village of *Barrez*, who received them kindly, and kept them three Days^b.

HERE they hired an open Fisher-Bark to carry them to *St. Juan de Luz*, but had like to have perished by the Way, the Boat having no Deck, and the Sea on that Coast running high. As soon as they reached *St. Sebastians*, they dismissed her, and resolved to go by Land. After four Days Stay at *St. Sebastians*, they proceeded by *Bayonne*, *Dax*, *Bordeaux*, *Ponts*, and *Saintes*, to *Rochefort*, and from thence to *Rochelle*; where Father *Loyer* learnt, that Father *Villard*, his Fellow-Missionary, was returned to France, and that the News of his Death had been spread amongst his Friends: Which occasioned a circular Letter^c from the Convent of *Rennes* in *Brittany*, to have his Obsequies celebrated in all the Monasteries of the Province. From *Rochelle* he went

to *Rennes*, his Place of Nativity, and from thence to the Waters of *Barubon*, where he received a Letter from the said *Villard*, who was then Prior of the Convent of *Chambery* in *Savoy*, informing him of the Fate of the French he left at *Issini*.

1706. Loyer.

THE Misery of this wretched Garison, after Father *Loyer*'s Departure in 1703, grew very great, being entirely destitute of Provisions, (except what they got from the Negros.) At last there arrived three Merchant-Ships, and a Man of War, commanded by Captain *de Grosbois*. The Sea was so terrible on the Bar, that it was eight Days before *Gerard*, one of the Garison, could get on board, where he found, that M. *Grosbois* had Orders to bring them away. This Captain treating the Negros uncivilly, and not making them the usual Presents, the King was so disgusted, that he forbid the Canoas to go on board. *Parifon*, one of the Garison, ventured to swim on board, to let M. *de Grosbois* know the Imprudence of his Behaviour, and the Danger the French were in of being massacred, if he provoked the Negros: But *Grosbois*, deaf to all Representations, resolved they should return to France. *Parifon* returned with this News, and the same Day the *Sieur Grosbois* sent a Float or Raft to bring them off, on which Father *Villard* got, not without Risk of drowning, having only his Shirt on, and his Beads about his Neck.

He intended to return for his Cloaths, and the Chapel, but the Captain would not suffer him. Seven were drowned in getting this Way on board. Thus the Fort was left to the Discretion of the Negros^d, highly incensed at the French going away in this Manner, and bringing them neither Presents nor Goods. *Villard* would have staid to propagate the Faith at *Iuda*, (or *Whidaw*) but the Captain would not consent^e.

Abandoned by the French.

FOR the Reader's greater Satisfaction, we shall add here some farther Particulars from other Authors, concerning *Aniaba*, or *Hannibal*, the pretended Prince before-mentioned. The *European Mercury*, for the Year 1701, printed at Paris, represents this Impostor by the Name of *Louis Hannibal*, as King of *Issini*; and informs us, that he was baptized by the Bishop of *Meaux*, *Louis* the Fourteenth being his Godfather: That February the twenty-seventh he received the Eucharist from the Cardinal de *Noailles*, and offered a Picture to the blessed Virgin, to whose Protection he submitted his Territories, having

Farther Account of Aniaba.

^a *Corunna*. or the *Grozyne*.

^b *Loyer's Voyage*, p. 283, & seq.

^c The Letter is in the Original.

^d *Barbot* informs us, that the French finding themselves neglected by the Company, as well as the Hatred of the Blacks to encrease, and having no Sort of Trade, in *June*, 1704, they embarked for France, after having levelled their Factory to the Ground. This Account, *Barbot* says, he had from one *Porquet* of *Dieppe*, who was then present at the blowing-up of the Lodge. See *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 429.

^e *Loyer's Voyage*, p. 288, & seq.

Issini
Kingdom.

made a Vow to use his utmost Endeavours, at his Return, towards the Conversion of his Subjects^a. He departed on the twenty-fourth of this Month^b, in order to embark at Port Louis, under a Convoy of two or three Men of War, commanded by the Chevalier Damou^c.

THIS pretended Prince of Issini, was the second of that Sort carried over into France; for de Gennes, who, in 1695, ransacked James-Fort, in the *Gambra*, had Charge of a Prince of Issini, whom, in that River, he put aboard a French Freebooter of *St. Domingo* bound to the Red-Sea, in order to be set ashore in his own Territories.

FROM these Passages it appears, that, as stupid as the Blacks are reckoned, they had Art enough to dupe the French; who value themselves so much on their Penetration.

BOSMAN gives a quite different Account from the former, as to the Extraction of the last pretended Prince of Issini, or Affini.

SOME Years since, says that Author, the French, who used to seize all the Blacks who came aboard their Ships, and sell them into the West-Indies, finding the before mentioned *Lewis Hannibal* endowed with a more sprightly Genius than his other Countrymen, instead of selling him for a Slave carried him to France. There, pretending to be the Son and Heir apparent to the King of Issini, he so insinuated himself into the good Opinion of the Court, that the King made him several rich Presents, and sent him back to his own Country, as before related: But, at his Landing there, he was discovered to be only a Slave to a *Kabosbir* of Issini, to whom, soon after his Arrival, he returned, and, instead of converting his Subjects to Christianity, himself re-embraced Paganism^d.

S E C T. IV.

Bounds of the Kingdom of Issini. Air and Weather. Beauty of the Country. River of Issini. Ledge of Rocks. Long Course. Lake and Island. Towns or Villages. Soil and Produce: *Añahuaya* Fruit: *Ikaquas*: *Iromonts* and *Pulse*. *Burfilane*. Wild-Beasts: A bold Tyger: Civet-Cat: Porcupines: Several Sorts of Monkeys. Birds: Wild-Fowl: Poultry. Fish: Tortoise. Serpents: Lizards. Vermin and Insects. Flying Scorpions. Bees. Aigris-Stone.

Bounds of
Issini.

THE Kingdom of Issini is bounded, on the North, by a People called the *Kompas*,

who form a Kind of Republic, and, to the East, by the Kingdom of *Ghiemrey*, or Cape *Apollonia*, and that of *Edona*, which is but ten Leagues from *Affoko*. To the South it has the Sea, and to the West the Tooth-Coast, inhabited by a Cannibal People called *Quaqua*. Its Length along the Shore is ten or twelve Leagues; its Breadth, from South to North, two or three^e.

As to the Climate, though this Country lies near the Line, under the Torrid Zone, it is neither so unhealthy nor hot as it is thought to be in Europe, the Air being, for the greater Part of the Year, serene and agreeable. The ill Character it has is owing to the Policy of the English, Dutch, &c. whose Interest it is to prevent the French from settling there. It is true, that, in the rainy-Season, from May to August, there are often thick Fogs, so that it is dangerous to go abroad till the Sun has dispelled them; nor are the Mists in Europe, about the autumnal Season, less unhealthy: But, in Case you are provided with such Food as Europeans are accustomed to, and do not expose yourself to the Night Air, you will find it is as healthy living here as in any Part of the World. It must be owned, however, that from October to the Middle of April, the Air is so hot and the Violence of the Sun so excessive, that it is scarce supportable to those who come from colder Climates, unless they have a strong Constitution; but, by keeping in the Shade and Cool, this Inconvenience is avoided. In short, there are not so many Diseases to be met with here as in Europe.

THERE is scarce a Country in the World which has a more beautiful Aspect, or affords the Eye finer Prospects. The farther you advance in the vast Plains, intermixed with fine Groves, you perceive still new Scenes of Pleasure, formed by the rising Woods from Space to Space. Add to all this, the View of a fine River, whose Banks are adorned with tall Trees, which grow so regularly they seem planted by Art^f.

THE Coast of Issini is so low, that it would scarce be discernible at a League Distance, if the large Trees, which border it, did not appear near three Leagues at Sea. It is watered by one of the finest Rivers in Africa, which might be navigable throughout, if the Entrance were a little more commodious. This has occasioned, probably, its being not marked in the Maps either so large or remarkable as it really is. Its Mouth is shut-up by a vast Bank of Sand, which ren-

^a From hence it is plain, that this *Hannibal*, or *Aniaba*, was an Impostor, as he pretended to be a sovereign Prince.

^b Bosman, who gives this Account in his Description of Guinea, p. 420, forgets to mention the Name of the Month.

^c Called Damou, by Loyer.

^d Loyer's Voyage, p. 183, & seqq.

^e See Bosman's Description of Guinea,

^f Loyer, ubi supra, p. 197, & seqq.

1701.
Loyer.

ders it inaccessible on that Side; though, when the Sea is calm, some Negro Canoes venture to pass it, to trade with Vessels in the Road. This River is large and deep: At seven or eight Leagues from its Mouth, as you go-up, it resembles a large Sea, with scarce any Bounds. Loyer from one Side could hardly discover the opposite Shore, though it was mountainous. These Hills appeared like a thick Cloud, though the Weather was serene. He saw a great Rock in the Middle, which he reckoned three or four Leagues distant.

Edge of
Rocks.

THE Negros say, that six Days Journey up the River, it is stopped by large Rocks, over which it runs, and forms a wonderful Cascade. Here, if they want to proceed, they are forced to hawl their Canoes about a Musket-Shot, and then launch them on the River, which is again navigable all through, and extends into Countries unknown. Some of them have sailed-up as far as *Abahini* and *Enzoko*; the first of which they say is ten Days Journey, (at least an hundred Leagues) and the other thirty Stages, (or three hundred Leagues.) Loyer saw at *Issini*, in the Hands of Negros, who had been in these Places, *Turkey* Carpets, and fine Cotton Stuffs; also striped red and blue Silk, which they had brought with them, and reported to have been manufactured there, and that they had seen large and fine Towns built of Stone. A Matter worth Enquiry!

Long Course.

THIS River, according to the Natives, falls into the Sea by several Mouths, which they offered to shew the *French*; but there is no great Reliance on what they say, for as they travel little, they are not acquainted with the Country above ten or twelve Leagues distant. It is Pity but the River was discovered upwards, for it is, probably, a Branch of the *Nile*, or *Niger*. However this be, after forming, near the *French* Fort, seven pretty Isles, almost all of them inhabited, the several Branches meet, and the Stream grows narrow as it passes by the Fort; where it appears no broader than the *Seine*, and a League below it, falls into the Sea.

Lake and
Isle.

WITH regard to this River, we shall add a few Particulars from the *Chevalier des Marchais*. This Author, who was here in 1724, says, that it is navigable for large Barks sixty Leagues up. When you are once in it, you find the Water calm and still. Eight Leagues from its Mouth it forms a Lake^b six or seven Leagues broad, and as many long; in the Middle of which there is an Isle, and whose Sides are rough and steep on

all Hands; so that, at a Distance, it looks like a barren Rock: But when you land on it, you find the Soil fat and rich, with fine Grass, and Trees of different Kinds. A Colony or Settlement here might be very safe, for the Place is a natural Fortification. From hence to the great Ledge of Rocks, which bars up the River, are fifty Leagues. This Fall is very steep, and forms a noble Cascade, the Noise of which may be heard for several Leagues. The Negros however have cut Paths on each Side of the Rock, by which they haul-up their Canoes; and launching them again, say, they can sail for thirty Days up the River, without any Obstacle. If this be true, as there is Reason to believe, (says the *Chevalier*, or his Editor *Labat*) and that the Course of this River is sometimes North, or North-East, or North-West, it must reach very near the *Niger*; or, perhaps, it is a Branch of it, as a late Traveller^c has imagined.

Issini
Kingdom.

THE Kingdom of *Issini* has about twelve Villages along the Coast, or in the Isles, formed by the River. The chief Town is *Affoko*, situated in an Isle of the same Name, made by the River, a League and an half from the Sea, and containing two hundred Huts, and about one thousand or twelve hundred Inhabitants. It has but two Sea-Ports, viz. *Taquehué* and *Bangaya*, at the first of which resides a famous *Kabeshir*, called *Emond*.

Towns or
Villages.

THE Kingdom of *Abossam* is distant from *Taquehué* but ten Leagues, as well as several little Lordships; which, properly speaking, are but Hamlets, where the richest domineer and govern the rest. Each of these People have a Chief, whom they call Captain; but since their Commerce with *Europeans*, and that some of them have been in *Europe*, they have assumed the Title of Kings, though their Dominions can scarce contain four thousand Souls. Such is this Kingdom (of *Issini*), which, in Case of Necessity, can scarce raise two thousand Men, including the Slaves.

THE Soil of *Issini*, like that of almost all the Gold Coast, is a white dry Sand, very uneasy to Travellers. It bears little but Grass for Cattle, which would increase well here, if the People were not too lazy to breed them; but they chuse rather to starve, than to buy Plenty at the Expence of Labour. Some moist Spots of Ground yield Bananas, which are their chief Support and Dependence. Sometimes they clear a Piece of Ground by burning it, and sow a little Rice, Millet, or *Spanish* Wheat. The Soil is better in the Islands, formed by the River, the Ground there

Soil and
Produce.^a The same, p. 185, & seqq.^b Which Loyer calls a little Sea.^c This Traveller is Loyer.^d *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, &c. vol. 1. p. 198, & seq. published by *Labat*.^e Loyer's Voyage, p. 183.^f The higher you go-up from the Sea into the Country, the Soil improves, as appears by the tall Trees.

Itini
Kingdom.

there yielding Yams, Potatos, Figs, Cocos, Ananas, Palm-Trees, Koros, Papas, and several other Fruits. Sugar-Canes thrive wonderfully here. Loyer saw some that came from the Country of the *Kompas* of a prodigious Bigness. Cotton and Tobacco also would grow here well, if cultivated, since they are found wild of a good Kind. *Manihetta*, or Guinea-Pepper might be planted to Advantage here.

Ailhuaye
Fruit.

THEY have a small red Fruit, called *Ailhuaye*, as big as a middling Plum. Of this there is a smaller Kind no larger than the Fingers End, which have scarce any thing but Skin, and taste insipid and soft: But they have this Quality, that after chewing but one of them, you may eat the fourest Oranges, or Citrons, and drink the sharpest Vinegar, which taste like Sweetmeats or Syrup. Loyer tried this several Times with Surprise; and thinks the Fruit, on account of this alkaline Property, might be of great Use in Physic.

Ikaquas.

THE Woods abound with several Kinds of small Fruits, most of which are of an aromatic Taste and Smell; others are insipid. There is a Kind called *Ikaquas*, which much resembles an European Plum; but has only a Skin stretched over a Stone. This Stone is not very hard, and contains a Kernel, which is good when roasted, but too bitter if eaten raw. These Trees grow plentifully, and bear *Ikaquas* of all Colours. They commonly creep along the Ground, though some are Standers and grow pretty large.

HERE are, besides Oranges and Citrons, a Kind of Fruit, called by the French Apples, from their Shape, though neither the Taste nor Tree has any Resemblance. It is round and big as a Man's Fist, with a Stone as large as an Egg. To be good they should be as ripe as Medlars. Some hungry Negros eat them; but for the most Part they serve to feast the Monkeys and Elephants, who, in September and October, which is their Season, come in Troops to eat them. In general, their Fruits here are of no great Value.

Tiromonts
and Pulse.

THERE grow on the Ground *Tiromonts*, which are a Kind of Gourds, but they are not common, the Negros being too lazy to plant them. Here are also two Sorts of Pease, one of which grows under Ground. This Kind shoots out a Sprig half a Foot high, with twenty or thirty Leaves, fastened three and three to a long Stalk. The Roots spread into several Branches, which have small Cods, of the Shape and Colour of *Pistac-*

chias, each Cod containing one or two Peas, much like the French Chick-Pease or Lupins. This Sort increases wonderfully, and are excellent in Broth. Their other Kind, in Leaf and Grain, resembles French-Beans, but are much better tasted; their Cod is like that of the Field Pease, only it cannot be eaten. These Pease grow all the Year round, but the principal Season for them is September and October. They multiply an hundred-fold. If the Negros would cultivate them, they would have enough to subsist throughout the Year; but they are contented with such as grow wild.

PURSLANE grows wild here, and another Purslane. Herb called *Eppa*, in Leaf and Taste resembling Sorrel. The Negros eat it, and use it in Soup with Fish and Palm-Oil. They also cultivate a Plant which the call *Kakos*, but the French in America, *Caribbe Cabbage*. The Leaf is big, and shaped like a Heart: The Roots large, and tart to the Taste. They use this Root instead of Yams, though it is not palatable, and neglect the Leaves, which are good in Broth. *Papays*, a Kind of well tasted Melon, are common here, growing on the Top of a Tree; the Seeds taste like Pepper. The Fruit, when green, is used by the French in Soup.

THESE Forests give Shelter to a vast Number of Animals, some of which the Negros have no Name for. The chief of all is the Elephant, whom the Negros destroy for the Sake both of their Teeth and Flesh. They use their Ears to cover their Drums, but have no Notion of tanning them, though they might be of great Service. The Woods are full of Wild Cattle, Deer, Goats, and other Game, which would be much more numerous, were it not for the Lions, Tygers, Panthers, and other Beasts of Prey, which destroy them. These are so numerous, that the Natives are forced to keep Fires all Night in their Huts to keep them off.

SOME Time before Loyer's Arrival, they devoured a Negro in broad Day. While he was there, a Tyger entered by the Roof of a House in *Afoko*, the chief Town in the Country, and killed eight Sheep belonging to King *Akafini*. Nor were the French secure in their Fort; for the seventh of March, 1702, at eleven at Night, a Tyger carried off a Bitch, which they kept to watch the Place. On the seventeenth, at the same Hour, he returned, and leaping the Palisados, though ten Foot high, killed two Sheep.

Trees, and the Verdure of the Ground. The low Grounds are finely watered; and the Isles in the River, are of a rich Soil, proper to produce all Grain and Roots. But the *Iffine* can scarce be at the Pains to sow a little Rice, Maiz, or Pepper; but trust entirely to their Neighbours the *Peteris* for Provisions, which if they should withhold for two Days, it would occasion a Famine. The *Iffine* content themselves with the Fruits of the *Banana*, Fig and Coco-Trees, and the Palm-Wine; all which they get without Trouble. They seldom are at the Pains to fish for the same Reason. See *Marchais Voy. en Guinée*, &c. Vol. I. p. 196, & seqq. In the French, *Yequas*. Loyer.

1701.
Loyer.

and a Ram, who for a While defended himself stoutly with his Horns; but finding the Fort alarmed, he made off. Some Hours after he returned, and entering by the Bastion next the Sea, attacked the Sentinel, who was frightened to Death. His Cries brought the Garison to his Help, but the Beast got away.

Civet-Cats
and Porcupines.

CIVET-Cats are common here. The French reared some who became quite tame. These have the Cry and all the Quality of a tame Cat, feeding on Rats and Mice. The Places they frequent in the Woods are known by the musky Smell, for they rub themselves on the Trees, and leave small Quantities of that costly Drug; which the Negros gather, and sell to the Europeans. Here are also many Porcupines, whose Flesh is excellently well tasted: *Aguties*, which are a Kind of Hares; and *Affomanglie*, resembling a Cat with the Head like a Rat, and the Body beautifully spotted like a Tyger. The Negros say, this Creature is a deadly Enemy to the Tyger, whom he kills whenever he finds him.

THE Rivers abound with Otters, and other amphibious Water-Animals, with fine Furs, and good to eat. The Negros also breed Dogs, and Cats, which they call *Agheromswé*: These they fold in the Markets, and laughed at the French, for expressing a Dislike at it.

Sheep and
Oxen.

HERE are excellent Sheep without Wool, the Skin being smooth; but the Flesh much beyond the French Mutton. These have two Lambs at a Time, and bear every five Months. Their Goats are like those of France, but not so tall. The wild Beasts have destroyed almost all the Hogs left here by the Europeans, the Negros taking no care of them. They make as little use of their tame Cows, being ignorant how to milk them; when they take a Fancy, they kill one now and then to eat.

Monkeys.

MONKEYS of all Kinds and Sizes abound here. The prettiest Sort is a small Species which they call *Sagouins*, no bigger than a Man's Fist: There are some black on the Back, with white Bellies, and long Beards; others grey, without Hair on either the Face or Hands, and as big as a middling Dog. Others are very big and furious, and will fight the Negros, when they attack them. The Natives call them wild Men, and say, they will not speak for fear of working. These build Huts in the Woods, and go in Troops to plunder the Negros. In January, 1702, the Boatman belonging to the Fort, who was their Hunter, shot one of these in a Wood and catch'd him. His Comrades prepared to revenge him by their Cries, and throwing Stones and Dirt at the Man; so that he was obliged to fire several Times to drive them away. At last,

he brought his Prisoner to the Fort, tied with a strong Cord. The first fifteen Days he was intractable, biting, chattering and raging. Every Day he had a sound Bastinado, and was kept at hard Meat. This Management soon tamed him, so that he learned to make a Bow, kiss his Hand, and twenty other diverting Tricks. In two or three Months they let him loose, and he would not leave the Fort.

Tilmi
Kingdom.

As to the Birds here, it is not easy to describe them. The Woods are full of *Pantudas*, or Guinea Hens, Pheasants and Partridges, less than ours. Turtles are found all the Year, especially in April, May and June, the Seeds being then ripe, at which Time there are innumerable Flocks to be seen. Here are Eagles both black and white, which are good Food: Also Sea-Larks, Gouaillians, Mauves and Wood-Cocks, different from the French, but excellent; Ducks, Teal, Aygrets and Herons in Plenty. The Negros one Day brought Loyer a large Bird they had killed as big as a Lamb. The French roasted it and found it delicate Meat. Large grey Parrots with red Tails are common, as well as Thrushes, Quails, &c. From October till March, there are Multitudes of Swallows, which breed elsewhere. Here are pretty Birds, a little larger than a Linnet, all white as Alabaster, with a red Tail, speckled black. These render the Woods delightful with their Music. The Sparrows are redder than the European, and very common. Hens, which they call *Amaniken*, are less than those in France, but their Flesh is tenderer, whiter, and better tasted. If the Negros would be at any Pains, they might raise much greater Stocks of Poultry, considering the Warmth of the Climate, and the Plenty of Grains and Seeds. King *Akafini* and his Brother *Yamoki* have some Turkeys brought from Europe, which have increased wonderfully, as well as Geese and Pigeons. These last have multiplied so, that the Country is full of them.

Wild-Fowl,
Poultry.

THE Sea and the River of *Iffini* abound with Fish.

The chief are Sharks or Requiems, a dangerous Fish; Porpusses, Becunes, Darados, Bonattas, Carcouades, Mulletts, Sardes, Chabris, Thornbacks, Soles, Sea and River Pike very large; Eels, Herrings, Pilchards, Whittings, Seiches, Moons, Palourds, Mufcles and Oysters of a monstrous Bigness. From September to January, Sea Tortoise come to lay on this Coast, it being then the stormy Season. By their Traces in the Sand they find their Eggs, of which one lays an hundred and fifty, or two hundred at a Time. They are round and as large as Hen-Eggs, but are covered with a soft Pellicle or Skin, instead of a Shell. They are not agreeable, having

Tortoise.

Issini
Kingdom.

an odd Taste; yet they are better than the River-Tortoises found here. One meets also with Seals and Caymans; these latter are a Kind of Crocodile, or large Water-Lizards; which, when on Land, instead of attacking Men, as they do in America, run from them into the Water.

Serpents.

Serpents are so large here, that they will swallow a Man whole if they find him asleep; for they move too slow to catch him when on his Guard. The Negros, who go always armed on account of these Serpents and wild Beasts, easily kill them and feast on the Flesh, which is reckoned a great Dainty. Lizards of twenty or thirty Pound Weight are good Meat. In November, 1702, Loyer brought one to the French Fort, which he killed with a Stick by the River-side, and proved a great Relief in their Distress.

Lizards.

Vermin,
Insects.

NOR is the Country free from Vermin and other noxious Animals. Rats and Mice swarm here. The Grasshoppers make such a continual Noise in the Fields, and even on the Tops of the Houses, all the Year, that you can scarce hear what is said. This, joined to the Locusts and Crickets*, the Gnats and Musquitos, which, by their Stings, give you Rest neither Night nor Day, is enough to exercise the greatest Patience; especially if you add to these the Millepedes, whose Stings raise a sharp Pain and an Inflammation that lasts twenty-four Hours. Here are also great Numbers of hairy Spiders, as big as an Egg, which nestle every where; as well as flying Scorpions, whose Bite is mortal. Besides, the Ravens, Moths, Wood-Lice, flying and ground Ants, pierce and destroy every Thing; as Paper, Linen, Books, Goods and Clothes of any Kind, whatever Care you take to prevent it.

Flying-
Scorpions.

Bees.

THE Country abounds with Bees, who make excellent Wax, and white delicious Honey. April the ninth, 1702, a Swarm settled in the French Fort, in an empty Powder-Cask, which they soon filled with Wax and Honey, as well as bred other Swarms; which, if rightly managed, might have increased infinitely^b.

Agris-
Stone.

THE Agris Stone, which is used for Money, is found here^c; It seems to be the blue Coral, of which an Account will be given when we come to Benin.

S E C T. V.

The Veterés and Kompas Negros.

Revolution in Issini. Another in 1670. Esieps expelled; by the Iffinese. The Veterés: Their Manners, and Government. Agris Stone. They fish with Nets, and Snares. Drive a great

a Trade with Fish. The Kompas Negros. The Veterés and Iffinese compared together. 1701. Revolution in Issini.

THE Kingdom of Issini, which was formerly known by the Name of Albini, is inhabited by two Sorts of People, the Iffines and Veterés. These last were the original Natives; and their Name signifies, *Fishermen of the River*. They say, that the Esieps, a People inhabiting the Neighbourhood of Cape Apollonia, whose King was called Pay, being harassed by those of Axim beyond the Cape, about seventy or eighty Years since, left their Country, and retired to Issini, a Place belonging to the Veterés; who took pity on their Distress, and received them hospitably, allotting them Lands to cultivate, and regarding them as their Countrymen. For some Years they lived in this good Intelligence, till the Esieps, naturally turbulent, having enriched themselves by Commerce with the Europeans, began to despise and oppress their ancient Benefactors; and carried their Tyranny so far, that the Veterés began to repent of what they had done. At last they lost all Patience, and resolved to expel these ungrateful Guests. The Method of doing it was not so easy. The Esieps were well provided with Fire-Arms by their Trade with the Europeans, the Use of which the Veterés were ignorant of, and therefore dreaded them extremely. They were thus obliged to suffer, impatiently waiting an Occasion of Deliverance and Revenge, which at last presented itself, in 1670.

IN that Year another Negro Nation, called Osbin, who resided in a Country called Issini, ten Leagues below Cape Apollonia, quarrelled with the People, called Ghimra or Ghimray, inhabiting the Cape. The Iffinese after several Battles, in which they had the Worst, resolved to abandon their Country, and retire elsewhere. With this View they cast their Eyes on the Veterés. They knew the kind Manner in which these People had received the Esieps, whose Case was exactly parallel to theirs. Luckily they remembered, that Zena, their King or Chief, was of the Family of the Aumouans, which was that of the King of the Veterés, and thought they could not do better than to retire amongst them, especially as they had Land enough to spare; and considering they would hardly refuse them the same Protection, they had granted some Years before to the Esieps, a People no way allied to them. The Veterés, discontented with their first Guests, who were too strong for them, and thinking this a good Opportunity to revenge themselves of past Injuries, received the Iffinese

* Grillees.
Aumouans.

^b Loyer's Voyage, p. 209, & seqq.

^c The same; p. 115.

^d In the French,

1701.

Loyer.

Esiops ex-
pelled,

By the Iffin-
nole.

The Veteres,
their Man-
ner.

with open Arms, granting them Lands, and dis-
covering their Grievs to them.

THE *Iffinese*, to oblige them, promis'd to suc-
cure them, to which the *Veteres* trusting, began
to look with Disdain on the *Esiops*. This soon
produced Animosities, which broke-out into open
War; in which the *Veteres* aided by their new
Friends, gained several Advantages; and (as the
Iffinese were provided with Fire-Arms, and sup-
ported by the *Veteres*) the *Esiops*, after several
Defeats, were obliged to consult their own Safety,
by quitting the Country, and retiring to an un-
inhabited Place, on the *Tooth*, or *Quaqua* Coast,
near the River *St. Andrew*, to the West, where
they now dwell; though they are often infested
by the Incursions of the *Iffinese*, their irrecon-
cilable Enemies, who seldom return without
Booty. Since that Time, this Place, which for-
merly belonged to the *Veteres*, and was after
occupied by the *Esiops*, called *Asbini*, and the
River of the same Name, being at present pos-
sessed by the *Iffinese*, who were strongest, has
changed its Name, and is called *Iffini* from its
Possessors; and their first Country, which is yet
called great *Iffini*, to distinguish it from the other,
from which it is ten Leagues distant, remains
uninhabited.

THIS is the Reason why the Maps make no
Mention of *Iffini* in the Place it is at present,
being perhaps made before this Change happened.
The River *Asbini* had the same Fate; and if it
preserv'd its former Name in the Land of the
Veteres, yet the Mouth was called by the new
Possessors, the River of *Iffini*. The *Iffinese* were
left in Possession of the Sea-Coast, which was a
great Advantage to them, and a Ruin to the
Veteres. For the former enrich themselves in buy-
ing Merchandizes from the *Europeans*, and selling
them dear to the *Veteres*.

THE Employment and Wealth of the latter
consists solely in the Fishery of the River of *Iffini*;
which is so abundant, and they so dextrous
at it, as is almost incredible. They live inter-
mixed with the *Iffinese*, with only this Difference,
that their Houses or Huts are built on Piles in
the River, whereas those of the *Iffinese* are al-
ways built on the Land. The River indeed is
their Fortrefs or Rampart; and it is by this they
are able to defend themselves from any Nation,
who are not good Boatmen. On the other
hand, the *Iffinese* are superior a-shore, being bet-

ter Soldiers than the *Veteres*. There are also
other Distinctions. The *Iffinese* wear their Hair
long, which they carry in Ringlets on their
Shoulders; whereas the *Veteres* wear them short,
often shaving their Heads. The *Veteres* wear
their *Pagnes* of Grass, (or Barks of Trees) inter-
woven: Those of the *Iffinese* are of Cotton,
or *European* Stuffs: The Scymeter or Sabre of
the *Veteres*, is a Kind of large Dagger a Foot
and an half long, in a Skin or small Scabbard,
made like a Fish's Tail; whereas that of the *Iffinese*
is in the Form of a Pruning-Knife. The
Women amongst the *Veteres* go quite naked;
whereas the *Iffinese* Women cover themselves
with a Clout or *Pagne*.

THE *Veteres* are a populous Nation, and in-
habit a large Space of Ground; occupying a
great Part of this fine River of *Iffini*, whence
they draw their sole Subsistence. They are allied
to the *Veteres* of other (neighbouring) Rivers,
to whom they send Assistance by Water, when
there is Occasion, or receive it in Return; the
Rivers in this Country having all a Communica-
tion with each other. They are governed by a
Chief or Captain. Their present Chief is called
Kukroká; who from the Condition of Slave to
the late King, by the large Fortune that Prince
bequeathed him, found himself in a Condition to
make Head against the principal *Grandeés*; and
to raise himself to this Dignity, which he peace-
ably enjoys.

THE *Veteres* know no Laws, but those of Na-
ture, which they often transgress; having the
same Inclinations as the other *Negros*, especial-
ly for Theft and Treachery, chiefly with regard
to the Whites, whom they cannot endure. Their
Money they called *Batiquets*, or *Aigris*.

THIS *Aigris*-Stone serves for Money here, and
is highly valued, though it has neither
Lustre nor Beauty. The *Kompas* Nation break
it almost into unperceptible Bits, which they
skillfully bore with a Flint, and thread on a Bit
of Grass, and then sell them to the *Veteres*,
among whom they pass as Money; one of
them being worth two *Liards* in French Money.
With regard to Gold, they have little or none.

THE Arms of the *Veteres* are the Sabre and
Affagaye, which is a Kind of Half-Pike. Some
have Fire-Arms, which they buy at second-Hand
of the *Iffinese*, who get them of the *Europeans*;
but few make use of them.

* Loyer's Voy. d' Iffini, p. 178, & seqq.

† The *Veteres* and *Iffinese*, according to *Marchais*, live in
good Agreement. Each Nation has its Chief or King, and its Customs and Laws peculiar to itself: Yet on
common Occasions they unite, and seem to form but one People. At other Times they are very distinct, both
in their Character and Manners. *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 1. p. 196.

‡ Loyer's Voyage, p. 157, & seqq.

§ Loyer describes the *Aigris* as a Precious Stone found here, of a Greenish-Blue Colour, resembling Glais-Beads,
but so valued by them, that they buy it for its Weight in Gold. Loyer, p. 115.

1701.

Loyer.

Fish with
Nets.

For their Fishery, they make use of Nets twisted of Grass or the Barks of Trees, or else of Hooks and Spears, which they manage so dextrously as seldom to miss a Fish. With these they fish in Canoes made of a single Tree, which commonly hold three Persons, sometimes five; and at their great Fishery, which is commonly the Time of new and full Moon, they often assemble thirty or forty Canoes in Company, and, at six o'Clock in the Evening, repair to the Places they know the Fish resort to, and so pass the Night till Morning; when they usually return, with a large Quantity of Fish, especially Mulletts, which are very good and cheap. The next Day they rest, while their Wives sell the Fish at Market.

WHILE the Men fish, or after Market, the Women employ themselves in boiling Sea-Water to make Salt; in which they succeed well, their Salt being very white, though sharper than ours.

And Snares.

THE *Veteres*, not daring to venture out to Sea, fish only in the River, where they lay Snares. These consist of a large Circle of Reeds fastened to great Stakes in shallow Places, in which there is only one Opening for the Fish to enter. To these Places they go with small Nets and chuse their Fish, as we do in *Europe*, out of Kitchen Cisterns.

Great Trade
with Fish.

THEY drive a great Trade for Fish with the *Kompas* Mountaineers, who furnish them, in Return, with Bread of Millet, Maiz, Rice, Yams, Bananas, Koros, Palm-Oil, and other Provisions. These the *Veteres* sell again, at *Affoko*, to the *Iffinese*, who, without this Assistance, would starve. Whenever there is any Difference between these Nations, the only Revenge the *Veteres* take, is to forbear coming to Market; for, as soon as they take this Step, the *Iffinese* capitulate and grant their Demands.

The Kompas
Negros.

As to the *Kompas*, who border on the *Veteres*, they are a Nation governed in Form of a Republic, where the Chiefs of the People have a Right of debating and voting in Matters relating to the Management of Affairs. Their Country consists of agreeable Hills, which are cultivated, and produce plentifully whatever is sowed; whereas the Soil of the Coasts, which is a dry Sand and scorched with the excessive Heats, is fit for nothing. For this Reason, neither the *Veteres* nor *Iffinese* could subsist long without Supplies from the *Kompas*, who, in Exchange for their Provisions, receive Fire-Arms, *Pagnes*, and Salt; which Things they, in their Turn, are destitute of. The *Iffinese*, likewise, draw the Gold they use for Trade from the *Kompas*, who have it from another People farther inland. Their Country extends, from East to West, thirty or forty

a Leagues, and is from fifteen to twenty broad. They go more naked than the Nations near the Sea-Coast, but are no great Warriors.

Iffinese
Negros.

LABAT, in the Chevalier *Marchais's* Voyage to *Guinea*, has given an Abstract of *Loyer's* Account of *Iffini*, and added it to the Remarks made by his Author (as may be presumed;) which are, That the Houses of the *Veteres* are raised high enough above the Surface of the Water to secure themselves against its Inundations. Their Canoes they place under their Houses, and are good Boatmen; as the *Iffinese*, on the contrary, are good Seamen. The *Veteres* let their Hair grow, and cut their Beards close: The *Iffinese* shave their Heads, and let their Beards grow long. The *Veteres* go, for the most Part, naked, or with coarse, small *Pagnes*, of Barks of Trees or Grass interwoven: The *Iffinese* are more civilized by Commerce; the *Veteres*, who seldom see any Whites, are more savage and wild. The *Iffinese* break the *Aigris-Stone* into small Bits, bored through the Middle, called *Betiquets*, two of which pass for a Crown, *French* Money. They also cut it into Cylinders an Inch long. *Labat* conceives this *Aigris-Stone* to be a Sort of Jasper.

THEIR Bark-Nets last well; and they will pierce a Fish at five or six Foot Distance. They generally load their Canoes, in ten or twelve Hours, with all Kinds of Fish, especially Mulletts, which are extraordinary large, fat, and delicate.

THIS Land, though good and rich, is every where untilld, either through Indolence, or that their sole Occupation of Fishing confines them to the Water.

S E C T. VI.

Of the *Iffinese*.

Iffinese, their Features: Drefs: Their Character: Theft encouraged: Distrustful and covetous: Seen by their Diet: Gripping and Injustice: The Women: Marriages: Womens Drefs: Their Child-bearing: Their Diet and Bread: Ragou of Fish: Koros Sauce: Their Palm-Wine: Their Manner of Building: Purifying Houses: Household Furniture.

THE *Iffinese*, excepting their black Colour, have nothing disagreeable either in their Shape or Faces. There are few flat-nosed amongst them. They are generally well-limbed, tall, and proportioned, strong and nimble; have lively Eyes and white Teeth, which they preserve by rubbing them with a certain Wood,

Iffinese,
their Features.

^a *Loyer's* Voyage, p. 161, & seq.

^b *Marchais's* Voy. en *Guinée*, &c. vol. I. p. 200, & seq.

which

1701. which grows here, excellent for that Purpose*. a
 Loyer. They take great Care to keep their black Colour, by rubbing their Skin daily with Palm-Oil, mixed with Charcoal pounded, which makes it shining, black, soft, and smooth as a Looking-Glass. They suffer neither Hair nor Dirt on their Body. As they grow old, their Blackness diminishes, and their woolly, Cotton Hair grows grey. This Hair they are mighty careful of, tying it up in an hundred different Fashions. They comb it with a wooden or Ivory Fork, with four Teeth, which is always fastened on their Head. They also anoint their Hair with Palm-Oil and Charcoal, as they do their Bodies, to keep it black and make it grow. They adorn it with small Toys of Gold, or pretty Shells, each striving to outvie an other in their Finery.

Their Dress. THEY shave themselves with Knives, which they temper so, as to fall little short of Razors. Some only shave one half of their Head, dressing the other like a Night-Cap cocked over one Ear. Others leave broad Patches here and there unshaved in different Forms, according to their Fancy. They are fond of their Beards and comb them daily, wearing them as long as the *Turks*. They are very cleanly and wash, often, their Hands, Face and all their Head. Going naked gives them no Shame or Trouble, none having any Cloaths but the *Brembis* and *Babumets*. They wear a *Pagne*, about two Yards long and three quarters broad, round their Waist; passing one End between their Thighs, which trains behind, and letting the other fall down before. Some wear it like a Scarf or Belt, crossing one Shoulder and tied at the Ends; others carry it like a Mantle or Cloak, round their Shoulders. The Poor and Slaves have only a Rag, made of matted Grass or the Bark of Trees, to cover their Nudities. Some, chiefly the *Kaboshirs*, have Caps of Goat-Skin: But they are mighty fond of *European* Caps and Hats, which they wear only on State-Days, being very vain. These sell well here, if not above a Crown or two in Price.

Their Character. THE *Iffinese* Negros have good Sense and Judgment, are cunning and subtle, great Liars and Thieves, though you cannot affront them more than to call them *Krúki*, which, in their Tongue, signifies *Robbers*: You must watch their Feet as well as their Hands; for if they eye a Thing on the Ground, they will bury it with their Toes, and come back for it when you are gone. This Vice being never punished, but rather applauded, they take great Pride in relating their Performances this Way. The King himself

encourages it; for, if any of his Subjects has stolen a good Prize, and is afraid of being discovered, he need only confess it to the King, and give him a Share; after which he has nothing to fear. Thus he goes halves in all that is pilfered from the Whites. The King's eldest Son, in September, 1702, stole a Pewter-Spoon from the *French*, and, when he found himself discovered, brought it back, without any Sort of Shame b.

THEY seldom came to pay their Debts. *Za-Déffé* pin, the deceased King's Son, owed five *Takús*, or *Sols*, to a *Frenchman* in the Fort, for seven Months, and, after all, would pay him but three. They are so distrustful in their Way of dealing, that you must show them the Money before they will show you their Goods. It is the same Thing if they do Business for you, you must pay them before-hand, by which you are often cheated; for they seldom fulfil their Agreement, and to keep well with them, you must often give them *Dashis*, or Presents. If they buy from you, you must trust them, if not for the Whole, yet for a Part; and this tricking and fraudulent Way is common to them all, from the King to the meanest Slave.

THEY are so covetous and stingy, that if they kill a Sheep, they will cry for eight Days after it, and yet they seldom do it but to treat some *European* of Note, from whom they expect ten Times the Value. The Poultry they breed is only to sell to gather Gold. They will scarce lay-out five *Sols* to treat themselves, contented with a few *Bananas*, or a little Fish, which their Slaves catch with the Line, or some sorry Crabs they pick-up on the Shore, with stinking Water for their Drink. If they light on a dead Carcase of a Beast, it is a noble Feast. An Ox that died of some Distemper on board the *Chevalier Damon*, being thrown into the Sea, was cast ashore, by the Waves, half rotten, yet was greedily seized and devoured by them. They have huge Stomachs, and when treated by the Whites, take Care to lay-in well, because it costs them nothing. They are so disobliging, that if they imagine a Thing will please you, they will refuse it for that very Reason; and if you want any Service from them, you must pretend Indifference, or they will make you pay for it an hundred Times more than it is worth.

THEY are so fond of gaining any Thing, that they will carry a Load of sorry Fruits two or three Leagues to get a few Pence, and yet, if you want them to carry any Thing a Mile, they will deny you, unless you pay them their own Price beforehand, and, perhaps, when they have

* See before, the *Sieur Bruc's* Journey to *Koyor*, p. 121. b.

b Loyer's *Voy. d'Iffini*, p. 137, & seqq.

1701. gotten the Money, they will have the Malice to a
 Loyer. leave their Load half Way behind. Loyer says, he had experienced this several Times, and gives them the Character of the most mischievous, cheating and ingrateful People on Earth, from whom, the more Good you do to them, the worse Returns you meet.

The Women. THE Women of *Iffini* are slender and well shaped, though not very handsome. They are sly and artful, witty, and much more covetous than the Men. They are, besides, addicted to Wantonness, which is not thought a Crime here, if they be unmarried, or have not eaten the *Petish*, as an Assurance of conjugal Fidelity. They are very vain, continually consulting their small Looking-Glasses, rubbing their Teeth to make them white, or adjusting their Hair different Ways. They anoint it with Palm-Oil, and dress it up with Bits of Gold and other Baubles; all with a View of appearing amiable, especially to the Whites, whom they would readily lie with, but for fear of their Husbands, in whose Power it is, if convicted of Adultery, to put them to Death, and the Adulterer also, if he has not Gold to atone for the Transgression. The usual Fine on those Occasions, is a *Bende*, that is, an hundred Livres; though if the Person injured be a *Kabashir*, and the Offender wealthy, they exact a higher Forfeiture. In 1702, M. *Amaba* was fined, by the Judges, to pay seven *Bendes* to Captain *Emond*.

Their Marriage. THEIR Ceremony of Marriage is short, and pleasant enough. A Father who sees a Son in a Way to maintain himself, looks out a Wife for him; and then advises him to go see the Girl he has chosen. The Parties are generally soon agreed, and then they wait on the Father of the Bride to know what he must have. Next they eat the *Petish* together, in Token of Friendship, and as an Assurance of the Woman's Fidelity to her Husband. Two or three Days are spent in Dancing and Feasting. At last the Bridegroom carries his new Spouse to his House, where she is absolute Mistress of all his Slaves; and though he takes others after, yet he dare not do it without her Consent: However she rarely refuses it, because of the Advantage they receive in House-keeping from a Number of Children, which are Wealth in this Country. All the other Women are, properly speaking, only Concubines, for each of which the Husband pays the Father the Value of eight Crowns, in Gold-Dust; after which, he keeps them as long as he pleases, or sends them back if he does not like them, and that without any ill-Will on either Side.

THE Women wear *Pagnes* like the Men, but love them of gay Colours, as red and blue, or striped of different Hues, which they like best, being fond of Shew. They tuck up this with a large Roller behind, on which they carry their Children, and tie to their Waist large Bunches of Copper, Brass, and Iron-Keys, by Way of Ornament, though, perhaps, they have but one Box at home. Amongst these they hang several Purse of different Sizes, filled with Trash, only to appear rich, especially in the Eyes of the Whites. Their Arms and Legs are loaded, rather than adorned, with Iron, Ivory, and Copper-Rings, or Bracelets. Loyer saw some, who carried ten Pound Weight of Copper, and Manillios of others were heavier than the Irons with which Criminals are loaded in *Europe*.

THE Day their Children are born they take their Child-
 themselves, return to their Work as before. Then, bearing.
 with the Father's Consent, they name the Child after some Beast, Tree, or Fruit, according to their Fancy. Sometimes they call it after their *Petish*, or some White, who is a *Mingo*^b, that is, Friend to them. These Negresses are excessively fond of their Children, and yet they are not over fruitful, seldom exceeding two or three. They carry them about every where fastened on their Back, even while they work, whence some happen to be flat-nosed. At seven or eight Months old they let them go alone, where they crawl like Kittens. By this Means they learn to walk sooner than with us. They accustom them early to wear Iron or Brass Rings. When they reach the Age of ten or twelve, the Father learns the Boys some Way to gain a Livelihood, as by Fishing, Hunting, getting Palm-Wine, or Trading, and instructs him in the Profit he is to make of it, which is, at least, *Cent. per Cent.* The Wife teaches the Girls to sweep the House, to pound the Maiz, Rice, and Millet, make Bread and dress the Meat, to buy and sell at the Market, and, above all, to be good Housewives; on which Article they may give Lessons to the most knowing Dames in *Europe*^c.

THEIR common Food is Bananas, Figs, Yams, Their Diet
 Rice, Maiz, and Millet. Of the three last they and Bread.
 make Bread. Each Evening the Mistress, or chief Wife, takes out of the Granaries, where they keep their Rice, or Corn, as much as she thinks will serve the Family next Day. At Morning the young Girls or Slaves, or if there be none, the Women of the House, assemble to pound it in a large wooden Mortar, with a Pestle of the same, to separate it from the Husk. They next winnow it with broad Pieces of Wood,

^a Loyer's Voy. d'Iffini, p. 154, & seqq.
 ubi supra, p. 154. & seqq.

^b A Corruption of the Portuguese Word, *Amigo*.

^c Loyer,

1701.
Loyer.

and, when the Grain is cleansed, they put it again into the Mortar and bruise it small, pouring-in, from Time to Time, a little Water to thicken it. This done, they spread the Paste on a broad, flat Stone, like a Painter's grinding-Stone, where, with a Stone Muller, they work it as the Painters bray their Colours. They then take and divide this Paste into little Halfpenny-Loaves^a, which they call *Tokay*, and boil them in an open Pot, with a very little Water, after laying a little Straw at the Bottom to prevent their burning. This is the Womens daily Exercise. These Loaves are very bad Bread, the best being those of the Millet, which yet give violent Colicks in the Stomach.

Ragou of
Fish.

ON Feast-Days, when they get a good Fish, they make of it a Ragou, called by them *Tora*. They take *Koros*, which is a Fruit of the Palm-Tree, large as our Prunes, not unlike a Date, though really different. It is the Colour of Carmine, but redder, having only a Skin extended over a large Stone, with little Substance between. This *Koros* they boil with the Fish, and when it is ready, put it into the Mortar, and bruise it. After pressing-out the Juice, they put it into the Pot again along with the Fish, adding a little Salt, and a great deal of Pepper, and let the whole stew. This Dish is pretty palatable to the Europeans, provided it be not too high seasoned; for the Negros never think it enough.

Koros Sauce.

THIS *Koros* is their usual Food, and when Fish is wanting to eat with their Bread, they make a Sauce of Palm-Oil, which is their Butter, in this Manner: They take a Quantity of *Koros*, leaving it heaped till it rots; then they put it in a Mortar, or rather a Tub, where they stir it with Sticks till it loosens: They then add warm Water, continuing still to brew it. When they judge it enough, they lean the Vessel to one Side, raking back the Nuts and Threads till they pour-off the Oil, which is pure, into large Jars or Pots, in order for Sale.

Palm-Wine.

PALM-Wine is the Juice of another Sort of Palm, which is not thorny like that bearing the *Koros*. It grows here plentifully, and great Numbers of Negros have no other Livelihood than that of drawing-off the Liquor. When they have, by Signs, discovered the Tree to be of proper Maturity, they climb it, and cutting-off two or three Boughs near the Top with a small, flat Chizel, about an Inch broad, they make a Hole as big as one's Fift, in which they put a large and strong Leaf^b, through which the Wine distils into a large Pot, fastened to the Tree. It sours, if kept a Day, though the Negros like it never the worse for that. A new Incision must

be made every Time it is drawn, or the Tree will not run. A Palm will yield Wine for three Months, but then it withers and dies. The Trunk breeds Worms as big as the Thumb, which the Negros eat as Dainties, and sell very dear^c.

Iffinele
Negros.

THE Natives of this Country are less curious in their Buildings than those of other Countries on the Coast, their Houses being sorry Huts made of Reeds, and covered with Palm-Leaves. In all the Country there are no Houses plastered but the King's, that of his Brother *Yamoké*, and those of two or three principal *Kabobirs*, or *Brembis*, at *Affoko*, lately built, which are of Wood. All the rest, even those of their Grandees, are poor Hovels, worse than those of the Charcoal-Men in France^d. They are so low, that a Man can scarce stand upright in them. Here they must either sit or lie down, and indeed they seldom enter them but to sleep, or in rainy Weather, at other Times usually spending the Day without Doors, for Coolness, beneath Outhouses or Arbours, made of Branches.

THE Door is a Hole, about a Foot and an half square, through which one creeps not without Difficulty. It is shut with a Wicket of Reeds, fastened with Cords in the Inside, for fear of Tygers. At Night they make a Fire in the Middle, which, as there is no Chimney, fills the Place with Smoke. There they sleep on Mats or Reeds, their Feet to the Fire. Their Wives Huts are separate, where they lie and eat apart, seldom with their Husbands. All these Huts are surrounded generally with a Reed-Fence, or Palisados, forming a Kind of Court, in which there is a Gate shut every Night. This Court, and the Floor of their Huts, which is only Sand, are swept ten Times a Day by their Wives and Daughters, who keep Things in exact Order.

It is an immemorial Custom amongst the *Iffinele*-Negros, that every Village has a House separated about an hundred Paces from the rest, called *Burnamon*, in which all the Women and Girls, during their monthly Visitations, are pent-up. Here they have Provisions brought them, as if they were infected with the Plague; nor dare they conceal their Infirmary, since it would be dangerous to deceive their Husbands on this Article; being, at Marriage, sworn on the *Fetish*, as soon as they perceive, to inform their Husbands, and retire to the *Burnamon*, as soon as they find themselves out of Order.

THE Negros are as careless with regard to Furniture, as they are in Building. They have only a few Stools, about half a Foot high, which, in the Night, serve them for Pillows.

^a *Petites pains d'un fol.*
p. 124, and 183, & seq.

^b Rolled-up like a Funnel.

^c Loyer's Voyage, p. 170, & seq.

^d *Ibid.*

1701.

Loyer.

These Stools they carry, or have carried, about a gles as the Slave carries it on his Left-Arm, while in his Right-Hand he holds a Sabre to defend it. When the General attacks the Enemy, he usually takes one of these Bucklers.

Iffinese
Negros.

THERE are three Generals at Iffini of almost equal Authority, viz. King Akafini, Yamoké his Brother, and Emond his Nephew. Each of these has near the same Number of Slaves, in which their chief Riches and Power consists. These Slaves, whom they arm in Time of War, form the Gros of their Army. Each free Native goes with the General he likes best, or is most obliged to. Each of these three Generals have about five or six hundred Slaves: The *Kaboshirs*, or *Brembis*, have from twenty to fifty each. These follow the King, who rewards such as signalize themselves in Battle, by a proportionate Share in the Booty. During the Combat the Drums, Trumpets, and other Instruments in their Way continually sound; which, joined to the Cries of the Negros, make a Noise louder than Thunder. Their Drums are made of a Piece of Wood, hollowed at one End only, and covered with the Ear of an Elephant, tightly bound over the Mouth. Their Sticks are two Pieces of Wood shaped like a Hammer, covered with Goat's Skin, which give a dull, hoarse Sound.

Forces, and
Way of
fighting.Drums and
Trumpets.

S E C T. VII.

Iffinese Forces, Diseases, Burials, and Religion.

Natives of Iffini warlike: Their Arms, Forces, and Way of fighting. Drums and Trumpets. Odd Instrument. Diseases. Physic and Remedies. Their Burials. Women-Mourners. Their Coffins: Their Interments. Their Religion. Believe in one God. Their Prayer. Fetichs. Fetich-Days, Hills and Trees. Consecrated Altars. Sacrifices. Fetich-Devotion; exposed by the Author. Oaths on the Fetich: Of other Kinds. Their High-Priest, or Pope: Manner of electing him. Transmigration of Souls.

Negros
warlike.

THE People of Iffini are, without Dispute, the most expert and best Soldiers on the Gold-Coast: Hence, though a small Nation, they are greatly dreaded by their Neighbours. Whether through the Valour and good Conduct of their Leaders, or their Experience and Skill in Arms, they often have made successful Incursions as far as *Ria St. Andre*; or, the Teeth-Coast, that is, above fifty or sixty Leagues, in Pursuit of the *Oshins*, their old Enemies, who expelled them their Country. Loyer was Witness of their Return, in 1701, from an Expedition of this Kind, with a rich Booty in Gold and Slaves.

THEIR Weapons are a Sabre, an Assagaye, and Gun, which they handle dexterously, and keep in good Order. They have the Skill to make a good Musket of a bad one, by new tempering the Lock, so as to exceed what it was before. This the French have seen them do with old Guns they sold them, that would not fire, which they brought to such Perfection, as scarce ever to miss, keeping them as bright as Silver. Their Chiefs, who command the Army, use Bucklers, (carried by their Slaves) which are square, about three Foot long, and two broad. They are made of Ox-Hides, covered with Tyger's Skins, and at each Corner is hung an Iron Bell, which jin-

Their Arms,

THEIR Trumpets are made of Elephants Teeth, hollowed almost to the End, at the Side of which they bore a small Hole, by which the Trumpeter, who is generally a Boy of twelve or fifteen, blows. These Trumpets give a clear Sound, but without varying the Tone, like Cowherds Horns. To this fine Music (which *A. niaba* told Loyer he preferred to the Hautboy at *Versailles*) they add an Instrument as remarkable, for the Simplicity of its Construction, as it is hard to be described. It is of Iron, shaped like two small concave Fire-Shovels, about a Foot long, soldered together, and which form a Kind of oval Belly. A Boy holds this Instrument by the small End, and with a Stick of half a Foot long strikes on it according to the Cadence of the Drums and Trumpets, who are always near the General, while the Fight lasts, which is always till one Side is beaten.

A. niaba
told Loyer.

THESE Negro Wars are generally soon begun and soon over. A trifling Matter sets them by the Ears, and as small an Affair brings them to a Peace.

THE most epidemical Distemper here is the Pox, which all the Natives are subject to, in greater or less Degree. Some grow rotten with it, by neglecting it in the Beginning. This Disease is owing to their Commerce with the Women, in which they place all their Happiness.

Their Dis-
ease.

* Loyer's Voyage, p. 166, & seqq.

b In the French, *Ochyns*.

c Loyer, ubi supra, p. 259; &

1701.
Loyer.

Blindness and sore Eyes are frequent Distempers, a proceeding from the Whiteness of the Sand refracting the Sun-Beams, so as to weaken the Sight. Flesh-Worms is also a common Disease amongst them, some of them are a Yard long or more, and of the Size of a Knitting-Needle, or Tag; others less. Loyer has seen a Man with six of these in his Leg at once. The Negroes are much subject to Fevers; their Remedy is, to carry the Patient to a River, and bathe him till he is quite cool; but more are killed than cured by this Method. Generally the Negroes die in the first Attack of a Disease, having no Knowledge of Physic, or proper Remedies, though they are well furnished with Simples. All they do, on these Occasions, is to consult their *Fetishes*.*

Physic and
Remedies.

THEY are not very compassionate to one another in Sickness or Affliction: They only take Care to dawb the Patient with several Colours, in Honour of their *Fetishes*, giving them a Sort of Cordial, nor any Way changing their usual Diet. As they have no Knowledge of Physic, though they have excellent Simples and Plants, they only apply two or three Sorts of Remedies to all Distempers. These Remedies are composed of *Manihetta*, or Guinea-Pepper, and the Juice of certain strong Herbs, which they pound and express for the Patient to drink. In Pleurifies they scarify the Shoulders, applying small Horns by way of Cupping-Glasses. For Wounds they use an Herb, the Lees of which, with the Juice expressed, being laid to the Part, performs so wonderful a Cure, that they disregard a Wound five Inches deep, even when the Bone is hurt, being sure of the Help of the Simple to heal it in three Weeks. Loyer has seen such surprizing Instances of this Kind, that he forbears relating them, lest he should be thought a Romancer.

Their Bur-
ials.

THE Negroes are very careful during their Lives to buy and prepare every Thing necessary for their Burial; such as a fine Cotton Pagne to wrap them in, and a close Box or Coffin to hold the Body, as well as Ornaments of Gold and Toys to adorn it; believing, that their Reception in the other World will be answerable to their Dress. Of late they begin to recover from this Error, which formerly cost the Lives of several Women and Slaves, whom they sacrificed at the Funerals of their Kings, or rich *Brembis*, in order to their being well attended in the next World.

Women-
Mourning.

WHEN a Negro dies, the News is soon spread, and immediately about an hundred Women assemble, for the most Part old Women, who pretty much resemble the crying Women of the Ancients. Their horrible Exclamations and extravagant Postures excite both Fear and Laughter.

Some go all over the House of the Deceased with Pick-axes, as if they would dig to search for him, calling him aloud by his Name: Others run from House to House like mad Women, seeking him wherever he frequented, and asking all they meet, If they have seen such a one? the Tears trickling down their Checks and Bosom. Those they ask hold down their Head, and answer, *Aword**, that is, *He is gone*. Mean while other Women are employed near the Body in the same Exercise, who, between their Lamentations, repeat his Actions, his Wealth and Virtues: After this they paint, comb, and curl his Hair, and adorn him with his Pagne and Jewels.

Illness
Negro.

WHEN the other Mourners return, they ask *Their Coffins*, him, Why he died, since he had wherewithal to live honourably, and if he had not Gold, Wives, Corn, and Slaves enough? mingling their Questions with loud Cries. They then bring his Box or Coffin, if he had one provided; if not, they make one of old Planks, and lay the Body in it, so that his Heels are placed beneath his Buttocks, and his Head leans on his Knees. Thus they put him in this Box, which is generally about two Foot and an half, or three Foot square. They place at his Side his Stool, and an Earthen Pot, the one for him to sit down, the other to cook his Viſuals. If he be a King, or a rich *Brembis*, they strow the Body with a large Quantity of Gold Dust. Even the Poorest have some Gold buried with them for their Use in the other World.

MEAN Time the Boys of the Neighbourhood assemble with Arms, and if the Deceased was a *Brembis*, or Grandee, the Relations supply them with Powder; which, as long as it lasts, they never cease firing. If he was poor, they fire two or three Shot, which is a Duty they think they owe one another, without being invited to it, and which they think occasions them to be received in the other World as *Kabobirs*.

THESE Ceremonies over, they lock the Box, *Their Inter-ments*, or nail it close, and four Slaves carry it to the Woods in some bye Place; where, without any Witnesses, they dig a Hole and inter it. At their Return, they eat with the Women-Mourners, the Feast prepared by the Relations of the Deceased. No other Men partake of this Entertainment, or appear at this Ceremony, all keeping close at home. The same Custom is observed with regard to the Women as well as the Men. If the Deceased was a great Man, his Wives, some Days after the Interment, put on their best Dress, and each carries a *Pagaya* on her Shoulder. In this Equipage they walk singing two and two through all the Village, and then go to the Door of each *Brembis*, where they perform a circular

* Loyer's Voyage, p. 200, & seqq.

* In the French, *Aouren*.

1701.
Loyer.

Dance, called by them *Babla*^a, giving, at each a Step, a Stroke with the *Pagaya* all together in the Middle of the Dance. This done, each *Brembi* is obliged to give three *Takús*, which is about fifteen Sols; after which they return, and are at Liberty to remarry as soon as a Match offers^b.

THE Religion of these Negros has been greatly misrepresented. The *Sieur Villault de Bellefond*, amongst others, is much mistaken, in saying the Negros worship *Fetishes* as their Deities, a Doctrine which they themselves absolutely deny.

Believe in
one God.

THE Negros acknowledge one God as Creator of all Things, but especially of *Fetishes*, which he has sent on Earth for the Service of Mankind: Yet their Notions, with regard to these *Fetishes*, are very obscure. The oldest of them are at a Loss what to say on this Article; only that they have a Tradition handed-down, that to them they are obliged for all the Blessings of Life, and that it is in their Power also to inflict on them what Evils they please.

EACH Morning, after they rise, they go to the River's Side to wash, and throwing a Handful of Water on their Head, or pouring Sand with it to express their Humility, they join their Hands, and then opening them, whisper softly the Word *Eksuwais*: Then lifting-up their Eyes to Heaven, they make this Prayer: *Anghiamé mamé maro, mamé orie, mamé shkiké e okkori, mamé akaka, mamé brembi, mamé angüan e avonjan*, that is, "My God, give me this Day Rice and Yams, give me Gold and *Aigris* [Stone,] give me Slaves and Riches, give me Health; and grant I may be active and swift." This is the Sum of their Worship to God. They believe him so good, that he can do them no Harm, having made-over all his Power to the *Fetishes*, and left none to himself.

Their Fe-
stivities.

THESE *Fetishes*^c are different, according to every one's Fancy. Scarce two Negros throughout the Coast of *Guinea* agree in the Form or Way of honouring them: One takes for his *Fetish* a Piece of Wood, red or yellow; another, the Teeth of a Dog, Tyger, or Civet-Cat; a third, an Elephant's Tooth, an Egg, or the Bone of some Bird, the Head of a Fowl, Ox, or Goat; a fourth, the Bone of a Fish, or the End of a Ram's Horn full of Excrement; a fifth, some Branches of Thorn, or a Bunch of Cords made of the Bark of Trees, or such-like Trumpery. Their Regard for these *Fetishes* is so extraordinary, that whatever they promise them, they religiously observe. Some abstain from Wine out

of Respect to them, others forbear Brandy: Some deny themselves certain Meats, or Kinds of Fish; others, Rice, Maiz, or Fruit. All without Exception in Devotion to their *Fetish* deprive themselves of some Pleasure by way of Mortification, and they will die sooner than violate this Engagement.

Miserable
Negro.

THEY have several Days in the Year consecrated to their *Fetishes*, the Chief of which is their Birth-Day, which they celebrate by whitening their *Fetish* and his Altar, smearing their Bodies with the same Colour, and putting-on a white Paigne. Others keep *Friday* in every Week, as we do *Sunday*, spending it in dressing their *Fetish*, and making it some Offering, or Sacrifice. Besides the *Fetishes* of particular Persons, there are others common to the Kingdom; these are generally some large Mountain, or remarkable Tree; which, if any should be rash to cut, or disfigure, he would be put to death without Mercy. Each Village has also its Guardian *Fetish*, dressed at the common Expence, to which they pray for general Benefits. For this Patron *Fetish* they erect, in the public Places, a Kind of Altar of Reeds, fixed on four Stakes, and covered with a Roof of Palm-Leaves. Besides this, each private Person has, in his own Inclosure, or at his Door, a Place set apart for his own *Fetish*, which he adorns his own Way, dawning it with different Colours once a Week.

IN the Woods and Bushes it is common to meet with many of these Altars, loaded with all these Sorts of *Fetishes*, and having Earthen Plates or Pots set fronting them full of Maiz, Rice, and Fruits. If they want Rain, they place before them Pitchers: If they be at War, they lay Sabres and Poinards to ask Victory: If they have Need of Fish, they offer Fish-Bones. To intreat for Palm-Wine, they leave the small Chizel, with which they cut the Tree; and so of the rest, firmly believing the *Fetish* will grant their Request. If any Misfortune happens to them, they ascribe it to the Resentment of their *Fetish*, and immediately enquire what is necessary to appease him. For this End they apply to certain Diviners to make the *Tokké*^d, which is done thus: The Conjuror has in his Hand nine Straps of Leather, about a Finger broad each, and thick-strung with small *Fetishes*. He shuffles these Straps together, and muttering to himself certain Words, casts them from him at Random by two or three at a Time. According as they fall, this Cheat interprets the Meaning, and whatever he orders, must be done. If he says the *Fetish* must

Consecrated
Altars.

Sacrifices.

^a In the French, *Baboua*. ^b Loyer's Voyage, p. 234, & seq. ^c Barbot, in his Description of *Guinea*, p. 308, observes, that *Fetisso* is a Portuguese Word, to signify a Spell, or Charm, and that from them it was borrowed by the Negros, who use the Word *Bossom*, and *Bossesor*, for a God, or an Idol. ^d In the French, *Tockque*.

1701.

Loyer.

have a Sheep, or some Poultry, they are quickly brought, and being sacrificed, the *Fetish* is sprinkled with their Blood. When they are consulted by *Brembis* in Matters relating to War, or some Expedition of Consequence, a Slave or two is often demanded for a Sacrifice^a.

Fetish Description.

THEY are very exact each Morning to bring their *Fetish* Part of the best Provisions in the House, believing they should be killed before the Year expired, if they failed in this Point. The Worship of these *Fetishes* cannot be better explained, than by that relative Devotion, which the Faithful, in the *Romish*-Church, pay the Relics and Images of the Saints.

THE Negroes approach these *Fetishes* with great Awe, and wonder they do not revenge the Affronts they receive from the Whites. Every one chuses and makes his own *Fetishes*. Loyer was often present on this Occasion, particularly once at *Tapa*; where, after washing the Thing, they sprinkled all the Family with the Water, and, at length, came to throw some on him, muttering certain Words. Loyer then, to expose their Superstition, laying-hold of the helpless *Fetish*, broke it in a thousand Pieces, trod it under his Feet, and cast it into the Fire, where it was quickly consumed^b; being made of the Tail of a *Koros*, (or Palm-Nut) and a Thorn, which was painted red. That Instant they all fled, telling him, that Lightning from Heaven would blast him, or the Earth swallow him up. But when they saw their *Fetish* could not revenge himself, they beheld Loyer with a Kind of Admiration, and told him, if he was not dead, it was because he did not believe; and that the *Fetish* had no Power over the Whites. He replied, that in case they would be Unbelievers too, he would secure them from its Anger^c: Their Answer was, that the *Fetish* would beat them; nor would they hear of renouncing their Superstitions.

Oaths on the Fetish.

THE Negroes are sure to keep their Oath, whenever they swear by their *Fetish*; more especially if they eat them. To know the Truth from any Negro, you need only mix something in a little Water, and steeping a Bit of Bread, bid him eat or drink that *Fetish* as a Sign of the Truth. If the Thing be so, he will do it freely; but if otherwise, he will not touch it, believing he should die on the spot, if he swore falsely. Their Way is to rasp or grate a little of their *Fetish* in Water, or on any Edible, and so put it in their Mouth without swallowing it. A

Negro, who swears thus, meets with infinitely more Credit from his Countrymen, than those who swear on the Gospels do from their fellow *Christians*^d.

Of other Kinds.

THEY have other Kinds of Oaths or Adjurations less solemn, though equally superstitious; as when they swear by such a Person's Head, his Arms, or Body, they believe, if they do it falsely, the same Parts of their own Body will become withered, and lose their Use. They also swear by *Anghiamé*, or God, in this Manner: They take a little Sand in their Hand, put it in their Mouth, and looking-up to Heaven, make this Invocation, *God! kill me by this Sand, if such a Thing be not true!* This Imprecation they seldom use, but when provoked, or in Passion.

THE Negroes of *Iffini* have no Temples, nor Priests, nor any Places of Worship, except the public and private Altars for their *Fetishes* before-mentioned. They have, nevertheless, a Kind

Higb. Priest, or Pope.

of Pontiff, styled *Ofnon*, who is elected by the *Brembis* and *Babumets*, (called together by the King, when an *Ofnon* dies) and maintained at the public Expence. Having chosen one to their Mind, who is generally a good Man, and well-skilled in making *Fetishes*, they invest him with the Marks of his Dignity, which consist in *Fetishes* fastened together, covering him from Head to Foot. In this Equipage they march him through the Streets, having first given him eight or ten *Bendes* of Gold^e, raised on the Public. A Negro goes before him, giving the People Notice, as loud as he can bawl, to bring their Offerings to the new *Ofnon*, that he may pray for them: To receive which, there is, at the End of each Village, a Pewter Plate tied to a String. This *Ofnon* is the only Priest, if he may be called so, in the whole Country. His Office is to make the large public *Fetishes*, and to assist at all the King's Councils, who does nothing without his Advice or Consent. If he be sick, they send to communicate the Deliberations to him, and take his Opinion. If the Weather be cold, or they are troubled with violent Rains or Lightnings, the People cry, that the *Ofnon* wants something, and immediately a Collection is made for him; every body contributing according to his Ability.

Manner of selecting him.

THE Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls is believed by the Negroes; so that hoping for nothing real or permanent, they are only concerned to gather Riches, and enjoy the Pleasures of

Transmigration of Souls.

^a Loyer's Voyage, p. 247, & seqq.

^b How would he have liked to have had one of his own *Fetishes*, or Images, so treated? A Negro or Protestant would be put to death for such an Offence in most Popish Countries. How much more gentle are the Negroes?

^c If these Arguments are good against the Negro-*Fetishes*, or Images, they must needs be good against the Popish, and have often been urged in the same Manner by Protestants.

^d A very severe Reproach on *Christians*, as Oath-Breakers! But we hope only those of the Author's own Communion come under the Lash of it.

^e Eight hundred or a thousand Livres.

1701.

Loyer.

this Life as long as they can. When you talk to them of Heaven or Hell, they burst-out a laughing. They believe the World to be eternal, and the Soul immortal; that after Death their Soul will go to the other World, which they place in the Centre of the Earth; that there it will animate a new Body in the Womb of a Woman; and that the Souls from thence, would do the same here. So that according to this Doctrine, there is a constant Intercourse or Exchange of Inhabitants between these two Worlds. They place the ultimate Happiness of a Man in being rich, fortunate, powerful, respected, and well served: Whenever they eat or drink, they cast some on the Ground, muttering certain Words, saying, they give this to their Parents or Friends in the other World, who do the same to them, and are the Cause of their having what they enjoy^a.

S E C T. VIII.

Iffinese Government; and Laws.

The King's Palace. Guards, and Attendants. He buries his Gold. His Frugality. His Trading: And Riches. Revenue. Inheritance. Kaboshirs, or Grantees; all Merchants: How created. Policy and Justice. Debts how recovered. Punishments. Executions. Executioners. Odd Custom.

King's Palace.

THE Palace of the King himself is built with Reeds interwoven, plaistered with Clay, and daubed with red, grey, and yellow Earth, in several Places, without Order or Design. There are two or three low Apartments, and as many above, all plaistered the same Way, and covered with Palm-Leaves. This House is situated in the Midst of several large Inclosures, or Palisados of Reeds; which form three Outer-Courts, before you reach it. To enter the first, you must mount a broad, but difficult Ladder, of seven or eight Steps, about two Foot asunder each; and on the Top of the Inclosure, you find another of the same Kind to go down. These Ladders are so ill contrived, that any one but the Negroes would break their Necks. Round the King's Palace or House, are the Huts of his Wives, only built of Reeds, and thatched with Palm-Leaves, like the common Dwellings of the Negroes.

Guards and Attendants.

THE King usually keeps at the Barrier (or Ladder) of the first Inclosure, two of his Slaves as Sentinels on Guard, who have an *Affagaye* and *Sabre*, and relieve one another from Time to Time. When he goes abroad, he is attend-

ed by about fifty of these, armed with Swords and Muskets, with some of his *Babamets* or Elders, and his *Kaboshirs*, who compose his Court. All these study to please and gain his Good-Will, by going to visit, converse, and smoke with him, which they call *Palabra*. On these Occasions they consult together on Affairs of State, and decide the Differences brought before them; each giving his Opinion freely, even to the Slaves; which, though it be a tedious Method of Procedure, is of Advantage, as they do nothing without mature Deliberation, and consequently are not easily deceived. Yet, notwithstanding this, their Councils are held so secret, that they would die sooner than reveal what passed; the least Crime of this Kind being punished with Death, or a Confiscation of the Criminal's Effects, attended with Poverty and Infamy.

Iffinese Negroes.

It is not easy to know the King's Riches, or those of their *Brembis* or *Kaboshirs*: For they take a particular Care to conceal them, for what Reason is the Mystery, since they are the vainest People in the World, and always fond of appearing richer than they really are; nothing vexing them more than to call them *Ajingompwe*, that is, Beggar. However, the common People may be in the Right to hide their Wealth, for fear it should be taken from them by the King, or great Men. These latter bury their Gold; and, by Report of the Blacks, confirmed by two Frenchmen, who resided here many Years, *Akafini* and his Brother *Yamoké* had several large Chests of Gold-Dust thus interred. For one Day in his Liquor, the King ordered them to be emptied on Mats before them. Their usual Places for hiding, are at the Foot of some Tree, or in their Banana Grounds; never taking but one Person with them, whom they oblige to eat all the *Petishes*, as a Security for their Secrecy^b.

THEY visit these Places but once a Year, in order to change the Box, or put in what additional Stock they have gathered; taking-out only what is barely necessary, or on pressing Occasions; as to redeem themselves, or some of their *Babamets* from Slavery; to defray the Expenses of a War, or to hire their Neighbours to take their Part, and the like: For, to relieve their private Necessities, they would be loth to draw a Crown; it being certain the King and all his Wives do not expend ten Pistoles a Year, for both Clothes and Provisions, living frugally. The King himself goes to Market to buy a Fish, a Banana, or a Yam; for which *Loyer* has seen him higgie as long as the meanest Slave would do. So much his Majesty inherits the national Negro Vice of Covetousness.

^a Loyer's Voyage, p. 243, & seqq.^b The same, p. 122. & seqq.

1701.

Loyer.

His Trading
and Kitchen.

BESIDES his Hoard, he has some Pounds of Gold, which he employs in Trade, over and above what he has wrought in Plates, *Petishes*, and other Ornaments for Festival Days, when he appears in State. This spare Gold he lays out in Powder and small Arms, which none of his Subjects, but his Brother and Nephew, are allowed to buy. He also purchases Paignes, Perpetuanas (or Serges) second-hand Linen and Tobacco, all which he sells to his Subjects by Retail; or sends them by his Slaves into the neighbouring Countries, on which he gains from two to six-hundred *per Cent.* at first Hand, without Risk or Cost; so that his Wealth must increase incredibly. Add to all this, that he spends nothing for his Table, his Cloaths, his Wives or Slaves, to whom he gives no Wages, all being obliged to work for their Bread.

His Revenue,

THE King's Revenues consist solely of Confiscations and Fines, without any Demesnes or Lands to support his Dignity, so that the Crown may be called poor, though the King is rich. This makes all the *Kaboshirs*, who are ambitious, study to heap-up Wealth. The King has his Share in the Extortion of the *Grandeess*, as well as in the *Daphis*, or Presents they receive from the Whites, if he likes them. For Example, the Boatmen, who receive any Present from the Captains of Vessels, are obliged to carry them to the King, who takes what he thinks proper.

And Sub-
sistence,

AT Seed-time, which for the Rice is in September and October; for the Maiz, in April and May; and for the Millet, in October and November, the King goes in Person to the Fields, which he has tilled by his Slaves, who all owe him a Day or two's Labour, *gratis*, and no more. He orders them to work in his Presence, sitting under some cool Shade, then treats them with Palm-Wine; and to guard the Field, sets his *Fetish* (or Idol) which they believe certainly would kill them, should they attempt it. He returns again in Harvest-Time, which is in December and January for the Rice, August and September for the Maiz, February and March for the Millet; inviting all his Subjects to reap his Crop, and setting them an Example by cutting two or three Handfuls. Every one works the more willingly, as the Reaper has for his Wages one Third of the Produce, or one Sheaf in three, which he has Leave to carry away. His Grain being cut and dried in the Sun, he lodges it in little Granaries round his Palace: Yet what is remarkable, never eats his own Rice, Maiz, or Millet; but changes as much as is necessary for his own Use with some *Kaboshir* for the same Quantity; believing, if he eat his own, his Grounds would become barren.

HIS Power is absolute only with regard to the Poor and Slaves, whom he treats as he pleases; but the *Kaboshirs* or great Men, especially if they be rich and have many Slaves, are not so submissive, being only bound to assist at the publick Palavers or Councils; and to aid the King with their Force, when the common Safety requires it.

Iffinele
Negroes
Power li-
mited.

THE Succession here devolves to the King's next Relation, exclusive of his Children, to whom, by the Laws of the Country, the King can bequeath nothing; so that they have nothing but what they can lay-up in his Life-time; though he generally makes some Provision for them, and learns them some Trade or Handicraft to subsist by, after his Death. This Law extends to all his Subjects. The King's Children are indeed respected, while their Father lives, and have Guards to attend them. But the Moment he dies, they are no further regarded than the meanest People, unless for their Merit or good Qualities. All their Portion is a few Slaves. The new King has all the rest; and he who is to succeed him inherits the deceased King's Treasure, by which he is often richer than the King himself.

Labourance.

THE Nobles or *Grandeess* in these Parts, are called *Brembis* and *Babimets*, that is, the Rich and Chief Men, which in the *Lingua Franca* are denoted by the Word *Kaboshirs*. To these alone belongs the Privilege of trading or buying Goods from the Europeans: And if any Person else be discovered to trade, their Goods or Effects are forfeited. Hence it is, that only the *Brembis* or *Kaboshirs* are rich, the Money or Gold all centering in their Hands. The Number of these is usually forty or fifty, though not fixed. The rest of the People are miserably poor, having only a Clout to cover them; and scarce any Subsistence but what the *Brembis* suffer them to enjoy. Hence they are obliged to hire themselves to support their Families; and often to sell themselves to the *Grandeess* to have wherewithal to live. If any of them, by Labour or Industry, is able to lay-up some little Stock, he pretends Poverty, in order to preserve what he has. But generally he gets his Friends to apply underhand to the King and *Brembis*, to be made a Merchant or Nobleman. If this Request be granted, the King and his *Brembis* appoint a Day, on which they go to the Sea-side to perform the Ceremony.

Kaboshirs,
or Grandeess.

THE Candidate when paying the King his Duty, which is eight Crowns in Gold-Dust, the King declares in Presence of his *Kaboshirs*, that he receives and acknowledges him as a Noble-

How crea-
ated.

* The same, p. 129, & seq.

b In the Original, *Capehires*.

1701. man and Merchant: Then turning to the Sea, a
 he forbids it to hurt the new Trader, or to over-
 turn his Canoes, or damage his Goods. He
 then pours a Bottle of Brandy in the Sea, to en-
 gage its good Will. This done, the new Noble-
 man goes to the King, who taking his Hands,
 closes them together, and then opening them,
 breathes in them, whispering softly the Word,
Akshui, that is, *I give you my Peace*, or, *go in*
Peace. All the *Brembis* follow the King's
 Example, and then they go to an Entertainment
 provided by the Candidate, who after this
 is acknowledged a Merchant and Nobleman;
 has Liberty to buy and sell without Molestation;
 and as he grows rich, becomes a *Kabashir*, with
 a Right to buy and keep Slaves. When he at-
 tends the King to War, he claims a Share in the
 Spoils, and in general enjoys all the Privileges,
 annexed to the Title of *Grandees*

Policy, and
 Justice.

THEIR Justice here consists only in some pec-
 uniary Mulcts, which Criminals are condemned
 to pay. No Crimes are punished with Death,
 but three, viz. Slaves that run away, Treason
 and Sorcery. All others remain unpunished; and
 Theft is so far from being a Crime, that it is
 honourable and rewarded. Perjury is punished
 by a Fine, as well as Murder; but if the Rela-
 tions of the Person killed can overtake the As-
 sassin, they may kill him in Revenge. If he e-
 scapes to the King, he is only adjudged to pay
 ten *Bendes* of Gold, or a thousand *Livres*; one
 Moiety of which goes to the King, and the other
 to the Relations of the Deceased. If the Crimi-
 nal be a Slave, he is sold to the *Europeans*.

Debt, how
 recovered.

WHEN a Creditor would recover his Debt,
 he applies to the King, who, on his Petition,
 sends one of his Slaves to summon the Debtor.
 This Slave carries the King's Staff as his Autho-
 rity, and appoints the Debtor to appear such a
 Day, or if the Case be pressing, brings him with
 him. The Plaintiff must then begin the Trial,
 by giving the King eight Ounces of Gold to buy
 Brandy; and must deposit at least one Third of
 the Sum he claims, often the Half, to be distri-
 buted between the King and his Courtiers, who
 are to decide the Cause. The Plaintiff is then
 sworn by eating a *Fetish*, that such a Person
 named, and there present, owes him the Sum
 specified. The Defendant is next heard in
 turn, and if his Reasons appear insufficient, he
 is condemned to pay the Debt in a certain Time,
 which he swears to perform thus. He approaches
 the King, and touching his Head, says, I swear
 by your Head to pay the Sum in question such a
 Time. So ends the Process. If he fails but a
 Day, the King fines him a *Bende*, or two if he be
 rich, for falsifying his Oath; and gives him an-
 other short Term for Payment. Thus the Cre-

ditors are at all the Expence, which makes them
 chuse often rather to lose their Money.

Illness
 Nigrit.

Punishments.

PERSONS insolvent are sold as Slaves. Sorcery
 or Witchcraft is punished by drowning the Crimi-
 nal. Traitors, or such as discover the King's
 Counsels, must expect no Mercy, being behead-
 ed without Ceremony. Slaves or Prisoners of
 War, who attempt to escape, are punished thus.
 The King, after consulting his *Babumets* and
Brembis, condemns the Criminal to die. The
 Sentence given, they tie his Hands behind his
 Back, put in his Mouth a Gag, fastened at each
 End with a Cord, which they tie fast behind his
 Head with a small Stick: Then one of the King's
 Slaves, who has eight Crowns in Gold-Dust as
 his Fee, taking the Royal *Fetish* on his Head,
 runs about the Town like a Madman, leaning
 the *Fetish* on one Side or other, as if it would
 fall. At last, coming to the Place, where the
 Criminal stands, surrounded by the Croud, he
 asks the *Fetish*, who must kill the Slave? After
 which, the first young Man he touches with his
 Elbow, is appointed the Executioner. He then
 repeats the same Farce, and asks the *Fetish*, if
 that Man be enough to kill the Criminal. Some-
 times the Number of Executioners thus named
 rises to ten. Matters thus disposed, the Slave is
 placed near the *Fetish*, to whom he is sacrificed,
 making him stretch his Neck exactly over it.
 Then the Person first named for Executioner,
 draws a Poinard and cuts his Throat, while
 others hold him fast, till the Blood runs on the
Fetish; the Executioner saying with an audible
 Voice, Receive, O *Fetish*, the Blood of this Slave
 we offer thee. As soon as he is dead, they cut
 the Body in Pieces, and making a round Hole
 at the Foot of the *Fetish*, they bury them, ex-
 cept the Jaw-Bone, which they fasten to the
Fetish.

Executioners.

THESE Executioners being reckoned impure
 for three Days, they build them a separate Hut,
 at a Distance from the Village. Mean time these
 Fellows run like Madmen through the Place,
 seizing all they can lay Hands on; Poultry,
 Sheep, Bread and Oil; every Thing they can
 touch is theirs; being deemed so polluted, that
 the Owners willingly give it up.

Executioners.

THEY continue three Days confined to their
 Hut, their Friends bringing them Victuals. This
 Time expired, they take their Hut in Pieces,
 which they bundle up, not leaving so much as
 the Ashes of their Fire. The first Executioner,
 having a Pot on his Head, leads them to the
 Place where the Criminal suffered. There they
 all call him thrice by his Name. The first Exe-
 cutioner breaks his Pot, and leaving their old
 Rags and Bundles, they all scamper home;
 where putting on their best *Paignes*, they go vi-
 sit.

Odd Customs.

1721. fit the *Babimets* and *Brembis*, who give them what a Days, but afterwards a Subject of Glory. Their Custom is to string one of the Teeth of the Persons so killed; the more Teeth they have to shew, the greater being their Reputation^a.

C H A P. IV.

A VOYAGE to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies, in the *Swallow* and *Weymouth*^b *Men of War*, 1721.

By John Atkins, Surgeon in the Royal Navy.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Relation of this Voyage is printed in Octavo, containing two-hundred-sixty-five Pages; besides the Preface, consisting of twenty-five, but without either Index or Cuts^c. It is divided into two Parts, the first, intitled, A Voyage to Guinea, is subdivided into the following Articles, viz. *Madeira*, p. 23. *The Canaries*, 30. *Cape de Verde Islands*, 31. *Africa in general*, 34. *Sierra Leona*, 38. *Grain and Malaghetta Coasts*, 56. *Sestbos*, 62. *Cape Apollonia*, 68. *Cabo tres Puntas*, 75. *Cabo Corso*, 89. The Coast from *Cabo Corso* to *Whydah*, 107. *Whydah*, 110. Currents on the Coast of Guinea, 132. Rains, 136. Winds, 141. The Guinea Trade, 149. Slaves, 176. Ivory, 181. Gold, 183. Our Return upon the Gold-Coast, 186. Pirates, 191. *St. George de Elmino*, 194. *Cape Lopez*, 196.

THE second Part is entitled, A Voyage to Brasil and the West-Indies, 201. The Articles are, *Barbadoes*, 205. *Sugar-Canes*, 215. The West-Indies, 221. *Jamaica*, 233. Hurricanes, 237. An Abstract of the foregoing Voyage, 255.

In the Preface, the Author entertains his Readers (by Way of Whet) with some Reflections on the Life and Element of a Sailor. He judges of the Unhappiness of the former, from the Blessings left, and the Dangers tempted, joined to Want of Variety both in Diet and Company: We might add also, of Prospect, while out at Sea.

And to compleat our ill Luck, says he, while we are thus contending with sinister Fate, the Rogues at home perhaps are stealing away the Hearts of our Mistresses and Wives.

UPON this Topic, he mentions a Decree made by a National Synod in King John's Time, which ordained, That no married Person should go beyond Sea, without publishing their mutual Consent. And that the Saxons made a Law, That if a Merchant crossed the wide Sea three Times, he should be honoured with the Title of *Thane*^d.

ON the other hand, he shews some of its inviting Circumstances; such, for instance, chiefly in the Navy, are the Defence of one's Country; a Livelihood; being better manned, and provided against Dangers than trading Ships; good natured Officers; a mutual good Treatment; seeing the Wonders of the Deep; and at last, when maimed, or decrepid, a Retreat to Superannuation, or *Greenwich Hospital*; to which of late Years must be added the Satisfaction Officers received from that generous Contribution for supporting their Widows, and consequently their Children^e.

As to the Element, he divides it according to the Degrees of Pleasure it affords in sailing. Next to the *Mediterranean*, which he deems the pleasantest, from its Temperature and other Advantages, he recommends that Part of the Ocean

^a Loyer's Voyage, p. 140, and p. 219, & seqq. by Captain Chalmers Ogle, now Knight and Admiral. Indies, in his Majesty's Ships the *Swallow* and *Weymouth*. Describing the several Islands and Settlements, viz. *Madeira*, the *Canaries*, *Cape de Verd*, *Sierra Leon*, *Sestbos*, *Cape Apollonia*, *Cabo Corso*, and others on the Guinea Coast; *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c. in the West-Indies. The Colour, Diet, Languages, Habits, Manners, Customs, and Religions, of the respective Natives and Inhabitants. With Remarks on the Gold, Ivory and Slave Trade; and on the Winds, Tides and Currents of the several Coasts. By John Atkins, Surgeon in the Royal Navy. London, Printed for Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, at the Ship between the Temple Gates in Fleet-Street; and sold at their Shop in Scarborough. 1735.

^b These were fifty-Gun Ships; the first commanded

^c A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies. Describing the several Islands and Settlements, viz. *Madeira*, the *Canaries*, *Cape de Verd*, *Sierra Leon*, *Sestbos*, *Cape Apollonia*, *Cabo Corso*, and others on the Guinea Coast; *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c. in the West-Indies. The Colour, Diet, Languages, Habits, Manners, Customs, and Religions, of the respective Natives and Inhabitants. With Remarks on the Gold, Ivory and Slave Trade; and on the Winds, Tides and Currents of the several Coasts. By John Atkins, Surgeon in the Royal Navy. London, Printed for Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, at the Ship between the Temple Gates in Fleet-Street; and sold at their Shop in Scarborough. 1735.

^d Rapin, p. 15.

^e On this Occasion

1721. within the Trade-Winds; because there one a
 meets with no heavy Seas, no Storms at Distance
 from Land, and has the Conveniency of equal
 Day and Night. This lies within the Torrid-
 Zone. He reckons the *Atlantic* and Southern
 Ocean without the Limits of the Trade-Wind,
 viz. from thirty to sixty Degrees of Latitude, to
 be the worst Part for Navigation; the Seas being
 rough and boisterous, more subject to Clouds,
 Storms, and Tempests, variable Weather, as
 well as attended with long, dark, and cold b
 Nights: Yet beyond sixty Degrees, it is still
 worse. However, the Author had been told, by
 Men who had used *Greenland*, that those in-
 clement Skies contain no other Vapours than Mist,
 Sleet, and Snow; that the Sea is less ruffled with
 Winds, which blow, for the most Part, Northerly,
 towards the Sun, that is, towards a more rare-
 fied Air, as appears by those Drifts of Ice from
 thence, that are found far to the Southward,
 both on the *European* and *American*-Side. Another
 Advantage they have, is the Moon's shining
 a Length proportioned to the Absence of the
 Sun: So that where he is entirely lost, she never
 sets, but with reflected and resplendent Light on
 Ice and Snow, keeps-up their Consolation.

His Denial of Canibals against the Authority
 of grave Authors, he says, has proceeded from a
 Persuasion, that the Charge carries the highest
 Reproach on Humanity, and the Creator of it.
 He appeals to the discerning Part of the *Guinea*-
 Traders, if they do not think the Reports of
 Cape St. Mary's Inhabitants, Cape Monte, *Mon-*
jerado, *Drewin*, and *Kallabar*, downright Falsi-
 ties, and impolitic ones; for the Multiplying of
 Places, says he, like the Multiplying of Plots,
 in great Measure destroys the Use of them.

At the *Caribbees* again, he says, it is full as
 preposterous; for that the small Islands, had their
 Women bred like Rabbits, must have been de-
 solated Ages before the *Europeans* Arrival, in
 case the Natives were Man-eaters; unless it could
 be supposed, that human Flesh was eaten only on
 their Feast-Days, or that they just commenced
 Monsters upon the *Spanish* Discovery. Mr. *Atkins*
 observes, on this Occasion, that *la Honton*, or
 some other *French* Author, talking of Canibals
 bordering on *Canada*, flies into a strange *Galli-*
cism, and makes them commend the Flesh of a
Frenchman in eating, as of finer Taste than that
 of an *Englishman*.

THIS, with the *Europeans* neglecting to
 charge the *East Indians* thus, who have more
 Power than simple *Americans* or *Negros* to resent
 the Indignity and Reproach, makes him disbe-

lieve the Whole; and he is of Opinion, that
 Lice and Musquitos, &c. are the only Anthro-
 pophagi.

THIS Author, in his Discourse about Canibals,
 singles-out Captain *Snellgrave* as the latest Cham-
 pion for them, whose Arguments he examines.
Snellgrave performed the Voyage to *Guinea* a few
 Years after *Atkins*, but published his Account of
 it a Year before him, which gave his Antagonist
 an Opportunity of quoting him.

AMONGST other Things it is observable, that
 the Author went with the present Admiral *Ogle*
 in the *Swallow*, when he took *Roberts* the Pirate,
 and his Accomplices, who were tried, con-
 demned, and executed at Cape Corse; and a Day
 or two's Sail from *Madera* he fell-in with Ad-
 miral *Matthews*, (then Commodore) in the *Lion*,
 bound with a Squadron of four Sail to the *East*
Indies, for the Suppression also of Pirates.

He was likewise in the Hurricane at *Jamaica*,
 in August 1722, which he particularly describes;
 and brought over a Daughter of the Governor
 of Cape Corse: Who, though born of a Mulatto,
 was a fair flaxen-haired young Lady.

SECT. I.

Northern Lights. Sea-Weeds. Dolphins. Fly-
ing-Fish. Sierra Leona. Cape Monte and
Monserado. River Sestos. Audience of King
Pedro. His antic Dress, and beggarly Request.
Farce with his Sons. One of his Palaces. A
yellow Allah. Story of Tomba, a Negro. De-
villish Cruelty of an English Ship-Captain.
Brangle with John Conny at Cape tres Puntas.
John's Contest with the Dutch. Visit paid him
by the Author. His House: His Original:
Civility to the English; and the Dutch Skulls.
Human Sacrifices customary here. An Execu-
tion for Murder.

THEY sailed from *Spithead*, February the
 fifth, 1720-21, taking-in Necessaries for
 a double Voyage down the Coast of *Guinea*, with
 an Intention to destroy the Pirates, who greatly
 infested those Parts, and destroyed their Trade and
 Factories. The *African*-Company Governors
 for *Gambra* and other Places went under their
 Convoy.

IN the Evening, from six to nine, they saw North-
 of the *Caprae saltantes*, called, by the Sailors, *Mor-*
rice-Dancers. They are Streams of Light in the
 Sky, that suddenly shoot into one another, and
 disappear for a Minute or two. These, the *Scin-*
tillar volantes, and such like nitrous Exhalations,

* It may be an Artifice of one Nation to discourage another from trading to the Parts frequented by them-
 selves; as we find the *French* Authors accusing the *Dutch* and *English*, for giving the Air of *Guinea* an ill Name
 with that View. See before, p. 375. a.

1721.
Atkins.

having given Rise, it is probable, to all those Prodigies the Air has heretofore, in impious Times, abounded with.

THEY now passed-by the Western Extremity of England, which, the Author says, has been supposed from the equal Depth of Water found there, and from Doors, Windows, and Roots of Trees formerly (it is said) hooked-up by the Fishermen, to have been in Ages past continuous with the rocky little Islands of Scilly, by a Land called *Lioness*; which, from the like Changes the Author has known in other Parts, does not appear to him altogether conjectural. The Rocks, he says, seem now with terrible Accent to lament a Separation.

ABOUT the Length of Cape Finisler they met with continual West Winds, very unusual to the Coast of Portugal. A Day or two's Sail from Madera*, they fell-in with Commodore Mattheus, in the *Lion*, bound with a Squadron of four Sail to the East Indies, for suppressing the Pirates there.

Sea-Weeds.

ABUNDANCE of Sea-Weeds floated about them here, to the Distance of forty Leagues from the Isle, till they reached it. This Weed, he thinks, grows at the Bottom of the Sea, and is probably the Nutriment of large Fish: For, first, The Pearl and Coral Divers confirm it to eight or ten Fathom. Secondly, The Unweildiness of some Fish, and the Manner of being provided for Mastication in others, declares Ruminating, and not Prey to be the Way of Subsistence in many. Thirdly, There is a greater Refort towards Shores, than in the distant Ocean; and, perhaps, like many little Fish in the English Seas, they have their Seasons of Rotation, and their Grazing the Cause of uncooting and throwing it up here. Fourthly, Shoals of Porpoises played daily about, which, however, could never be enticed to the Hook: An Argument, he thinks, that they know readily where to make their Meals at the Bottom of the Sea; though at other Times, he owns, they certainly prey on smaller and particular Species of Fish: These their Feeds, and that their ordinary Diet^b.

MARCH the thirtieth, they parted with the Weymouth, bound-in with the Governour and Factors to Gambra-River. Coming near the Land of Cape Verde, they took-up several Turtle, who love sleeping on a smooth Surface, which they had now, it being calm. They saw also abundance of Flying-Fish, and their perpetual Enemies, the Albacore and Dolphin. This last is a glorious-coloured, strait Fish, four or five Foot long, with a forked Tail perpendicular to the Ho-

Dolphins.
Flying-Fish.

rizon; plays familiarly about Ships; is of dry Taste, but makes good Broth. They are seldom seen out of the Latitude of a Trade-Wind, and the Flying-Fish never: These are the Bigness of small Herrings; their Wings, about two Thirds of its Length, come narrow from the Body, and end broad. They fly by the Help of them a Furlong at a Time, when pursued; turning in their Flight they sometimes dip in the Sea, and up again, the Wind making them, by this Expedient, slecter.

FROM the Cape they steered South South-West, to avoid the Shoals of Grande; and hawling-in for the Land again, waited till they came into the Latitude of Sierra Leona, some other Shoals lying on the North-Side of that River. The Soundings in with the Cape are gradual from sixty Fathoms, about twelve Leagues off, to thirteen. Cape Sierra Leona is known by a single Tree, much larger than the rest, and high-Land on the Back of it. They anchored on the seventh in the third Bay from the Cape, which is very commodious Watering and Wooding, and regular Tides as any Part of the Channel of England^c.

Sierra
Leona.

HERE, going ashore on the eighteenth, they visited Signor Joseph, as hath been already related^d.

APRIL the twenty-eighth, they left Sierra Leona, and May the first, they were joined by the Weymouth from Gambra. She ran on a Sand in that River, wringing three Days and Nights in a Tide's Way, and with great Difficulty got-off. Those of the Swallow likewise, while at Sierra Leona, letting-in Water to the Ship one Evening, had forgot the Plug, till she had five or six Foot Water in the Hold.

AT Cape St. Mary's, the Starboard Entrance of the Gambra, they found no Canibals, as is commonly reported among Sailors, but a civilized People, with whom they wooded their Ship.

THE fourth, they were off Cape Monte, and next Day Monserado, both high-Lands; the former appearing with a double, the latter with a single Hummock, the Country trending from them low and woody; about thirty-five Fathom Water three Leagues from Shore.

FROM the latter came-off a Canoa with a Kabobir^e, Captain John Hee, distinguished by an old Hat, and Sailor's Jacket, with a greater Number of thick Brass Rings on his Fingers and Toes than his Attendants. He seemed shy of entering the Ship, for Fear of a Panyaring^f, his Town's People having often suffered by the Treachery of

* This Author's Account of Madera and the Cape de Verde Islands has been already given. See vol. 1. p. 557, and 629, & seq.

^b Atkins's Voyage, p. 1, or rather 17, & seq.

^c The same, p. 32, & seq.

^d See before, p. 320, & seq.

^e In the Original, *Cabocier*.

^f Seizing, or Kidnapping.

1721. Ships, and they as often returned it, sometimes with Cruelty; which has given Rise to the Report of their being Canibals at several Places, very unlikely any where, because in that Case they could neither have Trade nor Neighbours. The *Fetish* they brought-off, on this dangerous Voyage, was a Bundle of small black Sticks, like an Hundred of Sparrowgrasses, put into a Bag, knit of Silk-Grass, and hanging over one of their Shoulders, seeming to place a Security and Confidence in it. *Atkins* would have handled and tasted it, but found it put them in a Fright; saying, to deter him, *You didde, you kikatawaa!* that is, *If you eat, you will die presently.*

THE Distrust on both Sides made their present Business only begging old Breeches, Shirts, Rags, Biskets, and whatever else they saw; parting in some Hurry, and calling to one another for that End, in a Note like what Butchers use in driving Cattle.

MAY the tenth, they anchored before *Sestos*, or *Sesthis*. The River is about half the Breadth of the *Thames*, a narrow Entrance only for Boats on the Starboard Side, between two Rocks; which, on great Swells and Winds, make the Shooting of it dangerous, the rest of the Breadth being choked with Sands. Here may be purchased considerable Quantities of Rice. The River abounds with Fish, and you are tolerably supplied with Goats and Fowls; or you imagine so from the great Scarcity there is from *Sierra Leona* to *Whidaw*. The River has a Bar before it, but is commodious enough for Watering.

THE King, who commands here, has the Name of *Pedro*; he lives about five Miles up the River, a Sample of Negro-Majesty.

As there is a *Dashi* expected before Ships can wood and water here, it was thought expedient to send-up the royal Perquisite by an Embassy, a Lieutenant and Purser: Arriving at the King's Town, they were ushered or thrust, by some of the Courtiers, into the common *Palaaver*-Room, (to wait the King's dressing, and coming from his Palace) his public Audience being ever in the Presence of the People. After waiting an Hour, his Majesty came, attended by an hundred naked Nobles, all smoking, and a Horn blowing before him. The King's Dress was very antic: He had a dirty red Bays-Gown on, checkered with Patchwork of other Colours, like a Jack-pudding, and a Fellow to bear the Train; which was a narrow Slip of *Gulgee* tacked to the Bottom of the Gown. He had an old black full-bottomed Wig uncombed, an old Hat, not half big enough, and so set considerably behind the Fore-top, that made his meagre Face like a Scare-crow; coarse Shoes and Stockings, unbuckled and untied, and

a Brass Chain of twenty Pound Weight at least about his Neck.

To this Figure the modish Embassadors, in their Holiday-Suits, fell on their Knees, and might have continued there still for what *Pedro* cared. He was something surprized indeed, but took it for the Fashion of their Country, and so kept making instant Motions for the *Dashi*; upon which, rising, they presented him a Trading-Gun, two Pieces of Ship-Beef, a Cheese, a Bottle of Brandy, a Dozen of Pipes, and two Dozen of Congees. But *Pedro*, who understood the Present better than the Bows, did not seem pleased when he saw it: Not for any Defect in the Magnificence of it, but they were such Things he had not present Occasion for; asking to take them back, and give him their Breeches, fullied a little with kneeling in the Spittle: But on a *Palaaver* with his Ministers, the Present was accepted, and the Officers dismissed back with a Glass of Palm-Wine, and *Attee, ho*: Which is the common Way of Salutation with Thumbs and Fingers mixed, and snapping-off.

To smoothe the King into a good Opinion of their Generosity, they made it up to his Son *Tom Freeman*; who, to shew his good Nature, came on board uninvited, and bringing his Flageolet, obliged them with some wild Notes. Him they dressed with an edged Hat, a Wig, and a Sword, and gave a Patent upon a large Sheet of Parchment, creating him Duke of *Sesthis*, affixing all their Hands, and the Impress of a Butter-Mark on Putty.

THIS was taken so kindly by the Father, that he sent them a Couple of Goats in Return, and his younger Son *Josce* for further Marks of their Favour; whom they dignified also, on a small Consideration, with the Title of Prince of *Baxos*.

SEVERAL indeed had been titled, but none so eminently, as by Patent, before, which procured them entirely the Favour of the King; who suffered them at any Time to heave their Sayn in the River, where they caught good Store of Mullets, Soles, Bump-Noses, and Rock-Fish. They had Liberty also to go-up to the Villages unmolested.

IN one of these Towns some others of them paid a Visit to his Majesty, whom they found at a Palace built as humble as a Hogsty. The Entrance was narrow like a Port-Hole, leading into what you may call his Court-Yard; a slovenly little Spot, and two or three Huts in it, which were the Apartments of his Women. From this they peeped through another Portico, and discovered him on the Left-Hand, upon a Place without his House, raised like a Tailor's Shop-

* *Atkins's Voyage*, p. 53, & seq. Also, p. 256.

† In the Original, *Searn*.

1721.
Atkins.

board, and smoking with two or three old Women (the favourite Diversion of both Sexes.) His Dress and Figure, with the Novelty of the *English*, created mutual Smiles for a few Minutes, when they took leave with the *Atti*, &c.

A yellow
Man.

At one of the Towns up the River they found a bright yellow coloured Man; and were informed (if they interpreted their Signs and Language right) that he came from a Country a good Distance within Land, where there were more. The Author was told afterwards by Captain *Bullfinch* *Lambe* and others, that they had seen several; and by Mr. *Thompson*, that he saw one at *Angola*, and another at *Madagascar*; a great Rarity, says *Atkins*, and as perplexing to account for, as the black Colour.

MAY the eighteenth, they left *Seslhos*, and sailing along a Coast low like *Holland*, in two or three Days reached *Cape Palma*; weighed from *Jaque a Jaques* the twenty-eighth; the thirtieth came before *Bassam* or *Bassau*; the thirty-first before *Affini*, passing by that unfathomable Place, called the *Bottomless-Pit*, seven Leagues below *Jaque a Jaques*, where the Depth is all over unfathomable, and three Miles across. The Natives every where appeared shy of Correspondence till they came upon the Gold Coast. June the second, they anchored at *Cape Apollonia*. The Land grows higher here, and the Natives are more alert and prompt at Trade.

Story of
Tomba.

At *Jaque a Jaques* they met with the *Robert* of *Bristol*, Captain *Harding*, who sailed from *Sierra Leona* before them, having purchased thirty Slaves, whereof Captain *Tomba* was one: He gave them the following melancholy Story: That this *Tomba*, about a Week before, had combined with three or four of the stoutest of his Countrymen to mutiny, being assisted by a Woman-Slave, who telling him one Night that there were only five white Men on Deck, and they asleep, brought him a Hammer at the same Time to execute his Treachery: He could only engage one more besides the Woman to follow him on Deck, where finding three Sailors on the Fore-castle, he presently dispatched two with single Strokes on the Temples; the other, rousing with the Noise, his Companions seized, and *Tomba* murdered him in the same Manner. But the last two of the five taking the Alarm stood upon their Guard, and their Defence soon awakened the Master underneath, who running up took a Hand-Spike, and felling *Tomba* with it, secured them all in Irons.

THE Reader, says *Atkins*, may be curious to know their Punishment: Why, Captain *Harding*

a weighing the Stoutness and Worth of the two Slaves, did, as in other Countries they do by Rogues of Dignity, whip and scarify them only; while three other Abettors (but not Actors, nor of Strength for it) he sentenced to cruel Deaths, making them first eat the Heart and Liver of one of them he killed. The Woman he hoisted by the Thumbs, whipped, and flashed her with Knives before the other Slaves, till she died.

Voyage to
Guinea.Devilish
Curly.

JUNE the sixth, they anchored at *Axim*, the first European Factory belonging to the Dutch, and next Day they came to *Cape Tes Puntas*. Most Ships touch here for the Convenience of Water, (which is more difficultly supplied above) each Vessel paying an Ounce of Gold for the Privilege. *John Conny*, then the principal *Kabobir*, whose Town lies three Miles Westward, sent off a Servant with his Commission, which was a large Gold-headed Cane, engraved with his Name, to demand it.

THEIR Neglect therein, with some opprobrious Treatment of the Agent, brought *John* down next Day with a Possé, who seizing their Water-Casks ashore, carried ten or a dozen of their Men Prisoners to his Town. The Officer among them, endeavouring to distinguish to *John* the Difference of a King's Ship from others, got his Head broken; *John*, who understood *English* enough to swear, saying at the same Time, By G— me King here, not only for my Water, but the Trouble has been given me in collecting it. Drink on, continued he to the Sailors (knocking-out the Head of an Half-Anchor of Brandy) and eat what my House affords; I know your Part is to follow Orders. *John*, after some Trouble, accepted, in Recompence, six Ounces of Gold, and an Anchor of Brandy.

Strangle
with John
Conny.

ON an adjacent Hill stood the *Danish* (or, as they say, the *Brandenburghers*) Fort, which, some few Years since, having been relinquished by them, and thereby fallen into *John Conny's* Possession, has occasioned some Contests between him and the Dutch: These last, pretending a Title of Purchase, in 1720 sent a Bomb-Vessel, and two or three Frigates to demand a Surrender; but *John* being a bold and subtil Fellow, weighing their Strength, answered, that he expected some Instrument should be shewn him to confirm the *Brandenburghers* Sale; and even with that, (says he) I can see no Pretence but to the Guns, the Brick and Stone of the Building, for the Ground was not theirs to dispose of. They have paid me Rent for it (continues he) and since they have thought fit to remove, I do not design to tenant it out to any other White

His Contest
with the
Dutch.* *Atkins*, p. 62, & seqq.

* See before, p. 317.

the Inland Country, which had suffered by the Panyars of the *Cobalahen* and *Drewin* People, had lately been down, and destroyed those Places, and that Trade was at a Stand.* From this Ship also they learned, that the *Cobalahen* and *Drewin* People, had lately been down, and destroyed those Places, and that Trade was at a Stand.* *Atkins*, p. 68, & seqq. Also, p. 257.

1701.
Atkins.

Men while I live. This Sort of Palaaver nettled the Dutch; who threw in some Bombs and Shot; then more inflamed with Rage and Brandy, rashly landed forty of their Men, under Command of a Lieutenant, to attack the Town: They fired once without any Damage, and then John at the Head of his Men, rushing from under the Cover of the Houses with greater Force, cut them in Pieces, paving the Entrance of his Palace, soon after, with their Skulls.

Fifty paid him.

THIS Advantage made him very exact with every Body about what he called his Dues, though just in Trade; when the English had returned to a good Understanding, the Author with some other Officers paid him a Visit. The southerly Winds made so great a Surf, that their Landing was dangerous, nor to be performed by their own Boats; but by Canoas of his sending, for which they payed an Akki: The Negroes count the Seas, and know when to paddle safely on or off. John himself stood on the Shore to receive them, attended with a Guard of twenty or thirty Men, under bright Arms; who conducted them to his House. This was a pretty large Building raised from the Materials of the Fort. It ascends with a double Stone Staircase without, of twelve Steps; on that Floor are three good Rooms; one his Armory, another his Chamber, with a standing Bed in it; and the third for Entertainment of Guests, furnished with Tables, Chairs, &c.

His House.

THE Way to it lay through two Court-Yards; the outer had Houses for Officers and Servants belonging to him; the inner (a spacious square) had a Guard-Room and good Armory fronting the Entrance, with Piazzas to accommodate his Guard, and imitate in some Measure the Grandeur of the Prussian Governors; with whom John had been a Servant for some Years. From them he had taken his Punctilio, and knew how to put on a significant Countenance. He was a strong-made Man, about fifty, of a sullen Look, and commanded the Respect of being bare-headed from all the Negroes about him that were worth Caps.

His Original.

Civility to the English.

HE shewed very great Civility to the English, who had returned his Salute of six Guns*, and made up the Breach of Watering on his own Terms. In Return, he gave them Leave to fish in a River on the Back of his Town; but meeting with very little Success, which John could not foresee, they were disappointed of their Dinner, and had a hard Look from him into the Bargain; for he told them, that this ill Luck attended them for neglecting to give the Waters

a a *Dashee*; saying, it was a Grandee Man's *Fetish*, and deserved more Notice; however they got some *Kanki*, Bread, Salt, Butter, Cheese, Palm-Wine, and Beer, served up with clean Plates, Knives, Napkins, &c. One of his Wives (for he seemed to have many) sat all the Time he entertained them, behind his Chair, big with Child, a clean Wrapper round her, and handsomely *fetished*; the Gold, which both of them had in Chains about their Necks, Wrists, Ancles and Legs, with the Drops in their Hair, amounted to eight or ten Pounds *Troy Weight*.

Perhaps to Guinea.

FINDING him cheerful and familiar, the Author ventured to ask him what was become of the Dutchmens Skulls that lately paved the Entrance of his House? He answered very frankly, that about a Month before their Ship's Arrival, he had put them all into a Chest, with some Brandy, Pipes and Tobacco, and buried them; for, says he, it is Time that all Malice should depart; and the putting up a few Necessaries with the Corpse, such as they loved, is our Way of respecting the Deceased. Among themselves, *Human Sacrifices*, *Atkins* learned, that it was customary with the Rich, to sacrifice a Slave or two also at their Funerals. The under Jaw-Bones of these Dutchmen, John shewed him strung, and hanging on a Tree in the Court-Yard.

And the Dutch Skulls.

JOHN was no less rigorous in inflicting Punishments, than exacting his Dues. A few Weeks before the Ship's Arrival he had condemned a Murderer, (although he seemed excusable on the Principle of Self-defence, which John did not understand) and made the Criminal's own Brother (who was one of his trustiest Servants,) to be the Executioner before his Face, by tying a vast Stone, like a Millstone, about his Neck, and throwing him into the Sea from a Canoa.

An Execution.

HE had engrossed, by his Riches and Power, the Trade of the Place; and by that Means reduced the Traders Profits to twenty per Cent. a Disadvantage, which themselves have in some Measure contributed to, by under-selling one another. His People allow less; for in the little Traffic they had with the English, they paid all in *Kraktra* Gold, not a quarter of the Value it was taken at.

S E C T. II.

Cape Corso, or Coast Castle. Miserable Case of the Factors, and Company's Servants. Influence. The General's Konfa, or temporary Wife. His haughty Carriage. They came to Whidaw.

* The Author observes, in a Note, that General Phipps, at Cape Corso, was so nettled at them (he receiving but nineteen for twenty-one) that it took his Stomach off Victuals for two or three Days.

† See p. 77.

1731.
Attins.

Princes Isle. Great Mortality on board. St. Thomas Isle. News of Roberts, and Gambia Mutiny. The Santis or Atlantis. Pursue the Pirates. Find and take them without any Loss. Visit to El Mina, the Dutch Castle. Leave Cape Corso. Cape Lope Gonfalvo. The Natives. Captain Jacobus; scurvily used by his Countrymen. Brasil. Barbados. Jamaica. Donna Maria's Bay. The Hogsties. Gulf Weed. Return to England.

a little Fish, to keep them from starving: For though the Salaries found tolerably in *Leaden-hall-street* (as from fifty Pounds to ninety Pounds per Annum a Factor; fifty Pounds for an Artificer) yet in *Guinea*, the General, for the Company's Good, pays them in *Krakkra*, a false Money, current only upon the Spot, which disables them from taking any Advantage of buying Necessaries from Ships coasting down.

Voyage to
Guinea.

JUNE the fourteenth, they left Cape Tres Puntas, and the fifteenth anchored at *Dix-cove*, an English Factory. This, *Sukkonda*, *Anamaboo*, and others, though called Factories, are the Residence only of two or three People from the principal one at Cape Corso, who have Commission, over and above their Salary, for what Trade they transact.

Cape Corso
Castle.

JUNE the sixteenth, they weighed from thence, and anchored next Day before Cape Corso Castle, the English African Company's chief Port; the Residence of their Governor, styled Director-General; two Merchants, a Secretary, Chaplain, Surgeon, Factors, Writers, Miners, Artificers, and a Company of Soldiers, with Buildings and Conveniences, inside, for themselves or Slaves.

THE Company, about the Time of this Voyage, had raised by Subscription, three hundred ninety two thousand, four hundred Pound; and in December, 1722, made a Call of Five per Cent. allowing the Proprietors, as had been accustomed, a Dividend of Three per Cent. In December, 1723, they exposed to Sale two hundred thousand Pound Stock at Thirty per Cent. which, says the Author, shewed their Affairs had an ill Aspect, notwithstanding their late Flourishes. This, continues he, was confirmed next Winter, when they petitioned the Government, that they were undone, and the African Trade lost, unless they were empowered to scheme it over again. The Projectors for the Company righteously proposed, that in case the Legislature would give a Sanction, they would engage to excite the Stock-jobbing Humour, and raise a Million, of which they would be liberal.

Miserable
Case

THE Factory, except the first Rank, who are the Council for managing Affairs, are all of them together a Company of white Negroes, who are entirely resigned to the Governor's Commands, according to the strictest Rules of Discipline and Subjection; are punished Garison-fashion on several Defaults with Mules, Confinement, the Dungeon, Drubbing, or the wooden Horse; and for enduring this, they have each of them a Salary sufficient to buy *Kanky*, Palm Oil, and a

b If the Subjects should have other, it is against the Interest of the Company to suffer its being laid out any where from themselves; because their Stock would by that Means lie dead. So that, for the Support of Nature, or perhaps indulging youthful Follies, these their Creatures are obliged to take up of the Company, and in effect by it sign over their Liberty; none being admitted to depart, till he has adjusted all Accounts. When the Man is too sober to run in Debt, there are Arts of Mismanagement, or Loss of Goods under his Care to be charged or wanting. Thus they are all liable to be mulcted for Drunkenness, Swearing, Neglects, and lying-out of the Castle, even for not going to Church (such is their Piety;) and thus by various arbitrary Methods, their Service is secured, *durante beneplacito*. The same Method he takes with the Town Negroes, inconsiderate Wretches, who are continually scoring up for Goods or Drums; and thus become *Pawns* to the Company, that is, liable to be sold whenever the General thinks fit.

MOST of the Factors, he observed, had dwindled from the genteel Air they brought; wear no Cane nor Snuff-Box, idle in Men of Business, have lank Bodies, a pale Visage, their Pockets sown up, or of no Use, and their Tongues tied. One Cause of their Slenderness indeed is a Scarcity of Provision; little besides Plantain, small Fish, Indian Corn, and a great deal of *Kanky* to be bought at Market. Note, this is boiled by the Negroes to the Bigness of halfpenny Rolls, and an *Akki* purchases nine a Day of them for a Month. The English bake it. A lean Goat you may get by Chance for five *Akkis*; a *Muscovy* Duck, a Parrot, or a Couple of Chickens, for one.

POOR T---d was a Youth well recommended, and lived as long as he could; the Author being once at the Office on some Business, a Negro Woman came bawling about his Ears, for a Plantain he had stolen from her. This was the only Mortel he had eaten for three Days past; one Night's Debauch and several Mulets having run him out of Pocket. The next News Atkins heard of him was, that being too narrowly watched in this illegal Traffic, he piped with a Vacuum of the Guts, and died; leaving this Ad-

1721. vice to his Countrymen, rather to run a remote a
 Atkins. Hazard of being hanged at Home, than chuse a
 Transfretation hither.

ANOTHER Instance, says he, how well they live, was the Captain of their Soldiers, who stole away from the Castle in the Night, to make his Escape on board a Brigantine going off the Coast, but, unlucky Gentleman! was chased and brought back by the *Weymouth* next Day. The General by Common Law fined the Master of the Vessel seventy Ounces, besides corporal Punishment.

THE General does not feel this Want, for although there be a Scarcity of Neat Cattle, Kid or Fowl, (no body having any besides himself) he supplies this Want from other Parts, by their own trading Vessels, and Dassees from Masters of Ships, and neighbouring Nations; and for Vegetables, he has a little Garden without the Castle, first planted by Sir Dalby Thomas, a former Governour, abounding not only with theirs, but Fruits of *English* Growth, and entirely for his own Use.

HE has taken a *Konfa*, which by the Negroes is understood a temporary Wife, because she is not obliged to leave the Country, which is looked on as Slavery: She is a Mulatto Woman, begot by a Dutch Soldier at *El Mina*, by whom he has four flaxen-hair'd Children, of fair Complexion. Her Negro Friends and Relations add Interest and Power to him; and he again can back their Injustice in the Pawns irregularly procured to the Garrison. He doats on this Woman, whom he persuades now and then to his Chapel Service, and she complies without Devotion, being a strict Adherer to the Negrish Customs: Atkins attended the Illness of one of her Children, and afterwards on the General, whom on both Occasions he found so weak or so wise he says, as to give the Preference of *Fetiching* to any physical Directions of his; wearing them on his Wrists and Neck. He was a Gentleman of good Sense, yet could not help yielding to the silly Customs created by our Fears, which shews the Sway they bear in the Choice or Alteration of one's Religion.

HE could not persuade this Woman to leave the Country, though he had stolen, or forced her Consent for all her Children in Regard to their Education: She still retained the Negro Dress, going always bare-Foot, and fetiched with Chains and Gobbets of Gold at her Ancles, her Wrists, and her Hair: She was loath to expose her self in *England* by the Alteration of her Habit, and Awkwardness of her Behaviour among strange People.

THE General, besides being a kind Husband

His laughty Carriage.

and Father, is a good Servant to the Company; assiduous and diligent, maintaining his Authority against the Dutch at *El Mina*. Mr. Butler, the Dutch Director-General there, and he having frequent Controversies, sometimes on pretended ill Usage to the Relations of his *Konfa*, oftner upon Trade: Yet the Dignity he is to preserve in this petty Sovereignty, and the usual fawning Submission of the Negroes to it, has made his Carriage haughty to all under him. He refuses for ever within his Battlements; his Subjects and he resembling the Giant and enchanted Castle. He is seen no oftner than is necessary; and when he vouchsafes an Invitation to his Table, you must keep a good Look-out or lose your Dinner; he never descending so much from State to ask after you, though he knows there are no Victuals any where else. A Project indeed is lately set on Foot, for the Company's importing *Irish* Beef and Pork, to be illud at nineteen and twelve Pounds an *Akki*, much wished for by those, who love their Meat without Sauce. However, the Author owns he was treated very civilly for six Weeks, that he attended the Trial of the Pirates at this Castle.

Voyage to Guinea.

JUNE the twenty-sixth, they went to *Annambree*, a noted Port for Windward Ships, the twenty-eighth to *Mountford*, the thirtieth to *Barkee*, and then *Shalloe*. Through the Whole from *Sierra Leona* it may be observed, that Wood, Candles, or any other Ships Necessaries are hard to get; the former, not from a Want in the Country (it being over-run) but an impassable Beach, where there is no navigable River, and the Diffidence of the Negroes, where it might be best supplied; and the other, because Merchant-Ships do not expect a Trade of that Sort, and therefore unprovided.

PASSING by *Akkra*, the River *Volta*, and the *Papau* Coast, they anchored at *Whidaw*, July the fourth. The whole Coast was in a strait Line, without Gulphs or Bays, is thick set with Trees, a Tendency of the Sea with the Wind, and every where a very rough and turbulent Beach.

BEFORE they reached *Akkra*, they passed by a high Mount, which the Author was told has been seen to smoke like a Volcano. For this Reason, and because it is the Haunt of wild Beasts, it is called the *Devil's Hill*. But the most Danger to Travellers, is from a prodigious Number of Apes, some five Foot long; and Monkeys, who attack single Passengers and drive them into the Water, which these Creatures are much afraid of.

THEY left *Whidaw* the twentieth, and the twenty-eighth arrived at *Princes Island*, belonging to the *Portuguese*. In their Approach they

* In the Original, *des Minas*.
 p. 107, & seq. Also, p. 259.

* Atkins's Voyage, p. 89, & seqq. Also, p. 258.

c The same,

1721.
Atkins.

saw every Day Abundance of Whales, Threshers, a and Petrel. Here they cleaned their Ships, heaving down by one another, but with the Fatigue and Heat together, as also the Irregularity of the Sailors, buried three or four Men a-Day for six Weeks together.

Great Mortality.

THOUGH they arrived very healthy, yet the Island furnishing Palm-Wines, and the Means of debauching at easy Rates, and their Tents also giving Opportunity, the Seamen soon ran into Excess, which brought on a malignant Fever, b which reduced them in two Months to deliberate whether they could proceed safely to Sea, without a Return of Men from England, the Weymouth not being able to purchase her Anchors, and the Swallow with Difficulty: But the Author, as Surgeon, judged it best to go, though in the most sickly Condition, since being thus removed from the Causes of their Calamity, (Calms, Heats excessive, and disorderly Living,) whoever were visited with the Distemper, would find a Crisis in Recovery, or Death, which would stop the Infection: Therefore, with the Assistance of some Men from a Dutch East India Ship, that happened to put-in, they got under Sail. The Fevers, for Want of Necessaries, turned in many to Fluxes, and pursued them, though with less Cruelty: The Weymouth, which brought-out of England a Complement of two hundred and forty Men, having, at the End of her Voyage, an hundred and eighty dead upon her Boards.

PRINCES-Isle was the Birth-Place of Africanus and Moulee, of whom they give this tragical Relation; that she becoming a Favourite of her Patron, was forced from Africanus; and having a Child, whose Complexion betrayed the true Father, Africanus murdered both, and afterwards himself, to avoid Punishment.

St. Thomas Isle.

THEY left Princes-Isle, September the twentieth, and anchored the twenty-eighth at St. Thomas, about a League from the Fort, which lies on the Larboard-Point of the Bay. This is the principal of three Portuguese Islands on this Coast. Hogs and Fowls are exceeding cheap.

It was lucky for Mr. Rowry*, Master of a Bristol Vessel, that the Man of War came-in; for his Men had made him Prisoner, and were disposing of the Slaves at a very easy Rate with the Governor, who rejects no Schemes of Profit. Rowry, who had been discountenanced by him on his Mens Complaints, was now heard indeed; but not knowing rightly the Method of getting Men to bring away his Brigantine in their Company, he was obliged to take what Price the Governor would set on her, and her Cargo, and took Passage to avoid them for Cape Corfo; where,

upon Demand, he accompanied his Leave with a handsome Acknowledgment for his Diet, and went home with the Account.

THEY regained the Gold-Coast in fifteen Days from this Island, and leaving it again, OZoker the fifth, stretched with their Starboard-Tacks to Westward, designing to reach as far to Windward as possible, that if any Pirate should be on the Coast, they might have them under their Lee. The twentieth, they fell-in with Cape Apollonia, and the twenty-third anchored at Axim, having met in the Passage some Sprinklings, which they understood had been heavy Showers on Shore. The twenty-fourth, they came to Cape Three Points; where, neglecting to pay John Conny his Duty for Water, he panyared some of their Men till satisfied b.

THE thirtieth, they departed, and arrived next Day at Cape Corfo, where they understood, that the Pirates, under the Command of Roberts, had been plundering the Ships down the whole Coast, but were then thought to be gone-off, the latest Account of any, who had suffered, being in August last: Wherefore, being under no Apprehension of their Return, they divided the Provision, which had been sent hither from England to them, and leaving the Weymouth, now disabled to weigh her Anchor, November the tenth, the Swallow stretched away to Windward, and in a Month's Cruise repeated their Visits to Sukkonda, Dixcove, Akquedah, Cape Three Points, Axim, Cape Apollonia, Assini, Bassam, Jaque a Jaques, &c. Their Design was to secure Trade, air a sickly Ship, be in the Way of Intelligence, and man their Ship, by purchasing Slaves, and impressing Men from the Merchant-Vessels. Many prevented this by running away from ill Treatment, (as they called) bad or short Diet; but as more went with the Pirates on the same Pretence, it shews that Sailors are governed merely by Caprice or Humour in this Respect.

AT Sukkonda they keeled and scrubbed their Ship, and at Dixcove heard by the Carlton, that the Soldiers, who came under their Convoy for the African-Company's Service at the Gambia, had mutined with Captain Massey c, one of their Officers, disdaining the bad Usage of the Merchants, who had the Command of Victualling them; that after nailing-up the Guns, they retired to the Ship Bumper, which brought them f over, and there, by a joint Consent of George Lawther, the second Mate, and some of the Sailors, proceeded to Sea.

AT Cape Apollonia they found all their old Acquaintance gone: The Queen, who, two or three Months before, had sent-off a Dushi of four

* In the Navy a Commander of a trading Ship is called Master.
 segg. Also, p. 259, & seg.

c See an Account of this Affair before, p. 173.

* Atkins's Voyago, p. 138, &

1721.
Atkins.The Santos,
the Affantis.

Akkis, was lately with her People forced to move ^a to *Affini*. It seems, the *Santos*, or *Affantis*, on the Back of the *Apollonians*, being provoked by their frequent Depredations and Pillages, had lately been down, and driven them from their Habitations, though themselves say it has proceeded from the Instigation of *John Conny*, their Neighbour and Competitor. At *Affini*, therefore, they found them preparing to revenge this Injury; they bought-up all their trading Arms at a good Price, and gave a Fowl for every Flint they could spare (there being no such Thing in the Country.) They are as fearless as any of the Colour, both in Trade and War, and promised themselves an Amendment of their Fortune, which the Author since then was informed, they had accomplished against *Conny*.

At Cape *Three Points* they found the Water-Pond almost dried-up, though the Wind at South-East had lately brought-on two or three heavy Showers of Rain. These failing, constant thick Fogs succeeded in the Day; and what was very unusual, at the Distance they lay at Anchor, they had Dews in the Night on board. The Current set Westward.

The Author
P. 111.

JANUARY the sixth, they anchored at *el Mina*, the Dutch African-Company's principal Fort, and next Day at Cape *Corso*, which they left on the tenth, in Pursuit of the Pirates, the Governor having received two or three Expresses, informing him, that they had taken a Ship near *Asim*, the Place they had but just come from.

As *Roberts* the Pirate, by the bold Sweep he had made in *August*, had struck a Panic into the Traders, the Men of War were several Times, in their late Cruise, alarmed with Reports of their being again to Windward, which kept them plying; but those Reports being contradicted, and the Rashness of the Attempt considered, they returned to their Rendezvous into Cape *Corso* Road; where they had scarce well arrived, before Mr. *Phips* received Intelligence, that they had taken a Vessel a few Leagues off, and committed great Cruelties. The Pirates were well manned, having much increased their Number by this double Expedition, and the Reputation of their Success; the Seamen every were entering with them, and when they refused, it was, by Report, either through Fear, than any Detestation of the Practice.

They concluded, therefore, to follow them to *Whidow*, that being next to Cape *Corso*, the chief Place for Booty. Accordingly, *January* the fifteenth, arriving there, they learnt, that the Pirates had plundered and ransomed eleven Sail of Ships, and left the Place but two Days

before, on the Report of their following them, whom they missed-off here by twenty-four Hours. The nineteenth, they following the Pursuit; the twenty-ninth, came before the Isle of *Princes*, and found the Portuguese Strangers to the News.

FEBRUARY the first, they anchored at the Mouth of the River *Galame*, a snug Harbour, they thought, for their Reception, the Navigation being difficult; but finding them not there, they departed the third for Cape *Lopez*, where, arriving, they soon after discovered the three Pirate Ships at Anchor in that Bay. One of them, which was upon the Heel, sighted at Sight of them, slipped her Cable, and began the Chase, bending some of her Sails as she came out, by which they discovered the Rashness of their Enemy, who fell a Prize to them before Night.

THE tenth, they got-up with the Cape again, and found the Prize's Consorts very easy in the Bay, where they staid so long, that their Pursuers doubted whether they would stir for them; but at length, as the Men of War advanced, their Eyes cleared-up, when all mad and frightened, they cut their Cable, and set their Sails; up went the black Flag, and down their Courage; they continued a running Fight while only the Chase-Guns could play upon them, and struck presently* when a Broadside reached them, without the least Damage done the *Swallow*, Drunkenness, Inadvertency, and Disorder making them fall an easy Prize. *February* the twelfth, they anchored at Cape *Lopez* Bay, seizing there the third Pirate Ship that had been deserted by the Hands, for their better Escape, or Defence, in the other^b.

DISCIPLINE, says the Author, is an excellent Path to Victory; and Courage, like a Trade, is gained by an Apprenticeship, when strictly kept-up to Rules and Exercise. The Pirates, though singly, Fellows of Courage, yet wanting such a Tie of Order, some Director to unite that Force, were a contemptible Enemy, they neither killed nor wounded a Man in taking; which must ever, in the same Circumstances, be the Fate of such Rabble.

THEY found in the three Ships about three hundred *Englishmen*, sixty or seventy stout Negro Slaves, great Plenty of trading Goods, and what more attracted the Eye, a large Quantity of Gold-Dust, by Computation eight or ten thousand Pound. The Searches made, and the Diligence of the Officers in those Searches, imagining themselves to have some Share in the Heaps, makes that Sum very probable, the Pirates giving-out double; For all which the Commander at home obtained the Privy-Seal.

THE People, their Wives and Widows, who

* The Reason of this sudden Surrender was the Death of *Roberts*, who was struck in the Neck with Grape-Shot.

^b *Atkins's Voyage*, p. 186, & seqq. Also, p. 260, & seqq.

1721.
Atkins.

thought themselves injured by it, petitioned the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Secretaries, and other Officers of State, for a Recall of this Grant. The Officers joined also in a Petition for the Earl of Berkeley's Interposition, to obtain for them the Division of any Sum they might prove over and above what was suggested in obtaining the Privy-Seal, but without Success.

To return from this Excursion—The Number of Prisoners gave a great deal of Fatigue and Uneasiness, during a six Weeks Passage^a, left the Danger of a Halter should prompt them to some desperate Attempt for their Liberty; but arriving safe at Cape Corso again, [February the eighteenth] they were brought to their Trials, hanged^b, or acquitted; the Court allowing, for the Office of Register, twenty-six Days Attendance, at thirty Shillings per Day, from which at home one Third was deducted, twenty-six Pounds: The Provost seven Shillings and Sixpence per Day, nine Pounds fifteen Shillings. The General of the Coast gave the Table, which made the whole Charge rest upon those two Articles, the cheapest since the Reformation.

Visit to el
Mina,

DURING their Stay in the Road, an Officer or two paid a Visit to Mr. Butler, the Director-General for the Dutch at St. George de el Mina, three Leagues to Windward; he received them so much the more kindly, that in eighteen Years, which he had resided on the Coast, he had seldom been visited by his Countrymen, and of late not at all, which he imputed to the Misunderstandings that were frequent between him and Mr. Phips, on Account of Trade; they could not therefore pay him this Compliment without offending the other. His Table had ten Dishes, an extraordinary Shew in a Place of such Scarcity, with Variety of Beer and Wine, and an Attendance of six Negro Servants, each a Gold Chain about his Neck, the Largeness distinguishing Grandeur, as fine Cloth or Lace does a Liver.

WHEN Dinner was over, he gave them four Gold Rings a-piece, (the Make of the Country) a Trifle, he said, to remember him, and then shewed them his Storehouses, large and well stocked. In the Afternoon they retired to a Summer-House in the Garden, and in the Evening his Officers attended them to the Boat, where they were still followed with Marks of undervalued Respect, three or four Rooves of Brazil-Sugar, (then a Commodity;) and at putting-off, a Salute of nine Guns. But they were not used so hospitably at the English Castle.

MAY the first, 1722, they left Cape Corso, (for my Part, says Atkins, I hope till Dooms-Day) and on the third came-down to Whidaw. Here they took a Sailor out of a Portuguese Ship, that had been a Confederate in seizing Captain Rowry's Vessel, as mentioned before, at St. Thomas's: He, on the Reflection of his Crime, and a Fear of worse Evil, cut his Throat.

ABOUT this Time Atkins was made Purser to the Weymouth, every-body being dead almost who was fit for the Office. He undertook it with Reluctance, being unqualified himself, and neither Cooper, Steward, nor Necessaries on board, but the Indulgence he expected from a worthy Commander, and some little Advantage in quitting the Surgeon's Employ, were Persuatives.

THE fifth, from Whidaw both Men of War steered to Cape Lopez to wood and water, in order for the West Indies, where they arrived the twenty-sixth.

THIS is a safe and pleasant Bay, they anchored in twenty Fathom, the Cape North-West by North, the Watering-Place South by East, each a Mile and an half Distance. Coming-in, they brought the Cape South-West, to avoid, what most Charts lay down, the Shoal, called Frenchman's Bank, about a League and an half North North-East from the Cape; and some say there are other Shoals between that and the Main to the Northward. The Cape is low and steep, yet looks bluff with Trees.

AT Cape Lopez the Natives are harmless and inoffensive, never sell one another. They are timorous, and therefore have their Habitations at a Distance from the Sea, few venturing on board a Ship, scared (Atkins thinks, by the Tricks formerly played by Traders.

THEIR familiar Salute at Meeting, is by clapping their Hands two or three Times to one another. To a Superior (the Kabosbir, or Aged) they bend the Knee, raising first their Hands to the Outparts of their Shoulders, or Arms, then patting the other's Hands gently three Times, they cry Chamba each Time, and fall back, clapping their own Hands. To profess an extraordinary Friendship, they raise your Hand as high as they can reach.

MANY of them have borrowed Names from the Europeans, and are pleased when you adopt them to wear such a Memorandum of you. They do not solicit this Favour till after several Views, that they see something to be admired, or that you have a fancied Sympathy or Likeness with themselves.

As they come-down to trade in Tribes, each

Voyage to
Guinea.
Lower Cape
Corso,

Cape Lopez
Guinea.

The Natives,

^a Having formed a Project or two for their Deliverance

acquired, twenty condemned to Servitude, and seventeen to the Marshes. See the Account of this Affair at large in Johnson's History of the Pirates.

^b Fifty-two were executed, seventy-four ac-

^c Atkins's Voyage, p. 192, & seq. Also, p. 263, & seq.

1721.
Atkins.

has a Captain, or Leader, who loves to distinguish himself by an Imitation of the European Dress, and is often so awkwardly set-out with Hat, Wig, and Breeches, that he makes fifty Times a more ridiculous and scaramouch-Figure, than any of his naked Dependents.

Captain Jacobus.

JACOBUS was one of these, he took on him the Title of King, without knowing the Meaning, and came on board the *Swallow* in a very antic Figure; an old Sailor's Wig turned upside down, half a Pair of Breeches, Jacket, Hat, &c. yet he seemed to be revered much by the others; and in drinking, two of them always held-up a Cloth before his Face, that he might not be seen. The Custom (says Atkins) seems to have a State in it, and borrowed, perhaps, from some neighbouring Monarch, he of *Aionomotapa*.

Scurvily treated.

As Jacobus and his Company grew drunk, (for they drank nothing but Bumpers of Brandy) this Respect was laid aside; and what was a greater Misfortune, the Prince and his Retinue beheld, with winking Eyes, all their Hovels on Fire ashore: The Occasion this: The Ship having all their Colours flying, and some Guns fired in Honour of the twenty-ninth of May, another Leader on Shore misinterpreting it, as a particular Respect to Jacobus, grew jealous, seized his House during the Revel, his Wives, and his *Dushis*, drank-up all his Brandy, eat all his Victuals, cudgelled his People, and set both his Houses on Fire. Next Morning, on unravelling the Mystery, the Passion was over, and all became good Friends again.

THEY have very little Knowledge or Use of Fire-Arms, because they have scarce any Trade, their Weapons being Spears, Arrows, and Clubs; and it is a bloody Battle among them, when half a Dozen of a Side are knocked down.

PAU or Wood is after the Rate of a Fathom for an old Guinea Sheet, their Water free and easily come at, but is a standing Pool, and not so well-tasted therefore as Springs. Here they purchased Wax for making Candles, now exceeding scarce, and is the most convenient Place for Ships of War at leaving the Country.

Annabona.

JUNE the fifth, leaving Cape Lopez and the Coast, they came in Sight of the Island Annabona, the Breezes small at South, and Calms alternately. Hereabout they cruized three or four Days for their Comfort the *Swallow*, which they lost in a Fog, and then went forward.

Brasil.

JULY the first, they made Cape St. Augustine in Brasil, a Portuguese Colony, and anchored the fourth in Pernambuco-Road, the next great Port, of Trade in this Province to Bahia.

THE twelfth, they left Brasil, having found the Trade-Winds blow home, and increased in

their Strength to this Continent, bringing a dangerous Swell into the Road.

Portage to
Guinea.
Barbados.

AUGUST the third, they anchored in Carlisle-Bay at Barbados, where they took-in a Supply of Rum and Provisions, and left it the ninth.

THE twenty-third, they arrived at Port-Royal in Jamaica, where they found the *Swallow* had arrived a Week before; but on the twenty-eighth a Hurricane drove the Prize Pirate-Ship ashore, blew away all their Mast, with other Damages, that detained them here six Months to refit.

JANUARY the first, both Ships having fixed their Jury-Masts, left Port-Royal, and anchored at the Keys. February the seventh, they left the Keys to make the Windward-Passage, and worked-up to Portmorant in six or seven Days, a Distance of twelve Leagues, where the Passage is, in a Manner, gained, because the Lee of *Hispaniola* makes a smooth Water, and deflects the Trade-Wind often in Flaws to Advantage. They met Calms however for three or four Days, but on the seventeenth got Sight of the little Island *Novasia*, where the *Jamaicans* kill *Guanas*.

THE nineteenth, they put into Donna Maria-Bay, at the West-End of *Hispaniola*, the usual Stop, especially of the King's Ships, in those Parts for Wood and Water. They filled their Cask at a Valley a Mile Southward of the two brown Cliffs, where is very good Water, except in some Winds, when the Sea gets over the Bar. There are two other Places nigher those Cliffs, and not so easily overflown. Here they bought some jerked Hog's Flesh from two or three friendly Hunters belonging to *Petit Guavas*.

AT leaving the Bay, a strong South Wind soon set them between the Cape St. Nicholas and Maize, when they came into small Winds, and a Current in their Favour, made by the old *Bahama*-Streight and Islands disposed here.

THE twenty-sixth, nigh the Island of *Heni-Tbi* Hog-ago, they recovered the true Trade-Wind, East-ties, half-North; the twenty-eighth, saw the Rocks, called *Hogsties*, by their Observations in twenty-one Degrees thirty-eight Minutes, being something more North than in the Charts. At Noon came round *Aklin's Keys*, (pretty high out of the Water) and before Night made *Crooked*, or *Well-Island*. The last from which they took their Departure, was *Watlin's Key*, twenty-four Degrees North, the Trade-Wind continuing with them to the Latitude of thirty-two Degrees, but faint and weak from twenty-seven, caused, he thinks, by the Contest between the variable and that.

FROM twenty-six to thirty-seven Degrees *La-Gulf-Wood*, titude, as far North as *Virginia*, they found every Day large Quantities of what they call *Gulf-Wood* floating

1725. floating about the Ship, and lessening in Proportion to the Distance; so called from a Conviction of its flowing from the Shoals of *Florida*, and by being found three or four hundred Leagues North-East abreast with the Continent. This argues, he thinks, a Continuance (though insensible) of some Current; or that it is longer or more to the Northward than Southward in those Latitudes: And contrarily, in higher North Latitudes, the Seas, nigh the Continent, have a Tendency Southward; which is demonstrated in those Islands of Ice, that drive all Summer from the North-West along the Coast of *Newfoundland*, even as far as *New-England*.

To the Northward of *Bermudas* the Winds grew variable, and as they advanced, stronger, having a very hard Gale at North-West to sixty-eight Degrees Latitude; which put them to a reefed Fore-Sail for a Fortnight, so great a Sea following, that they could not help dipping it up by Tons at their Stern.

THEY arrived in *England*, April 1723¹.

C H A P. V.

A VOYAGE to Guinea, and the adjacent Islands, in 1725.

By the Chevalier des Marchais.

Now first translated from the French.

INTRODUCTION.

LABAT, after publishing his Account of the Western-Coast of *Africa*, began to prepare for carrying-on his Design, already mentioned^b, of describing all that Continent. In order to this, he had procured several Memoirs, as well in *Portuguese* as *French*, which furnished a large Number of Materials, both curious and new, towards supplying his next Division. This runs from *Sierra Leona* (where the first ended) to *Cape Gabon* and *Corisco*, a new Settlement of the *Portuguese* in that Country. But those Materials, though copious, not being sufficient to complete the Work, he was on the Point of dropping it, when he became accidentally acquainted with the Chevalier des Marchais, a great Navigator; who had performed several Voyages to *Africa* and *America*, and was just then returned from one, which he had made to *Guinea* and *Cayenne*, for the *Guinea-Company*.

THIS Voyage (wherein the Author had augmented and corrected the Remarks he had made in several former) Labat has given in four Volumes, Octavo^c; and, it may be presumed, has improved it with the Materials he had before collected.

THE Chevalier des Marchais has given an exact Account of every Thing he saw; and was the better qualified, as he was a Person of great Understanding and Curiosity, an able Draughtsman, a good Geometer, and an excellent Navigator. What is, perhaps, more essential than all this, he spoke most of the numerous Languages to be met-with on those Coasts. This singular Advantage enabled him to enquire into the Truth of Things, and make Discoveries; which those, who stand in Need of an Interpreter, can never possibly arrive at. This also, together with his engaging Behaviour, procured him an easy Access to the Kings and great Men, wherever he came, as well as their Esteem: So that he never failed to succeed in any Thing that he desired.

As the chief Trade of the *French* on these Coasts is at *Whidaw*^d, the Author has applied himself more particularly to describe that little Dominion, and its Inhabitants, their Manners and Customs, Government, Laws and Religion;

^a *Ashini's Voyage*, p. 199, & seq. Also, p. 253, and 264.
^b See before, p. 1.
^c Voyage of the Chevalier des Marchais to *Guinea*, the Isles adjacent, and *Cayenne*, in 1725, 1726, and 1727, containing an exact and copious Description of those Countries, and the Trade carried-on there. Enriched with a great Number of Maps and Cuts. By Father Labat, of the Order of preaching Friars. *Amsterdam*, at the Expence of the Company, 1731. The first Volume contains three hundred and thirty-five Pages, besides the Preface of thirty-two: The second Volume, two hundred and ninety-two: The third Volume, three hundred and thirty; and the fourth Volume, three hundred and ninety-two, besides the Index to all the four.
^d In the Original, *Ida*, as the *French* call it; but the true Name, we are told, is *Fida*. So strangely do *Europeans* corrupt foreign Names!

1725. which he has done with great Exactness, so as to have left little more for others to add. He was at *Whidaw* but a little before its Destruction by the *Dahumays*. This Event *Labat* mentions in his Preface, but is related at large by Captain *Snelgrave*, whose Voyage follows. The Work, consisting mostly of Descriptions of the Country and Inhabitants, affords very little Matter for an Abstract. The four Volumes (the two first of which relate to *Guinea*, and the two last to *Cayenne*) are enriched with a great Number of Maps and Plates. The Maps were made by M. *Danville*, one of the King of France's Geographers, eminent for his Performances: The Cuts were engraved from Draughts taken by the Chevalier on the Spot, which are all executed in a delicate Taste. Thus far is what we learn from *Labat's* Preface; and as our Intention at present is only to give the Author's Voyage to *Guinea*, we shall content ourselves here with laying before the Reader the Contents of the two first Volumes, reserving an Account of the other two till we come to treat of *America*.

THE first Volume is divided into twelve Chapters. (1.) The Author's Departure from *Havre de Grace*: Description of that Port, and his Voyage to Port *Orient*, p. 1. (2.) Of the Ports *Louis* and *Orient*, with the usual Cargoes for the *Guinea-Trade*, 21. (3.) Isles of *Madera* and *Porto Santo*: Variation of the Needle: Kingdom of *Blaré*, 30. (4.) Course from *Sierra Leona* to Cape *Monte*: Description of the Country, 66. (5.) Cape *Monte*, and its Trade, 81. (6.) Cape *Mesurado* described, 93. (7.) Project for a Settlement there, 110. (8.) Route to Cape *Palmas*, and Description of the Coast, 131. (9.) Description of Cape *Palmas*, and the Country as far as Cape *Tres Puntas*, 157. (10.) The Gold-Coast: Description of the Country as far as *el Mina*, 190. (11.) Of the Castle *del Mina*. History of that Settlement, 238. (12.) Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Gold-Coast, 277.

THE second Volume contains twelve Chapters likewise. (1.) The River *Volta*: The ancient and modern Bounds of the Kingdom of *Ardres*, (or *Ardra*), p. 1. (2.) Of the Kingdom of *Iuda*, (or *Whidaw*): Its Situation, Extent, Soil, 9. (3.) The Bar of *Iuda*: The Village *Gregwa*: The French and English Ports, 23. (4.) The Town of *Xavier*, (or *Sabi*) 36. (5.) The Kings of *Iuda*: Their Education, Coronation, Employment, Revenues and Burial, 41. (6.) The Trade of *Iuda*, 83. Treaty of Neutrality among the four European Nations who trade to *Iuda*, 88. (7.) The Religion of *Iuda*, 127. (8.) Manners and Customs of *Iuda*, 161. (9.) Of the *Malays*, 218. (10.) Kingdom of *Ardres*, (or *Ardra*), 226. (11.) Disputes between the French and

Dutch, 267. (12.) Embassy from the King of *Ardres* to France, 274. To these we may add the first Chapter of the third Volume, viz. the Voyage from *Iuda* to the Isle of the *Prince*; with a Description thereof, and of the Islands of *St. Thomas* and *Annabon*.

Cuts in the first Volume. 1. Map of the *Guinea-Coast*. 2. Views of *Ushant*, *Porto Santo*, and the *Salvages*. 3. View of Cape *Verde*, and the Road of *Goree*. 4. A Sea-Monster: *Dorado*. 5. Waterpouts: *Becassins*, or Sea Woodcocks. 6. Waterpout: Sea-Devil, a Kind of Ray. 7. View of Cape *Monte*. 8. Cape *Mesurado*, and Entrance of the River. 9. Negro-Houses at the Cape. 10. Strange Fish at the Cape. 11. Entrance of the River *Sestos*. 12. Views of the River *Sestos*. 13. Cape *Apollonia*. The three Forts of *Akara*, and View of *Iuda*. 14. Forts of *St. George del Mina*, and Cape *Corse*.

Cuts in the second Volume. 1. Map of *Guinea*, from *Issini* to *Ardra*. 2. Map of the Kingdom of *Iuda*. 3. View of *Iuda*. 4. Moon-Fish. 5. European Forts at *Iuda*. 6. Factories at *Xavier*. 7. Coronation of the King of *Iuda*. 8. Punishment of Adultery at *Iuda*. 9. King of *Iuda's* Favourite: His Sepulchre. 10. *Agoye*, the God of Councils. 11. Procession to the great Serpent for the Coronation of the King of *Iuda*. 12. Habit and Arms of the Negroes. 13. Peas of *Iuda*.

THE VOYAGE.

SECT. I.

Sail from *Havre de Grace*. Isle of *Ushant*. Grovais Isles. Goods proper for *Guinea*. *Porto Santo*. The *Salvages*. Cape *Verde*. *Goree*. Lunar Eclipse. Remarkable Waterpout. Cape *Monte*. Cape *Mesurado*. Cape *Palmas*. Great *Drewin*. Cape *Tres Puntas*. Cape *Corse*, or Coast, Road. *Rio Volta*. Road of *Whidaw*. Arts of the Porters, to pilfer the Goods: How prevented. Trade interrupted there. They leave *Whidaw*. Princes Isle. Directions for it. The Ship leaks: Is refitted, and sails for *Cayenne*.

THE Chevalier des *Marchais* sailed from *Havre de Grace* in the Expedition Frigate, *Sun-Havre de Grace*, day, August the sixth, 1724, but was obliged to wait in the Road for several of his Sailors, who were spending their Advance-Money on Shore. The eighth, his Crew being completed, he set sail. The tenth, he fell in with seven Vessels off the Coast of *Normandy*, two of which had lost their Main-Masts. The fourteenth, coming within two Leagues of *Ushant*, they tacked to avoid the Rocks that surrounded this Island.

USHANT

1725.
Marchais.
Isle of
Uthant.

USHANT is but three Leagues in Compass, a may be a Trade for Gold, Ivory, and Amber-
grease. You may also send some fine Hats, Pew-
ter-Ware and Plate, Silks, Muslins, fine Ca-
licoes, Crystals, Toys, Hard-Ware, Liquors and
Wine of different Sorts, Flour, and Sugar. The
Negros, who are fond of imitating the Euro-
peans, love to be well-provided with all these
Things; and the Europeans, settled in the Coun-
try, are good Customers.

BUJIS, which make the first Article of a Kowris, a
Guinea-Cargo, are small white Shells, fished at
the *Maldiver-Isles*. On the Coast of Guinea they
are called *Kowris*. There are two Sorts, one
large, the other small; the last of which is most
esteemed. Both Kinds pass for small Money in
a great Part of Africa, to the South of the Sa-
naga, as well as in some Parts of the East Indies.
It will be shewn, in another Place, how they
pass in Trade. The Dutch, since their Posses-
sion of Ceylon, have almost engrossed this Com-
merce.

Grova-
is-Isle.

GROVAIS is a small Isle, opposite the Mouth
of the *Blavet*. The Anchorage is good at a cer-
tain Distance, for it is almost encompassed with
Rocks, whose Approach is dangerous to Ships,
though it secures the Inhabitants of the Isle. Here
is a good Fishery for Congers, or Sea-Eels, of
which they export good Quantities. Next Day,
they entered Port Louis.

THE Expedition had no more to do here than
to unload her Cordage, and take in such Goods d
as were proper for purchasing five hundred Slaves
in Guinea, of which the following is an Invoice.

Goods for
Guinea.

<i>Kowris</i> , or <i>Bujis</i>	- - -	20,000 lb. Weight
<i>Hamburg Platillas</i>	- - -	1500 Pieces
White <i>Guineas</i> , of thirty	} 100	Yards each
Blue <i>Bastias</i>		
<i>Salamporis</i> , white, of four-	} 250	teen or fifteen Yards each
Calicoes with large Flowers		
<i>Douettas</i>	- - -	50
<i>Ganas</i>	- - -	40
<i>Tappals</i>	- - -	40
Fulces, or Fire-Arms	- - -	200
Copper, or Brasses, in Basons	- - -	600 lb.
Powder	- - -	1000
Iron Bars	- - -	1000
Coral	- - -	50
Dutch Pipes of the best Sort,	} 50	five Boxes
With a small Assortment of Beads and Glas-		
Toys of different Colours.		

BESIDES the Goods above-mentioned, there
is no Hazard run in taking more, since there

CONTREBRODE is a Sort of Glass Beads, Contreb-
of different Sizes, made at Venice; and so called de
from their being striped with different Colours
on a white or black Ground. The Negros use
them to tie about their Childrens Waist, till they
arrive at a certain Age.

HAMBURG Platillas are a Sort of Linens
fabricated there and in other Places of Germany,
much inferior to the British Platillas.

GUINEAS, *Salamporis*, *Bastias*, *Goras*, *Dou-*
ettas, *Tappals*, and other Linens exported to
Africa, come from the East Indies. They are
all of Cotton, white, blue, or striped, of differ-
ent Breadths and Lengths.

ALL the Copper or Brasses carried to Africa is *Bastias*,
in Basons, from three to six or eight Pound
Weight.

THE Negros, who are passionately fond of Brandy,
Brandy, are good Judges of it. There is no
passing Rum upon them for good French Brandy,
which is exported in small Barrels, called An-
chors, holding about six Gallons each. Though
the Leakage is greater in these small Vessels, yet
the Loss is made-up in the Convenience of Car-
riage.

THE Gunpowder is chiefly the Sort for small Gunpowder
Arms: Of this the Negros consume a great deal,
being keen Shooters.

THERE is a much less Demand for Iron at Iron Bars,
f Guinea than at the Sanaga; because, in this last
Country, the Negros make their own Utensils,
such as Spades, Hools, Hatchets, &c. at which
they are very dexterous; whereas those of Gui-
nea chuse to buy them ready made from the
English and Dutch. The Bars sold at Guinea are
shorter than those sent to the Sanaga and Gambia,

1725. being but seven Foot long, two Inches broad, a
Marchais. and quarter Inch thick.

Pipes. **ALTHOUGH** the Negros make Pipes of their own, yet they are fond of *Dutch Pipes*: But they must be of the best Sort, for they despise the others. They have learnt of the *Europeans* to be fond of what comes from abroad, and to slight what they have at home.

Coral and Beads. **CORAL** and Beads serve them for Bracelets, Necklaces, and other Ornaments, and are in constant Demand.

THE Chevalier *des Marchais* having taken in the Cargo intended for him, sailed from Port *L'orient*, Monday, September the twenty-fourth, 1724, at four in the Morning; having under Convoy the *Prothee*, a Vessel belonging to the Company, bound for *Sanaga*. The Vessels bound to *Guinea* usually make the *Madera*, which they leave on the Larboard, in order to steer for Cape *Monte*. Those bound to *Sanaga* or *Gorée* steer for *Tenriffé*, which they leave to the East. This is one of the *Canary Isles*, which were discovered and partly conquered, in 1405, by *Be-thancourt*, a *Norman Gentleman*.

Porto Santo. **SEPTEMBER** the eighteenth, at Day-break, they discovered the Isle of *Porto Santo*, bearing South South-East, eight or nine Leagues distant, of which the Author took two Views. They passed between this Island and *Madera*, which is reckoned the most dangerous Part of the Route, being the usual Station of the *Sallee Rovers*.

The S. A. va-gea. **THE** twenty-first, the two Ships were near the *Salvages*, two small desert Isles, South South-East of *Madera*. The Soil is barren, which is probably the Reason why the *Portuguese* at *Madera*, and the *Spaniards* at the *Canaries*, have left them to the *Canary-Birds*, which breed here in great Numbers.

THE twenty-fourth, the *Prothee*, having nothing to fear from the *Sallee Rovers*, in Latitude twenty-six Degrees fifteen Minutes, parted with the *Expedition*, which stood for Cape *Monte*. The same Day, the Chevalier found the Needle to decline nine Degrees to the North-West. In their Course from the *Canaries*, they had taken vast Quantities of Bonettas. This Fish abound most in the Seas for eighty or an hundred Leagues round the *Canary* and *Madera* Isles.

On the twenty-eighth, the Author made two Observations of the Variation, one in the Morning at Sun-rise, the other at Sun-set: The former was found to decline seven Degrees, North-West, and the other five Degrees, which is a Difference of two Degrees in one Day.

OCTOBER the third, they were in Latitude fifteen Degrees, thirty Minutes, and descried the Point of *Barbary*. The Chevalier having lost a great deal of Time in convoying the *Prothee*, was obliged to bear away for *Gorée* to take in Wood and Water. This Delay was very prejudicial to the Company's Interest, as it lost the Captains the right Season for sailing from *Guinea* to *America*.

b **THE** fourth, they discovered the Point of *Al-Cape Verde*, *madia*, two Leagues and an half from Cape *Verde*; and, at six in the Morning, anchored near the Forts of *Gorée*, in thirteen Fathom. *Labat* in-*Gorée*, veighs against the Negligence of the Company in not planting Trees on this Isle, as well as in not providing it with Water, (which they are forced to fetch from the Continent) either by digging for Springs on Mount *St. Michael*, or making Cisterns.

c **HE** sailed from *Gorée*, October the seventeenth, and, the same Day, found the Variation four Degrees to the North-West. The twenty-sixth, he caught a monstrous Fish, unknown to all the Crew.

NEXT Day being in Latitude of *Sierra Leona*, they took a Bat as large as a Hen, being then ten Leagues from Land.

d **NOVEMBER** the second, at two Hours, *Lunar* twenty-eight Minutes, fifty-two Seconds after *Eclipse*, Midnight, they had an Eclipse of the Moon, which lasted two Hours, thirty Minutes, twelve Seconds. The Variation of the Needle, which, *October* the twenty-ninth, was four Degrees North-West, and the thirtieth two Degrees, *November* the third, moved to six Degrees: Hence it appears how necessary it is to observe this, especially when at a Distance from Land, and in Places where there are Currents and Banks. The ninth, in seven Degrees, thirty-six Minutes, Latitude North, he found this Variation again six Degrees. The thirteenth, at four in the Afternoon, he saw two Spouts of too extraordinary a Kind not to merit a Description.

e **THE** largest proceeded from a big Cloud, *Remarkable* very black, and high in the Air. It was crooked, *Water spout*, though there was no Wind, and made the Sea ferment for an hundred Paces round it. Another Spout issued from the upper Part of the same Cloud, and inserted itself in a second Cloud, less thick and dark than the first, but much lower. This Phenomenon lasting for some Minutes, there issued from the last Cloud a Spout descending to the Sea, at about two hundred Toises Distance, which it agitated like the

* *Labat* promises the History of this Discovery and Conquest (which, he says, is very curious) in another Work.

† *seqq.*

* *Marchais's Voyage to Guinea*, vol. 1. p. 27, & *seqq.*

* *Marchais, ubi supra*, p. 34.

1725.
Marchais.

former. These two Spouts hanging in the Air for an Hour and an half, loaded with Water, at last broke, and produced so heavy a Rain, that they were forced to use Buckets to clear the Deck of Water. The Ship was but half a League from these Spouts, and had been lost without Resource, if one of them had burst near it. It was a Presage of the Calms and continual Rains, that succeeded the Eclipse of the second of the Month, and which make a Ship's Crew often sickly.

Uncommon
Fish.

HERE they took great Numbers of *Dorados*, which were both a Refreshment to the Men, and saved their Stores. The twenty-first, they found the Needle's Variation seven Degrees. This was in Latitude six Degrees, thirty-nine Minutes North. The same Day, they took a monstrous Fish, which the Chevalier called a Sea-Woodcock. The twenty-ninth, he was abreast of *Rio das Gallinas*, at eight Leagues Distance; where they got another uncommon Fish, called the Sea-Ox, or Horned-Fish, by *Marchais*.

Cape
Monte.

AFTER passing through many Storms, Calms, Rains, Lightnings, and variable Weather, December the third, in the Evening, they arrived at Cape Monte.

Cape Me-
surado.

THEY reckon eighteen Leagues from Cape Monte to Cape *Mesurado*. The Coast is safe, and the Anchorage good all the Way: So that you may lie by either, if the Wind be contrary, or you are becalmed, and wait the Land-Breezes, which blow regularly off-Shore every Night. The Chevalier had Occasion for all his Patience in this short Course, which, though often run in six Hours, cost him six Days; so that it was December the ninth, 1724, before he reached Cape *Mesurado*, and anchored at half a League distance, in a clayish Ground of a Slate Colour, mixed with Gravel and broken Shells.

As soon as he was moored, a Canoa came-off to know what he was. His Arrival caused great Joy amongst these People, who had known him a long Time, and conceived a great Affection for him. Captain *Peter*, the King, sent his chief *Marbât* to compliment and invite him ashore; where, next Day, the King received him with the utmost Kindness, and, settling the Price, immediately gave Order they should carry on board Water, Wood, and what Provisions they wanted; Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and Poultry being here very cheap.

THE Chevalier failed from Cape *Mesurado*, December the eighteenth, leaving Captain *Peter* well disposed to consent to a Settlement.

THE twenty-third, he found himself abreast

of Cape *Palmas*, which takes its Name from the great Number of Palm-Trees on it. It lies in four Degrees, ten Minutes, North Latitude. The Coast from hence to Cape *Tres Puntas*, is known by the Name of the *Teeth* (or *Ivory*) Coast. The Dutch call it *Tand Kust*.

THE twenty-sixth, he was up with *Great Drawin*. The Calms, Currents, and contrary Winds had so retarded him, that he resolved to come to Anchor in thirty Fathom, not to lose the Way he had made from Cape *Mesurado*. An English Ship, which lay in Shore, made the Signals of Distress, and immediately sent her Boat on board the Chevalier, to acquaint him, that the Captain was at the Point of Death, and without the necessary Helps. The Chevalier sent his Surgeon back in the Boat, with such Remedies as were judged proper; and, in the Evening, himself visited the Patient, who, by the Help of a good Constitution, recovered in a few Days. He made the Chevalier a Present of a young Negro, who, in Return, presented him his Fowling-Piece.

THE third of January, 1725, the Chevalier found himself in the Height of Cape *Tres Puntas*, after tedious Calms and contrary Winds. Here he anchored in twenty-five Fathom, clayey Bottom, three Leagues from Shore.

THE fifth, he was abreast of *la Mina*, where he came to Anchor, for no other Reason, than to convince his second Captain, an ignorant, conceited Officer, that this was really the Place; which having done, he weighed, and came to Anchor in Cape *Corse* Road, where he found four Vessels lying.

Cape Corse-
Road.

HERE he sent his second Captain with his Compliments to the Governor, who invited him ashore: But the Chevalier excusing himself, on his only waiting a fair Wind, the Governor wrote to him to thank him for the Succours he had given an English Ship, mentioned before; and sent him an handsome Present of Poultry, Ducks, and other Fowls, with Fruit and Roots.

THE seventh, he continued his Voyage, which hitherto had been very tedious, having anchored between *Goré* and *Whidaw*, no fewer than twenty-four times.

THE Chevalier being, in 1704, Major of a Squadron of four Men of War, which the *Affiento* Company sent to Guinea under the Command of the *Sieur Doublet*, an experienced Officer, landed at the Danish Fort at *Akra*, where he was received with a Discharge of the Artillery, as the *Sieur Doublet* had been received aboard the Fleet. The Pretence of the Cheva-

* *Marchais's Voyage to Guinea*, vol. 1. p. 69, & seq.

* *Ibid.* p. 95, & seq.

* *Ibid.* p. 131,

seq.
Iuda.

* *Ibid.* p. 164, & seq.

* *Ibid.* p. 227, and 263.

in the Original, all along,

1725. Slaves. These Conveniences cannot be had at a fall-off to the South or West, you find always 1725.
 Marchais. *Whidaw*, the People who look-on Trees as sacred, suffering no Wood to be cut. Besides, their Water is brackish, as well as Provisions scarce and dear. give you great Trouble, and sometimes make you lose your Port^b.

By the Term Refreshments, is to be understood all the fresh Victuals that can be kept on board a Ship, as Hogs, Sheep, Goats, Poultry, Turkeys and Ducks. All these Provisions are in Plenty to be had at the *Prince's Isle*, and those of *St. Thomas* and *Annabona*. They also abound with Citrons, Oranges, Bananas and other Fruit, Sweetmeats, and Sugar unrefined; for the Natives (who are Portuguese Mulattos and Negros) have not yet learned to give their Sugar that Degree of Whiteness and Perfection, they do in the *American Isles*, *Madera* and the *Canaries*.

Prince's Isle. THE Winds and Current were so contrary, that the Chevalier *des Marchais* was twenty Days in his Passage to the *Prince's Isle*, where he arrived May the twenty-ninth, 1725. Here having sent his Boat ashore with an Officer, to desire a Pilot to conduct his Ship into the Harbour, the Governor detained the Officer in Pledge, fearing the Vessel might be a Pirate, who only wanted a Pilot to make a Descent. This Precaution is necessary in a Place like this, which is often visited by these Gentlemen of Fortune. The Wind dying away, and the Currents driving to the North-West, it was the ninth of June before they could get into the Harbour from the Place where they anchored, though but three Leagues distant, and assisted by the Portuguese Pilot.

Directions for it. THE Author advises all Ships coming higher from *Whidaw*, to endeavour, if possible, to make the North-Side of the Island, passing on the Outside of a small Isle, near it, and not between them; there being Rocks under Water in that Channel, which have not Water enough for a large Ship, though Barks may pass at a Flood. This little Isle is easily known, appearing like a round, pointed Rock^a. When you have passed this, keep close in Shore, coasting it to enter the Port, which is to the North-East; because, if you

THE Chevalier stood in great Need of a Harbour, his Vessel being greatly damaged by the Worms, during his long Stay in the Road at *Whidaw*. His Larboard Quarter made Water in several Places; and one Leak was so considerable, that the Vessel must have foundered, if they had not got in here to stop it. These were not so much observed, while they lay at Anchor; but when they came to tack at Sea, and the Ship began to feel some Stress of Sail, they saw the Danger, they were exposed to, in case they had met with bad Weather.

THE Author's first Care was to heel the Ship, in order to remedy these Leaks, while his Officers took in Refreshments and Provisions for the Voyage to *Cayenne*. He found at *St. Antonio* two English Ships, who greatly assisted him in heaving-up his Ship, and lent him their Carpenter, instead of his own, who was sick. Thus it is, that at Sea different Nations assist one another, without regarding any Distinctions.

HE was detained here some Days longer than he intended, by the Desertion of his Boatswain; and two of his Men, which he suspected the Portuguese had a Hand in. They wanted at that Time Men for their trading Barks, and finding these willing to serve them, they concealed them till the Chevalier's Departure. The Portuguese Governor pretended to be at great Pains to find them, but it was easy to see it was all Grimace. In their Room the Chevalier took in five Frenchmen and a Cabin-Boy, who, probably, had belonged to the Pirate, shipwrecked on the Coast. He had also the good Luck to seize a French Interloper with four thousand one hundred Crusados, which served to reimburse the Charges, he had been at in this Port. Here he continued eighteen Days, and sailed for *Cayenne* in America, where he arrived, August the sixth, 1725. *Sail for Cayenne.*

^a See the Map. *Barbot*, in his Prospect and Description of *Guinea*, p. 395, says, there is a Passage between *Marchais's Voyage*, Vol. 3. p. 1, 2, & 25, & seqq.

^b The same, p. 33, & seqq.

C H A P. VI.

*A Voyage to Guinea^a, in 1726.**By William Smith, Surveyor to the Royal African-Company.*

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Voyage, printed in 1745, (or rather at the End of 1744) contains two hundred seventy-six Pages, besides the Preface of two Pages, and Index of eight. It consists of one continued Narrative, without being divided into Chapters or Articles. The Editor gives no Information concerning either the Author or the Copy; farther than that the MS. had been deposited in a certain Library, from whence it was taken to be published. Although a good deal is said in the Preface to raise the Expectations of the Public, yet, on Examination, the Performance seems to be a Work rather made-up from some imperfect Materials left by Mr. Smith, and supplied from other Quarters, than a genuine Relation composed by himself. There needs no plainer Proof of this, than that the Customs and Manners of the Gold Coast, and the whole Account of *Benin*, are taken from *Bushman*, perhaps without the least Alteration. The Description of the *English* Forts and Settlements is very trifling, saving what relates to *Cape Coast*, or *Corse*: The natural History (a few Articles excepted) is likewise very short, and no Way answers the Character given of it in the Preface.

THE End of Mr. Smith's Voyage was to make Surveys and Draughts of all the *English* Forts and Settlements in *Guinea*^b. This he performed with a great deal of Labour, and, at his Return, published the Whole in thirty Folio Plates; which Draughts he frequently mentions in his Journal: But the Editor seems to have been wholly unacquainted with the Matter, although he mentions the Design of Mr. Smith's going abroad. Contractions of those Draughts would have been a very fine and proper Im-

belishment of the Book; instead of which, the Reader finds only four or five Plates, each containing six small Figures of Birds and Beasts, very poorly drawn, however recommended in the Preface.

TOWARDS the End of the Voyage there is an Account of *Guinea*, said to be given by one Mr. *Wheeler*, comparing the Customs of that Country with those of the *English*. This is done by Way of Dialogue between that Gentleman and his Negro Mistress; which rather seems to have been composed at Fancy, than to have any real Foundation in Nature.

THIS is the Light, in which, upon Examination, the New Voyage to *Guinea* hath appeared to us: However, the Book contains several useful Remarks, and furnishes some very good Materials for our Abstract.

As we propose to embellish our Collection with the most remarkable among the Draughts published by Mr. Smith, we shall take this Opportunity to give a List of them.

PLATE I. THE Title, Elephant and Castle.

2. Coast of *Guinea*, from *Cape Mount Jacquin*.
3. *Gambra* River.
4. South-West Prospect of *James-Island* on the River *Gambra*.
5. Plan of *James-Island* and Fort.
6. Map of River *Sierra Leona*, and the Coast from thence to *Sherbro*.
7. North-West Prospect of *Bense-Island* on the River *Sierra Leona*.
8. *Bense-Island*.

^a The Title is: *A New Voyage to Guinea: Describing the Customs, Manners, Soil, Climate, Habits, Buildings, Education, manuel Arts, Agriculture, Trade, Employments, Languages, Ranks of Distinction, Habitations, Diversions, Marriages, and whatever else is memorable amongst the Inhabitants. With an Account of their Animals, Minerals; with a great Variety of entertaining Incidents, worthy of Observation, that happened during the Author's Stay in that large Country. Illustrated with Cuts, engraved from Drawings taken from the Life. With an alphabetical Index. By William Smith, Esq; Appointed by the Royal African-Company, to survey their Settlements, make Discoveries, &c. London, printed for John Nourse, opposite Katharine-Street in the Strand, 1745.*

^b This Work is intitled; *Thirty different Draughts of Guinea*, by William Smith, Surveyor to the Royal African-Company. Under each Cut there is given a short Description of the Place represented; the same, with very little Addition, as is inserted in the New Voyage to *Guinea*.

1726. PLATE 9. Map of River Sherbro.

Smith.

10. South Prospect of Dixcove-Fort.
11. Plan of it.
12. South-West Prospect of English and Dutch Forts at Sekondi.
13. Plan of English Fort at Sekondi.
14. South-West Prospect of English and Dutch Forts at Kommenda.
15. Plan of English Fort at Kommenda.
16. Prospect, from Cape Coast Road, of *el Mina*, *St. Jago*, *Philip's*-Tower, Cape Coast Castle, and Fort Royal.
17. East Prospect of Cape Coast Castle.
18. North-West Prospect.
19. Plan of it.
20. Map of principal Walks in Gardens.
21. South Prospect of Tantom query-Fort.
22. Plan of it.
23. South-West Prospect of Winneba-Fort.
24. Plan of it.
25. North Prospect of English and Dutch Forts at Akra.
26. Prospect, from the Sea, of James-Fort at Akra.
27. Plan of it.
28. South-West Prospect of William's-Fort at Whidab.
29. Plan of it.
30. Plan, from the Sea, of the Harbour of Princes, belonging to the Portuguese.

S E C T. I.

Design of the Voyage. Arrive at James-Fort. A piratical Sloop: Taken by a Factor. The Survey difficult. Pleasant Adventure with the Negroes. The Author surprized. Visit to the King of Barrah. Negro Benevolence. Error as to Gambra River. Religion of the Natives: Languages. English Factory. They leave the Gambra: In Fear of Pirates. Sierra Leona. Pleasant Country. Benise Island. English Fort taken by Roberts the Pirate. Sierra Leona River. Tasso Island. The River surveyed.

Design of the Voyage.

THE Royal African Company of England being willing to have an exact Survey taken of their Settlements on the Coast of Guinea, came to a Resolution, in 1726, to send a Person fitly qualified for that Undertaking; and accordingly, after an Examination of his Abilities, gave their Instructions to Mr. Smith, dated August the eleventh, 1726, empowering him, "To take exact Plans, Draughts, and Prospects of all their Ports and Settlements; as also of all

a "the principal Rivers, Harbours, and other
"Places of Trade on the Coast of Africa, from
"the Gambra to Whidab".

Voyage to Guinea.

HAVING received these Instructions from the Court of Assistants, Mr. Smith embarked, on Saturday, August the twentieth, 1726, on board the *Bonetta* Sloop, Captain *Livingstone*, lying at *Gravesend*, in Company with *Walter Charles*, Esq; Governor of *Sierra Leona*. August the twenty-second, they sailed through the *Downs* with a fair Wind; and, on the twenty-fifth, reached the *Start Point*, from whence they took their Departure. They had for many Days, North-East Winds and fair Weather, till they got into the true Trade-Wind at North-East, with which they crossed the Tropic, September the fourteenth, and paid as usual. Here they saw several whitish Birds, having but one long Feather in their Tails. These fly very high, and are called by the Sailors Tropic Birds, being c seen only in the Torrid Zone, between the Tropics.

SEPTEMBER the twenty-second, they made the Land six Leagues distant, being a low, sandy Beach a little to the North-East of Cape Verde, which they descried in four Hours after: Mr. Smith took a Draught of this, as his first Attempt in the Company's Service. Next Day they got round the Cape in Sight of *Goree*, a French Factory; and the twenty-fifth, entering the d *Gambra*, anchored at *James-Island*.

NEXT Day landing, they were conducted to the Castle, where they found the Emperor of *Fonia* and his Retinue, who saluted them by shaking Hands after the European Way; repeating the Word *Mentonic*, which, in the *Mandingo*, signifies, *God bless you*. Being seated, the Author was diverted to see the Emperor's Grandees, and Nobles squatting on the Floor, like Monkies, on their Buttocks. An Hour after his e Arrival, they all embarked on board their Canoes, except the Emperor, whom the Governor complimented with his Boat, Men, and Union-Flag, saluting him, at his Departure from the Port, with five Guns b.

A LITTLE before their Arrival, there entered the *Gambra* a Rhode-Island-built Sloop of eighty f Tons and six Guns, called the *Ark*, commanded by one *Edmonson*; who having several Times communicated a piratical Design to his Crew, which they would not consent to, they all (except three white Boys) went ashore at *James-Fort*, and informed the Governor and Council, upon Oath, of what they knew. Mean time *Edmonson* fearing a Discovery, sailed down below *le Maine Point*, beyond Reach of the Fort

* See the Copy of his Instructions, p. 3 to 5.

b Smith's Voyage to Guinea, p. 1, & 199.

1726. *Smith.* Guns; where meeting the Sea-Breeze and Tide a of Flood, he was obliged to anchor, thinking himself safe there at least till Morning. The Suddenness of his Departure confirming the Sailors Deposition, the Gentlemen in Council sent the *Gambra* Sloop, manned with a stout Crew of Whites and Blacks, to bring him back, and prevent his doing farther Mischief. It was commanded by Mr. *Orfeur*, one of the Company's Factors, who had been partly bred on board a Man of War.

Taken by a
Factor.

MR. *ORFEUR* knowing the Channel, took Advantage of the Midnight Ebb to carry him below the *Ark*, without being discovered by any of *Edmonson's* Crew, who were but nine, viz. the three Boys, and six ignorant, new-purchased Slaves. At Day-break both Sloops weighed, and the Pirate, knowing the *Gambra*-Sloop, was resolved to force a Passage. Mr. *Orfeur* being come within Hail, called to *Edmonson* to bring-to; who made no Answer, but by firing a Brace of Musket-Balls. This so incensed the Blacks on board the *Gambra*-Sloop, that they begged Leave to fire on them; which, Mr. *Orfeur*, willing to use gentle Methods, prevented, and again called to *Edmonson* to strike: But he discharged a loaded Piece at the Factor, who not relishing that Usage bid his Men fire, and one of the black Boys shot *Edmonson* through the Breast; on which the Sloop ran the *Ark* aboard, and took Possession of her. *Edmonson* being desperate, leaped into the River and was seen no more. Mr. *Orfeur* brought-up the Sloop, which lay at Anchor in the River when Mr. *Smith* arrived.

The Survey
difficult.

SEPTEMBER the twenty-seventh, Mr. *Smith* began his Survey; which held till Monday, October the tenth. He met some Difficulties in it; for, the first Day he went ashore at *Jille-frey*, opposite to *James-Island*, he found the Shore such a deep, swampy Mud; it was hardly possible to measure or get from one Station to another: Then there was no going on the dry Land, it being so woody, that both the Sight and Passage was intercepted. Besides that, the Trees swarmed with great, black Ants and venomous Wasps; one of which severely bit Mr. *Hull's* Lip, one of the Gentlemen who went to assist him in his Survey.

Pleasant
Adventure

THE Author mentions some Incidents that happened on this Survey, which show the Simplicity and Ignorance of the Natives. Being one Day ashore at *Bunion Point* in the Kingdom of *Kumbo*, near the Mouth of the *Gambra*, in order to take the Distance from thence to *Barra Point*, on the opposite Side, the chief Mate, who was with him, being desirous to see the Method of taking inaccessible Distances, they landed

on a sandy, level Beach, close to a small Town, where they saw fifty or sixty black Cattle tied by the Horns to some Stakes drove into the Sand. While he was fixing his surveying Instruments, some of the Natives came down to the Water-Side to look at him, and not comprehending his Theodolite, or measuring-Wheel, discovered some Signs of Fear. Mr. *Smith* did not regard this at first; but having Occasion for a Stake or two to set Marks, walked towards the Cattle to chuse a Couple of good ones: Hereupon the Natives afraid of their Cattle, ran and drove them up the Country, alarming the Town; so that the Women and Children ran to the Woods, and the Men came down, armed, in less than ten Minutes.

Voyage to
Guinea.

THE Author asking the Company's Slaves, *With the* who rowed the Boat, the Meaning of this, they *Negros.* told him, the Natives were terrified at his surveying Instruments, believing he had a Design to bewitch them. However, to guard against the worst, the chief Mate followed *Smith* with a loaded Blunderbuss, one of the Slaves rowing the Theodolite; which the Natives endeavoured to oppose, by running across its Passage, but not daring to touch it. The Fellow who drove it watched every Opportunity to push the Wheel at their Legs, but they were too nimble for him, skipping to the Right and Left like Goats. When Mr. *Smith* had done his Survey, he returned to the Place where the Boat lay; and, being very hot, sat-down under the Shade of a large Tree, ordering some Punch to be made. The Mate going-down to the Boat to fetch the Ingredients, Mr. *Smith*, who was left alone, as soon as they were out of Sight, saw himself surrounded by the Natives, all armed, either with Javelins, Bows, and poisoned Arrows, or Guns.

THIS put him into a terrible Consternation. *The Author* At last the Mate appeared with a Cebest of good *surprized.* Punch, a hearty Draught of which raised his Courage so, that he gave a sudden Spring from the Ground; at which the Negros ran away in such Surprise, that several threw down their Weapons, and stood at a good Distance; believing, as he found afterwards, that it was in his Power to destroy them. On this, *Smith* took up a Gun they had dropt, and ventured to fire with Powder amongst them; but the Piece scarce went-off before they were all out of Sight. The Mate would have had him pursue his Victory: But he thought it wisest to return to the Shore, and get on board the *Bonetta*, where he diverted the Officers with the Relation of what had happened.

OCTOBER the tenth, he went with *Gov-Visit to the* vernor *Rogers* to visit the King of *Barra*; who having been informed before-hand of their Com-

1726. ing, met them about a quarter of a Mile from his a
Smith. Town, attended by three, or four hundred of his
Subjects; several beating on large, loud Drums,
others sounding Trumpets of Elephants Teeth,
which all together made a warlike Noise. The
King welcomed them ashore, and conducted
them to the Town of Barra: His People ex-
pressed their Joy by loud Acclamations, and Firing
of Guns; with a thousand antic and diverting
Postures. At their Arrival, the King caused his
Cannon to be discharged, that lay dismounted
near his Palace, which was a Mud-walled Cot-
tage, thatched with Palmetto-Leaves.

King of
Barrah.

WHEN they were seated, the King sent for
his Musician, who played on a *Ballafo*. This
Instrument was well tuned, and gave an agree-
able Sound. His Majesty also for their Diver-
sion, caused several Natives to dance before them
with drawn Swords, which they flourished with
great Dexterity. This done, the King made a
short Speech, which, as interpreted to the Au-
thor, by his Majesty's youngest Brother, was
thus. "It was very good for black Man to love
"white Man, and not hurt, but make Trade
"with him; because the white Man's Ships
"bring all the good Things, and strong Liquors
"to the black Man's Country." From which
elegant Speech it is plain, the Regard of all
Negros for the Europeans, is founded on Self-
Interest.

Negro Ben-
edictance.

AFTER the Entertainment, Mr. Smith took d
a short Leave of the Company, to finish his Sur-
vey. The King's Brother and several of his No-
bility would follow him. Going along, they
asked the King's Brother, who Smith was, and
what he was going about, that he left the Com-
pany so suddenly? He told them, that Mr. Smith
was a great ingenious Man, sent by the Compa-
ny to measure all the Kingdoms, Islands, and Ri-
vers in Guinea. They replied, it was very pro-
per, and that they were over-joy'd he came to e
measure their Country. To show their Approba-
tion of the Work, they made a thousand Gri-
maces, running round Mr. Smith, and staring
or grinning in his Face; which, as he under-
stood, was by way of Compliment. They saw
by his laughing that he was pleased, and ascribed
his Mirth to the Compliment, though it resulted
only from their Monkey-Manner of acting it.

Error as to
the Gam-
bra.

THE Author observes, that in many Maps
the Niger is laid down in the same Latitude with
the Gambia; so that unless formerly it went by
the Name of Niger, he is persuaded there must
be a Mistake in the Matter: For that the Gambia
is by far the largest River in that Part of Africa.
He says, he has seen Journals kept on board one
of the Company's Sloops of fifty Tons, which

failed up the River more than three hundred
Leagues, or near a thousand Miles; at which
Height he was assured, it is broad, spacious, and
navigable: Nor does he make any Doubt, but
that the Rivers of Sanaga, Rio Grande, Rio St.
Domingo, Burfalli, Rio Nunez, Rio Pungo, &c.
are all different Branches of this great River;
which, like the Nile, on the opposite Side of
Africa, empties it self into the Sea through va-
rious Channels.

b THE Religion of the Pagans, who are here Religion.
more numerous than the Mohammedans, consists
wholly in worshipping their Fetishes*, for which
any thing serves, a Feather, a Pebble, a Bit of
Rag, a Dog's Leg, or the like. The Word Fe-
tish signifies also a Spell, Incantment, or Charm.
To take the Fetish, is to take an Oath; and to
make Fetish, is to perform Divine Worship.
They all carry their Fetish about them, which is
so sacred, that they will let no body touch it
but themselves. The Day Mr. Smith dined with
the King of Barra, he observed the Musician
had on the Top of his Cap, the Tufts of a Crown
Bird, which being very beautiful, he went to
take it off the Fellow's Head, to look at it; but
in a great Surprise, the Man got up and ran
away. Some Gentlemen, who saw the Action,
smiled, and told Smith, it was the Musician's
Fetish.

THE Languages on the Gambia, are so many, Languages.
and different, that the Natives on one Side
cannot understand those on the other, which is
a great Advantage to the Europeans, who trade
there for Slaves; because the Gambra, who
are naturally indolent, abhor Slavery, and will
attempt any thing, though ever so desperate, for
Freedom. The Author has known some melan-
choly Instances of Ships Crews being surprized,
and cut off here. The safest Way is to trade
with different Nations on either Side, and having
some of every Sort on board, there will be less
Danger of any Plot^b.

THE English have a Factory subordinate to English
Gambia Castle, at a Place called Igar, about
fifty Leagues up the River, and another at Ku-
tejarr, fifty Leagues higher; as also a third near
the River's Mouth, called Port Dendalli. They
once had a Settlement on Charles Isle, but having
a Pallaver (or Difference) with the Natives, the
latter took the Opportunity of a Midnight Ebb,
and waded from the Main; by which Surprise,
they got Possession, and beat the English off the
Isle, which has been ever since desolate. But on
James Island they have a strong, regular, well-
built Castle, with thirty-two large Pieces of Can-
non, besides others planted near the Water-side,
fronting the North Channel. The old Fort was

* Fetish, is the Name used in Guinea; Grifgris, on the Gambia.

^b Smith's Voyage, p. 16, & seq.

1726.
Smith.

unhappily blown up in 1725, by some unknown Accident of Fire, undoubtedly Lightning, falling in the Magazine, and several People lost their Lives; amongst whom was Governor Plunket. But it was expeditiously rebuilt, with many Alterations for the better, by Anthony Rogers, Esq; the present Governor.

Laces the
Gambra.

OCTOBER the eleventh, Mr. Smith sailed from the *Gambra*, in the *Bonetta* Sloop, in Company with the *Byam* Gally of *Antigua*, Captain Hester, both bound for *Sierra Leona*. That Day and the next they steered South-West, and West South-West to Sea, to avoid the Shoals of *Grande*, which extend fifty Leagues from Shore. The thirteenth, they steered South for *Sierra Leona*. Next Day they had a flat Calm which continued fourteen Days. The Sloops passed the Time in visiting each other daily; though their Mirth was often interrupted by Tornados, which generally lasted an Hour, and gave Notice of their Approach by excessive Thunder, Lightning, and dark Clouds, which are succeeded by Rains as heavy as Water poured through a Sieve. This Weather continues all the wet Season in *Guinea*. These tedious Calms brought them into such Distress for Water, that had they not been supplied by their Comfort, the *Byam*, they must have inevitably perished. During these Calms they tried the Current, which set North-East one Knot.

In Fear of
Pirates.

NOVEMBER the third, they made Land ten Leagues distant, in twenty-five Fathom; which being very high, they supposed it to be the high Mountain of *Sierra Leona*, and crowded Sail to come up with it before Night. About eleven a-Clock they saw a Sail in Shore, and perceiving the lay-by to wait for them, it gave them Apprehensions, as knowing how busy the Pirates had been on this Coast the preceding Year. They put themselves in the best Posture of Defence they could, and held on their Course till five in the Afternoon, when they found the Ship in question to be a Friend, viz. the *Queen Elizabeth*, Captain Craighton, bound from *Sierra Leona* to *Rio Nunez*, to trade for Gold, Teeth, and Camwood. He suspecting by their standing-in for Shore, that they were bound for *Sierra Leona*, lay-by to let them know that these high Lands were the *Idolos*, which are small rocky Islands, twenty Leagues to the Northward of *Sierra Leona*. After thanking Captain Craighton for this kind Information, they proceeded, and at ten next Morning discovered the *Sausages*, exceeding high Land, twenty Miles up the Country.

Sierra
Leona.

As soon as they got abreast of the Cape, which was about Sun-set, they hoisted the Union Flag

* They are also called, the Isles of *Tamara Leona*, on board.
 c Smith, p. 32, & segg.

at the Main-Top-Mast-Head, and saluted it with seven Guns, as did also the *Byam*. All *Guinea* Governors are by Charter impowered to wear the Union Flag in their respective Districts. Though it was Night, they sailed into the River, founding as they went. To prevent Accidents, they hung out a Light at their Ensign Staff, and the *Byam* kept one at her Gibben End. They kept close under the high Hills. When they got up as high as *Frenchmans-Bay*, they saw two Lights close in Shore: One belonged to a small trading Bark, the other to the *Friendship* Sloop of *Barbados*, Captain Croker; who seeing their two Ships that Afternoon in Offing, hung out Lights to direct them where to ride. As soon as they anchored, Captain Croker came on board the *Bonetta*, to know, who they were, and then welcomed them to *Sierra Leona*. As they had only *Madera* Wine, their Limes being expended, he sent on board his Sloop for a Handkerchief of Limes, and over a Bowl of Punch gave them an Account of the Company's Affairs at *Bonal* Island, then under the Direction of Mr. *Marmaduke Panwell*.

Exposed to
Guinea.

NOVEMBER the fifth, they found themselves in a small, pleasant Bay, surrounded with exceeding high Hills, all covered with beautiful Trees, full of various Kinds of Birds, who at Day-break make the Woods ring. Captain Croker saluted the Union Flag with five Guns, and had three in Return. In this Bay is extraordinary good Water, which gushing out of the Rocks, falls down like a Spout, so that they could fill all their Casks without a Tun-Dish. They watered here: And the Bottom of the Bay being clear of Rocks, they drew their Sayne, and got a good many Mulletts and other Fish; also an Alligator, which the Negros devoured greedily.

Pleasant
Country.

THE sixth, they all went up to *Bense* Island, on which there is a regular Piece of Fortification, mounted with twenty-two Pieces of heavy Cannon; besides a Battery under the Fort Wall, with eleven Guns more. This is the Residence of the Governor; and Mr. *Charles* landing, took Possession of his Post, and received the Compliments usual on that Occasion; though the Author unluckily spoiled his: For not recollecting the Name of the Island, he blundered out *Baratavia* (which is one of no Repute) instead of *Bense*.

Bense
Island.

NOVEMBER the seventh, he began his Survey, meeting with no Opposition from the Natives, as at the *Gambra*. The Inhabitants here being more used to the *European* Manners and Customs.

b They had Mr. *Charles*, the new Governor of *Sierra*

1726. It is not certain when the *English* became Masters of *Sierra Leona*, which they possessed unmolested, until *Roberts* the Pirate took it in 1720; *Old Plunket*, who was afterwards blown-up in *James Fort*, being then Governor here. The Case was thus. *Roberts* having three stout Ships under his Command, put into *Sierra Leona* for fresh Water, and finding a trading Vessel in the Bay of *France*, took her thence, and carried her into another near the Cape, which is very deep, and has a long narrow Entry. This the Author in his Survey has called *Pirates Bay*; because when *Roberts* had rifled that Ship, he set Fire to her; and Part of her Bottom was to be seen at low-Water, when *Mr. Smith* was there. The next Day *Roberts* sent up a Boat well armed to Governor *Plunket*, desiring to know if he could spare him any Gold-Dust, or Powder and Ball? *Plunket* sent Word, he had no Gold to spare; but that, as to Powder and Ball, he had some at his Service, if he would take the Trouble to come for it.

Taken by
Roberts.

ROBERTS considering this Reply, anchored with his Ships the next Flood, before *Benfe-Island*; and a smart Engagement followed between him and the Governor for several Hours together, till *Plunket* having fired away all his Ammunition, fled in his Boat to a small Isle called *Tomba*: But being overtaken by the Pirates, was brought back again to *Benfe Island*; where *Roberts* swore heartily at him, for his Irish Impudence in daring to resist him. *Plunket* finding the bad Company he had gotten into, fell a cursing and swearing faster than *Roberts*; which raised much Laughter amongst the Pirates, who bid *Roberts* hold his Tongue, for that he had no Share at all in the Pallaver with *Plunket*: However, it is said, that by mere Dint of Swearing, *Old Plunket* saved his Life. When *Roberts* had rifled the Warehouses, he went aboard, and sailed out of the River next Ebb, leaving *Plunket* again in Possession of the Fort, which the Pirates had much damaged.

Sierra Leona
River.

THE River of *Sierra Leona*, is very broad at the Entrance, being four Leagues from the Cape to *Leopard's Isle*, on the opposite Side of the River's Mouth. The Middle is shallow indeed, being in some Places dry at low Water: For the deepest Part of the Channel lies close-in by the Cape; and those who enter, must keep on the Starboard Shore, sailing close under the high Land, where they are sure of regular Soundings, and in all the Bays good anchoring Ground; but near the Edge of the Shoals, the Bottom is uneven and foul.

Tasso
Island.

THE Company have another Island in this River, viz. *Tasso*, which is large and flat, near

three Leagues in Circumference. Here their Slaves have a good Plantation. The rest of the Isle is covered with Wood, more especially Silk-Cotton Trees of a prodigious Size. It also produces other Cotton and Indigo.

Passage to
Guinea.

THE River of *Sierra Leona* abounds with several Sorts of Fish, most of them good, except the Oysters, which grow there on the Branches of Mangrove Trees. These are found in shallow Places, their Branches having a natural Tendency towards the Water. The Author has cut-off one of these Branches so full of Oysters, Barnacles, &c. that he could scarce lift it into the Boat.

DURING *Mr. Smith's Survey of Sierra Leona*, The River
Captain *Livingstone* lost no Time, in sending ashore the Goods and Arms designed for the Use of the Fort: But the Ship wanting to be careened, and to get-in a new Mizzen-Mast, the Author thought this a good Opportunity to survey the River *Sherbero*; and for that Purpose obtained of the Governor, one of the Company's Sloops, with proper Hands; *Mr. Charles* having Instructions from the Company, as the other Governors had, to give all Assistance to the Survey.

SECT. II.

Leave *Benfe-Island*. *Sherbero-River*. Visit from the King. He quarrels with the Factors. *Smith* comes to their Assistance. Threshes his Majesty's Jacket: Who is taken Prisoner; but escapes. Consultation thereupon. The Author in Danger. Negro-Envoy killed. The Interpreter wounded. He is examined. Proposal from the King: Another from the Factory. Envoy sent to the King. The Factory removed to *Jamaica*. The King abdicates: Another chosen.

NOVEMBER the fourteenth, *Mr. Smith* failed from *Benfe-Island* in the *Sierra Leona* Sloop, Captain *Kirkham*, in Company with the *Jaquin* Sloop, Captain *Ridley*, who went with them, in order to get a Knowledge of that River. The sixteenth, they reached the *Banana-Isles*, the largest of which is well inhabited. Here *Mr. Smith* found some white People, who had quitted the Company's Service, and set-up for themselves, having Sloops of their own, in which they traded Northward to *Rio Pungo* and *Rio Nunez* for Slaves, Teeth, and Camwood; by which Means they had brought a considerable Trade to these Isles, there being few Ships bound down the Coast, but what touched here.

THE eighteenth, they were becalmed at the Mouth of *Sherbero-River*, and saw several